Cover Page



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## Pots for Monks.

Ceramics and Life in the Old Monastery of Baramūs in the Wādī al-Natrūn, Egypt (4th – 9th c.)

#### Proefschrift

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To my parents

To my Fathers and Brothers in Dayr al-Baramūs

## CONTENTS

## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1 General considerations	1
2 The present research: scope, significance, working method and structure	3
CHAPTER 2 LANDSCAPE AND HISTORY	
1 The Wādī al-Natrūn	
1.1 Geography, geology and the basic product	8
1.2 Issues of historiography	12
2 The Old Monastery of Baramūs	
2.1 The excavation site	19
2.2 Selected contexts	24
<b>CHAPTER 3</b> THE POTTERY OF THE BYZANTINE AND EARLY ARAB PERIODS (4 <sup>th</sup> – 9 <sup>th</sup> C.) 1 The significance of pottery in the archaeological record	
1.1 Why study pottery?	29
1.2 The study of Late Roman / Early Byzantine and Early Arab ceramics in the Mediterranean	30
1.3 The study of Byzantine / 'Coptic' and Early Arab ceramics in Egypt	33
2 The pottery found in the Old Monastery of Baramūs $(4^{th} - 9^{th} c.)$	
2.1 Pottery fabrics 2.1.1 List of Egyptian fabrics	38 40
2.2 A brief presentation of the ceramic finds	50

2.2.1 Tableware	52			
2.2.2 Cooking Ware	126			
2.2.3 Other Utilitarian Ware	149			
2.2.4 Amphorae	164			
2.2.5 Miscellanea	227			
3 The contexts and their contents				
3.1 Tables and comments	246			
3.2 Summary – Interpretations	255			
4 Summary and Conclusions				
4.1 Types in time	257			
4.2 Comparisons: the place of the Old Monastery of Baramūs in the Mediterranean world $(4^{th} - 9^{th} c.)$	e 265			
CHAPTER 4 THE TEXTUAL EVIDENCE	270			
1. The pots	271			
2. The monks	280			
CONCLUSIONS	292			
BIBLIOGRAPHY	296			
ENGLISH SUMMARY	349			
DUTCH SUMMARY	352			
LIST OF FIGURES				
LIST OF TABLES				
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	359			

## **CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION**

Λάθε βιώσας

## **1 – GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS**

Information concerning monasticism is rich: numerous *Apophthegmata, Vitae, epistulae, Regulae monasticae*, even imperial edicts and many other texts written on papyri and ostraca, shed light on various aspects of this movement. Nevertheless, monasticism is a phenomenon that survives until nowadays, but remains incomprehensible in its true sense; especially, since modern day life standards are so against any value that favours the renunciation of this life's all 'good things', such as family, property, marriage, career, personal will and honour – as Harnack already observed in 1901 (Harnack 1901, 10. See also: Goehring 1999, 277; Harmless 2010, 493). But that is exactly what the first monastics aimed to do, following the narratives and ethical teaching of the New Testament: they meant to renounce the *earthly* pursuits for a life of religious contemplation and service. The sources exalted *the spatial withdrawal from the social world of the villages and towns to the isolation of the desert* (Goehring 1999, 74), and thus the *myth of the desert* was being gradually shaped (for an interesting discussion see: Goehring 2003).

Monasticism is widely considered to have originated in Egypt. However, this view is only partially true. Scholars now recognise that regions such as Palestine, Syria and Cappadocia were contemporary and equally significant monastic centres (Harmless 2004, 17; *idem* 2010, 493-494). From the very beginning there have been three different directions in Egyptian monasticism<sup>1</sup>: the *hermit-life* established by Saint Antony (c. 251-356) himself, the Father of monasticism; the *coenobitic monasticism* organised by Saint Pachomius (c. 292-346) in Tabennisi; and the so-called *semi-anchoritic* variety, which has one of its most important centres in the desert west of the Nile Delta. This area, now known as Wādī al-Naṭrūn, was called Sketis (Wipszycka 2009, 214-217) in early Christian times. In this region groups of hermits began congregating, generally around a 'holy man,' and consequently, these settlements became so large they eventually were transformed into some of the world's earliest monastic communities.

Wādī al-Naṭrūn is considered to be one of the cradles of asceticism. The first hermits arrived in the region around the middle of the fourth century (Wipszycka 2009, 215). In the period between the fifth and the tenth century groups of scattered hermits turned into well-organised communities and monasteries; the reputation of which soon surpassed the confines of Egypt. In its heyday, approximately one hundred smaller and larger monastic complexes must have existed here. At present, four monasteries are still inhabited, while the others either lie in ruins or have been covered by desert sands. The monasteries that are still inhabited today have played and continue to play a vital role in the preservation of the material and immaterial religious heritage. So do many of the ruined settlements, which survived well until the Mamlūk period, allowing one to follow the new conditions that Arab rule gradually brought. While Nitria (Harmless 2004, 279-281; Wipszycka 2009, 124-126) and Kellia (Harmless 2004, 281-282; Wipszycka 2009, 206-212) – the other two significant monastic communities of Lower Egypt – were abandoned somewhere in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Goehring (2007, 392, note: 9) observed that the close examination of evidence, in an attempt to determine *the developing patterns over time*, shows how difficult is for one to draw a *clear dividing line* between the three directions of Egyptian monasticism.

the eighth century, Sketis, the present day Wādī al-Naṭrūn, went through all the momentous phases of Egyptian history and particularly those relating to Egyptian Christianity.

The importance of Wādī al-Naṭrūn, its monuments and the monasteries' manuscript collections, was recognised in the early twentieth century by Hugh Evelyn-White, who undertook an expedition there, in 1926. The results were published posthumously by W. Hauser as H. Evelyn-White: *The Monasteries of the Wâdi 'n Natrun. Part I. New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius*, New York 1926. *Part II. The History of the Monasteries of Nitria and of Scetis*, New York 1932. *Part III. The Architecture and Archaeology*, New York 1933. This invaluable and monumental work is hardly surpassed, and remains the key reference for anyone interested in the long history and tradition of the Wādī al-Naṭrūn. It was therefore impossible to avoid constantly citing it in the present volume.

At the same time approximately, the area of Wādī al-Naṭrūn attracted the interest of Umar Tussun, Prince of Alexandria, who published the book *Études sur le Wadi Natroun, ses moines et ses couvents*, Alexandria 1931. Nine years later, in 1940, the article of Ahmad Fakhry, Wadi el Natroun appeared in the fortieth volume of the *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*. And that was all, as for some fifty years no project was carried out in the region, despite the antiquities discovered and its evident significance as a centre of monasticism. The only exception is the study of the wall-paintings of the Saint Macarius Monastery (Dayr Anbā Maqār al-Kabīr) and the Monastery of the Syrians (Dayr al-Sūryan), which was carried out by French scholars in the years 1971 and 1972. The outcome of this research is published by J. Leroy in the volume entitled *Les peintures des couvents du Ouadi Natroun*, Cairo 1982.

After years of relative neglect, scholarly interest in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn was rekindled in the middle of the 1990's, when new research was undertaken in the region. An American mission from a private foundation started excavating the site of the Monastery of Saint John the Little. After two relatively unfruitful seasons this excavation was continued recently by a team from Yale University under the leadership of Dr. Stephen Davis. In addition, a team from Leiden University has been excavating at the site of Dayr al-Baramūs, one of the oldest sites of Sketis, from which a ceramic assemblage emerged, whose study has resulted in the present volume. A second team from Leiden has been working on uncovering and conserving mural paintings and texts in the church of the Holy Virgin in the Monastery of the Syrians. And recently, another team from Leiden commenced a survey project in the surrounds of the Saint Macarius Monastery.

All three Leiden projects, under the direction and leadership of Dr. Karel Innemée, have been continued with minimal interruptions until now. The Baramūs excavation was financed by the NWO in the period 1995-1999; in 2002, 2005, 2006 and 2007 three excavation seasons, funded by the Faculty of Archaeology at Leiden University were undertaken. At this moment a volume on the results of the excavations of 1995-2006 is being prepared (to be published in the series SKCO, Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden).

Meanwhile, the proceedings of one of the Symposia organised in 2002 by the Saint Mark's Foundation of Coptic Studies and the Saint Shenouda the Archimandrite Coptic Society, were published in 2009. Christianity and Monasticism in Wadi al-Natrun is a volume that includes important up-to-date articles and reinstates the Wādī al-Naṭrūn into scientific attention.

## 2 – THE PRESENT RESEARCH Scope, ignificance, working method and structure

The northernmost of the four surviving monasteries in Wādī al-Naṭrūn is the Monastery of the Virgin Mary of Baramūs (Dayr al-Baramūs). Since 1996 a team from the University of Leiden has carried out excavations in an area north of this Monastery. The remains of another 'twin' monastic compound came to light and there is reason to believe that we are dealing with the Old Monastery of Baramūs, which was founded in the late fourth century by Abba<sup>2</sup> Macarius the Egyptian (c.300-390). This is probably where the first monastic community of Sketis gathered.

The excavations in the Old Monastery of Baramūs have yielded considerable amounts of pottery dating from the fourth century, which corresponds to the foundation date of the settlement, until the Mamlūk period (1251-1517), when the site was eventually deserted. The present study examines the pottery finds dating from the fourth to the ninth century. One would logically wonder why not all the finds are presented here, and for what reasons the ninth century was chosen as a terminus. First of all, the study of the material dating from the Fāţimid (969-1171) to the Mamlūk periods was undertaken by my colleague and friend, Anetta Łyżwa-Piber, already some years before I joined the project. This was the main reason why this research did not go further than the ninth century.

From historical point of view, the period from the second half of the ninth to the tenth century could be considered as a turning point, being a period of short-lived dynasties, which after times of turbulence or anarchy broke away from the central 'Abbāsid caliphate and ruled Egypt for Egypt: the *Tulūnids* (868 – 905) and the *Ihšīdids* (935 – 969) (Lane – Poole 1901, 59-91). As for Wādī al-Naṭrūn itself, it was the period of walled monasteries, marking the definite transition from semi-anchoritic to a more coenobitic way of life. However, since such historical changes do not have immediate effects on material culture, one may correctly consider the ninth century, as an artificial border line.<sup>3</sup>

From archaeological point of view, a ninth-century destruction level is also attested throughout the Old Baramūs, marking a period of renovations and additions in the site.

From ceramological point of view, it seems at first that the ninth century has not brought serious changes to the technology and morphology of the wares. Many Egyptian ceramics had a very long life, from the fifth until the tenth/eleventh century, or even later. Persistence of *old* types was a fact and the general impression appears justified, that Egypt did not follow changes in taste that were manifested in the late seventh century Mediterranean world. The only striking innovation in ninth century Egyptian pottery was the re-apparition of glaze, but is that enough to make one consider the ninth century as the beginning of changes in ceramic technology? An attempt to answer this question appears in the main text.

The main scope of this research is to examine the history and daily life of the monastic community that lived in the Old Monastery of Baramūs, from its foundation, to the first centuries following the Arab conquest. The ceramic objects and sherds can be really useful in such an investigation. Hence, a first and necessary step is to present and exhaustively discuss the material found. It is worth mentioning that although

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  The name of a monk is usually preceded by the Greek word *abbas* or *abba*. About the term see: Derda and Wipszycka 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> I owe this comment to Prof. Dr. Jeroen Poblome.

Wādī al-Naţrūn and its monasteries have never ceased attracting the interest of the early travellers and later that of the scholars, there is no publication available that concerns a pottery assemblage from a monastic settlement in the region. Only Sandrine Marquié (2007) published an article concerning the amphorae found during the surveys that were held in the villages Banī Salāma and Bīr Hūkīr, in Wādī al-Naţrūn. But the finds do not belong to a monastic environment. So this study is the first to present a complete ceramic typology from a monastic complex in Wādī al-Naţrūn. And provided that the hypothesis about the actual identification of the site is indeed right, then we are dealing with the first complete ceramic typology from one of the earliest *laurae* that was founded in the area.

The study of the pottery finds in the Old Monastery of Baramūs has been carried out, in seven consecutive missions, starting in 2005. The first thing that needed to be done in the field was to sort out the objects and sherds that belonged to the period that this research examines. A further step was to roughly sort out the material chosen, according to its functional category: table ware<sup>4</sup> (table wares were automatically separated according to their technical characteristics into red slip wares, painted wares, 'gouged' wares, etc.), cooking-ware, amphorae, and so on. This sorting out was carried out in an effort to find matching pieces, so as to reconstruct certain vessels. The restorer of the project Lara Aladina Carvalho Rodriguez undertook the difficult task of the material's conservation. At the same time it became essential to re-organise the existing store-room.<sup>5</sup>

After sorting, the material was ready to be documented. For this purpose, a Microsoft ® Office ® Access database was initially designed by Nicolas Chronopoulos that allowed: the detailed registration of the excavation data (square, area, level and pottery lot number) of each piece; the classification of the material, according to functional category (table wares, cooking-wares, other utilitarian wares, amphorae and miscellanea); the measurement of each piece's dimensions (in centimetres); the description of the visual and technical characteristics of each piece fabric, surface treatment, decoration etc.); and the bibliographical (form, documentation, so as to identify and date the described piece, as well as attribute it, if possible, to a certain production zone. This quantity of information could be more easily handled and organised, when registered in a database, through the tools of which it is possible to relate and combine data, in order to draw important conclusions of typological, chronological and statistical nature. The registered finds were drawn and photographed by the author and then digitalised with the kind help of Joanne Porck using the programs Adobe ® Illustrator ® and Adobe ® Photoshop ®. To each drawing and photograph, a special number was given that was also registered in the database.

It is always important to examine comparative material, so as to better understand the finds of a site. I was fortunate enough to participate in the initial survey around the Monastery of Saint Macarius,<sup>6</sup> as well as walk with Karel Innemée out to the sites that lie around the Monastery of the Virgin of Baramūs and the Monastery of the Syrians. As a result, an acquired experience from Wādī al-Naṭrūn as a whole contributed towards the comprehension and identification of less common types that seem to occur frequently in the monastic settlements of the area.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ware: a class of pottery whose members share similar technology, fabric, and surface treatment (Rice 1987, 484)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> In 2005 there was only one store-room, but now we use three store-rooms (all located in the keep of the Monastery of the Virgin of Baramūs).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> First mission in June 2009.

It would be untrue to assert that absolutely no problems occurred while working on the documentation of the ceramics. On the contrary, all kinds of unexpected obstacles came about. Hence it was almost impossible to establish and follow a definite working schedule. This lack of time imposed the study of selected contexts that represent each sector of the excavation site. Therefore, the present study should by no means be regarded as the complete catalogue of objects found in the Old Monastery of Baramūs.

Since it has not been possible to register, document and count all the finds that date from the fourth to the ninth century, and since part of the material was discarded during the missions held before 2006, I hesitated to spend time making thorough quantifications, for fear that the results would be misleading. Only indicative references are made, based mainly on squares, the material of which was kept in its totality. At any rate, the excavation in the site is in progress,<sup>7</sup> so that the present data are still likely to change after the end of the project. I have to admit that the inconsistent quantification method I followed should be regarded as one of this thesis' weak points.

A second insufficiency is the inability to conduct any kind of analysis in the laboratory. The exact composition of fabrics can be identified by petrographic analyses in collaboration with a geologist. Such analysis allows identifying the mineral components in pottery, so as to tie the artefacts to specific geological source areas. This information provides insight into how potters were selecting and using local and non-local resources, allowing archaeologists to determine whether pottery found in a particular location was locally produced or traded from elsewhere. Chemical analysis would allow the opportunity to trace possible food remains in many of the cooking-pots; identify the composition of the resin linen that was applied at the inner surface of certain amphorae; and figure out what kind of oil was burnt in the lamps, etc.

Hopefully, future research in the site of the Old Monastery of Baramūs will manage to cover all the above inadequacies.

The present study is divided into four chapters, including this short introduction, and incorporates a catalogue of objects.

The general area of the Wādī al-Naṭrūn and the excavation site of the Old Baramūs are examined in chapter two. The geography and geology of the region are examined first. An attempt to pull together information concerning the history of the Wādī al-Naṭrūn met with rather complex, yet interesting issues of hagiology and historiography. The legends concerning the foundation of the Old Baramūs are presented as an example of invented tradition. This chapter closes with the description of the excavation site and the main contexts, from whence comes the ceramic material discussed in the present study.

The third chapter is dedicated to the pottery itself, with an introduction to the advances of pottery studies in the Mediterranean and in Egypt, as far as the period from the fourth until the ninth century is concerned. A list of Egyptian fabrics, based solely on visual criteria, is cited next. Further fabric variations that concern non-Egyptian products are given in each of the respective chapters. The brief presentation of the ceramic finds follows. A short introduction to each class, noting the common lines or the possible peculiarities of the Baramūs material, when compared with other

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> About 50% of the entire site remains excavated until the present.

published parallels, precedes the detailed description of each sherd or object, in the form of a catalogue.

The catalogue entries are structured, giving first the catalogue number, followed by the context and the figure number. Then a brief description of the form and of the fabric is given. In all cases the form is also illustrated (in a 1:4 or 1:5 scale) and for that reason the full dimensions of each object or sherd are not cited. As for the fabric, it is its code and its Munsell colour that are mentioned. Slip or/ and decorative features are also described when dealing with slipped or decorated vessels. Finally the date and a list of parallels are added. The list of parallels is by no means complete, especially as far as the non-Egyptian imports are concerned. If we were to insert all the published parallels, the list would grow big and, I am afraid, rather tiresome.

Some preliminary conclusions and a summary of the most frequently occurring types in the Old Baramūs supplement the presentation of the finds. Then the presented ceramics are examined in their *functional context*, so that the character of certain buildings of the site and the activities developed around them are better understood. Furthermore, the occurring types are integrated in their *chronological context* (types in time) and one would be surprised by the obvious changes that each historical phase brought. In a broader aspect, the place of the Old Monastery of Baramūs in the Mediterranean world  $(4^{th} - 9^{th} c.)$  is investigated, through comparisons between the pottery of the Old Baramūs and other representative sites of the Mediterranean.

The textual evidence concerning on the one hand the ceramic vessels (*the pots*) and on the other hand those who actually used them (*the monks*) is examined in chapter four. Names and functions of *pots* are sought out in the sources and an effort is made to link them to well-known types. And since the pots we are dealing with were used by some generations of *monks*, aspects of their everyday life, mostly connected to these artefacts are also discussed: their daily schedule, dietary practices and contacts with the outer world are some of these.

The synthesis of the conclusions drawn from the study of the ceramic assemblage – representing the archaeological evidence – and that of the textual evidence comes as the final outcome of this study. Archaeology confronts literature in an effort to follow if, how and to what extent, each of these two fields contributes to a better understanding of past activities and traditions.

For the transliteration of the Arabic toponyms and names the recommendations and principles dictated by the Arabic studies of the *Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* are followed (Fig. 1.1).<sup>8</sup> Ancient Greek and Coptic names are cited as they are, with a phonetic transliteration in parentheses, for readers unacquainted with these languages.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> It was not always possible to apply the transliteration principles. The symbols to be used do not appear when working on Adobe Illustrator and Photoshop files. Hence, the toponyms appearing on maps are not transliterated according to Fig. 1.1.

1	,	ز	Z.	ق	q
ب	b	س	S	ای	k
ت	t	ش	š	ل	l
ث	<u>t</u>	ص	Ş	<i>٩</i>	т
5	ğ	ض	<i>ḍ</i>	ن	n
ζ	ķ	ط	ţ	٥	h
Ż	b h	ظ	z.	و	W
د	d	٤	C	ى	У
ذ	$\underline{d}$	غ	ġ		
ر	r	ف	f		

Fig. 1.1 Principles of transliteration of the Arabic words used in the present study (IFAO\_études Arabes\_Recommandations)

## **CHAPTER 2 – LANDSCAPE AND HISTORY**

## 1 THE WĀDĪ AL-NAŢRŪN

#### 1.1 GEOGRAPHY, GEOLOGY AND THE BASIC PRODUCT

The name Wādī al-Natrūn means 'the valley of the natron' and it was first employed in the fifteenth century by the Arab historian al-Maqrīzī (in Wüstenfeld 1845, 109). Medieval Arab texts mention various other names, such as *al-Asqīt* and *Ğabal al-Natrūn* (the Mount of the Natron). Another name commemorates the Arab chief Hubayb ibn Muġfil al-Ġifārī, companion of Muhammad, who participated in the conquest of Egypt. After the death of caliph 'Utmān, in 655, Hubayb settled in the wādī between the Fayyūm and Marīūt, which came to be called after him (Ibn Yūnus, 479)<sup>9</sup>. The name Wādī Hubayb should be used instead of the Wādī Habīb that is repeated by most scholars (*e.g.* Evetts *HPCC*; Evelyn-White 1932, 274; Abd al-Masih and Burmester, *HPEC*; Grossmann 1997, 368; Wipszycka 2009, 214).

Coptic texts use the name **GIHT** or **GI2HT** and occasionally **GHHT**. According to the most popular interpretation the word derives from the verb **GI** (meaning 'to measure', 'to weigh') and the word **2HT**, (meaning 'the heart') (Amélineau 1893, 452). Thereupon it appears as the place where they *weight the hearts* (Harmless 2004, 173 and 181 note: 31). Another Coptic name that became popular since the seventh century was: **ΠΤWOY MΠI2OCEM**, which means the Mount of the Natron (Fakhry 1940, 843-844).

Wādī al-Naṭrūn is the most north-easterly of the depressions formed in the Western Desert of Egypt, lying between Alexandria and Cairo, almost at equal distance from both cities. Its south-eastern edge lies at a distance of circa eighty kilometres north-west of Cairo. Like all other depressions of the Western Desert, part of it lies below sea-level. (Fig. 2.1)

The lowest part of the depression lies along its eastern rim and is occupied by a string of lakes, the water surface of which is about twenty-three metres below sealevel. (Embabi 2004, 172-173 – the description that follows largely reproduces the information provided by this author. See also: Hume 1925, 161-172; Said 1962, 13-14, 67-86, 197-215; *Id.* 1993, 36-41 – especially 37-38 about the formation of the Western Desert Depressions; *Id.* 2009; Sampsell 2003, 151. An unpublished M.A. thesis (Minabary 1984) concerning the geomorphology of the Wādī al-Naṭrūn has been submitted at the Ayn Šams University). It covers an oblong area, extending from northwest to southeast for about sixty-five kilometres, with a varying width between seven kilometres in the southeast and twenty-four kilometres in the northwest. This depression is closed from all directions. Due to its elongated oval shape, it has only two sides an eastern and a western side which meet at the northwest and southeast corners. Its sides are characterised by gentle slopes rather than steep scarps.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> My attention to the biographical dictionary of Ibn Yunūs was drawn by Dr. Sobhi Bouderbala.



Fig. 2.1. Map of Egypt (after Sampsel 2003, Fig. 13.1)

There are two types of sediments at the depression floor and slopes that are significant from the geomorphological point of view. The first is the ancient Nile sediments (Said 1993) of sand and gravel that spread as terraces at the upper slopes of the eastern side and the middle and southern parts of the western side. The gravel consists mainly of chert, and quartz pebbles mixed with hard limestone pebbles, igneous and metamorphic pebbles (granite, basalt, quartzite and serpentine) together with fragments of fossil wood and feldspars, all in a matrix of loose quartz sand. The second type of sediment is the remnants of old lakebed deposits, which spread as small yardangs along a line parallel to the eastern shores of the present day lakes at the depression floor. They are composed of alternating beds of silt, clay and sand.

This depression is also characterised by the development of a group of small permanent saline lakes. They occupy the lowest part at the depression floor. They extend in a linear form along the main axis of the depression for a distance of about thirty kilometres. Number, area and depth of the lakes vary from season to another according to water supply and evaporation. In summer, the smaller lakes dry up almost entirely, only a few ponds of water being left, and even the larger lakes diminish. It was found that there are approximately sixteen lakes at present. The depth of the large lakes reaches three to five metres, while the small lakes are only a few centimetres deep. All lakes are fed by the underground water aquifer below the depression, either directly or through the springs at the eastern margins or at the beds of lakes. The main source of the underground water is mainly from the Nile water in the east or from the deeper and older aquifers, which are connected with the local one (discussion about the source and origin of water in Wādī al-Naṭrūn in: Hume 1925, 163-166; Said 2009, 64-68). The water of the lakes varies in the total amount of salts present, as well as in the relative proportions of the several salts. This phenomenon constitutes one of the most remarkable features of the wādī since the lakes are very close together, being almost connected in several cases during winter.



Fig. 2.2. Wādī al-Natrūn: the lakes

Natron is a naturally occurring mixture of sodium carbonate and sodium bicarbonate with sodium chloride and sodium sulphate that occurs in the lakes that lie all along the depression (Shortland *et al.* 2006, 521, 525; Lucas 1932; *Id.* 1962, 263). Strictly speaking, natron is the mineral name for the sodium carbonate 10-hydrate.<sup>10</sup> It is from this particular mineral that the name Wādī al-Naṭrūn derives. The natron occurs dissolved in the lake water – from which a thick layer has gradually been deposited at the bottom of some of the lakes – and also as an incrustation on the ground adjoining many of the lakes. The amount present is considerable.



Fig. 2.3. Wādī al-Natrūn: concentration of natron in the lakes (photo by the author)

The geomorphological particularities of the Wādī al-Naṭrūn and the importance of the natron were not left unnoticed by the scientists who took part in Buonaparte's expedition to Egypt. The second volume of the monumental work *Description de l'Égypte ou recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française* includes a chapter dedicated to the natron

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The dominant carbonate that occurs in the lake deposits is frequently sodium carbonate bicarbonate 2-hydrate, *trona* (Shortland *et al.* 2006, 521).

deposits and their exploitation. Some early experiments in the natron lakes were undertaken by Berthollet, who characterised the valley of the natron lakes as a vast laboratory, where nature has prepared an immense quantity of soda (Berthollet 1799, 271).

In ancient Egypt, natron, a primary source of alkali was used for the manufacture of Egyptian faience (Lucas and Harris 1962, 160-178; Nicholson and Peltenburg 2000, 186-187), glass (Lucas and Harris 1962, 183, 185-187; Nicholson 2000, 195; Foy and Nenna 2001; Nenna 2007) and the so-called Egyptian blue pigment (Lucas and Harris 1962, 341; Lee and Quirke 2000, 109). It was also used for making incense (Lucas and Harris 1962, 96) and in other domains such as in medicine (Ebbell 1937; Leca 1971); in mummification (Lucas 1914; Sandison 1963; Garner 1979, 19-24; Rosalle – David 2000, 373-377); in purification ceremonies (Blackman 1918a, 118-120) – especially for purifying the mouth (Blackman 1918b, 156-163); for cleansing the body when soap was still unknown (Leca 1971, 384; Serpico and White 2000, 411); for preserving meats of all kinds (Ikram 2000, 656-671) and for cooking (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, 31:46); for bleaching linen (Vogelsang – Eastwood 2000, 280); as a detergent for washing the clothes (Vogelsang – Eastwood 2000, 284) and as a disinfectant for the house (Ebbell 1937, 113; Leca 1971, 382).

The above list may be enriched with two more functions of natron, recorded by De Rozière in 1807 (*Description* tome 2, 670). The Egyptian peasants of that time used to eat natron with their corn bread, as well as wet their tobacco with natron before smoking.

Wādī al-Naṭrūn has been the source of natron, not only the principal Egyptian supply, but also for a small export trade, for millennia. The product was transported, stored and evaluated in Ṭarrāna,<sup>11</sup> (Timm 1992, 2537-2543) (modern day Kūm Abū Billū) from antiquity to the Arab period (Toussoun 1931, 7; Picon 2001, 21-23; Décobert 2003, 125-127; Ballet 2007a, 159) and even much later. At the threshold of the nineteenth century Berthollet (1799, 278) witnessed how caravans arrived to Țarrāna to store the natron, before transportation. The industry of natron collection and trade was put to an end in the 1970's, when a purer and chemically produced carbonate replaced it (Said 2009, 64).

This oblong stripe in the desert would become an important centre of Lower Egyptian monasticism, after Macarius the Egyptian (Toda 2012), an ex-camel driver (Amélineau 1894, 55-57) and ex-natron smuggler (*AP*, Macarius Aegyptius, 31) himself, withdrew to the region. The *semi-anchoritic* communities developed in the western part of the depression, where they enjoyed a combination of remoteness and accessibility, which must have significantly affected their subsistence. The distance of the area from the Delta, although respectable, did not make relations with the world difficult or discontinuous. Furthermore, the region had the advantage of its own water supply, in addition to a vegetation of bushes and reeds that must have served as raw material for the preparation of mats and baskets by the monks (Wipszycka 2009, 214-215).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> The ancient Terenuthis.

## 1.2 ISSUES OF HISTORIOGRAPHY<sup>12</sup>

Macarius the Egyptian and the birth of asceticism in Sketis

An attempt to understand how the first *semi-anchoritic* communities were born and developed in the area of the Wādī al-Naṭrūn – the prestigious desert of Sketis – as well as how major historical events affected their life, meets with a number of problems posed by the nature and chronology of the texts referring to them.

The story begins when Abba Macarius the Egyptian, known also as Macarius the Great (Toda 2012), 'fled to Sketis' (*AP*, Macarius Aegyptius, 1). The foundation of the first semi-anchoritic settlements in the region is attributed to him; he is hence considered to be the Father of asceticism in Sketis. Past efforts to sketch a historical outline concerning the early years of asceticism in Sketis (*e.g.* Evelyn-White 1932, 60-72), relied heavily on sources that give an account of the Saint's life: Palladius' *Lausiac History*, the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, and the various versions of the Saint's life – in Coptic, Syriac, Ethiopic. Although it is beyond my knowledge to judge or analyse these sources in fine detail, it is necessary to raise a few points, which would explain their 'unhistorical' character.

Palladius (c. 363-c. 431), a native of Galatia, who travelled to Egypt and settled in Alexandria, Nitria and Kellia, wrote his *Lausiac History* in c. 419/420. This source includes brief biographies and vignettes of the desert fathers and mothers, written in Greek (Harmless, 2004, 19, 275-308; Wipszycka 2009, 15-18). Modern scholars have recognised that the information provided by the *Lausiac History* demands a critical analysis. It seems that Palladius did not care to render monastic reality as it was when reproducing oral tradition. His main goal was to amaze and edify the reader, for which purpose he used oral tradition so as to fictionalise reality.

Likewise, the collections of *Apophthegmata Patrum* or *Sayings of the Fathers* (Harmless 2004, 19, 167-273; Wipszycka 2009, 37-41) are generally deprived of historicalness. They belong to the literature known as *paterika*, a term that refers to anthologies of anecdotes about, and sayings of, the desert fathers. These stories focus on monastic leaders, especially Egyptians, active from the 330s to the 460s (Harmless 2004, 19). However, they date to later periods<sup>13</sup>, while they must have received their final redaction in Palestine (Harmless 2004, 171). Wipszycka (2009, 37-38) nicely describes their role as a mean to transmit the wisdom of ascetic cycles and give advice to persons lacking experience in ascetic life. Therefore, the anecdotes included in the *Apophthegmata Patrum* served as practical guides, describing the virtuous behaviour and high standards of ascetic life. At the same time, they projected the most prominent figures of the movement, to serve as ideal models and to be preserved in the collective memory.

The Lausiac History and the Aphophthegmata Patrum are only two examples of texts, which fashioned, whether consciously or unconsciously, a spiritual landscape that transcended the everyday realities of desert life, as Goehring (2003, 438) put it. They represent only some first steps towards the creation of the myth of the desert

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> The present form of this unit is due to the useful comments of the examining committee of this thesis, whom I would, therefore, like to thank. In particular, Prof. Dr. Jacques van der Vliet provided me with feedback and helped me change my attitude towards hagiological texts, avoiding biased statements and conclusions. Any mistake or oversight in this version should be exclusively attributed to the author.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Wipszycka (2009, 37) estimates that the *Apophthegmata Patrum* were gathered during a long period, from *c*. 450 to *c*. 600.

(Goehring 2007, 393). In ascetic literature, historical events are not in the foreground. The distance from physical reality gets greater during a composite process of copying, retouching, modifying and translating the prime story (see a detailed account of the process in: Wipszycka 2009, 10-11; Den Heijer 1996).

The Coptic and Syriac versions of the *Life of Saint Macarius* are edited and commented on by Satoshi Toda (2012), who concluded that we know next to nothing about Macarius as an historical figure. There is no clear information as for Macarius' birthplace; was he born in **XIXBHP** (Amélineau 1893, 187-189), a place that can be related to modern Šabšīr in the province of Minūfiyya, or somewhere in Upper Egypt? What is known, though, is that before becoming a monk, he worked as a 'cameleer', accompanying the caravans that were in charge of the natron transportation<sup>14</sup> (Amélineau 1894, 52-57; Toda 2012). He probably started his ascetic life at the age of thirty (*c*. 330) exhibiting a remarkable spiritual progress. When he was forty years old (*c*. 340) he was ordained a priest, and after his ordination he fled to Sketis.

#### *Fourth – fifth century*

Based on the alleged chronology of life of Macarius (Grossmann 1997, 368), scholars pulled together information in an effort to trace back the origins of the ascetic movement in Sketis. It is generally considered that Macarius fled to this desert somewhere in the second quarter of the fourth century. A *laura* was already in existence in the surroundings of Dayr al- Baramūs towards the end of the fourth century. Before his death Macarius himself founded a second *laura* that was named after him. A third *laura*, that of Saint John the Little, probably existed in the same period (Wipszycka 2009, 216).

These three *laurae* (Baramūs, Saint Macarius and Saint John the Little), plus that of Bishoi (Dayr Anbā Bišuy), are referred to as the four *congregations* of Sketis (Cassian, *Conlationes*, 10.2). At this early date no fortress walls surrounded each settlement. The church building, and possibly some other structures (such as a tower, a kitchen, a bakery and so on) (Wipszycka 2009, 216) would form an architectural nucleus for the scattered groups of cells. Each of these *congregations* would have its own priest to preside at the weekly Eucharist and function as a monastic superior. One of the four monk-priests probably served as the *Father of Sketis* (later called *hegumenos* of Sketis) (Evelyn-White 1932, 180-182; Harmless 2004, 178-180).

Already since the time of Macarius, and especially afterward, the history of Sketis is written in an ambiguous way, often mixing reality with legend. The monks of Sketis are presented as actively involved in the theological conflicts of their time. Several scholars, following Evelyn-White (1932, 115-117), considered that many of the *Sketiotes* accepted the Heresy of Hierax (Brakke 1995, 44-57; Goehring 1999, 110-133), which is probably incorrect (Goehring 1999, 125). They are also presented as taking a serious part in the controversy between the 'Origenists' and the 'Anthropomorphites', as supporters of the second (Chitty 1966, 56-59; Evelyn-White 1932, 125-144; Harmless 2004, 37-38. The best study so far on the Origenist controversy is: Clark 1992).

Between reality and myth stand also the tales describing the consecutive sacks of Sketis by Berber tribes in the fifth century. The invaders are called vaguely *barbarians* ( $\beta \dot{\alpha} \rho \beta \alpha \rho \sigma i$ ), when they are not distinguished as Mazices. The term

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> In the *Apophthegmata*, Macarius is presented as a sort of smuggler (*AP*, Macarius Aegyptius, 31: it is mentioned that he used to *steal the natron and sell it*).

Mazices was used to signify all desert tribes living in the western part of Nile. They often organised raids, sacking regions lying at a great distance from their departure point. These sacks were like real military expeditions. It is probably wrong to characterise them as nomadic tribes, because most of them lived in villages surrounded by walls (Wipszycka 2009, 623).

Sketis was plundered three times in the fifth century (Evelyn - White 1932, 154-167; Wipszycka 2009, 624-627). The first destruction is estimated to have taken place in 407 or 408 (Evelyn-White 1932, 154-161, about the date see: 154-155. Meinardus 1961 dates it before the year 408). Many monks fled to other places seeking safety, save Saint Moses the Black and seven monks, who according to the legend remained as the brave defenders of Sketis and were brutally slaughtered by the invaders. As soon as the danger was averted many monks returned to their abodes. About the second sack of Sketis the information is scarce. It is dated to the year 410, based on an Apophthegm concerning Arsenius' life (AP, Arsenius, 21). An important development, which presumably took place in the aftermath of the second sack of Sketis, was the erection of towers of refuge, something similar to the keeps of the Monasteries in Wādī al-Națrūn (Evelyn-White 1932, 166-167; Wipszycka 2009, 624-626, 642-645). It seems that the monks started taking measures to protect themselves against a new potential threat. Notions in texts about monks taking refuge in defence towers are however scarce. Wipszycka (2009, 642) wonders if this is due to the fact that such an action was too evident to be mentioned. In 444 a third barbarian inroad occurred. This is related with the story of the forty-nine Martyrs of Sketis and their slaughter (Evelyn-White 1932, 164-167; Wipszycka 2009, 624-626). During the inroads, monks were kept as captives and used to work for their masters. In the framework of the Berber communities they represented groups apart (Wpiszycka 2009, 623-624). Monks are also reported as victims of the slave trade (Wipszycka 2009, 624).

The fifth century was marked by serious theological disputes over the Nature of Christ. Although the events that resulted in the Councils of Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451) (Harmless 2004, 38-43; Camelot 2006; Price 2009) are well-known, there is no information as to the attitude of the monks in Sketis. It is, however, almost impossible not to have been affected throughout the period which followed the rejection of Chalcedon's *Definition* by the Egyptian ecclesiastical authorities. Harmless (2004, 43) claims that after Chalcedon Egyptian monasticism *lost much of its international appeal*. This period of Egyptian history is often overshadowed by bias, anachronisms and prejudices (Van der Vliet 2009); their uncritical repetition is a risk that an inexperienced scholar (including the author) runs.

#### *Fifth – sixth century*

The resistance against 'Chalcedon' ushered in a period of *violent conflict and local schisms in the entire East* (Van der Vliet 2009, 280). In Egypt, the developments were complex and ambivalent, despite the fact that part of the literature (*e.g.* Partrick 1996, 35-36) refers to the Council of Chalcedon as a turning point and definite schism between the Churches. In fact, it was during the reign of Justin I (518-527) and his nephew Justinian I (527-565) that the Byzantine State and Church came to insist on the council's pronouncements (Price 2009, 307). From now on a period of systematic persecutions would be launched by the imperial administration, after a time of coexistence of parallel church structures ('Chalcedonian' and 'non-Chalcedonian') (Wipszycka 2007, 343). This happened somewhere in the later part of Justinian's rule

and was continued by his successors. Bishops of miaphysite beliefs were chased out, to be replaced with 'Chalcedonian' ones. Only after these persecutions did a Miaphysite Church arise parallel to the 'Chalcedonian' Church. The unity of the Church had been destroyed by the time of patriarch Peter IV (576-578) (Wipszycka 2007, 344; Van der Vliet 2009, 280).

However, a division between Christian religious groups using denotations, such as 'Copts' referring to 'non-Chalcedonian' populations and Melchites referring to 'Chalcedonians' should be avoided as anachronistic (Van der Vliet 2009, 287). No Egyptian 'nationalism' opposing 'Copts' to Greeks or Byzantines is yet attested (Wipszycka 1992; Van der Vliet 2009, 287). Van der Vliet (2009, 287) makes clear that before the Arab conquest *Egypt was a bilingual country, inhabited by Christian Egyptians, who used either Greek or Coptic, according to time, place, circumstances, social roles and so on, and who were ecclesiastically deeply divided over Christological questions.* 

Meanwhile, in the sixth century, the internal history of Sketis was affected by a conflict that agitated the miaphysite cycles. Severus, Patriarch of Antioch and Julian, Bishop of Halicarnassus, two 'anti-Chalcedonian' theologians, who fled to Egypt after being deposed, developed opposite views on the nature of the body of Christ (Evelyn-White 1932, 228-235; Hardy 1952, 127-135; Meinardus 1961, 122-123; Partrick 1996, 41-44). The first maintained, among others, that Christ became completely man, but without sin (Hardy 1952, 128). Due to this belief Severus and his followers were described as *Phthartolatrae* (worshippers of the corruptible). Julian, on the other hand, taught that the body of Christ 'was free of corruption from the moment of union' rather than from the Resurrection only (Leontius of Byzantium, *De sectis*, 10. Evelyn-White 1932, 234). Julian and his followers were known as *Julianists*, or *Aphthartodocetae* (supporters of the doctrine of incorruptibility, *aphtharsia*, of the body of Christ) (about the *Julianist* or '*Gaianite*' movement in the monasteries of Alexandria see: Lajtar and Wipszycka 1998).

It is considered that Julian's doctrine was so successful in the desert of Sketis that the majority of the monks embraced it. Those who held the opposing doctrine of Severus of Antioch obtained from the governor Aristomachus (Evelyn-White 1932, 231, note 4) permission to erect new churches and towers of refuge, in which they could settle apart from the Julianists (*HPCC* in Evetts 1904, 458). Consequently, new monasteries appeared beside the old ones, as counterparts; they kept the name of the patron saint of the original monastery but added to it the title Theotokos (Mother of God), exalting in this way the significance of the Incarnation, which Julian's doctrine tended to minimise, and reaffirming the charismatic dignity of the Holy Virgin (Evelyn-White 1932, 232-235; Meinardus 1961, 122-123; Cody 1991, 2104; Capuani 2002, 94). For each of the four communities (the Monastery of the Romans (Baramūs), Saint Macarius Monastery, the Monastery of Bishoi and the Monastery of Saint John the Little) a duplicate 'Virgin' Monastery was founded.

In the late sixth century (c. 570), Sketis was devastated and severely damaged by barbaric tribes for a fourth time (Evelyn-White 1932, 249-250; Wipszycka 2009, 641-642). During this inroad, many monks were slain or carried off as captives. Others were scattered in various places inside and outside of Egypt (Moschus, *PS*, 54, 55, 152). Despite the serious losses that the fourth sack brought to Sketis, monks returned to their settlements, after a period of hardship.

#### Seventh century

A row of tumultuous, yet significant events both for Egypt and the Byzantine Empire marked the years down to 642. In 608 Heraclius (emperor from 610 to 641) revolted against the unpopular emperor Phocas (emperor from 602 to 610) and Alexandria was thrown into turmoil. Street violence in the city, which was caused by politics and religion, was tempered by the charities of John III, 'the Almsgiver' ('Chalcedonian' patriarch from 610 to 619), whose patriarchate would be followed by the Persian invasion and occupation of Egypt during the period from 619 to 629. This was a *prelude* to the Arab invasion and the final occupation of Egypt, 639–642, under 'Amr ibn al-' $\bar{A}$ s (Keenan 2000, 636-637; see also: Coquin 1975).

Despite what is often repeated, the Arab conquest of Egypt did not bring sudden and profound changes to the existing social and administrative system (Sijpesteijn 2007a; eadem 2007b; Papaconstantinou 2010a; eadem 2010b). Sijpesteijn (2007b, 183) summarises the situation as follows: The Arab conquest did not result in mass confiscations of land in Egypt, and there was no programme of land rewards for the conquering elite. Nor is there evidence of large-scale emigration or the evacuation of the local population. Lower Byzantine administrative personnel remained in their posts; only at the highest reaches of the administration was a new echelon of Arabs inserted, operating from the newly founded capital Fustāt, modern-day Cairo. The indigenous elite retained their estates and positions in the financial and political administration that their economic and social status conferred. Bishops and other members of the clergy continued their important role in the economic and social organisation of the province.

One more *myth*, which was maintained for years, concerns the attitude of the Egyptians towards the Arab invaders. Egyptians are often presented as welcoming the Arab armies as saviours from Byzantine oppression. An exaggerated manifestation of such an attitude is attributed to the monks of Sketis by the fifteenth century Arab historian al-Maqrīzī. According to the story seventy thousand (!) monks went to Țarrāna to salute 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ and to implore his protection for them and their monasteries. 'Amr granted their request and *wrote them a letter, which is still kept among them (al-Maqrīzī* in Wüstenfeld 1845, 110). *He granted them also revenue to be levied on Lower Egypt* (Evelyn-White 1932, 268). Evelyn-White (1932, 268-269) was rightly sceptical, both for the *grotesquely exaggerated* number of monks and the information about 'Amr's endowment.

The *Chronicle of John Bishop of Nikiu*, which is recognised as the most reliable source, being written only some decades after the events it describes, gives no hint about such behaviour on behalf of the Egyptians. On the contrary, he stands equally against the Arab conquerors and the 'false Christians', who joined them (Van der Vliet 2009, 288). It is, however, with the *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church* (Evetts; Abd al-Masih and Burmester 1943; detailed discussion follows), a text usually ascribed to Sawīrus ibn al-Muqaffa', Bishop of al-Ašmūnayn , that the attitude towards Arabs changes. Now the invaders are presented as the allies of the suppressed Egyptian population, with patriarch Benjamin I (622-661) being their representative and 'Amr's natural ally (Van der Vliet 2009, 288).

Indeed, Wipszycka (2007, 346) notes that *the first generation of Egyptian ecclesiastics acting under Arab rule had nothing to complain about*. Church property was not confiscated nor did the Arab administration interfere with internal ecclesiastical matters. This happened only in cases of complications that derived from the doctrinal division, when 'non-Chalcedonians' and 'Chalcedonians' started

appealing to the Arab authorities in their conflicts (Wipszycka 2007, 346; Sijpesteijn 2007b, 187). As for the sympathy of 'Amr for the patriarch Benjamin I and his miaphysite flock, this does not mean that the former did not try to treat equally the 'Chalcedonians'. Sijpesteijn (2007b, 188-189) observes that 'Amr was generally careful *not to antagonise the 'Chalcedonians', who had enjoyed the support of Byzantine rulers to the disadvantage of the miaphysites.* 

#### *Eighth – ninth centuries*

From now on, the *History of the Patriarchs* remains the main source of information about the monasteries in the desert of Sketis, which came to be called Wādī Hubayb. About this source Den Heijer (1996, 70) clarifies that *the text is the result of a long tradition of historical writing: Coptic authors recorded the history of their church and their country, each one of them continuing the work of a predecessor. The early historians in this tradition wrote in Coptic, and their continuators, from the eleventh century onwards, wrote in Arabic. The distance between the final redaction of the text and the actual date of the events described is often considerably great. Nevertheless, Kennedy (1998, 63-64) considers that despite its relative lack of objectivity, which derives from the unreserved support of Coptic Christianity against Muslims and Christians of other sects, the <i>History of the Patriarchs* gives a wholly different perspective expressing the opinion of the often suppressed populations.

The eighth century is marked by fiscal oppressions (Kennedy 1998 with a list of relative bibliography on p. 67, note:11), ushering in a period of hardship for the 'Coptic' Church and its people, which the *History of the Patriarchs* dramatically narrates. The system of calculating and collecting taxes changed; hence churches and monasteries could not find themselves protected against fiscal pressure and the harsh methods of the governors who imposed it (Wipszycka 2007, 346; Sijpesteijn 2007a, 450-451). Repeated rebellions of 'Copts' protesting at over-taxation were physically repressed (Kennedy 1998, 65). Gradual conversions to Islam began as taxation became harder for non-Muslims (Kennedy 1998, 67; Sijpesteijn 2007a, 453-454; Papaconstantinou 2010).

The monasteries of Wādī Hubayb were of course not exempted from taxation and the *History of the Patriarchs* gives a tragic and vivid account of the events. Besides the hardships provoked by high taxes, two more incidents marked the Wādī in the years to come. During the Patriarchate of Mark III (799-819), the *Arabs* plundered Wādī Hubayb for a fifth time. Monks were kept as captives, while churches and cells were demolished. *And the holy seniors were scattered in every part of the world* (*HPCC* in Evetts 1915, 438). The sack must have occurred shortly before the death of Mark III (April 17, 819). Evelyn-White argues that it must have taken place in 816 or early in 817 (Evelyn-White 1932, 298). This time the attack came from nomads coming from the south, therefore not Mazikes (Wipszycka 2009, 627-628).

A new incursion took place in 866 (Wipszycka 2009, 627, 644-). After this sack, the situation remained precarious and the *History of the Patriarchs* refers to certain *Muslim tribes* (*HPEC* in Abd al-Masih and Burmester 1943, vol. 2, pt. 1, 56-57) and *Bedouins* (*HPEC* in Abd al-Masih and Burmester 1943, vol. 2, pt. 1, 56-60) that continuously plundered the monasteries and the cells of the monks. Faced with the permanent threat of the dangerous invaders, who established themselves in the surroundings of the monasteries of Wādī Hubayb, Patriarch Shenoute I (858-880)

decided to build a fortified wall around the Church of Saint Macarius (*HPEC* in Abd al-Masih and Burmester 1943, vol. 2, pt. 1, 68; see also: Grossmann 2002, 311).

The fortification of the Monastery of Saint Macarius is a decisive step, but it should not be regarded *that from this time onwards the monks dwelt within a limited area defined by four walls* (Evelyn-White 1932, 328; Wipszycka 2009, 647). The walled area must have undoubtedly served as the centre of gravity for the community and around it a number of 'dependent cells' continued to exist. It must have been in the second half of the fourteenth century that those cells were finally abandoned and the remaining monks were concentrated within the walled monastery. It may be assumed that the example of Saint Macarius' Monastery was followed by the other communities that existed in Wādī Hubayb and that they were also walled in the last quarter of the ninth century (Evelyn-White 1932, 329; Wipszycka 2009, 647). The walls enclosed the core of the complexes, which included churches, towers, communal buildings (storehouses, bakeries, accommodation for visitors) and presumably the cells of the most prominent brothers (Wipszycka 2009, 647). An age of walled monasteries was thereby inaugurated.

## 2 THE OLD MONASTERY OF BARAMŪS

Since 1994 until the present, a team from Leiden University (the Netherlands) has been conducting archaeological fieldwork at a site located north of the present Monastery of the Virgin Mary of Baramūs, which is the most northerly of the monasteries in Wādī al-Naṭrūn. The site was known as Dayr Abū Mūsā al-'Aswad (Monastery of Saint Moses the Black). After a survey in 1994, two trial trenches were dug in 1995. From 1996 to 1999 annual excavation campaigns, sponsored by the Netherlands Organisation for the Advancement of Scientific Research (NWO), took place. The excavation work continued in 2002 and new campaigns started taking place again on an annual basis from 2005 to 2009. The archaeological research, conducted from 2002 onwards, was financed by the Faculty of Archaeology of Leiden University.

The archaeological investigation at the site, known as Dayr Abū Mūsā al-'Aswad, was initially motivated by some doubts concerning its proper identification. Peter Grossmann (1992) was the first to suggest that the *kom* north of the present Monastery of the Virgin Mary of Baramūs actually contains the remains of the older Monastery of Baramūs, in the surroundings of which one of the first – if not the first – *laurae* was founded in the late fourth century. Further evidence confirmed this view (Gabra 1997; Innemée 2000). That means that the monastery, which stands today, is the sixth century 'Severan' duplicate, which was erected, as a result of the so-called Gaianite heresy or the doctrine of Julian of Halicarnassus; next to that stood its older 'Gaianite' counterpart. Both monasteries must have functioned side by side for about a millennium. After one of them was deserted the confusion about the proper names of both monasteries must have started, while it seems unclear how the name of Saint Moses the Black became involved.

## 2.1 THE EXCAVATION SITE<sup>15</sup> (Fig. 2.4)

The main features of the excavated monastic site are the following: a central church; a square-shaped building – probably a defence tower – which was uncovered at the south-eastern corner; the living quarters or cells of the monks, which have been discovered in the western part of the site, as well as at the north-eastern corner. A defensive wall surrounds the entire complex. The settlement was inhabited from the fourth century until the Mamlūk period.<sup>16</sup>

The church has been built and remodelled in several different phases. Most of the remains excavated until now, belong to the second phase of the building and its later modifications. Nevertheless, in several places, foundation stones as well as floorand wall-plaster have been unearthed, inferring the existence of an earlier building (first church). In addition it was evident that several stone blocks were re-used in the building of the second church for a second time. Among them, a block with a relief representation of a pharaoh, with a part of a cartouche, that has been identified as that belonging to Amenemhat I. The remains of this first building are unfortunately so

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> This chapter summarises the results of the excavation work held from 1996 to 2007 and it is based on the publications of the field director K. C. Innemée (see: Innemée 2000 and Innemée 2005) as well as on the unpublished yet reports. Discordances to the published reports are possible, as a result of the ongoing research.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> It is difficult to define when exactly the site was abandoned (certainly somewhere after the end of the thirteenth century).

scarce that it is impossible to surmise its exact architectural plan. Its size must have corresponded more or less to that of the second church, a reason to believe that it was not pulled down and replaced by the second church because it was too small. Furthermore a dating is difficult to be proposed. It could be assumed though that the first church must have been constructed in the late fourth – fifth century, as the level of its floor corresponds to the floor level of the tower that, according to the pottery finds, dates within this period.



Fig. 2.4. Dayr al-Baramūs: plan of the excavation site (until the 2006 season)

It is not known what exactly caused the destruction of the first church, but one may assume that it was severely damaged during the barbarian incursions that devastated Sketis in the first half of the fifth century. The second church must have replaced the first one almost completely and only some pillars must have been incorporated in the new church. The new building measured 15m by almost 30m and initially followed the architectonical plan of a three-aisled basilica. Of the structure of this church only the nave has been preserved in its original state, while the eastern part was remodelled in a later phase. At least three entrances were leading to the church: one in the west, not situated in the centre of the wall, one in the north and one in the south. In a later period the western door was blocked, while the southern entrance was moved to the east. Slightly east of the main entrance, in the northern wall, a fourth entrance could have possibly existed. This door was blocked and in front of it a tomb was made. The westernmost pillars were L-shaped and had round, slender columns attached to the side of the nave. The bases of these columns were inversed Coptic capitals with acanthus-like foliage decoration. East of the L-shaped pillars there were two paired columns and two pair of rectangular pillars followed by two paired columns and a rectangular pillar with attached round columns again. The pillars were connected by brick arches and the roofing must have consisted of barrel vaults over the side-aisles and a wooden roof over the nave. Collapsed parts of these arches and vaults were found among the debris of the building. In the centre of the return-aisle a basin of about 0.80m deep that measures an average of 1.50m x 1.20m is found. It has been interpreted as an Epiphany-tank, a basin for the blessing of the water at the Feast of Epiphany. During the Mamlūk period,<sup>17</sup> this basin was filled up with debris and sand, and a plaster floor was over laid. The western part of the southern aisle has an elevated floor under which a small vault, 1.35m high, is located. Access to it is given by a vertical shaft, while the purpose that it served in the second church is unknown. There is clear evidence that originally it was part of the first church and since it was kept as a prominent part of the second one, it must have had a special meaning or function.

At a certain moment the second church was remodelled and modernised, especially in its eastern part. In all the church a new plaster floor was laid, so that the floor level became approximately 0.20m higher. The easternmost pillars of the nave were incorporated in walls that created the *hūrus*, a separate area between the nave and the sanctuary. The entrance to the *hūrus* was possible through a central entrance from the nave and from the side-aisles. The fact that the *hūrus* is an element introduced into Coptic architecture in the middle of the seventh century leads us to believe that this third phase of remodelling and modernization of the church could be dated at earliest in the late seventh, or most likely in the eighth century. East of the hūrus, the sanctuary went through a thorough remodelling. The eastern wall was replaced by a parallel wall slightly more to the west. The new sanctuary (haykal) is square-shaped with a small apse at the eastern side. In front of the apse a limestone synthronon was constructed. In its present shape the synthronon consists of a rectangular base with slightly curved superstructure made of bricks. In front of it lies the altar, a red-brick construction formed by four rectangular supports connected by arches. To the north and the south of the *haykal* two side rooms (*pastoforia*) are to be found. The outer walls of these pastoforia were replaced and moved in outward direction, so that the church building became wider in the eastern part. It is not clear whether the southern *pastoforion* had a direct connection with the *hūrus*, but it does

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> The potsherds included in the filling of the Epiphany-tank date to the Mamlūk period.

have an access from the *haykal*. On the other hand, the northern *pastoforion* had no connection with the *haykal*, but is accessible from the  $h\bar{u}rus$ . This room is divided in two parts: a western and an eastern, which has a doorway leading to the bakery behind the church. The bakery consisted of a small room with a cylindrical oven. It has been proposed that it would serve for the preparation of the Eucharistic Bread. Directly to the north a small cistern was found, measuring 1.75m x 1.50m in plan and with an average height of 1.90m. It consists of four vaulted parts, supported by a central square pillar.

Throughout the site, especially in the living quarters and the utility buildings, a destruction level is evident. The monumental buildings, such as the church and the tower were less damaged. This could mean that even if they were damaged they must have been restored instead of having been pulled down and replaced. The destruction level has been related to the events that took place in the ninth century during the fifth (817) or more likely the sixth (866) sack of Sketis. In this period we can place the construction of a domed entrance porch and a staircase to the south of the church, as well as the bridge to the tower. As a part of the ninth century refurbishment or later, two wooden separation screens must have been added. The first was standing in front of the entrances to the *haykal* and the *pastoforia* and ran all along the width of the  $h\bar{u}rus$  and the second was constructed in the middle of the nave. Only remains of those screens have been found.

A further major change was the construction of an additional *haykal*, which changed the *southern pastoforion* into a separate chapel. This addition was done when several older structures outside of the church had been pulled down. The new *haykal* is square in plan and has a square podium for the altar and a rectangular *synthronon* against the eastern wall. It could be dated to the tenth century, as it resembles the church excavated in the Monastery of Saint John the Little that was dated to the same century.

Probably around the end of the ninth century the bakery for the liturgical bread, found at the east of the church, was destroyed or pulled down. In this place a small cemetery was laid out, extending both to the north and the south of the new *haykal*. So far thirty-six burials, complete tombs or remains of disturbed tombs, have been excavated.

At the south-eastern corner of the site the excavation brought to light a square building measuring 16m x16m that has been interpreted as a defence tower. It had an internal structure of 1m thick walls, dividing the plan into nine equal squares of 3.2m x 3.2m. The outer walls had a thickness of 2m. These dimensions could mean that the building had more than one storey, while the walls must have been strong enough to support a building of at least 15m high. The square in the north-western corner was divided in two compartments and could be regarded as the foundation of a stairway. The central square has been interpreted as the bottom of a shaft that would provide air and light to the ground floor. A buttress wall of re-used limestone blocks, some of which bear traces of fire, was constructed around the tower, as part of the restoration program that was undertaken after the destruction of the ninth century. Corner-buttresses of conical shape that once supported the building were incorporated within the buttress-wall. The tower dates back to an early period (fourth - fifth century), possibly the earliest of the settlement. This can be deduced from the depth of the foundation and floor levels, the early find material and the fact that all the other constructions are founded at a higher level.

In the western part of the complex, a number of rooms that have been identified as cells of monks have been discovered. The upper strata in this area show the remains of improvised structures, built with re-used materials, mainly limestone. Two kitchen-areas, with a great number of fireplaces, were found. These had not been in use at the same time, but apparently the one shortly after the other. In this area of the cells, the difference between the earlier and the later phases of habitation is clearly visible. The phase before the ninth-century destruction is characterised by a well-structured mud brick architecture. These early buildings that could be dated to the sixth or seventh century have been levelled and new structures have been built. The arrangement of the cells built in the frame of the ninth-century restoration program does not correspond to that of the earlier cells. A separate mud brick cell (99V) is found in the north-eastern corner of the excavation site. No traces of destruction and rebuilding were visible here. This cell, which could be dated to the sixth century, was surrounded by the outer wall of the monastery that was constructed no later than the last quarter of the ninth century.

The outline of the wall that surrounds the monastery were more or less clear on the basis of the survey, while in several areas it is clearly visible at the surface. Its thickness has an average of 2m. Its relatively late date is dictated by the fact that its foundations are approximately 1 m higher than the foundations of the buildings it surrounds. At first only a mud brick wall was built and it was later reinforced with a facing of limestone. After the abandonment of the monastery, this facing was removed. At the north-eastern corner the mud brick wall was reinforced with a limestone corner buttress. The entrance of the wall, at the south-eastern corner of the tower, was initially 4m wide. During the first reinforcement of the wall, the entrance was narrowed down to a gate of little more than 1m wide. A second reinforcement made the wall considerably thicker here.

A number of other structures that are not described here date to the Mamlūk period.

#### 2.2 SELECTED CONTEXTS (Fig. 2.5)

One of the handicaps for a proper understanding of the developments of the architecture at the site of the Old Baramūs is the fact that much of the stratification has been disturbed by later digging. The main purpose for this must have been the search for building materials for the neighbouring Monastery of the Virgin. Much of the building material for the enlargement of the perimeter wall that was carried out in the eighteenth century must have been quarried at the site of the Old Baramūs. During the restoration of the Church of Saint John, in the Monastery of the Virgin of Baramūs, it appeared that irregular re-used blocks of limestone, as well as several column drums with the same diameter as those found in the church of the Old Baramūs were used in its construction. This can only mean that until the late nineteenth century building material was quarried off at the site, especially from the ruins of the church. This also explains why during the clearing of the nave mainly sand was found, while collapsed parts of arches and vaults were lying here and there without a trace of most of the piers and columns that supported them once.

The case of the tower is similar. There, the square outlines that were seen during the survey that took place before the excavation did not mark the top of the eroded wall of the tower, but an accumulation of debris outside the remains of the building. This debris came from inside the tower; afterwards it slid back into the square, explaining why the outline of the tower was filled with alternating layers of mixed debris and windblown sand. The find material in these layers varied from the late fourth or fifth to the thirteenth century and was completely out of context. This must have been caused by a restoration campaign that probably took place in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. The last remains of the walls of the tower must have been quarried off at that time and for this purpose the interior was excavated and the large limestone blocks were removed down to the foundation level. The smaller rubble and sand were left outside the buttress-wall, which was left in place since the quality of its material was too poor. Evidence for this was a purse with ten coins, found between the accumulated rubble west of the tower. Four of them could be identified as belonging to the reign of Baybars al Zaher (1260-1277) and could be related to the restoration program, carried out in Baramūs, during the patriarchate of Gabriel III (1268-1271).

Despite its extremely disturbed and in many cases confusing stratigraphy, the tower is of special interest for the current study as it includes the majority of the earliest pottery finds. So far, nowhere else in the site, finds that date as early as in the end of the fourth century have been located. Hence the objects that are found in non-stratified areas, in and around the tower, could not be excluded and they constitute the context 1.

Nevertheless, in the area of the tower, it has been possible to discern some less 'contaminated' contexts – or even not 'contaminated' at all. Context 2 includes material found in the square 99I,<sup>18</sup> underneath the pebble floors Ba / Ga and especially related to the floor Tb, which more or less corresponds to the foundation level of the tower. Here the majority of the finds dates from the late sixth to the seventh century.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Square 99I is the continuation of 98V and covers the south-eastern part of the tower.



Fig. 2.5. Dayr al-Baramūs, plan of the excavation site: selected contexts

In 2007, trying to solve the mystery of the tower's stratification, it was decided to excavate a square (07I) outside the south-eastern corner of this building. Although this square was empty of any architectural finds, it was proven extremely interesting, with the expected reverse stratigraphy appearing even more confusing. Nonetheless, two more contexts that remained 'clear' have been luckily traced. Context  $3^{19}$  includes find material mainly from the fifth century, some sherds reaching the seventh century. This context is found between a sequence of disturbed layers that have provided material dating from the seventh to the tenth century or even to the Mamlūk period. Below the underlying disturbed layers, another 'clear' context dating to the Mamlūk period appears. Under that, a new row of mixed layers occurs, until context  $4^{20}$  is found at the 'bottom' of the square and includes pottery dating from the fifth to the seventh century. It is very likely that Contexts 3 and 4 constitute a whole, as often sherds from both contexts compose a single vessel. However, in order to be precise and due to the row of intermediate layers, a separate number is given to each layer. Cases of sherds from Contexts 3 / 4 matching with shards from Context 1 may serve as evidence that these were initially deposed inside the tower.

It has already been mentioned how the area of the church was disturbed, since in the late centuries it provided building material to the still existing Monastery. Nonetheless, two very interesting contexts have been traced. Context  $5^{21}$  includes a row of amphorae that was found running westwards, against or below the northern wall (wall BJ) of the 'second church'. The line of amphorae continued in a southwards direction. All the amphorae belong to the type *Late Roman 7* and date to the mid-seventh century. They are found reversed, carefully positioned in neat rows. A first thought, during the excavation, was that they were probably used as a substructure for a floor or a wall. It was soon noticed though that the area where they extended must have been an open one. It seems that the row of amphorae continued northwards and mainly eastwards. Three more complete amphorae were traced but not removed. In the relevant report it is mentioned that among the amphorae that were left *in situ*, one belonged to a type other than *Late Roman 7*. Future fieldwork will hopefully determine the exact function of those amphora-rows.

In the central compartment of the *southern pastoforion* a rectangular bin, dug in the natural bedrock, was excavated. It must have been left open for a long period, but at a certain moment it was filled and a plaster floor was laid over. Context 6 represents the filling of the underground bin, as well as the finds related to the plaster floor that covered it. This modification probably took place when the southern *pastoforion* was turned to a chapel – apparently after the ninth century destruction. The possibility that the filling of the underground bin took place in the tenth century – no later than the first half – is very likely, judging by the pottery finds. Some sherds belonging to earlier periods are not bothersome, as they can be related to the times when the bin was still open.

A square (07III) was opened between the church and the cells on the western part of the site. Approximately from the outcrop of a layer of compact sand<sup>22</sup> until a layer of sand mixed with pebbles, potsherds and some charcoal<sup>23</sup> and even deeper until a layer of fine sand, occasionally with crystallised salt,<sup>24</sup> a pottery dump has been located (context 7). It is quite probable that a sort of bin was sloppily dug and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> From 07I, Feature B, 42 to 07I[32](52)55. (The square brackets include the area excavated within the square, while the parentheses the layer removed. The number that follows that of the layer's indicates the pottery lot).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> From 07I[42](83)88 to 07I[44](89)95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> 07II[52](94)91-92.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> 07III[22](37)34: feature V.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> 07III[22](47)45 and <61>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> 07III[22](52)48.

the waste was thrown in there. A dating to the period from the seventh to the early ninth century is quite likely.

In the same square, outside the western wall of the church, bedded into plaster floor T, a cooking pot was found. This single find constitutes an individual context (context 8) that dates in the seventh century. Its exact function has not yet been determined, as it is found in the corner of a construction (niche) at the western face of the church's western wall, which is not sufficiently interpreted.

The cell that appeared less disturbed is the one lying at the north-eastern corner of the site (99V). While removing the debris from the interior of the room a row of mixed layers appeared. The upper strata did not include any early finds, nevertheless during the removal of level five, some interesting sherds have been found. Context  $9^{25}$  includes material from the sixth to the thirteenth century, but only selected sherds that correspond to the chronological span of the present study will be discussed. Outside the cell and the wall that surrounded the whole monastic complex – in the corner between walls H and E – context 10,<sup>26</sup> a pottery dump, has been located. It could be related to the cell 99V or to another domestic area. This dump can be dated to the second half of seventh to the mid-eighth century, or slightly later.

The following table summarises the information about the contexts that included the pottery finds to be presented. In addition, the validity of each context is noted, so as to define the reliability of the proposed dates. Bailey's (1998, 158) system is adopted, though in a somehow simplified way. The validity shades are represented by capital letters (A: good; B: good, but maybe covering a long period; C: spoilt; D: not good, but assumptions can be made; E: not good or too wide to be useful). In chapter eight the contents of each context will be presented.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> 99V[1](5)5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> 99V[2](11)10, 99V[3](12)11.

CONTEXT	BUILDING	SQUARE(S)	FEATURES/ CHARACTERISTICS	DATE	VALIDITY
1	TOWER	97I, 98I, 96I, 98V/99I, 07I	Material found during the removal of windblown sand and mixed debris. Out of context.	4 <sup>th</sup> –13 <sup>th</sup> c.	Е
2	TOWER	991	Layers under pebble floors Ba/Ga. Related to floor Tb.	$6^{th} - 7^{th} c.$	А
3	TOWER	071	Layers: Feature B, 42 – [32](52)55.	$4^{th} - 7^{th} c.$ Mainly $5^{th}c.$	A
4	TOWER	071	Layers: [42](83)88 – [44](89)95.	$4^{\text{th}} - 7^{\text{th}} \text{ c.}$	В
5	CHURCH (Phase 2)	06I 07II	06I[27](37); 07II[52](94): alongside eastern part of the northern wall's remains.	650 – 700	А
6	CHURCH (Phase 5)	Southern Pastoforion	Underground Bin.	850 –900/ 950	A
7	CELL	07111	[23](36)34 – [34](56)51: under destruction level – pottery dump.	$7^{\text{th}} - 9^{\text{th}} c$	А
8	CELL	07III	[26](40)<53> In plaster floor T	7 <sup>th</sup>	A
9	CELL	99V	[1](5)5: removal of debris – inside the room.	$6^{\text{th}} - 13^{\text{th}} \text{ c.}$	D
10	CELL	99V	[2](11)10, [3](12)11: pottery dump – outside the room.	650 - 750	A

Table 2.1. Selected contexts

## CHAPTER 3 – THE POTTERY OF THE BYZANTINE AND EARLY ARAB PERIODS $(4^{th} - 9^{th} c.)$

# 1 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF POTTERY IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

#### 1.1 WHY STUDY POTTERY?

The archaeological investigation in a monastic milieu usually brings to light remains of buildings, often with wall-paintings and inscriptions, as well as various objects. The religious character of such a settlement leads one to focus on issues such as the 'sacred space', the 'religious monumental art' and the 'spiritual life'. In this respect, the contribution of pottery finds might seem trivial. So why bother studying pottery – especially since it is often found broken and in most cases bearing no decoration at all? In fact, this humble and admittedly not so attractive trace of material culture can be of significant value.

Its importance as a major dating criterion cannot be disputed (Orton *et al.* 1993, 24-25). During archaeological fieldwork, pottery is found in considerable quantities, even while directly datable objects, such as coins and inscriptions, are missing. For years, pottery experts conduct and publish detailed typologies, following the morphological evolution of specific forms in time. As a result it is possible to establish a date for each excavation layer, or even determine the chronological frame of a site's occupation, simply by the surface finds. Petrie remarked already in 1891 that once settle the pottery of a country, and the key is in our hands for all future explorations. A simple glance at a mound of ruins, even without dismounting will show as much to anyone who knows the styles of the pottery as weeks of work may reveal to a beginner.

An additional 'time indicator' is the decoration applied on certain wares. Adams (1962, 245) noted that *decorated wares in particular are so sensitive to stylistic canons that they are rarely made in exactly the same way for more than a few generations*. In the period from the fourth to eighth century, the Egyptian potters continued creating wares with a vivid decoration that combined a variety of motifs. The painted Egyptian ceramics were unique among respective examples made in other production centres of the Mediterranean.

Pottery should not be seen exclusively as an 'instrument' for dating. It is something far beyond that, as it can shed light on several aspects of a community's everyday life, such as the commercial networks and the trade routes (Orton *et al.* 1993, 26-28), the special links of a community to one or more specific centres, the economic status, the alimentary practices etc. The role of pottery in the daily life of the monks is reflected even in texts that underline the high spirituality of the great desert fathers. It would not be illogical to suggest that in order to attain the spiritual goals of a monk one should first make a step towards understanding his daily life and habits.

But since pottery objects are made to cover specific needs in the daily life of all people – such as the transportation and storing of liquids and foodstuffs as well as the preparation and serving of the daily meals etc. – they are used equally by urban, rural and monastic communities. Consequently in the study of a pottery assemblage, one should be aware of the production, distribution and consumption of a multitude of products within and outside the limits of a specific geographical area. In order to

identify and interpret the ceramics found in the Old Monastery of Baramūs it is necessary to take into consideration the published parallels from all kind of sites not only throughout Egypt and Nubia, but also in the Mediterranean world.



Fig. 3.1. Map of the Mediterranean

Since the late nineteenth century several scholars examined and published mainly Late Roman red slip wares, for the reason that they were the only wares to bear a characteristic relief or stamped decoration. The approaches of various scholars were lacking any coordination until Frederick Waagé's (1933) publication of the Roman pottery from the Athenian Agora. In this publication a general classification of the red slip wares, on the basis of fabric was attempted for the first time. However, the most important contribution of the same scholar is the publication of the Antioch finds (Waagé 1948), which can be considered as a first serious effort to conduct a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> This unit should not be regarded as a detailed account of the work carried out in the field of pottery studies dating to the Late Roman – Early Arab times. It briefly refers to the major steps taken mentioning only some key studies, the 'monuments' that significantly promoted this field. Nowadays the number of specialised articles and volumes is really great. Important work is deliberately not mentioned here, since the aim of this unit is not to exhaustively discuss the advances of pottery studies, but to give a quick idea of how things went.
complete type-series. Waagé's studies were proven very useful to excavators working in sites of the Eastern Mediterranean. From that moment on a multitude of studies would provide further dating-evidence, so that Waagé's classification started seeming somehow inadequate. Nino Lamboglia (1941; *Id.* 1958; *Id.* 1963) proposed a renewed classification, which has been a key reference for years, despite its weaknesses. The studies of Jan Willem Salomonson (1962; *Id.* 1968; *Id.* 1969; *Id.* 1971) and Andrea Carandini (1976; *Id.* 1977) supplemented this last grouping.

The one to actually put the material in order, producing *a grammar which even the most pottery-illiterate could use* (Fentress 1998, 5) was John Hayes, with his monumental work *Late Roman Pottery* (1972). In this book, African, Phocaean (Late Roman 'C') and the so-called Cypriot (Late Roman 'D') red slip wares were fully recorded, as the principal red slip table wares found in the Mediterranean; their affinities were discussed, and the fact that after a certain moment they were in emulation of each other was underlined. The secondary productions were also presented – from the Gaulish and the Macedonian 'T.S. Grise' to the Egyptian and other red slip wares of the Eastern Mediterranean, as well as the painted wares of the Athenian and the Central Greek workshops. Years later, in the *Supplement* to this publication, the author himself observed that his aforementioned monograph marked the close of the initial phase in the study of the Late Roman fine wares of the Mediterranean (Hayes 1980a, xiii, 479).

The identification and better understanding of the red slip wares respectively facilitated the arrangement of the associated utilitarian wares. From that moment on, articles specialised on particular pottery categories as well as excavation reports from a multitude of sites all over the Mediterranean would appear, marking a second phase in the study of Late Roman ceramics. It is during this phase that John Riley (1979) established his always up-to-date and still well-accepted amphora typology that served as a bridge between the existing Eastern (Aegean, Balkan) and the Western (African and Hispanic) typologies.

Already since the early eighties, Hayes anticipated the entrance of a new phase, when a fully integrated approach would be adopted by all excavators of Mediterranean sites, with an aim to re-write the economic history of the region. Indeed, very important developments were to come in the decades to follow thanks to innovative interdisciplinary approaches.

After Riley's work an impulse was given to the amphora studies so that nowadays the need to update it is compulsory. One after the other publications of amphora workshops (Empereur and Picon 1989) led to the recognition of a multitude of production centres contributing to the understanding of the production and circulation of provisions, the trade patterns and routes, the intervention of the state to the commercial mechanisms, and so on. D'Archimbaud and Sodini (2003) summarise the progress of pottery studies until the end of the nineties, including a detailed report about the advances in amphora studies per type.

Even the cooking wares were proven to be of special value. Their study not only provides information about the nutritional habits of certain social groups in time, but may add extra knowledge about the trade networks, as it is proven that they as well were circulating in the markets of the Mediterranean. A scientific group focuses on the study of the Late Roman coarse wares (*LRCW*), cooking wares and amphorae in the Mediterranean, regularly organises international conferences and publishes their acts. Members of this group are not only archaeologists but archaeometrists too. M. Bonifay, C. Capelli, M.-A. Cau Ontiveros, P. Dyczek, P. Reyolds, J.-C. Tréglia, A. Vokaer are some of them.

Concerning the production of lamps, after some steps taken in the previous phases (Loeschke 1919; Broneer 1930; Perlzweig 1961; Ennabli 1976), the major production centres – some of them successors of a long tradition – were located (Key references exclusively dedicated to lamps: Bailey 1980; *Id.* 1980b; *Id.* 1988; Karivieri 1996). Soon archaeological research would bring to light regional secondary lamp-production sites that were largely inspired by the predominant trends. The potters engaged in the fabrication of lamps (Dzierżykray-Rogalski and Grzeszyk 1991), the manufacturing techniques, the impact of each production centre and the distribution of their products, as well as the 'attitude' of each major group of producers in the market were among the main topics to study.

The third phase foreseen by Hayes and the spherical approaches that were developed since that moment seem to have reached their peak with the publication of specialised monographs such as the overall study of the pottery production of North Africa by Michel Bonifay (2004), the careful examination of the red slip wares (Waagé 1948, Late Roman 'D') attributed to Cypriot workshops by Henryk Meyza (2007), the study of the wine trade in the Mediterranean by Dominique Pieri (2005), which has turned out to be an indispensable companion to the study of amphorae, the important work of Paul Reynolds (1995) on the trade patterns developed in the Western Mediterranean, and many more. In addition workshops and congresses, such as those organised by the International Association for the Study of the Medieval Pottery in the Mediterranean (Association International pour l'Etude des Céramiques Médiévales Méditerranéennes) bring together scholars working in different sites evoking a dialogue between them. One might consider that the acts of such congresses are a panorama of the Mediterranean pottery production and distribution. In addition their importance is due to the fact that they often sketch the transition from the Late Antique to the medieval norms, as they include articles about both the aforesaid periods.

It is difficult to follow the mutations that arose in the eighth and ninth centuries taking the Mediterranean as a whole. The transition from the Late Roman to the medieval standards was time-consuming and it occurred under different circumstances and in different ways, according to region. The new conditions that were brought about in the seventh century led to the introversion of certain areas that had no choice but to develop a self-sufficient system based mainly on local resources and production. This process would be clearly reflected in pottery, by the gradual predominance of local types, a number of which would remain unchangeable from the Late Roman until the 'Abbāsid period. At the same time, the re-apparition of glaze took place as an important development, but it is striking how it evolved differently in different locations, incorporating and rendering the hues of different traditions.

Regionalism as a factor does not favour a possible overview of the advances in pottery manufacture in the eighth and ninth century, a period during which many ex provinces of the Byzantine State were under the Umayyad and later the 'Abbāsid rule. For that reason, the contribution of the round table with subject "from Rome to Byzantium, from Fustāt to Cordoba" (Bonifay 2003), organised during the Seventh International Congress of Mediterranean Medieval Pottery is extremely important. Reports from Greece, the Levant, Egypt, Africa, Spain, Portugal, France and finally Italy shed light to the evolution of the ceramic types from the fifth on the ninth century, a period that could be considered as the background of the medieval Mediterranean's renovated 'common language'.

# 1.3 THE STUDY OF BYZANTINE / 'COPTIC' AND EARLY ARAB CERAMICS IN EGYPT

The quest of published ceramics from a multitude of sites in Egypt and Nubia takes one back to the early years of the archaeological investigation in the country and is subject to the advances in  $Egyptology^{28}$  and  $Coptology^{29}$  Those two branches of archaeological science focus on the history and archaeology of Egypt. For centuries, this 'mysterious' country captured the interest and the imagination of people. Egypt owned its reputation to the Bible, to texts written by Greek, Roman and Arab authors, as well as to the accounts of merchants and travellers that visited it in the period from the sixteenth to nineteenth century. Those travellers were largely impressed by the stately monuments of the Pharaonic and the Greco-Roman past, considering the remains of the later periods as being of little value. In the seventeenth century however, some travellers were interested in registering the Christian monuments – monasteries that were still inhabited or stood in ruins (Meurice 1999, 133-139).

The actual start of the scientific exploration of ancient Egypt is marked by Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt in 1798. The French 'Army of the Orient' that aimed to break English supremacy in the Near East was accompanied by a 'Committee of arts and sciences' consisting of more than 150 technicians, geographers architects and artists. These 'savants', who were supposed to help set up a future French colony, carried out an intensive investigation into the country and its cultural monuments. In spite of the fact that Napoleon failed in his main goal, his military operation resulted in a monumental work entitled: *Description de l'Égypte ou recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française*. This twenty-volume work was first published between 1809 and 1822. It is the first scientific description of the geography, natural history, contemporary culture, and ancient monuments of Egypt, including a number of tables with 'collections of antiquities', where one can recognise some amphorae, jugs, bowls and lamps that date to the Byzantine period (*Illustrations*, Vol. 5, Pl. 73, 75, 84, 86).

From now on, more systematic work was about to begin, but often the remains of the Coptic and Arab periods were neglected, or hastily glossed over in favour of the monuments from the earlier periods. Meanwhile, in the early twentieth century, fieldwork in major monastic sites, such as Bāwīţ (Monastery of Abba Apollo) (Clédat 1999) and Saqqāra (Monastery of Apa Jeremia) (Quibell 1912) etc., was about to begin. The discovery of buildings with elaborate architectural members and impressive wall-paintings demanded their thorough documentation and study, especially at a time when the principles of conservation of antiquities were practically unknown, and the new discoveries were often exposed to high risk. Besides, it was a time when archaeology had still an 'art historical attitude'; being interested in the monumental art and in minor objects of a certain aesthetic value. In this respect pottery remained unattractive and its importance could not yet be fully recognised.

 $<sup>^{28}</sup>$  *Egyptology* is the field of archaeology that studies the ancient Egyptian history, language, literature, religion and art from the 5<sup>th</sup> millennium BC until the end of the Roman era, in the AD 4<sup>th</sup> c. (311).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> *Coptology* is a scientific discipline in Oriental Studies that investigates the language and culture of Christian Egypt and Nubia in the widest sense: literature, religion, history, archaeology and art. Its range extends from late antiquity to the Middle Ages or even down to the present. It touches on and intersects with a number of neighbouring disciplines (Krause 1991, 616-618).



### Fig. 3.2. Map of Egypt

The literature of the first half of the twentieth century does not include any publication exclusively dedicated to pottery, despite the fact that certain scholars started realising its significance. The ceramic finds are presented in the publications of excavation reports from sites throughout Egypt and Nubia, as part of the general discoveries. And it was often probable that fieldwork at Pharaonic and Greco-Roman sites, such as Herakleopolis Magna (Petrie 1905), Karanog (Woolley and Randall-Maciver 1910), Armant (Mond and Myers 1940), Madinat Habu (Hölscher 1954),

would bring to light finds from later periods. Among the publications of the early twentieth century two can be discerned: the first concerns the excavations in the pilgrimage centre of Saint Mena (Abū Mīnā) (Kaufmann 1908) in Lower Egypt and the second the Monastery of Epiphanius near Luxor (Winlock and Crum 1926). The importance of the first publication lies on the brief presentation of a number of pottery kilns and their products. The products of the Abū Mīnā workshops, amphorae, pilgrim flasks, flagons and lamps, would be thoroughly presented in the future (Metzger 1981; Kiss 1989; Engemann 1992). The ceramic typology that appeared in the second publication was to prove extremely useful. Many years later, John Hayes (1972) would include part of it in his *Late Roman Pottery*.

A definite change in attitude is marked with the publication in 1962 of an "Introductory Classification of Christian Nubian Pottery" by William Adams. Here pottery is recognised as *one of the most sensitive and revealing of human culture products*. The author thoroughly describes his methodology that touches all axes of research in pottery studies. Thereby, he classifies the material by 'fabric', 'form' and 'style' (where style means all forms of surface treatment and decoration) and furthermore by 'ware' and 'type', explaining that ware represents a combination of fabric, form and style, while type a synthesis of ware and form. Twenty-four years later, Adams (1986) would publish the results of his systematic work in Nubia. The only weak point of Adam's work lies to the fact that he provided sketches of the types he presented instead of archaeological drawings, so that his publications are not always easy to use.

One after the other monographs about 'Coptic' ceramics started appearing. Clémence Neyret – Serres (1966) studied the pottery kept in the Louvre Museum and conducted a *memoir* that was submitted in the *École du Louvre*. Helen Jacquet – Gordon (1972) published the ceramics found in the hermitages of Isnā. Mieczysław Rodziewicz (1976) focused on the red slip wares found in Kūm al-Dikka, in Alexandria. His work enriched the morphological repertory not only of the Egyptian wares, but also of those imported from the centres of the Mediterranean (Africa, Cyprus and Asia Minor).

The importance of the above studies is indisputable; however the publication of the pottery from Kellia by Michel Egloff (1977) is much more accurate and complete. It remains a major key reference and in many cases the elaborate typology that he established cannot be surpassed. In addition, Egloff pieced together the information concerning the ceramic material and went a step further in making assumptions about the everyday life of the monks in Kellia. I find very interesting that he even included a catalogue of Coptic words for pots.

An important development came with the publication of the first volume of a periodical series, the *Cahiers de la Céramique Egyptienne*, under the superintendence of Pascale Ballet, who was at the time the ceramologist of *IFAO* (French Institute of Oriental Archaeology). After the *Bulletin du liaison du groupe international de la céramique égyptienne* published by Helen Jacquet – Gordon, this periodical aimed to become the meeting point of archaeologists and pottery experts, who looked for more in-depth studies of the Egyptian pottery from pre-dynastic until modern periods. The scholars were invited to contribute with: typo-morphological classifications per period and per site, new chronological data, laboratory clay-analyses, and economic aspects – such as local and regional productions, distribution, imports and exports.

Indeed, the *Cahiers de la Céramique Egyptienne*, from their very first volume included some of the most informative articles, such as the results of the laboratory analyses that were carried out so as to define the origins of the ceramics from Kellia (Ballet and Picon 1987), and the surveys for the location of pottery workshops in Middle and Upper Egypt (Ballet *et al.* 1991), etc. Some volumes included acts of round tables or conferences that concerned a specific subject: the third volume refers to the pottery workshops and the ceramic production in Egypt; the fifth volume includes the preliminary results of the rescue campaigns in Northern Sinai for the years 1990-1994; the eighth volume is dedicated to the Egyptian amphorae from the Late Period to the Arab times. Since 1996, when the fourth volume of the series was published, the responsible for its publication is Sylvie Marchand.

The advances of the last three decades gave a renewed impetus to pottery studies. The publications of monographs and articles multiplied, while more and more scholars turned their attention to pottery. A workshop organised in Nieborów was dedicated to 'Coptic' and Nubian pottery (Godlewski 1990a). Publications presenting ceramics from various sites throughout Egypt, such as Karanis (Shier 1978; Johnson 1981), Gurna (Myśliwiec 1987), Elephantine (Gempeler 1992), Hermopolis Magna (al-Ašmūnayn) (Bailey 1998), Antinoopolis (Šayh 'Abāda) (Guerrini 1974; Guidoti and Pesi 2004; Guidoti 2008), Coptos (Herbert and Berlin 2003), Kellia (Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 2003; Ballet 2003a) and others, kept coming out. There are articles that give an insight into the production of pottery in Christian Egypt (Ballet 1997a; *Id.* 1997b), while others examine the transition from the Late Roman (represented by the term 'Coptic') to the early Arab norms (Ballet 2000b; Vogt 1997a; Gayraud 2003). To this list, the excellent work of Delphine Dixneuf (2011) about the amphora production in Egypt should be added.

Today pottery studies go through a period of introspection. It is a period of questioning and contestation that aims to put in order what has been achieved so far. The fieldwork in a large number of sites throughout the Mediterranean yielded material, which not only replenished the acquired knowledge with new information, but also reversed many of the established theories. In this respect, it is also a period of retrospection.

The continuous discoveries of new pottery types attributed to certain workshops, which used specific raw materials according to the regions, impose the necessity to establish a 'common language' in pottery studies. However, this step seems rather difficult and risky, when taking into account the regional particularities. Indeed, regionalism, as a factor, could be cohesive as much as disruptive. Hence, for the time being, elaborate databases are designed to gather information on regional features of specific geographic unities. In Egypt, this task is undertaken by Sylvie Marchand, the ceramologist of *IFAO*, who plans to create an *Atlas des céramiques d'Égypte* (Atlas of Egyptian Ceramics) in CD / DVD. It is an ambitious project of mapping the ceramics from all Egyptian sites and all periods – from pre-dynastic to modern.

At the same time, questions that are already formulated and concern all aspects of material culture are concentrated and put forth: why and how the material culture was produced and circulated? How and why consumers interfered in the processes of production and distribution of goods? And also, how, why and in which contexts the material culture was used? How fast did it change (or needed to change), became redundant and was discarded or recycled for another material life? (Peña 2007; Poblome *et al.* 2007, 15).

In Egypt, the interdisciplinary project *Contextes et mobilier, de l'époque hellénistique à la periode mamelouke* (Contexts and 'small finds', from the Hellenistic to the Mamlūk period), which is under the direction of Pascale Ballet,<sup>30</sup> aims to give answers to the above questions. Specialists of all kind of artefacts – such as pottery, glass, textiles, metal, mat-making, wooden-, ivory- and bone-objects – collaborate not only with each other, but also with philologists and papyrologists, so as to 're-write' Egyptian history from the first century AD to the fifteenth century. This discussion between specialists of various disciplines will hopefully result in a systemised, synthetic and eventually homogeneous *corpus*.

In conclusion, it is evident that we are going through a period of ampleness. Now specialists tend to broaden their view and combine their efforts, in order to determine the social and economic conditions that marked a period and eventually created history. The attitude towards ancient artefacts is apt to change, as it is becoming clearer that they could serve as something more than simple archaeological tools. As artisanal products, they were created, used (fulfilling one or more functions) and finally discarded by humans that lived in specific communities and eras. And since the main needs of human beings do not radically change in time, these very artefacts could additionally be seen as the medium in a conversation between the past and the present.

 $<sup>^{30}</sup>$  A first idea that came as the predecessor of this project was the one under the title *Objets d'Égypte* (Objects of Egypt), which was initially undertaken by the director of studies in *IFAO* (French Institute of Oriental Archaeology) Sylvie Denoix and the researcher Maria Mossakowska Gaubert. Later the direction of the project passed to Pascale Ballet and its title changed, into the one given in the text.

## 2 – THE POTTERY FOUND IN THE OLD MONASTERY OF BARAMŪS $(4^{th} - 9^{th} c.)$

## 2.1 POTTERY FABRICS

The study of a ceramic assemblage necessitates the examination and analysis of the pottery fabrics, that is to say the composition and structure of the fired clay. Clay is one of the essential raw materials for pottery manufacture. As a term it is used to designate: *a) one of several hydrous alumina-silicate minerals that derived from the weathering of rock, chiefly granite; b) an extremely fine particle size grade (less than 0,002mm. in diameter); c) soil composed of 35\% - 40\% particles in fine particle size grade (less than 0,002mm. in diameter); d) a fine-grained earthly material that becomes plastic and malleable when wet and hardens with the application of heat (Rice 1987, 473-474. See also: Yon 1981, 26; Orton <i>et al.* 1993, 114). A first and important step to the examination of any pottery object is the comprehension of the process whereby the raw materials of ceramics (clay, water and the non-plastics or tempers that are added to the clay matrix) are transformed into finished ceramic products (Orton *et al.* 1993, 113).

The character of the original clay mix, notably the frequency, size, shape and identity of the non-plastic inclusions, decisively affects most of the stages of the manufacturing process, as well as the technological properties of the finished product. In addition, the natural composition of the raw materials, along with the actions of the potter in the creation of the clay-mix, the firing atmosphere and temperature, and finally the use and post-depositional environment of the vessels determine the physical characteristics of the fired clay (Orton *et al.* 1993, 132). In the archaeological description the fired clay is designated by the term 'fabric', in order to clearly differentiate it from the clay as raw material (Yon 1981, 181). The term 'fabric', in a broader sense, also refers to the surface treatment.

The examination of pottery fabrics provides valuable information about the ceramic production process, the manufacturing techniques, the resultant physical characteristics of the fired products, and consequently the provenance of the products. The knowledge of the above subjects is important on the one hand in understanding the attitude of potters towards the raw materials, on the other hand in determining whether a ceramic object was locally made or imported from elsewhere. Especially through the determination of the provenance of each object, inferences can be made concerning settlement patterns, movement of people, social interactions and commercial networks.

For that reason, the provenance studies were developed so as to identify and if possible, to determine the source of groupings, known as fabrics or wares, which reflect their origin (Orton *et al.* 1993, 135). Three main stages of examination are recognised: the visual or macroscopic, the petrological, and the compositional (the information that follows is based on: Orton *et al.* 1993, 135-149).

Visual examination (Kunow *et al.* 1986; Steinstra 1986) is the first necessary stage in the description of fabrics. It should take place on a clean section through the sherd which exposes the core. A small hand-lens or a higher power binocular microscope is used for the observation of the fabric and the identification of the inclusions. The need to group the sherds of a ceramic assemblage, so as to establish general descriptions, each covering the variation within groups, instead of describing

every item in detail, has led to the conduction of consistent recording systems. Those recording schemes facilitate the description of fabrics with the use of standardised categories and keywords on registration sheets.

After examining the fresh break it is necessary to register its colour, using a soil colour chart. The *Munsell* colour system is widely accepted. The colour of the fabric of a fired vessel may provide valuable information about the firing atmosphere and conditions. Then special attention should be given to the inclusions<sup>31</sup> in a fabric, as they provide the most reliable method of fabrics' differentiation. It is not easy to define visually the identity of each inclusion; however simple keys, such as that published by Peacock (1977, 30-32), could be proven very helpful. In general it is suggested not to make a possibly erroneous and misleading identification, but to keep to a simple description of colour and appearance of each inclusions, their size and distribution in the matrix, as well as their shape.

Due to the complexity of clay fabrics, they were primarily studied by a number of experts, other than archaeologists, such as mineralogists, soil chemists, agronomists, ceramic engineers and geologists (Rice 1987, 31). As a result, petrological<sup>32</sup> techniques taken directly from the earth sciences had an impact and were largely applied on pottery studies. Information about the nature and identity of the mineral inclusions that cannot be acquired by the visual examination of the fabrics could be attained by the examination of thin-sections through a petrographic microscope. The minerals in a thin-section will often give valuable clues about the origin of the clay fabric or filler. Information about the distribution of the sizes as well as the shapes of the minerals in a ceramic body is provided by the textural analysis. Another petrological technique that can be applied to ceramics with largely quartz inclusions is the heavy mineral analysis.

Apart from the petrological techniques chemical – also mentioned as compositional – analyses can be undertaken to assess the elements present in a ceramic body. The results are usually quantitative and are expressed in terms of the percentages of different elements present or, with rarer components, in parts per million (ppm). Compositional analyses are mainly concerned with the investigation of provenance, the determination of the sources of the analysed material. The principal techniques employed in the study of archaeological ceramics are Atomic absorption spectrophotometry (usually abbreviated to AAS), Neutron activation analysis (NAA), Optical emission spectroscopy (OES) and X-ray fluorescence (XRF). These four main techniques are not completely interchangeable. Some are more sensitive than others to very low concentrations and the level of precision that can be attained and the number of elements that are capable of recognition also varies.

In the pottery study it would be ideal to be able to carry out a combination of a petrological and a chemical analysis of an assemblage's representative fabrics, seeking answers to very well defined questions. However, this is not always possible and in many cases rests as a utopian situation. For the present study it was impossible to conduct any other analysis but a visual one. Sherds were examined and described at x 10 magnification. The fabrics' characteristics have been recorded according to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Inclusion is a particular mater, usually mineral in nature, present in a clay fabric, either naturally or added by the potter; often used synonymously with temper (Rice 1987, 477).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> According to Rice (1987, 479), petrology is the study of the natural history of rocks, including their origins, alternations, and decay, and description of their present condition and petrography is the microscopic study and description of rocks or other mineral material (such as ceramics) by optical properties.

systems suggested by Orton *et al.* (1993, 231-242). Colour is described by Munsell Soil Colour values (2000) as well as by free descriptive terms.

In this chapter only the Egyptian fabrics are described and listed. It was rather difficult to continue with a list of the non-Egyptian fabrics, since most of them could not be easily separated from the productions that they characterise. As a result the non-Egyptian fabrics will be presented in respective units, as integral parts of the classes that they typify.

## 2.1.1 LIST OF EGYPTIAN FABRICS

'Nile silt' and the so-called 'marl' fabrics, are the two groups of Egyptian fabrics that were used without interruption since the Predynastic times, and have been discerned and introduced into archaeological literature as early as in the early thirties (Lucas 1934, 316-317). The division between 'Nile silt' and 'marl' fabrics is so well-established in Egyptian archaeology that to attempt to change it has been regarded counterproductive (Bourriau *et al.* 2000, 121). However, the geologist Paul De Paepe, during a seminar of petrography held in the *IFAO* (French Institute of Oriental Archaeology. Cairo, 11 - 21 May 2009) underlined that marl is not an appropriate term to characterise clays or fabrics. Marl is a soft sedimentary rock that contains calcium carbonate (comprising from 35 to 65 percent of total volume) and clay mineral particles (Pettijohn 1957, 410; Sampsell 2003, 209). The term 'calcareous' seems more correct and it is used in the present study. Finally, kaolin fabrics, with a distinctive pink appearance, that were not exploited before the Hellenistic-Roman period are principally found at Aswān and constitute the third known group of Egyptian pottery fabrics.

These three groups (Nile silt, calcareous fabrics and Aswān kaolinitic fabrics) are used to characterise Egyptian ceramics that were manufactured from antiquity to modern times (Ballet 1991, 480-481). The composition of each group is more or less known thanks to elaborate petrological and chemical analyses that were carried out on representative samples from various Egyptian sites (Perlman and Asaro 1969; Tite 1972; Tobia and Syre 1973; Butzer 1974; Matson 1974; Hassan 1976; Lacovara 1984; Nicholson and Patterson 1985; Hamroush 1986; Hancock et al. 1986; De Paepe and Gratien 1995). As most of the samples were taken from ceramics dating either before the Late Period, or in modern times, our knowledge about the technology and manufacturing processes adopted in the post-New Kingdom periods remains insufficient. Pascale Ballet and Maurice Picon, being aware of the above inadequacy, were the first to undertake X-ray fluorescence (XRF) analysis on seventy-two samples found in the semi-anchoritic site of Kellia (Ballet and Picon 1987). The main categories not only of Egyptian but also of certain imported wares were analysed and their exact composition was determined; a first decisive step towards the localisation of the main clay sources in and outside Egypt in the period from the fourth to the eighth century was made. There is of course still a lot to be learnt concerning natural clay deposits and their exploitation by the Egyptian potters; however, these first results were followed by a number of extensive surveys in kiln-sites throughout Egypt for the rough determination of the main production zones (Ballet et al. 1991; Dixneuf 2007a; Mahmoud 2007). At this point, it would be necessary to underline that the exploitation of natural clay deposits must have included the deliberate mixture of two different clay groups. This process is followed by Egyptian potters nowadays, but it was probably well-known since the Pharaonic times (Butzer 1974, 381; Nicholson and Patterson 1989, 84).

The need to establish a consistent fabrics' recording system capable of reuse and cross-referencing led to the creation of the *Vienna System*, a visual classification that defines the main groups into which Egyptian fabrics may be placed and suggests some subdivisions of these groups (Nordström and Bourriau 1993). The *Vienna System* was envisaged as a framework, providing a method and a vocabulary for fabric description, as well as a point of reference so that comparisons between sites could more easily be made. Mixed fabrics were not specified, as it is difficult to be detected by visual means. Unfortunately this classification chiefly concerns ceramics dating until the New-Kingdom and it is suggested that it not be applied as a point of reference when examining pottery dating to later periods. Nevertheless, possible similarities between the fabric-types that were discerned among the ceramics excavated in the site of Baramūs and those of the *Vienna System* will be underlined.

Such a system has not been drafted for the fabric-types that characterise ceramics dating to the Late Roman and early Arab periods. As a result, despite the fact that lists of fabrics appear in various publications of Late Roman and early Arab ceramic assemblages (Jacquet-Gordon 1972, 10-15; Adams 1986; Pierrat 1991, 147-149; Gempeler 1992, 20-21), it is not always possible to conceive the coherence between fabric-types and subdivisions. An attempt to relate the fabric-types of the list that resulted from the study of the pottery found in the monastic site of Baramūs and those published so far will be made. It is stated, however, that the results of this attempt should be dealt with caution, as they are exclusively based on written descriptions and not at all on a sherd-to-sherd visual matching.

The list that follows includes a brief introduction to each of the broad categories of Egyptian fabrics, followed by a presentation of the fabric-types observed in the Baramūs pottery assemblage. The fabrics are presented following a line from the finer to the coarser versions. They are separated, according to the frequency and size of their inclusions. It was maybe one of my mistakes during registration, but in the determination of inclusion sizes I was based on the United States Department of Agriculture standard sizes for sand and grains, as cited by Orton *et al.* (1993, 240) and the *Vienna System* guide to the fabrics descriptions (Nordström and Bourriau 1993, 169). As a result, instead of giving a number to define the inclusion size, I used terms, such as *fine*, *medium* and so on, which are explained in Table 7.1. These terms express a range rather than an exact size, and I find them useful, especially in an effort to sort a considerable number of different fabric variants.

MINERAL INCLUSIONS
Very fine: up to 0.1mm.
Fine: 0.1 to 0.25mm.
Medium: 0.25 to 0.5mm.
Coarse: 0.5 to 1.00mm.
Very coarse: larger than 1.00mm.

STRAW
(subdivided according to length)
Fine: <2mm.
Medium: 2 to 5mm.
Coarse: >5mm.

Table 3.1. Size of inclusions

An individual code has been attributed to each fabric-type, using the initial letter of each broad fabric-category (*e.g.* N for Nile silt) and a serial number (*e.g.* N1, N2, etc.). It is more than probable that some of the fabric-types, although 'split', are one and the same thing. Such a coded list is not drafted for the Aswān kaolinitic fabrics, as they generally display certain homogeneity, while their composition is wellestablished through laboratory analyses. A list of Aswān fabrics would be surely useful if working in the vicinity of the production centres using the Aswān clay or at least that of the natural Aswān clay deposits.



NILE SILT

Fig. 3.3. Production zones of Nile silt vessels

In the Roman times Nile silt was known as  $\gamma o \tilde{v} \zeta$ μελάγγειος (Cockle 1981, 93); modern Egyptian potters know it as hasūd (Brissaud 1982, 69). According to the definition given by Bourriau et al. (2000) Nile silt or silt  $clay^{33}$  is any that has been deposited by the river between the Upper Pleistocene and the present. Consequently deposits can occur well away from the present course of the Nile as well as within the modern flood plain. This clay is rich in silica and iron and fires brown to red when fired in an oxidising kiln atmosphere. In its raw state it varies from grey to almost black (Bourriau

*et al.* 2000, 121). A number of pottery workshops of the Late Roman and the early Arab periods producing vessels in the Nile silt fabrics were located in the Delta and along the Nile Valley, where the three major production sites are Šayh 'Abāda (Antinoopolis), al-Ašmūnayn (Hermopolis Magna) and Zāwiyat al-Mayatin (Ballet *et al.* 1991; Ballet 2007a; Dixneuf 2007a; Mahmoud 2007).

It is noteworthy that, despite the extent of the Nile and the high number of production centres, Nile silt fabrics do not present the expected wide range of variability. On the contrary, Neutron Activation Analysis undertaken on a number of samples collected from various Egyptian sites proved that Nile silt clays from different locations are very similar in composition (De Paepe and Gratien 1995, 66;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Strictly *silt* and *clay* are size terms, for particles respectively 0,05 to 0,0002mm. (Rice 1987, 482) and smaller than 0,0002mm. in diameter (Rice 1987, 473-474).

Perlman and Asaro 1969; Tobia and Syre 1974). It seems that the only way to distinguish source areas is by the aplastic inclusions (Tomber 2006, 9).

In thin section (Tomber 2006, 10) the fabric is dominated by very fine quartz, together with coarser quartz particles set in a groundmass that contains varying quantities of biotite mica. Plagioclase and potassium feldspar, including perthite and ferromagnesian minerals may be common. Basalt or iron-masked igneous rocks, calcareous inclusions, opaques and clay pellets are rare. Some variants have abundant organic inclusions.

The study of the ceramics found in the site of the Old Monastery of Baramūs led to the division of the Nile silt fabrics into six groups (N1 – N6). Production centres are impossible to be defined through this sub-division, which is made in order to facilitate the study and presentation of the wares.



#### Baramūs Nile 1 (N1): red (or brown); mica-rich

Possible similar fabrics: Nordström and Bourriau 1993, (*Vienna System*) Nile B1, 171, Pl. Id-h; Pierrat 1991, (Tūd) LI sans dégraissant végétal, 148, 149; Dixneuf 2011, 34, Groupe A13.

The first group is characterised by the significant amount of fine sand and mica. It is divided into two sub-categories:

**Baramūs N1A** fabrics usually present zoning in fracture, having a grey core, red margins and dark red surface, while examples with uniform red or brown fracture might as well occur. They are fine, rather dense, and their fracture is regular. They contain mainly very fine, well-rounded, flat mica specks, some very fine white (lime) particles and very sparsely fine, well-rounded, spherical quartz grains. The inclusions are very well-sorted.

The sub-group **Baramūs N1B** might be considered a relatively coarser version of N1A. The fracture of these fabrics is usually zoned, with red or grey core and reddish margins, while the surface colour might vary from yellowish red to red or brown. In some cases the external surface might appear yellowish red to brownish, while the internal is red. N1B fabrics are fine, rather dense, and their fracture is regular. They contain mainly very fine and fine, well-rounded, flat mica specks, less white (lime) particles of various sizes (from fine to coarse) and shapes (from sub-rounded to sub-angular) and very sparsely well-rounded, spherical quartz grains of various sizes (from fine to medium-sized). The inclusions are very well-sorted.

> **Baramūs Nile 2 (N2): brown; mica-rich** Possible similar fabrics: Jacquet-Gordon 1972,

(Isnā) I, 10; Pierrat 1991, (Tūd) LI à dégraissant végétal, 148, 149; Dixneuf 2011, 34, Groupe A11.

The fracture is brown in colour, usually homogeneous, but grey - brown zoning can occur. N2 fabrics are medium-fine, rather dense, and their fracture is regular. They contain mainly very fine, well-rounded, flat mica specks, some fine to medium-sized, rounded, flat white (lime) particles, and very sparsely medium-sized, sub-rounded, flat reddish particles, fine, well-rounded, spherical quartz grains and fine straw particles. The inclusions are very well-sorted.

#### Baramūs Nile 3 (N3): lime-rich

Possible similar fabrics: Nordström and Bourriau 1993, (*Vienna System*) Nile B2, 171-173, Pl. IIa-d or Nile D, 174-175, Pl. IIIa-c; Pierrat 1991, (Țūd) LIII à dégraissant végétal, 148, 149.

The fracture is defined in zones, having a light red or grey core, red margins and reddish brown surfaces. In many cases voids resulted by the melting of lime leave greyish prints in the reddish core. Baramūs N3 fabrics are medium-coarse, relatively open, and their fracture is irregular. They contain mainly flat, powdery, white (lime) particles and related irregular voids of all sizes (from very fine to very coarse) and of various shapes (from well-rounded to very angular), as well as very fine, well-rounded, flat mica specks and sparsely straw particles of various sizes (from fine to medium) that have left their impressions on the surfaces. The inclusions are fairly-sorted.

#### Baramūs Nile (N4): quartz-rich

Possible similar fabrics: Nordström and Bourriau 1993, (*Vienna System*) Nile E, 175, Pl. IIId-h; Pierrat 1991, (Ṭūd) LIII sans dégraissant vegetal, 148, 149; Dixneuf 2011, 34, Groupe A14.

The fracture presents grey - brown or grey - reddish zoning. Baramūs N4 fabrics medium-coarse, in some cases appearing rather open, and their fracture is irregular. They contain mainly spherical quartz grains of various sizes (from medium to coarse) and shapes (from well-rounded to rounded); white (lime) particles of various sizes (from medium-sized to very coarse) and shapes (from rounded to sub-rounded), mostly flat are common; very fine and fine, flat, well-rounded mica specks occur in moderate quantity; medium-sized to coarse, mostly flat pinkish particles of various shapes (from rounded to sub-rounded) and fine straw particles occur very sparsely. The inclusions are fairly- or well-sorted.

#### Baramūs Nile 5 (N5): quartz-rich, powdery

The fracture is red or reddish yellow in colour, usually homogeneous. Baramūs N5 fabrics are medium-fine, granular, relatively open, and their fracture is irregular. They contain mainly medium-sized to coarse, spherical quartz grains of various shapes (from well-rounded to sub-rounded); very fine, well-rounded, flat mica specks are common; coarse to very coarse, white (lime) particles of various shapes (from sub-rounded to sub-angular) sparsely occur. The inclusions are well- or very well-sorted.

## Baramūs Nile 6 (N6): rich in straw particles

Possible similar fabrics: Jacquet-Gordon 1972, (Isnā) Ib, 11; Nordström and Bourriau 1993, (*Vienna System*) Nile C, 173-174, Pl. IIe-i; Pierrat 1991, (Ţūd) pâtes LIII à dégraissant vegetal, 147-148, 149; Dixneuf 2011, 34-35, Groupe A16.

The fracture is defined in zones, having a dark grey or black core, yellowish red margins and mostly brown surfaces. Baramūs N6 fabrics are medium-coarse, open, and their fracture is irregular. They contain mainly fine or medium-sized straw particles; very fine, well-rounded, flat mica specks are common; white (lime) particles, mostly medium-sized or coarse occur sparsely in various shapes (from rounded to sub-angular); finally rounded, flat, pinkish particles might occur, although extremely sparsely. The inclusions are well-sorted.

## CALCAREOUS FABRICS



Fig. 3.5. Production zones of calcareous fabric vessels

The term calcareous is used to designate not only the rich in calcium carbonate desert clays (the so called marls: full discussion and relevant bibliography in: Bourriau *et al.* 2000, 121-122; Tomber 2006, 10-12) but a range of lime-rich clays that can be found and quarried in various regions throughout Egypt.

The so called Egyptian marl clays occur along the length of the Nile and they may originate from shales and limestone found along the river from Isnā to Cairo, or from secondary deposits such as those from the Wādī Oinā source of the most important modern calcareous (marl) clay industry. In the Roman times the term χοῦς χαυνόγειος (Cockle 1981, 93) was used to designate these clays; modern Egyptian potters use the names tafla or hīb (Brissaud

1982, 71-72). Egyptian marl clays derive from sediments washed down the  $w\bar{a}d\bar{i}$ , mixed with local shales and limestone (Butzer 1974, 377-382). They normally fire to a cream or white colour in an oxidising atmosphere, although the section may show pink or orange zones. It has been noted that this colour variability may depend on the firing temperatures (Nicholson and Patterson 1985, 231). Due to the fact that they are rich in mineral salts, their surface is frequently covered by a scum, that is to say a thin

layer of effloresced salts, which fire to form a white surface easily mistaken for a deliberate 'slip' coating. Representative samples of the fabric group referred to as 'Marl C' in the *Vienna System* (Nordström and Bourriau 1993, 179-181) were recently analysed and the ways that this scum can develop on the pottery were ascertained.<sup>34</sup> If fired to a high enough temperature c. 1000°C, this coating can become an olive green colour and sufficiently vitrified to resemble a green glaze (Bourriau *et al.* 2000, 122).

The variability of Egyptian 'marl' fabrics was noted by Nordström and Bourriau, who found easier to separate one 'marl' fabric from another than finding a dividing line between some Nile silt fabrics (Nordström and Bourriau 1993, 175-176). Indeed, various chemical studies proved that different marl sources are chemically distinct from each other (Tite 1972; Butzer 1974; Lacovara 1984). However, it is difficult to associate fabrics with source due to the lack of ancient production sites (Tomber 2006, 11). Classifications of 'marls' fabrics and divisions into sub-groups have appeared in various publications (Pierrat 1991, 148-149. Nordström and Bourriau 1993, 175-182. De Paepe and Gratien 1995, 63-67. Tomber 2006, 11).

Another source of calcareous clays (known as 'North-West Coastal' fabrics) is the Mareotis region, where pottery production was developed since the Ptolemaic times (Empereur 1986; Empereur and Picon 1986a; *Id.* 1989; *Id.* 1992; Majcherek and El-Shennawi 1991; 1992). Kilns producing a common range of amphora forms made of more or less similar fabrics were probably located along the entire north-west coastline of Egypt. Despite the broad similarities it is possible to distinguish a number of fabric variants, not always meaningful to the researcher working with a ceramic assemblage discovered beyond the Mareotis region. Dixneuf (2011, 28-30) discerned eight calcareous fabric variants (Groups: C4-C15), which she attributed to the Mareotis region.

Fieldwork in the Tall al-Garaby kiln-site proved the existence of two fabric variants. The first is described as 'buff-brown to red (2.5YR 5 / 6 – 5YR 5 / 4) with considerable amounts of limestone and sand temper' (Majcherek and El-Shennawi 1991, 5). The second is described with more details in a later publication: *it is medium coarse, rather dense and medium hard, tempered with some small-sized dark sand grits* – *up to 1mm. across. There are frequent organic inclusions, occasionally up to* 0.5 - 1 *mm. in size and a few mica specks. Small lime particles are usually common. Section colour varies between light red* (2.5YR 6 / 8) *and light grey* (2.5Y 7 / 2) (Majcherek and El-Shennawi 1992, 133-134). A third variant, similar to those characterising the Tall al-Garaby production was identified at Mons Claudianus. This one is redder in colour (2.5YR 5 / 6 - 5 / 8) and sandy. The limestone is often leached out of the clay and is visible as reaction rims (Tomber 2006, 13-14). A common characteristic of the first three variants is the creamy – white skin formed at the surface of the wares. This skin should not be seen as a slip or wash but rather as a scum residue resulting most likely from the use of saline water in the manufacturing

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Ownby and Griffiths 2009, 236: This scum can develop on the pottery in two distinct ways, both involving the movement of soluble salts to the surface. One process is the deposition of calcium and magnesium sulphates on the surface during drying. The other is the formation of calcium ferrosilicates on the surface during firing, a process which may be facilitated by the presence of sodium as a flux. The analyses indicate that both processes were involved in creating a scum on the surface at higher temperatures due to the formation of calcium ferrosilicates. The formation of this surface indicates the sophisticated knowledge of pottery making and firing of the Ancient Egyptians. All of the correct components in the appropriate amounts were needed for the surface to develop, in addition to the control of the firing to reach above 800°C.

process (Majcherek and El-Shennawi 1991, 5; 1992, 134. Matson 1974; Rodziewicz 1986, 312; Tomber 2006, 13).

Another production centre in the north-west coast is the region of Marsa Maţrūh. The first published description of the fabrics is given by Bailey (2002). The fabrics are described containing mainly white and in a few cases black grits that are interpreted as grains of sand. The author expresses his doubts as for whether these grits were deliberately added as a temper or whether they were picked up by chance during the preparation of the clay (Bailey 2002, 118). In practice, it is not easy to visually distinguish the Marsa Maţrūh fabrics from the general North-West Coastal production. Recent survey projects in the general area of Marmarica show that a well-organised network of workshops was in function in the region during Greco-roman times (Rieger and Böller 2011).

Along with the development of the famous shrine of Saint Mena (Abū Mīnā) in the Lake Mareotis, pottery production was developed at the site. Although the shrine itself survived from the fourth until the seventh century, it seems that the ceramic production in the area did not seize before the ninth century – or even later. The fabrics slightly differ according to the nature of the products. On the one hand the amphora fabrics have a creamy white (10YR 8 / 2 – 7 / 4) or light beige to yellow (10YR 7 / 4; 6 / 4) surface and often a pinkish break. They contain numerous very fine black and yellow particles, coarse white particles (calcite) and quartz (Ballet and Picon 1987, 33). On the other hand the fabrics of a certain pitcher-type (Egloff 1977, 134-135, Pl. 4,19; 29,2-4; 72,2-4, 5, types 227-228) are lighter than those of the amphorae, homogeneous in colour, beige, yellow or even green if over-fired. They are rich in mineral particles, especially black (Ballet and Picon 1987, 34).

According to the study of the ceramics found in the site of the Old Monastery of Baramūs the calcareous fabrics could be divided into six groups (C1 - C6).

## Baramūs Calcareous 1 (C1)

The fracture appears homogeneous or zoned presenting a colour range from light red to light brown and beige. Baramūs C1 fabrics are fine, dense, and their fracture is regular. They contain very fine, well-rounded, flat mica specks and sparsely very fine and / or fine, rounded, flat, white (lime) particles, along with fine to coarse, angular, flat red particles; very fine straw particles may occur, although very sparsely. The inclusions are very well-sorted.

### Baramūs Calcareous 2 (C2)

The fracture appears homogeneous or zoned presenting a colour range from light red to light brown, beige and greyish. Baramūs C2 fabrics are fine, granular, rather open, and their fracture is irregular. They contain very fine black, white (lime) and red particles, mica specks and quartz grains of various shapes (from well-rounded to sub-rounded). The inclusions are very well-sorted.

### Baramūs Calcareous 3 (C3)

This fabric group is divided into two sub-categories:

Baramūs C3A fabrics are characterised by a homogeneous or zoned fracture, while their surface usually appears light-coloured (light greenish, yellow or white). They are fine, granular, open, and their fracture is regular. They contain mainly very fine, wellrounded to rounded black particles, as well as very fine, well-rounded, flat mica specks and sparsely fine straw particles and medium-sized, sub-angular, flat red particles. White (lime) particles might be visible or completely merged with the clay matrix. The inclusions are very well sorted.

Baramūs C3B fabrics generally share the same characteristics with the sub-category C3A. What distinguishes them is the common presence of fine to medium-sized, well-rounded, spherical quartz grains in the matrix. The inclusions are very well sorted.



## Baramūs Calcareous 5 (C5)

## Baramūs Calcareous 4 (C4)

This fabric group corresponds to the fabrics of the Mareotis region, also known as North-West Coastal Fabrics and has been divided into two sub-categories:

**Baramūs C4A** includes fabrics the fracture of which is usually homogeneous, the commonest colours varying from red to orangered and buff-brown (2.5YR 5 / 6 (red) – 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red); the surface appears lightcoloured, yellow, creamy, or whitish. They are medium-fine, rather dense, and their fracture is generally regular. They contain mainly white (lime) particles, as well as black and red particles of various sizes (from very fine to coarse) and shapes (from well-rounded and spherical, to subangular and flat); medium-sized, rounded, spherical quartz grains, very fine, well-rounded, flat mica specks and sparsely fine straw particles also occur. The inclusions are well sorted.

Baramūs C4B fabrics seem like a coarser version of Baramūs C4A. In most of the cases their fracture is defined in zones, having a vellowish-brown greenish-grey or core. surrounded by margins that present remarkable hue variability according to sample - from pinkish and light orange to brownish red and red. The surface is light-coloured. Baramūs C4B fabrics are medium-coarse, relatively dense, and their fracture is regular. They contain exactly the same particles as the Baramūs C4A fabrics, but they appear fairly sorted, while in some cases the particles themselves are coarser.

The fracture appears homogeneous or zoned presenting a colour range from weak red to reddish brown. Baramūs C5 fabrics are medium-coarse, rather dense, rough, and their fracture is irregular. They contain mainly white (lime) particles and sparsely red and black particles of various sizes (from fine to very coarse) and shapes (from rounded to sub-angular); very fine, well-rounded, flat mica specks, medium-sized, spherical quartz grains of various shapes (from well-rounded to sub-rounded) and fine straw particles also occur. The inclusions are fairly sorted.

#### Baramūs Calcareous 6 (C6)

The fabrics of this group are known as 'calcareous with alluvial tendency'. Their fracture is usually defined in zones, having a grey core and red margins. They are medium-fine, dense, and their fracture is regular. They contain white (lime) particles and spherical quartz grains of all sizes and shapes. The inclusions are well or fairly sorted.

## ASWĀN KAOLINITIC FABRICS



Fig. 3.7. Production zones of Aswān kaolinitic fabric vessels

The Aswan region developed continuous a activity in the domain of pottery manufacture from at least the Ptolemaic and Roman periods (Rodziewicz 1992; *Id.* 2005) to the present day, where kaolinitic clavs are still mined (Mahmoud 1992, 183-184). The centre of the ceramic production should be located on the island of Elephantine, while kiln sites have been also found in the Saint Symeon monastery (Dayr Anbā Hadrā') and its surroundings, as well as south of the Nağ' al-Hağar region (Ballet et al. 1991, 140-143; Sieler 2008). The identification of Aswān fabrics as kaolinitic is due to Maurice Picon, who was the first to recognise this mineral characteristic (Ballet and Picon 1987, 43-48).

The Aswān kaolinitic fabrics (Adams 1986 / 1, 55-57; *Ibid.* / 2, 525-560; Ballet and Picon 1987, 43-48; Bailey 1998, 8; Tomber 2006, 12-13) are usually fired pink or pale orange; they might present a homogeneous or zoned fracture – often two-partite. They are, fine, dense and generally smooth or 'laminated' – meaning that they fracture in layers. They contain mainly red and black particles of various sizes (from fine to very coarse) and shapes (from well-rounded to sub-angular); very fine, well-rounded, flat mica specks are common; fine to medium-sized well-rounded, spherical quartz grains also occur; fine and medium-sized, sub-angular, flat white particles are sparse. The inclusions are well-sorted.

In thin section the red particles have been identified as fine-grained (inclusionless) argillaceous matter. Other particles observed were quartz, plagioclase and orthoclase feldspar, biotite mica, clinopyroxene, amphibole and zircon, along

with small pieces of sandstone, siltstone and a fine-grained siliceous rock, possibly chert (Tomber 2006, 13).

# 2.2 THE POTTERY: A BRIEF PRESENTATION OF THE CERAMIC FINDS

It is already mentioned that there is no better way to approach and to try understanding the history of a settlement than through the related pottery finds. Indispensible utensils as they were, they served in a number of domestic activities that can come back to life through the study of their scattered fragments. A rich repertory of ceramic forms has come to light during excavation in the Old Monastery of Baramūs.

The material found is presented according to functional category in the following order (Peña 2007, 20):

Table wares: employed<sup>35</sup> for the presentation and serving of food and drink.

Cooking wares: employed for the preparation and heating / cooking of foodstuffs, drink and other.

Utilitarian wares: employed for the preparation or storage, containment of food, drink and various other substances.

Amphorae: employed for the packaging, transportation, and storage of provisions, chiefly wine, olive oil, fish products and fruit.

Miscellaneous vessels

This order is not followed at random. Table wares include some well-dated classes and forms. Hence, it has been considered that the right way to start would be with the objects that could give a more precise dating and that could be presented in a certain chronological order. The function is a further criterion that was taken into consideration in the organisation of the material. Having started with the table wares, we continue following reversely the 'trip' of goods and provisions from the table, the kitchen (cooking wares) and the storerooms (utilitarian wares) of the consumers to their transport (amphorae) from their production place.

Each functional category is sub-divided at a more detailed level according to certain attributes.  $^{36}$ 

Table wares are presented according to their surface treatment and decoration as follows:

Red slip wares

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Here is noted the prime use, that is to say *the use of each ware for the application or applications for which it was manufactured* (Peña 2007, 8).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Attribute: a feature or characteristic of style, form, or technology of an artefact that forms the basis for analysis, as in classification; also called a variable (Rice 1987, 472).

Painted table wares Gouged / carved table wares Plain table wares Early glazed table wares Each of the above sub-categories is presented according to form (open – closed).

Cooking wares are divided according to form into:

Frying pans and casseroles (open forms) Cooking-pots and jars (closed forms) Casserole lids

In most of the published corpora of ceramic objects the casserole lids appear as part of the *miscellanea* objects. However, here it has been preferred to include them in the chapter referring to the cooking wares, as they constitute an inseparable part of the cooking process.

Utilitarian wares are also presented according to the treatment of their surface and their decoration:

Painted utilitarian Gouged / carved utilitarian Utilitarian with relief decoration Plain utilitarian

Each of the above sub-categories is presented according to form (open – closed).

Amphorae are divided into two main categories according to their provenance: Non-Egyptian Egyptian

They are presented in reference to well-established typologies (Egloff 1977; Riley 1979; Keay 1984).

Finally the various ceramic objects are separated according to their function as follows:

Wares containing Holy substances Censers Lamps: small vessels employed for lightning Lids and stoppers, reworked objects

In general, an effort has been made so as to present the material in a homogeneous manner and the following order has been followed: from finer to coarser wares; from open to closed forms; from smaller to larger vessels (when possible). It should be admitted that it was not always easy to arrange the material in a safe chronological order. This is due to two principal reasons: on the one hand the disturbed layers of the excavation site; on the other hand the fact that many of the ceramics unearthed belong to characteristically long-lasting pottery types that may remain unchangeable for centuries. As a result, the rim-form served as the ultimate criterion for the homogeneous arrangement of the finds.

It should be stressed that the pottery examined has arrived from various major or secondary production zones in and outside Egypt. According to the archaeological research thus far, the Old Monastery of Baramūs does not appear to be involved in any kind of pottery production. Therefore, the present study chiefly aims to use the ceramic finds as a means to sketch – and if possible to better understand – the history of the monastic community organised in the site. For that reason an exhaustive discussion of the research carried out so far – starting with the works that appeared since the late nineteenth century – is avoided. At any rate this information is given in numerous studies, and even more in studies focusing on specific productions. Only an account of the recent advances and the new issues that have arisen is given, so as to view if and to what extent the finds from the Old Monastery of Baramūs can contribute to the overall study of certain wares.

## 2.2.1 TABLEWARE

## RED SLIP WARE

The most important series of Late Roman table wares, present in the Mediterranean, and of course in the site of the Old Baramūs as well, are the red slip wares. These wares own their name to the substantial glossy or matt red slip applied on their surfaces. Slip was usually achieved by dipping the still unfired vessel into diluted liquid clay to cover the entire surface with a coating of fine particles (Rice 1987, 482; Greene 1992, 50). The Late Roman red slip wares continue a long tradition that falls back to the Hellenistic times. They are the descendants of the Roman red-gloss wares and their finest variants, known as *terra-sigillata*, a term that can be translated as 'stamped earth'.<sup>37</sup>

### African Red Slip Ware

The actual beginning of a new era in the pottery manufacture was marked by the activity developed in Africa Proconsularis and Byzacena from the end of the first century. The red slip wares produced in the various North African workshops unequivocally differ than their *terra-sigillata* predecessors by disparities in fabric and surface treatment. The fabric is generally coarser and lighter in colour, and does not have the high gloss surface of the earlier wares. Since the fourth century A.D. these technological and morphological trends were followed by workshops situated in the Eastern Mediterranean, such as Asia Minor and presumably Cyprus, as well as by local secondary productions, such as those developed in Egypt, Jordan and so on. The above development had not crystallised before the fourth century.

African red slip wares (Waagé 1933: Late Roman A and B Ware; Lamboglia 1950: terra sigillata chiara A, C and D; Hayes 1972, 13-299; Mackensen 1993; Bonifay 2004, 155-210) are characterised by a soft, relatively dense, rough fabric, granular in appearance that fires orange-red to brick-red and mainly includes lime particles of various sizes and shapes, as well as very fine to fine spherical quartz grains. In the catalogue this fabric is termed African1, to be discerned from the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Terra Sigillata derives from the Latin term 'sigillatus', that is to say the one that is decorated with 'sigilla', stamped or relief/ appliqué motifs. Glare 1976, 1757.

African fabrics used in the amphorae manufacture. The slip is generally slightly deeper in tone than the body-clay and may appear smooth and lustrous when thickly applied, or matt in the case of thinner coatings. African 1 variant should not be regarded as oversimplified as regards the various different workshops and fabrics extracted in Tunisia (see next page). It simply represents a common production zone in northern Tunisia. As one may see, while reading the catalogue entries, most of the African red slip wares found in the Old Baramūs come from the very same



Fig. 3.8. Map of Tunisia: production zones of African red slip wares

workshops.

The three main production zones of African red slip wares have been located in modern Tunisia (Bonifay 2003, 563; Id. 2004, 45-58; Ben Moussa 2007). In the southern part of the country the workshops of Sīdī 'Aiš (Stern 1968 25.303.43) seem to have been the most important. In central Tunisia the production of the Sīdī Marzūg Tūnsī workshops appears extremely active during the period from the second half of the fifth until the first half of the sixth century. Finally, in the north, the workshops of al-Mahrin produced red slip wares in a long period from the fourth to the seventh century, while those of Sīdī Halīfa (Pheradi Maius) (Brun 2007) flourished in the second half of the fifth and in the sixth century and the workshops of Udna in the sixth

and the seventh century. The workshops have been divided into urban and rural, according to their location, the latter being represented by the minor workshop of Sīdī Zahrūnī (Banī Ḥiyār) (Bonifay 2004, 57; Ghalia *et al.* 2005).

More than one hundred highly standardised vessel forms were manufactured and commercialised throughout the period of the African red slip wares' production. Each form shows relatively little development, being in most cases superseded by completely new shapes. As a result, forms change rather frequently, only few surviving more than a century, a factor that facilitates the task of classification and dating.

Seven different forms of African red slip ware are so far discovered in the Old Monastery of Baramūs (Nos. 1-17, Figs. 7.5a-b), covering a period from the fourth until the first half of the seventh century. However, it seems that the contacts between the Monastery and the African workshops – especially those situated in the north – were more intense in the fifth century (Fig. 3.89), as indicated by the large quantities of dishes with two-part flaring rims (Nos. 2-7) (Hayes 1972, 112-116, Fig. 19, form 67; Mackensen 1993, 403-405, 595-596, Taf. 56-57, form 9.1-5; Bonifay 2004, 171-173, type 41) found in the site. The boom of African imports in late fourth – fifth

century Egyptian sites is discussed in a recent article of Ballet, Bonifay and Marchand , which aims to shed light on the contacts and the trade routes developed in the north African *plateau* (Ballet *et al., forthcoming*).

Hayes 61A

 Context 3. 07I[43](78)83. Fig. 3.9. Rim. Dish with slightly in-turned rim, flattened on the outside. Fabric: African 1; 10R 6 / 6 (light red).
 Slip: dense, smooth, relatively lustrous; 10R 5 / 6 (red).
 Production place: valley of Mağarda (Mackensen 1993, 321; Bonifay 2004, 167).
 Date: second half of 4<sup>th</sup> – early 5<sup>th</sup> c.
 Parallels / Bibliography: Hayes 1972, 100-107, Figs. 16-17, form 61A; Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 69, type 5; Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 57; Mackensen 1993, 401-403, 592, Taf. 53, form 4.2. Bailey 1998 (al-Ašmūnayn / Hermopolis), 3, Pl. 2, A14-A15; Bavay *et al.* 2000 (Şān al-Ḥağar / Tanis), Fig. 11.3-4; Marchand and Laisney 2000 (Dandara), 272, No. 138.

Hayes 67

This form (Hayes 1972, form 67, 112-116, Fig. 19; Mackensen 1993, form 9.1-5, 403-405, 595-596, Taf. 56-57; Bonifay 2004, type 41, 171-173) includes large bowls with two-part flaring rims produced in al-Mahrin (Mackensen 1993, 325-327) and dating to the second half of the fifth century. The diversity of the occurring variants suggests that they were probably also manufactured in other workshops (Hayes 1972, 115; Bonifay 2004, 171). The form is rather common throughout Egypt, occurring in numerous sites, such as Kellia (Egloff 1977, 69-70, types 6-8), Şān al-Hağar / Tanis (Bavay *et al.* 2000, Fig. 11.5-8), Karanis (Johnson 1981, 9PIs. 33-34, Nos. 214-219), al-Ašmūnayn / Hermopolis (Bailey 1998, 3-4, Pl. 2, A21-A51), Dandara (Marchand and Laisney 2000, 272, Nos. 131-134), Elephantine (Gempeler 1992, 57, Abb. 2, Nr. 1).

**2.** Context 1. 99I[11](62)18.2. Fig. 3.9. Almost full profile – base missing. Two-part flaring rim, hooked at the lip; one groove on rim's upper face; curved body. Fabric: African 1. 10R 5 / 8 (red). Slip: dense, smooth, semi-lustrous; 10R 5 / 8 (red).

**3.** Context 1. 99I[8](60)15. Fig. 3.9. Rim. Two-part flaring rim, rolled at the lip; one groove on rim's upper face. Fabric: African 1. 10R 5 / 8 (red). Slip: dense, semi-lustrous; 10R 5 / 8 (red).

**4.** Context 1. 99I[6](59)13. Fig. 3.9. Rim. Two-part flaring rim, rolled at the lip; two grooves on rim's upper face. Fabric: African 1. Zoned break. Core: .5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow), margins: 10R 6 / 6 (light red) – 5 / 6 (red). Slip: dense, matt; 10R 5 / 8 (red).

**5.** Context 1. 99I[11](62)18. Fig. 3.9. Rim and body. Two-part flaring rim; one groove on rim's upper face; curved, slightly sagging body. Fabric: African 1. 10R 5 / 8 (red). Slip: dense, semi-lustrous; 10R 5 / 8 (red).

**6.** Context 1. 99I[2](47)1. Fig. 3.9. Rim. Two-part flaring rim, rather hooked at the lip; one groove on rim's upper face. Fabric: African 1. 10R 5 / 8 (red). Slip: generally flaked out; matt appearance. 10R 5 / 8 (red).

**7.** Context 1. 99I[5](65)10. Fig. 3.9. Rim. Fabric: African 1. 10R 5 / 8 (red). Slip: dense, semi-lustrous. 10R 5 / 8 (red).



Fig. 3.9. African red slip vessels found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 1-12)

Hayes 73

8. Contexts 3 / 4. 07I[43](84)89. Fig. 3.9. Full profile.
Small bowl with broad horizontal rim forming a raised lip, hooked on the underside, steep wall and low foot. The surviving fragment does not bear any notches on the lip's upper edge.
Fabric: African 1. 10R 6 / 6 (light red).
Slip: applied on the inside and the upper part of the outside; thin, matt, well merged with the clay-body. 10R 5 / 8 (red).
Production place: Tunisia.
Date: 5<sup>th</sup> c. (420-475)
Parallels / Bibliography: Hayes 1972, 121-124, Fig. 21, form 73; Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 71, types 9-11; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999 (Kellia), 525, Fig. 410, No. 13Mackensen 1993, 406-407, 601, Taf. 61, form 16.2; Bailey 1998 (al-Ašmūnayn / Hermopolis), 4, Pl. 3, A53; Bavay *et al.* 2000 (Ṣān al-Ḥaǧar / Tanis), Fig. 11.7; Ballet 2004 (Kysis), 226-227, Fig. 222. No. 59.

#### Hayes 91B

9. Contexts 3 / 4. 07I[43](78)83+[42](79)84. Fig. 3.9. Rim and body.
Flanged-rim bowl with hemispherical body bearing decoration of feather rouletting on the inside.
Fabric: African 1. 10R 6 / 8 (light red).
Slip: thin, matt – damaged due to salt. 10R 6 / 8 (light red) – 5 / 6 (red).
Production place: Udna (Bonifay 2004, 55).
Date: second half of 5<sup>th</sup> – early 6<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Hayes 1972, 140-144, Fig. 26, form 91B; Mackensen 1993, 430-432, 619-620, Taf. 75, form 52.3; Johnson 1981 (Karanis), 9, Pl. 35, Nos. 225-231; Bailey 1998 (al-Ašmūnayn / Hermopolis), 6, Pl. 5, A183 (form 91C); Bavay *et al.* 2000 (Şān al-Ḥağar / Tanis), Fig. 11.11-12;

Marchand and Laisney 2000 (Dandara), 272, Nos. 126-129; Bonifay 2004, 179, type 51.

Hayes 94

10. Context 1. 99I-NW Corner-38. Fig. 3.9. Rim.
Small bowl with downturned rim, flat on the top and rolled on the underside.
Fabric: African 1. 10R 5 / 8 (red).
Slip: dense, lustrous. 10R 5 / 8 (red).
Production place: Tunisia.
Date: late 5<sup>th</sup> – early 6<sup>th</sup>
Parallels / Bibliography: Hayes 1972, 148, Fig. 27, form 94; Mackensen 1993, 414, 605, Taf. 64, form 20.2.

Hayes 98

11. Context 1. 06II[2](2)4. Fig. 3.9. Rim and body.
Shallow bowl with short, flat rim.
Fabric: African 1. 10R 5 / 6 (red).
Slip: dense, semi-lustrous. 10R 5 / 6 (red).
Production place: Udna (Bonifay 2004, 55)
Date: late 5<sup>th</sup> – early 7<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Hayes 1972, 151-152, form 98; Mackensen 1993, 604, Taf. 64, form 19.1; Bonifay 2004, 185, type 58.

Hayes 111

12. W sector (Cells). 96III[1](3)10. Fig. 3.9. Rim.
Heavy knobbed rim. Most likely a fragment of a large shallow dish with inset compartments.
Fabric: African 1, granular. 10R 5 / 6 (red).
Slip: dense, semi-lustrous. 10R 5 / 8 (red).
Production place:
Date: late 6<sup>th</sup> – first half of 7<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Hayes 1972, 172-173, Fig. 33, form 111.



Fig. 3.10. stamped sherds of African red slip vessels found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 13-17)

Stamped sherds

**13.** Contexts 3 / 4. 07I[31](45)48. Fig. 3.10. Body-sherd. Fabric: African 1. 10R 6 / 6 (light red).

Slip: thin, matt. 10R 4 / 8 (dark red).

Decoration: two concentric grooves form a band enclosing a row of stamps. Each stamp is composed by five concentric circles. A wider chevron band is also visible. Production place: probably al-Mahrin. Date: mid-5<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Hayes 1972, 236, Fig. 40, stamp 28.

14. Context 1+ Contexts 3 / 4. 99I-11+07I[31](45)48. Fig. 3.10. Base-sherds. Fabric: African 1. 10R 6 / 6 (light red). Slip: matt, flaked-out. 10R 6 / 8 (light red) - 5 / 6 (red). Decoration: four concentric grooves enclose alternating palm branches and stamps composed by four concentric circles with whirl fringe. Production place: probably al-Mahrin. Date: second half of  $4^{th}$  – first half of  $5^{th}$  c. Parallels / Bibliography: palm branches: Hayes 1972, 229, Fig. 38, stamp 4; circles: Hayes 1972, 237, Fig. 40, stamp 36. 15-16. Contexts 3 / 4. 07I 45+47. 07I[42](79)84. Fig. 3.10. Base-sherds. Fabric: African 1. 10R 6 / 6 (light red). Slip: smooth, dense and semi-lustrous on the inside, thin, well merged with the clay-body on the outside. 1-R 5 / 6 (red). Decoration: a triple groove encloses alternating chevrons and cross-hatched squares. Production place: probably al-Mahrin. Date: first half of 5<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: chevrons: Hayes 1972, 243, Fig. 42, stamp 75; squares: Hayes 1972, 241, Fig. 42, stamp 69.

17. Contexts 3 / 4. 07I[30](46)49. Fig. 3.10. Body-sherd.
Fabric: African 1. 10R 6 / 6 (light red).
Slip: thin, matt, well merged with the clay-body. 10R 6 / 8 (light red).
Decoration: alternating palm-branch and square divided by a diagonal cross with hatching in each quadrant.
Production place: probably al-Mahrin.
Date: second half of 4<sup>th</sup> – second half of 5<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: palm-branch: Hayes 1972, 229, Fig. 38, stamp 4; square: Hayes 1972, 247, stamp 95.

#### So-called 'Cypriot' Red Slip Ware /Late Roman 'D'

Although not as vigorous as Africa and Asia Minor, the island of Cyprus is considered to have been a further major production centre of red slip wares in the Mediterranean from the late fourth century to around 700. Hayes introduced the term Cypriot red slip ware (Hayes 1972, 371-386) for the ware that was earlier classified by Waagé (1948, 52) as Late Roman 'D', based on the striking similarities between that and the early Roman ware, known as Cypriot sigillata (Hayes 1967. See also: Daszkiewicz and Schneider 1997). However, there is no decisive proof that the wares carrying in their names the adjective 'Cypriot' were actually manufactured on the island. On the one hand no kiln sites have been so far discovered (Meyza 1995, 179; *Idem* 2007, 18), and on the other hand the extensive sampling of clay sources and some experiments have shown that there is no exact match between any of the known sources and the wares under examination (Meyza 2007, 20). In addition, the consistency between the 'Cypriot' sigillata and the 'Cypriot' red slip ware is not utterly confirmed. On the contrary, archaeological studies and laboratory technological analyses proved their slightly different character (Meyza 1995, 182).

The situation became more perplexed, after the discovery of a similar ware that was produced in the south Asia Minor coast or more precisely in the vicinity of Perge. At first, it was suggested that the 'Cypriot' red slip ware was produced there (Atik 1995, 129-174). Soon, the south Anatolian production was recognised as a different ware (Firat 2000), technically very close to the standard 'Cypriot' red slip ware, but with a distinct form repertory. The recent discoveries (Firat and Poblome 2011) necessitate the re-examination of relevant pieces from the island of Cyprus that were initially identified as 'Cypriot' red slip ware.

It is obvious that the problem of origin of the ware classified as 'Cypriot' red slip remains open, while still only indirect evidence points Cyprus as the probable production centre (Meyza 2007, 18). The discussion about the origin and nomenclature of the 'Cypriot' red slip ware is hence rekindled. Firat and Poblome (2011) observed that it may be part of an *umbrella* ware, whose production zone extends in southern Asia Minor and possibly incorporates the island of Cyprus as well. According to them, returing to the term Late Roman 'D' for the ware seems more correct.

Late Roman 'D' wares are characterised by hard, dense, smooth fabrics that include mainly fine or medium-sized white particles of various shapes. Laboratory studies showed that the clays have a relatively low content of calcium in the matrix, but quite numerous lime impurities. Particles of calcareous inclusions that often erupt after firing are common (Meyza 2007, 17-18). The degree of firing and colour vary enormously, ranging from almost yellow, brown and red to deep maroon and purple. The slip coating is applied to the entire surface of the vessels and its nature is similar to that of the body-clay, tending to merge with it; it may appear matt or lustrous according to firing. The outside of the rim often appears discoloured, its colour ranging from cream and yellowish to brownish and dark red. This characteristic implies a firing in stacks inside the kiln (Hayes 1972, 371). The vessel forms are less standardised than those of the African wares (Hayes 1972, 371-372).

Late Roman 'D' wares arrived in the Old Monastery of Baramūs, almost steadily, since the second half of the fourth until the seventh century (Nos. 18-36, Fig. 3.11). In the fifth century they were largely surpassed by the African red slip dishes, but in turn they dominate in the sixth and the seventh century (Fig. 3.89). The forms recognised as belonging to this ware are classified according to the typology recently established by Meyza (2007, 43-81), which incorporates the twelve forms that Hayes first discerned (Hayes 1972, 372-385).

Meyza H1

**18.** Context 1. 99I[14](74)31. Fig. 3.11. Rim. Bowl with plain, slightly thickened rim and sloping walls. Fabric: 10R 5 / 6 (red). Slip: lustrous. 10R 4 / 4 (weak red). Date: third quarter of  $4^{th} - \text{mid-}5^{th}$  c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Hayes 1972, 372-373, fig. 80, form 1; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999 (Kellia), 525, Fig. 485, No. 10; Bavay *et al.* 2000 (Ṣān al-Ḥaǧar / Tanis), Fig. 13.1; Meyza 2007, 44-45, form H1.

Meyza H1 / 3C

**19.** Context 1. 99I[11](62)18. Fig. 3.11. Rim. Dish with chamfered rim and curved walls. Fabric: 2.5YR 6 / 6 (light red). Slip: applied on the whole vessel; thinner coat on the inside; matt. 2.5 YR 5 / 6. The outside of the rim appears discoloured. Date: mid-4<sup>th</sup> – second half of 5<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Haves 1972 372-373 fig. 80 form 1: Bayay *et al.* 2000 (Sān al-Hağar /

Parallels / Bibliography: Hayes 1972, 372-373, fig. 80, form 1; Bavay *et al.* 2000 (Ṣān al-Ḥağar / Tanis), Fig. 13.4; Meyza 2007, 49-50, Pl. 3.18, form H1 / 3C.

**20.** Context 1. 99I[12](68)25. Fig. 3.11. Full profile

Dish with thickened rim, slightly bevelled on the outside, sloping walls and low foot.  $E_{1} = 25 \text{ MP} 5 + 66 \text{ (}-1 \text{)}$ 

Fabric: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red).

Slip: flaked out on the outer surface; relatively thick, semi-lustrous on the inside. 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). The outside of the rim appears discoloured, in various hues of cream-yellow.

Date: mid- $4^{th}$  – second half of  $5^{th}$  c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Hayes, 1972, 372-373, fig. 80, form 1; Bavay *et al.* 2000 (Sān al-Ḥağar / Tanis), Fig. 13.3; Meyza 2007, 49-50, Pl. 3.18, form H1/3C.

21. Context 1. 99I[5](56)10. Fig. 3.11. Rim.

Small dish with thickened rim and sloping walls. Wavy-like notches on the rim's outer face and one line of rouletting on the outer surface.

Fabric: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red).

Slip: generally damaged; lustrous, with metallic appearance. The rim is discoloured. Body: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red), rim: 10YR 7 / 4 (very pale brown).

Date: mid- $4^{th}$  – second half of  $5^{th}$  c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Hayes, 1972, 372-373, fig. 80, form 1; Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 77, type 24; Meyza 2007, 49-50, Pl. 3.18, form H1 / 3C.



Fig. 3.11. Late Roman 'D' vessels found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 18-36)

#### Meyza K1

**22.** Context 1. 99I[13](69)26. Fig. 3.11. Full profile. Medium deep bowl with triangular, heavy rim forming a straight inner face; flaring wall; ring base. One line of rouletting decorates the outer surface.

Fabric: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red).

Slip: generally damaged (erased). The rim is discoloured: 10YR 7 / 4 (very pale brown).

Date: late  $4^{th}$  – first half of  $5^{th}$  c. (380-450).

Parallels / Bibliography: Hayes 1972, 373-376, fig. 80, form 2; Rodziewicz 1976 (Alexandria), 46, D7-D8; Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 77, type 20; Meyza 2007, 50, Pl. 7.7.20, form K1.

#### Meyza H2

The form (Hayes, 1972, 373-376, Fig. 80, form 2; Meyza 2007, 51-53, form H2) includes deep plates with knobbed grooved rim, curved rouletted walls and ring base. It occurs rather frequently in Alexandria (Rodziewicz 1984, Pl. 37. 138-139) and in sites of the Delta and the northern Sinai (Ballet 1997c, 123, Pl. I, No. 1; *Eadem* 1997d, 129, Pl. I, No.1; *Eadem* 2000, 217, Fig. 218, Nos. 61, 62).

23. Context 2. 99I[9](70)27.1. Fig. 3.11. Rim and body.
Dish with knobbed, grooved rim and curved walls. Two irregular lines of rouletting decorate the outer surface.
Fabric: 5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow).
Slip: thin, matt. The rim is discoloured. Body: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red), rim: 10YR 8 / 3 (very pale brown).
Date: late 5<sup>th</sup> – early 6<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography:

**24.** Context 1. 99I[2](47)1. Fig. 3.11. Rim. Small dish with slightly knobbed, grooved rim and sloping walls. One line of roulettig, marked by a horizontal incision at its mid-height, decorates the outer surface. Fabric: 5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow). Slip: flaked-out and heavily damaged. 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Date: late 5<sup>th</sup> – early 6<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography:

**25.** Context 1. 98V[2](2)16.1. Fig. 3.11. Base. Dish. Low foot base; sloping walls. Rouletting on the outside. Fabric: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Slip: smooth, dense. 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red) Date: late  $5^{th}$  – early  $6^{th}$  c. Parallels / Bibliography:

Meyza H5 (?)

26. Context 2. 99I[19](64)20. Fig. 3.11. Full profile.
Bowl with thickened rim, grooved on top, and wall smoothly sloping towards a flat base. One line of rouletting decorates the outer surface.
Fabric: 7.5YR 6 / 4 (light brown).
Slip: flaked-out; matt. 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red).
Date: early 6<sup>th</sup> – mid-7<sup>th</sup> c. (?)
Parallels / Bibliography: Meyza 2007, 56-57, form H5.

Meyza K3

27. Context 2. 99I[9](76)33. Fig. 3.11. Rim.
Dish with thickened, slightly incurved rim.
Fabric: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red).
Slip: smooth, semi-lustrous. The rim is discoloured. Body: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red), rim: 10YR 7 / 4 (very pale brown).
Date: 530 / 540-670 / 680
Parallels / Bibliography: Meyza 2007, 64, Pl. 9, form K3.

28. Context 7. 07III[22](39)36. Fig. 3.11. Rim.
Dish with thickened, incurved rim and rouletted outer wall.
Fabric: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red).
Slip: partially flaked-out. The rim is discoloured. Body: 10R 5 / 6 - 4 / 6 (red), rim: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red) - 10YR 7 / 3 (very pale brown).
Date: 530 / 540-670 / 680
Parallels / Bibliography: Meyza 2007, 64, Pl. 9, form K3.

Meyza K1 / K3

29. Context 1. 99I[6](59)13. Fig. 3.11. Rim and body.
Medium-deep bowl with triangular rim and flaring wall.
Fabric: 2.5YR 6 / 8 (light red).
Slip: applied on the whole vessel; thicker coat on the outside; lustrous. 10R 4 / 8 (red).
Date: 5<sup>th</sup> - 7<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Meyza 2007, 65, Pl. 8.20, form K1 / K3 (5<sup>th</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup> c.). Bavay *et al.* 2000 (Şān al-Ḥağar / Tanis), Fig. 13.8; Martin 2008 (Schedia), 266, Fig. 12.

Hayes 9B

**30.** Context 9. 99V[1](5)5.3. Fig. 3.11. Full profile. Shallow dish with thickened incurved rim, convex on the outside and projecting from the wall at the bottom; the wall is flaring and rests on a broad flat base that bears a groove to form a pseudo-foot. Four lines of rouletting decorate the outer wall.

Fabric: 2.5YR 6 / 6 (light red).

Slip: thin, glossy, flaked-out on the inside. 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red) – 4 / 6 (red). Date: late  $6^{th} - 7^{th}$  c.

Date: fate o = / c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Hayes 1972, 379-382, Fig. 81-82, form 9B; Vogt 1997b (Pelusium), 4-5, Pl. II, Fig. 1, Nos. 7-8; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999 (Kellia), 525, Fig. 485, No. 12.

Meyza K3B / K4A

The form (Meyza 2007, 68, Pl. 9, form K3B / K4A) includes dishes with knobbed, often grooved rather high rim. They date to the period from the late sixth to the seventh century.

**31.** Church. 05I-Under plaster floor. Fig. 3.11. Full profile. Shallow dish with knobbed, grooved rim, sloping walls and low foot. Triangular notches on the outside of the rim and roulette decoration on the outer wall Fabric: 5YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown).

Slip: thin, matt. The rim is discoloured. Body: 2.5YR 4 / 6, rim: 10YR 7 / 4 (very pale brown), 2.5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown).

Date: 6<sup>th</sup>-7th c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Bavay et al. 2000 (Sān al-Hağar / Tanis), Fig. 13.8; Martin 2008, 266, Fig. 12.

**32.** Context 2. 99I[19](64)20. Fig. 3.11. Full profile.

Dish with knobbed, grooved rim, slightly projecting from the wall at the bottom, sloping wall and a flat base. Two lines of roulettig, marked by a horizontal incision above their mid-height, decorate the outer surface.

Fabric: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red).

Slip: where it is better preserved it appears lustrous and shiny, but it is generally thin and matt. The rim is discoloured. Body: 10R 4 / 3 (weak red) and 5YR 5 / 8 (yellowish red) - 5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown), rim: 7.5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow).

Date: 6<sup>th</sup>-7th c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 2003 (Kellia), 440, Fig. 410, No. 16.

**33.** Context 1. 99I[10](73)30. Fig. 3.11. Rim. Dish with knobbed, grooved rim. Fabric: 7.5YR 5 / 4 (brown). Slip: flake-out; some traces of red slip are merely visible. Production place: Date: 6<sup>th</sup>-7th c. Parallels / Bibliography:

**34.** Context 2. 99I[19](64)20+[9](70)27.2. Fig. 3.11. Rim. Dish with knobbed, grooved rim and sloping walls. One line of rouletting decorates the outer surface. Fabric: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Slip: lustrous. The rim is discoloured. Body: 10R 5 / 8, rim: 7.5YR 7 / 4 (pink). Date: 6<sup>th</sup>-7th c. Parallels / Bibliography: Bavay *et al.* 2000 (§ān al-Ḥaǧar / Tanis), Fig. 14.14.

**35.** Context 1. 99I[5](56)10. Fig. 3.11. Rim. Rim; notches visible on its outer face. On line of rouletting on the outer wall. Fabric: 5YR 5/6 (yellowish red). Slip: thick, dense, matt. The rim is discoloured. Body: 5YR 5 / 6 – 4 / 6 (yellowish red), rim: 7.5YR 7 / 3 (pink). Date: 6<sup>th</sup>-7th c. Parallels / Bibliography: Rodziewicz (Alexandria) 1984, 139, Pl. 37; Bavay *et al.* 2000 (Şān al-Ḥağar / Tanis), Fig. 14.17.

### Base

**36.** Context 1. 99I[5](56)10. Fig. 3.11. Base. Base sherd with stamped decoration on the floor: hatched spiral-like pattern. Fabric: 5YR 5/6 (yellowish red). Slip: thin, matt. 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red) – 5YR 4 / 6 (yellowish red). Date: late 4<sup>th</sup> – early 5<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Meyza 2007, 50 (form K1?)

## Phocaean Red Slip Ware

Phocaean red slip ware is also known under the name Late Roman 'C', which was attributed to it by Waagé (1933, 298; 1948, 51-52). Hayes noted the connection between Late Roman C and the earlier Çandarli ware (known also as Eastern Sigillata C) a product of the Pergamon region.<sup>38</sup> He was led to this assumption by a number of technical similarities that indicated a common origin for both wares. Similar forms and surface treatment along with common clay sources and areas of distribution

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Çandarli (Loeschke 1912) or Eastern Sigillata C (Kenyon 1957) is the counterpart of the African red slip ware on the Mediterranean market during the latter part of the second and the third century. It is the longest-lived of the earlier Roman wares of the East, still being produced in the early fourth century.

signified that the Çandarli ware should be seen as the forerunner of the Late Roman C (Hayes 1972, 369).

Indeed, the production centre of the last class was eventually located in ancient Phocaea, modern Eski Foça, at the coast of Asia Minor (Turkey), some thirty kilometres south-west of Çandarli (Hayes 1980a, 525-527). In fact, the initial discovery of the wasters in the region had taken place as early as in the ninety-sixties (Langlotz 1969, 377-381). Nevertheless, it took years to realise the true significance of this discovery and to confirm the status of Phocaea as a major production site



Fig. 3.12. Phocaean red slip vessels found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 37-39)

A very restricted number of sherds dating to the sixth century represent this ware in Baramūs (Nos. 37-39, Fig. 3.12). They all belong to the same sixth century type of dishes with thickened rim that forms a concave outer face, an overhang at the bottom and an off-set at the junction with the wall (Hayes 1972, 329-338, Fig. 69, form 3F). Indeed, Phocaean red slip vessels were never massively exported to Egypt, like in other regions. Its distribution in Egypt centres chiefly in the Western Coast (Marsa Maṭrūḥ: Bailey 1998, 139-140, Figs. 12.14, 12.102, 12.103) and the Delta – *eg.* Kellia (Egloff 1977, 76, type 18; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999, 525, Fig. 485, No. 9; Ballet 2003a, 73, Fig. 2, No. 5; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 2003, 440, Fig. 410, No. 13), Ṣān al-Ḥağar / Tanis (Bavay *et al.* 2000, Fig. 16.1-4), Schedia (Martin 2008, 266, Fig. 13) – and the northern Sinai (Vogt 1997b, 2-3, Pl. II, Fig. 1, No.2).

**37.** Context 1. 99I[12]16. Fig. 3.12. Rim. Fabric: 2.5YR 5 / 8. Slip: thin, matt. 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red).

**38.** Context 2. 99I[9](71)28. Fig. 3.12. Rim. Two lines of rouletting outside the rim. Fabric: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Slip: thin, matt. 2 / 5YR 4 / 8 (red).

**39.** Context 2. 99I[19](64)20. Fig. 3.12. Rim. One line of rouletting outside the rim. Fabric: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Slip: thin, matt. 2.5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown) – 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red).

## Aswān Red Slip (Group O) and White Slip (Group W) Ware

African workshops along with those situated in the Eastern Mediterranean– Phocaea in Asia Minor and presumably Cyprus – stand as the most important production centres of red slip wares in the Mediterranean region, their products being subjects of large scale commerce. These three productions seem to have influenced largely some peripheral workshops, among which are those of the Aswān region, in Egypt. The question of red slip wares' imitation automatically rises, although the pottery studies nowadays tend to refer mostly to 'secondary' production zones, gradually renouncing the aforementioned term.

We have already referred to the Aswān fabrics and the workshops located in the region. It is attested that the Aswān kilns were producing a huge amount of ceramics over an extended period of time, from the Ptolemaic and Roman periods (Rodziewicz 1992; *Id.* 2005) until medieval times (Vogt 1997a, 245-250). The first to publish representative samples of Aswān fine slipped wares were Winlock and Crum (1926, 85-87, Pl. 31-32), in their monograph dedicated to the Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes. Since that time, many publications appeared, and there are various different terms and classifications referring to the ware.

The Aswān workshops produced wares coated with a red or a white slip, appearing in the bibliography under different terms. Adams initially referred to the Aswān red slip ware as 'Samian' red ware (Adams 1962, 272, ware 4), and to the white slip ware as 'Samian' cream ware (Adams 1962, 273, ware13). Rodziewicz preferred the terms 'Group O' (Rodziewicz 1976, 54-60, Pls. 23-31) for the first and 'Group W' (Rodziewicz 1976, 61-62, Pls. 32-33) for the latter, using the initials on the one hand of the word 'orange', on the other hand of the word 'white', indicating at the same time the colour of the slip applied on each ware. Hayes (1972, 387-397, Figs. 85-87; Id. 1980, 531-532) classified the ware as Egyptian red slip 'A' (Coptic red slip ware is also suggested by this author), adding a paragraph about its white slip relative. In his Supplement to Late Roman Pottery he described the variant of Egyptian red 'A' ware with cream vellow slip (Haves 1980a, 531-532). Kubiak (1990), referring to types dating from the seventh until the second half of the eleventh century found in Fusțāț, suggested a handy classification, which relied chiefly on surface treatment and colour. Unfortunately, I could not make use of it, as the Baramūs material appeared extremely damaged on its surface, due to the high consistency of salt in the soil that covered them. Bailey (1998, 8-38) used the term Aswān red slip ware, while he preferred the term Aswān fine ware for the white slip variants.

Adams (1986, 2, 525-560, family A), in his monumental work *Ceramic Industries of Medieval Nubia* gave a full account of the groups, wares and forms that correspond to the Aswān red and white slip ware products. The fullest discussion and illustration of a vast amount of Aswān products is to be found in Gempeler's (1992) publication of the ceramics unearthed in the island of Elephantine. Recent fieldwork taking place in Aswān aims to shed more light on questions concerning the slipped wares produced in the region (Martin – Kilcher and Wininger 2006<sup>39</sup>; *Id.* 2007).

In the present study it is preferred to use the most explicit and descriptive terms Aswān red slip and white slip ware. Despite the fact that they often include common

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> I would like to express my thankfulness to Sylvie Marchand for providing me with a photocopy of this article.

forms, each object or sherd is presented separately, due to their distinctive technical characteristics.

Aswān red slip ware is correctly described by Hayes (1972, 387) as the finest of the Egyptian wares, although its quality seems rather poor when compared to its African prototypes. The characteristic pink Aswān kaolinitic clay was used in its manufacture. Therefore, the ware generally appears pinkish or orange-red in colour, coated with a thin, matt, generally flaky slip, which in many cases seems to have merged with the body-clay. Otherwise, when the slip is thickly applied and carefully burnished it may obtain a smooth, soapy appearance, rendering the end-product comparable in quality to the African ware. Decoration may be stamped, rouletted or painted, especially in examples of a rather late date. White slip ware is covered with a generally smooth, thick, creamy-white or yellowish slip, appearing lustrous or semimatt. It mostly bears rouletted decoration, but some examples may be painted with fired-on ceramic colours. In the case of both red and white slip Aswān ware, the outer face of the rims is often discoloured, turning purplish, brownish or yellowish and creamy white. It is noteworthy that the post-depositional environment decisively affects the preservation and 'appearance' of the slip and the fabric, both tending to flake out in leaves – this is the so-called laminated fracture.

The Aswān potters, manifestly inspired by the African masters, found ways to create numerous, long-lasting form variants, rendering the Aswān fine slip wares unique and quite distinctive in the Mediterranean. The range of vessel forms is constantly renewed, but it can briefly be summarised as follows: small and medium-sized bowls with curved, carinated or sloping walls, shallow or medium-deep mostly knobbed-rim dishes, as well as several closed forms are included. Hayes (1972, 388) noted two types of foot: a low foot of irregular shape, and a high one, slightly knobbed at the bottom.

Many shapes of the Aswān wares were made over a great length of time, reaching the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid periods (Rodziewicz 1983, 74; Kubiak 1990; Vogt 1997a, 245-250), without displaying any significant change. The fact that they often copy datable imported red slip wares, especially African, could only suggest a terminus *post quem* for the beginning of their manufacture. A further obscurity concerns the actual production place of the ware, especially after the beginning of the seventh century. It is attested that the Aswān clay was transferred to Fustāt (Vogt 1997a, 244-245; Gayraud 2006, 108),<sup>40</sup> where it was used by local potters in the making of vessels, often identical to those made in the Aswān workshops. As a result, it is rather risky to suggest an exact date and origin for wares found in not-well stratified contexts of sites located far from both Aswān and Fustāt.

In Baramūs Aswān red and white slip wares constitute the majority of fine wares (Nos. 40-132, Figs. 3.13-3.23), especially after the sixth century, when they eventually supersede the non-Egyptian red slip wares (Fig. 3.89). They are well attested in ninth and early tenth century layers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> This practice was followed by the Fustāt potters until very recently (Mahmoud 1992, 183-193). Unfortunately the workshops of Fustāt were definitely closed down, since about 2009.


Fig. 3.13. Aswān red slip vessels found in the Old Baramūs: plain rimmed-bowls and dishes (Nos. 40-44)

Aswān Red Slip Ware (Group O)

Plain-rimmed bowls and dishes

40. Context 1. 07I[33](53)56. Fig. 3.13. Full profile. Bowl with plain rim, flaring wall and flat base, slightly hollowed on the underside. Fabric: zoned break. Inner margin: 2.5YR 6 / 4 (light reddish brown), outer margin: 10YR 7 / 4 (very pale brown). Slip: thin and matt. 5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow). Date:  $9^{\text{th}}$ - $10^{\text{th}}$  c.+ Parallels / Bibliography: Kubiak 1990 (Fustat), 77, Figs. 21 / 22. Additional comments: this type of small bowls were mainly used as lamps, as they bear very visible traces of the wick's burning around the rim, or even thick remains of the burnt fuel. They are particularly found in the disturbed layers of the tower so there is not much to mention about their evolution. These small bowls may be divided into two classes, according to their fabric: those made of Aswān fabric – usually coated with red or yellowish slip – and those made of Nile fabric, which appear uncoated or occasionally with a conspicuous cream slip applied especially on the inside. A single Nile fabric bowl is covered with the very common since the Fatimid period lemon-yellow opaque monochrome glaze. In the Old Baramūs the Nile fabric versions occur more frequently. It seems that the type, which is similar to what Bailey (1998 (al-Ašmūnayn / Hermopolis), 35-36, Pl. 18, C663-C686) identifies as omphokera<sup>41</sup> lids (see also: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 178, type 339), appeared

**41.** Context. 06I[14](60<56>. Fig. 3.13. Full profile.

Shallow bowl with straight flaring wall that curves towards a flat base.

Fabric: zoned break. Core: 10YR 7 / 3 (very pale brown), margins: 5YR 7 / 4 (pink).

Slip: flaked-out, especially on the inside; darker at the rim's outer face. Body: 2.5YR 6 / 6 (light red), rim: 10R 4 / 6 (red).

somewhere in the fifth century to survive well into the tenth, as indicated by the glazed examples.

Parallels / Bibliography: Rodziewicz 1976 (Alexandria), 56, Pl. 23, O2; Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 87, type 71; Kubiak 1990 (Fustāț), 76, Fig. 16. Bailey 1998 (al-Ašmūnayn / Hermopolis), 10, Pl. 20, C20 (without darker rim).

Additional comments: deriving from African red slip ware Hayes 1972, form 81, 128, Fig. 22. This may be considered as one of the transitional forms, which continued to be used in the first Egyptian

Date: late 5<sup>th</sup> -9<sup>th</sup> c.+

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Bailey (1998, 34-35) identified the barrel-shaped vessels (No. 406) with the *omphokera/ omphakera* of the papyri.

glazed wares. Such glazed bowls are so far reported from Alexandria (Rodziewicz 1978, 338, Pl. I. 2, 9) and Fusțăț (Vogt 1997a, 250, Pl. 4. 2).

42. Context 1. 98I[1](43)33.7. Fig. 3.13. Rim and body.
Small dish with plain rim and flaring walls.
Fabric: 10R 7 / 4 (pale red).
Slip: dense, matt; darker at the rim's outer face. Body: 2.5YR 6 / 6 (light red), rim: 10R 5 / 6 (red).
Date: 6<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Kubiak 1990 (Fustāţ), 81, Fig. 55.

43. Context 6. Southern Pastoforion – underground Bin. Fig. 3.13. Rim and body. Same form as No. 42. Scrapped on the underside.
Fabric: 5YR 8 / 4 (pink).
Slip: flaked out. 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red).
Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Kubiak 1990 (Fustāt), 81, Fig. 55.

Additional comments: Nos. 41 - 43 roughly correspond to Gempeler's (1992, 85, Abb.28.15-18) form T270. This author observed that the form appeared in the sixth century and lasted at least until the eighth and the ninth century, when it was reproduced in the early glazed vessels. Glazed dishes resembling to Nos. 42 and 43 are found in Alexandria (Rodziewicz 1978, 341-342, Pl. III).

44. Context 1. 99I[2](47)1. Fig. 3.13. Full profile.

Bowl with plain rim and carinated body sloping towards a flat base. Traces of soot on both surfaces. Fabric: 5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow).

Slip: matt, dense; darker on the outside, above the carination point. Inner and lower outer surface: 2.5YR7/6-6/8 (light red); upper outer surface: 2.5YR4/6.

Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 82, type 41 (no date suggested by this author).

#### Knobbed-rim bowls

These bowls may be divided into three basic groups, all deriving from particular African models. All three groups had a long life, from the second half of the fifth or the early sixth to the ninth or even tenth century. They were largely commercialised during the Umayyad and Abbasid periods, as the Fustat finds show (Vogt 1997a, 247-248).

#### Group 1

Bowls with triangular grooved rim, sometimes forming an overhang on the outside (No. 45); the outer face of their rim appears darker than the rest of the surface. A row of rouletting decorates the wall on its outside. They are reminiscent to Hayes' (1972, 128-135, Figs. 23-24) forms 82 to 84 and 86. Close parallels to this group are found in Karanis (Johnson 1981, 2, Pl. 4, No. 29), al-Ašmūnayn / Hermopolis (Bailey 1998, 16, Pl. 8, C166) and Tūd (Pierrat 1991, 176, Fig. 46b), as well as in South Sinai (Calderon 2000, 202, Fig. 10:141-142, types 6 and 7).

**45.** Context 1. 99I[2](47) 1. Fig. 3.14. Rim and body. Fabric: 10R / 4 (pale red). Slip: thin, well merged with the clay body; darker at the rim's outer face. Body: 2.5YR 7 / 6 (light red), rim: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Date: late 5<sup>th</sup> / early 6<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

**46.** Context 2. 99I[19](64)20. Fig. 3.14. Rim and body. Fabric: 5YR 7 / 4 (pink). Slip: thin, well merged with the clay body; darker at the rim's outer face. Body: 5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow), rim: 2.5YR 4 / 6 – 4 / 8 (red). Date:  $6^{th} / 7^{th}$  c.





47. Context 1. 99I[2](47)1+98I[1](43)33. Fig. 3.14. Rim and body.
Fabric: 2.5YR 6 / 6 (light reddish brown).
Slip: thin, well merged with the clay body; darker at the rim's outer face. Body: 2.5YR 6 / 6 (light red), rim: 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red).
Date: late 5<sup>th</sup> / early 6<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Bailey 1998 (al-Ašmūnayn / Hermopolis), 16, Pl. 8, C166.
48. Context 1. 99I[2](47)1 +99I[5](56)10+[...]. Fig. 3.14. Full profile.

Fabric: 2.5YR 7 / 6 (light red). Slip: dense, matt; darker at the rim's outer face. Body: 2.5YR 6 / 6 (light red), rim: 2.5YR 5 / 6 - 4 / 6 (red).

Date: late  $5^{th}$  / early  $6^{th}$ - $9^{th}$  c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 96, Abb.40.1-3, T324c.

**49.** Context 1. 98I[1](51)40.2. Fig. 3.14. Rim. Fabric: 10R 7 / 4 (pale red). Slip: thin, generally flaked-out; it was probably darker at the rim's outer face, but it is now totally flaked-out, only some traces are visible. Body: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red), rim: 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red). Date: late 5<sup>th</sup> / early 6<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Marchand and Laisney 2000 (Dandara), 273, No. 227 (9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> c.).

Group 2

Bowls with triangular, hooked or heavy rolled rim (Hayes 1972, 389-391, Fig. 86, form J, Fig. 85; *Ibid.*, 393, forms cc, ee); apart from No. 56 all the rest have a darker than the rest of the surface rim. They seem to have been inspired by Hayes' (1972, 157-160, Fig. 29) form 103A and B. This is a rather widespread type, which occurs in various Egyptian sites, such as Alexandria (Rodziewicz 1976, 59, Fig. 29, O40), Marea (Majcherek 2008, 111, Fig. 38, Nos. 13-17), Kellia (Egloff 1977, 80-81, types 33-34), Fustāt (Kubiak 1990, 75, Fig. 10, 76, Fig. 12), Karanis (Johnson 1981, 2, Pl. 3, No. 28), Šayh 'Abāda / Antinoopolis (Guerrini 1974, 75-76, Fig. 16, Nos. 5-76), Tūd (Pierrat 1991, 176, Fig. 40d), Thebes (Winlock and Crum 1926, Fig. 37J) and elsewhere. Like the previous group, they have a long life, from the sixth until the tenth century.

**50.** Context 1. 99I[13](75)32. Fig. 3.14. Rim. Fabric: 2.5YR 6 / 6 (light red). Slip: dense, matt, slightly flaked-out outside the rim; darker at the rim's outer face. Body: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red), rim: 10R 4 / 6 (red). Date:  $6^{th}$ - $10^{th}$  c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 96, Abb. 39.7-17, 40.1-3, Taf. 29.8.

**51.** Context 9. 99V[1](4)4<8>. Fig. 3.14. Complete object. Fabric: 5YR 7 / 6 (reddish yellow). Slip: matt, thin; darker at the rim's outer face. Body: 2.5YR 6 / 6 (light red) – 5 / 6 (red), rim: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Date: late 7<sup>th</sup> / 8<sup>th</sup> c.+

**52.** Context 1. 98V[2](7)6.8. Fig. 3.14. Rim. Fabric: 2.5YR 6 / 4 (light reddish brown). Slip: damaged; completely flaked-out outside the rim, where it must have appeared darker. Body: 5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow). Date:  $6^{th}$ -10<sup>th</sup> c.

**53.** Context 7. 07III[22](50)46. Fig. 3.14. Rim. Fabric: 2.5YR 6 / 6 (light red). Slip: dense, matt, flaked-out in parts of the surface. Body 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red), rim: 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red). Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.

**54.** Context 7. 07III[22](47)45. Fig. 3.14. Rim and body. Fabric: zoned break – two zones: 1) 5YR 7 / 3 (pink), 2) 2.5YR 7 / 4 (light reddish brown). Slip: dense, semi-lustrous; darker at the rim's outer face. Body: 2.5YR 6 / 8 (red), rim 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Jacquet – Gordon 1972 (Isnā), E24, Pl. CCXXII; Bailey 1998 (al-Ašmūnayn / Hermopolis), 19, Pl. 9, C268; Bavay *et al.* 2000 (Şān al-Ḥaǧar / Tanis), Fig. 17.1; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999 (Kellia), 528, Fig. 486, No. 44; Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 77, Fig. 4, No. 10; Bavay 2004 (Gurna), 65, Fig. 3; Lecuyot and Pierrat – Bonnefois 2004 (Tūd), 187, Pl. 13, Td171; Faiers 2005b (Amarna), 199, Fig. 3.10, No. 32.

**55.** Context 1. 98I[1](24)21. Fig. 3.14. Rim. Fabric: 2.5YR 7 / 4 (light reddish brown). Slip: thin, well merged with the clay-body; darker at the rim's outer face. Body: 2.5YR 7 / 6 (light red), rim: 2.5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown). Date: 6<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 101-102, Abb. 43.7-9, T344b; Bailey 1998 (al-Ašmūnayn / Hermopolis), 18, Pl. 9, C261 (without discoloured rim); Faiers 2005b (Amarna), 199, Fig. 3.10, No. 77; Sieler 2008 (Nağ' al-Ḥağar), 276, Fig. 6, No. 12.

**56.** Context 1. 98I[1](27)29.1. Fig. 3.14. Rim.

Fabric: 7.5YR 7 / 4 (pink).

Slip: thin, well merged with the clay-body; darker at the rim's outer face. Body: 7.5YR 7 / 4 (pink), rim: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red).

Date:  $6^{\text{th}}$ - $10^{\text{th}}$  c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999 (Kellia), 528, Fig. 486, No. 51.

**57.** Context 1. 98I[1](47)36.5+[...]. Fig. 3.14. Full profile.

Fabric: 2.5YR 7 / 4 (light reddish brown).

Slip: thick coat, dense, matt; darker at the rim's outer face. Body: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red), rim: 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red).

Date:  $6^{\text{th}}$ - $10^{\text{th}}$  c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Jacquet – Gordon 1972 (Isnā), E25, Pl. CCXXII; Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 101-102, Abb. 43.12-14, T344d; Bailey 1998 (al-Ašmūnayn / Hermopolis), 16, Pl. 8, C171.

#### Group 3

Small carinated bowls with rolled rim or simply a rim with convex outer face (Hayes 1972, 393, Fig. 85, form ff); a groove is often formed on the inside of the rim (Nos. 57, 58, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70), or a number of vertical notches on its outside (Nos. 57, 65). These bowls present the same characteristic with the previous groups, that is to say a darker outer rim. They are inspired by the African red slip ware form 99 of Haves (1972, 152-155, Fig. 28). Such bowls are found in Egyptian sites since the second half of the fifth century so that the suggestion of Tortorella (1998, 67) about the African form's apparition in the above period seems very probable. This form seems to be the most frequently occurring among the Aswan red slip wares found in the Old Baramus. It is common throughout Egypt, having been located in Alexandria (Rodziewicz 1976, 59, Pl. 27, O33, O35b), Marea (Majcherek 2008, 111-112, Figs. 38-39, Nos. 7, 10, 11, 12, 22), Kellia (Egloff 1997, 80-81, type 35; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 2003, 441, Fig. 410, Nos. 23-25), al-Ašmūnayn / Hermopolis (Bailey 1998, 18, Pl. 9, C257), Amarna (Faiers 2005a, 72, Fig. 2.5, No. 33), Gurna (Bavay 2004, 65, Figs. 1-2), Dandara (Marchand and Laisney 2000, 272, No. 141), Tūd (Pierrat 1991, 176, Fig. 46a; Lecuyot and Pierrat – Bonnefois 2004, 186, Pl. 13, Td 170: similar object with impressed floral motif at the bottom), Elephantine (Gempeler 1992, 96, Abb. 39.7-14) and elsewhere. This group was produced on Elephantine (Ballet et al. 1991, 140-143, Fig. 22).

**58.** Context 1. 98I[1](49)38. Fig. 3.15. Rim.

Fabric: 5YR 7 / 4 (pink).

Slip: thin, well merged with the clay-body; darker at the rim's outer face. Body: 5YR 7/4 (pink), rim: 2.5YR 4/8 (red).

Date: 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.+

**59.** Context 1. 98I[1](52)41<132>. Fig. 3.15. Full profile.

Fabric: 7.5YR 7 / 4 (pink).

Slip: thick and dense on the inside, but thin and 'waterish' on the outside (dripping in certain parts); flaked-out at rim. Body: 2.5YR 6/8 (light red), rim: 10R 4/6 (red).

Date:  $6^{\text{th}}-8^{\text{th}}$  c.+

Parallels / Bibliography: Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999 (Kellia), 528, Fig. 486, No. 48; Sieler 2008 (Nağ' al-Hağar), 276, Fig. 6, No.10.

**60.** Context 1. 98V[2](22)31+99I[2](53)9+[...]. Fig. 3.15. Full profile. Fabric: 7.5YR 7 / 4 (pink). Slip: dense, especially on the inside, flaky at the rim; darker at the rim's outer face. Body: 7.5YR 6 / 6 – 7 / 6 (reddish yellow), rim: 5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown). Date: 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.+



Fig. 3.15. Aswān red slip vessels found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 58-73)

**61.** Context 1. 98I[1](51)40.1. Fig. 3.15. Rim and body. Fabric: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red).

Slip: denser on the inside and on the rim, flaky on the outside; darker at the rim's outer face. Body: 10R 5 / 8, rim: 2.5YR 3 / 4 (dark reddish brown).

Date: 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.+

Parallels / Bibliography: Majcherek 2008 (Marea), 111, Fig. 38, No. 10; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 2003 (Kellia), 441, Fig. 410, No. 24.

62. Context 1. 99I[8](65)22. Fig. 3.15. Full profile.

Fabric: 5YR 7 / 4 (pink).

Slip: thin, well merged with the clay-body; darker at the rim's outer face. Body: 5YR 6 / 4 (light reddish brown) - 6 / 6 (reddish yellow), rim: 2.5YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown). Date:  $6^{th}-8^{th}$  c.+

Parallels / Bibliography: Jacquet – Gordon 1972 (Isnā), F6, Pl. CCXXIII; Rodziewicz 1976 (Alexandria), 59, Pl. 27, O35b; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 2003 (Kellia), 441, Fig. 410, No. 25; Faiers 2005b (Amarna), 183, Fig. 32, No. 10; Sieler 2008 (Nağ' al-Hağar), 276, Fig. 6, No. 8.

**63.** Context 1. 98V[2](7)6.7. Fig. 3.15. Rim. Fabric: 2.5YR 7 / 4 (light reddish brown). Slip: flaky, badly preserved; darker at the rim's outer face. Body: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red), rim: 10R 4 / 4 (weak red). Date: 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.+

**64.** Context 1. 98V[2](42)33. Fig. 3.15. Rim and body. Fabric: 2.5YR 8 / 3 (pink). Slip: dense, matt; darker at the rim's outer face. Body: 2.5YR 6 / 6 (light red), rim: 5YR 5 / 3 - 4 / 3 (reddish brown). Date: 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.+ **65.** Context 1. 98V[1](1)1.1+[2](7)6.6. Fig. 3.15. Rim and body. Fabric: 10R 7 / 4 (pale red).

Slip: on the inside it appears dense, matt and well merged with the clay body, while on the outside it looks merely like a thin, irregularly applied wash; darker at the rim's outer face, where it is rather flaky. Body – inner surface: 5YR 6 / 8 (reddish yellow), outer surface: 2.5YR6 / 6 (light red) – 7 / 4 (light reddish brown); rim: 5YR 4 / 6 (yellowish red). Date:  $6^{th}-8^{th}$  c.+

66. Context 1. 98V[1](1)1.2. Fig. 3.15. Rim.

Fabric: 10R 7 / 4 (pale red).

Slip: thin, matt; darker at the rim's outer face. Body: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red), rim: 2.5YR 4 / 3 (reddish brown). Date:  $6^{th}-8^{th}$  c.+

67. Context 1. 99I[2](47)1<18>. Fig. 3.15. Complete object.

Fabric: 7.5YR 7 / 4 (pink).

Slip: thick, matt, denser on the inside; darker at the rim's outer face. Body: 2.5YR 6 / 8 (light red), rim: 2.5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown).

Date:  $6^{th}-8^{th}$  c.+

Parallels / Bibliography: Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999 (Kellia), 528, Fig. 486, No. 47; Sieler 2008 (Nağ' al-Hağar), 276, Fig. 6, No. 9.

68. Context 1. 98V[2](38)28.14+[2](40)30.5+[...]. Fig. 3.15. Rim and body.

Fabric: 5YR 7 / 4 (pink).

Slip: dense, matt; darker at the rim's outer face. Body: 2.5YR 7 / 6 (light red), rim: 10R 4 / 4 (weak red).

Date: 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.+

Parallels / Bibliography: Jacquet – Gordon 1972 (Isnā), F5, Pl. CCXXIII; Rodziewicz 1984 (Alexandria), Pl. 38.147; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 2003 (Kellia), 441, Fig. 410, No. 23.

**69.** Context 10. 99V[2](11)10.3. Fig. 3.15. Rim and body. Fabric: 7.5YR 7 / 4 (pink). Slip: dense, matt; darker at the rim's outer face. Body: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red), rim: 2.5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown). Date: late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c.

70. Cells. 98II[11](40)42<151>. Fig. 3.15. Full profile.
Fabric: 7.5YR 7 / 4 (pink).
Slip: dense, matt; darker at the rim's outer face. Body: 10R 5 / 8 – 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red), rim: 10R 4 / 4 (weak red).
Date: 7<sup>th</sup> / 8<sup>th</sup> c.+
Parallels / Bibliography: Jacquet – Gordon 1972 (Isnā), E27, Pl. CCXXII; Faiers 2005b (Amarna), 190, Fig. 3.5, No. 34.

**71.** Context 1. 98I[1](51)40.3. Fig. 3.15. Rim. 5YR 7 / 4 (pink). Slip: matt, denser on the inside, flaked-out in certain parts, especially outside the rim, where it appears darker. Body: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red), rim: 2.5YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown). Date: 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.+ Parallels / Bibliography: Majcherek 2008 (Marea), 111, Fig. 38, No. 11.

**72.** Context 10. 99V[3](12)11. Fig. 3.15. Rim and body. Fabric: 5YR 7 / 4 (pink). Slip: thin, matt, flaked-out. 10R 5 / 8 - 4 / 8 (red). Date: late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c.

73. Context 1. 98V[2](28)25.4. Fig. 3.15. Rim.
Fabric: 10R 8 / 3 (pink).
Slip: entirely flaked out.
Date: 600-700?
Parallels / Bibliography: Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 105-106, Abb. 50.8, T356b; Bailey 1998 (al-Ašmūnayn / Hermopolis), 15, Pl. 8, C126bis.



Fig. 3.16. Aswān red slip vessels found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 74-81)

Bowls with everted rim

**74.** Context 1. 99I[5](56)10<74>. Fig. 3.16. Full profile.

Bowl with a slightly down-turned rim, curved walls and a low foot. Double circle forms a central medallion.

Fabric: laminated fracture. 10R 7 / 6 (light red).

Slip: thicker on the inner surface and the outside of the rim; flaky. Inside: 10R 4 / 6 (red), outside: 10R 6 / 8 (light red).

Date: second half of 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c.?

Parallels / Bibliography: Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 103, Abb. 45.2-3, T349; Faiers 2005b (Amarna) 199, Fig. 3.10, No. 79.

Additional comments: deriving from African red slip ware Hayes 1972, form 94, 148, Fig. 27.

75. Context 7. 07III[22](39)36. Fig. 3.16. Full profile.
Bowl with thickened rim forming a flat upper face and curved.
Fabric: 2.5YR 6 / 6 (light red).
Slip: entirely flaked-out. Only some traces outside the rim: 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red).
Date: 7<sup>th</sup>+
Parallels / Bibliography: Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 103, Abb. 45.2-3, T349.
Additional comments: deriving from African red slip ware Hayes 1972, form 108, 171, Fig. 33.

76. Context 1. 07I[41](73)79. Fig. 3.16. Rim.
Everted rim with turned-up lip. Angular sloping walls.
Fabric: 2.5YR 6 / 6 (light red).
Slip: generally flaked-out – traces outside the rim. 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red).
Date: 6<sup>th</sup> / 7<sup>th</sup> c.?
Parallels / Bibliography: Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 100, Abb. 41.23-26, 42.1-7, T341; Sieler 2008 (Nağ' al-Hağar), 273, Fig. 4, No. 8.

*Bowls with flanged rim* (Winlock and Crum 1926 (Thebes), Fig. 37U; Hayes 1972, 392, Fig. 86, form U; Rodziewicz 1976 (Alexandria), 57, Pl. 25; Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 106-108, Abb. 51.1-53.8, T358-T364; Bailey 1998 (al-Ašmūnayn / Hermopolis), 23, Pl. 12, C378)

**77.** Context 1. 98I[1](43)33+[1](47)36. Fig. 3.16. Rim.

Bowl with almost triangular rim, which forms a very small, sharp flange.

Fabric: laminated fracture. 5YR 7 / 6 (reddish yellow).

Slip: thin, matt; darker at the rims' outer face and the body's lower outer wall: 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red). The rest of the surface: 2.5YR 6 / 6 - 7 / 8 (light red).

Date:  $6^{\text{th}}$ - $10^{\text{th}}$  c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Rodziewicz 1976 (Alexandria), 58, Pl. 25, O22; Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 106, Abb. 50.18, T357; Lecuyot and Pierrat – Bonnefois 2004 (Tūd), 188, Pl. 13, Td182.

78. Context 1. 99I-NWcorner-38. Fig. 3.16. Rim.

Fabric: 10R 7 / 3 (pale red).

Slip: well merged with the clay-body; darker at rim and flange. Body: 7.5YR 8 / 3 (pink), rim: 5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown).

Date:  $6^{\text{th}}-10^{\text{th}} \text{ c.+}(?)$ 

Parallels / Bibliography: Rodziewicz 1976 (Alexandria), 57, Pl. 25, O21; Kubiak 1990 (Fustāt), 76, Fig. 17; Pierrat 1991 (Tūd), 176, Fig. 46c; Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 106, Abb. 51.1, T358. Additional comments: deriving from African red slip ware Hayes 1972, form 91D, 141, 144, Fig. 26.

**79.** Context 1. 99I[2](47)1<1>. Fig. 3.16. Complete object.

Hemispherical bowl with flanged rim and low foot.

Fabric: 10R 7 / 4 (pale red).

Slip: matt, flaked-out; darker at rim- and flange-height. Body: 2.5YR 6 / 6 (light red), rim and flange: 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red).

Date:

Parallels / Bibliography: Hayes 1972, 392, Fig. 86, form U; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999 (Kellia), 529, Fig. 486, No. 58; Bailey 1998 (al-Ašmūnayn / Hermopolis), 23, Pl. 12, C378; Jacquet – Gordon 1972 (Isnā), F8, Pl. CCXXIII; Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 107, Abb. 52.6-10, T362c; Pierrat 1991 (Ţūd), 176-177, Fig. 45e (stamped example).

Additional comments: deriving from African red slip ware Hayes 1972, form 91, 141-144, Fig. 26.

80. Context 1. 07I-N of khurus. Fig. 3.16. Rim and body.

Small bowl with flanged rim and curved walls. Two vertical notches on the flange. Fabric: 5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow).

Slip: matt, flaked-out; darker at rim- and flange-height. Rim and flange: 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red), body: 2.5YR 6 / 8 (light red).

Date:

Parallels / Bibliography: Jacquet – Gordon 1972 (Isnā), E32, Pl. CCXXII; Johnson 1981 (Karanis), 2, Pl. 3, No. 24; Pierrat 1991, 176, Fig. 45e; Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 108, Abb. 53.8-10, T364. Additional comments: deriving from African red slip ware Hayes 1972, form 91, 141-144, Fig. 26.

**81.** Context 1. 07I[41](73)79. Fig. 3.16. Rim and body.

Two vertical notches on the flange.

Fabric: 5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow).

Slip: matt, flaked-out; darker at rim- and flange-height. Body: 2.5YR 6 / 8 (light red); rim: 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red).

Date:  $6^{\text{th}} / 7^{\text{th}} \text{ c.}?$ 

Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 82, type 38; Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 107, Abb. 53.1-4, T362d.

Additional comments: deriving from African red slip ware Hayes 1972, form 91, 141-144, Fig. 26.



Fig. 3.17. Aswān red slip dishes found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 82-83)

Dishes

82. Context 2. 99I[19](64)20. Fig. 3.17. Rim.
Dish with upturned rim.
Fabric: 2.5YR 8 / 4 (pink).
Slip: thin, matt. 2.5YR 6 / 6 (light red).
Date: 6<sup>th</sup> - 7<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 87, Abb. 31.5, T279.
Additional comments: This is one of the forms with long life, surviving from the late sixth to the first half of the ninth century (Vogt 1997a, 246, Pl. 2).

**83.** Context 1. 98V[2](7)6.5. Fig. 3.17. Rim. Dish with plain thickened rim Fabric: 10R 7 / 4 (pale red). Slip: matt, flaked-out at certain parts. 2.5YR 6 / 8 (light red). Date: unknown.

Dishes with everted stepped rim, mostly knobbed

These dishes seem to derive from an African red slip ware prototype (Hayes 1972, form 75, 124, Fig. 21). They are found in numerous Egyptian sites, from Kellia (Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999, 529, Fig. 486, 64 / 65; Ballet 2003a, 81, Fig. 4, No. 21) to Tūd (Lecuyot and Pierrat – Bonnefois 2004, 180, Pl. 11, Td 139, Td 142) and Elephantine (Gempeler 1992, 83, Abb. 26.7-10, 27.1-6, T261). They survive for a long period from the mid-sixth (Gempeler 1992, 83) to the tenth century (Lecuyot and Pierrat – Bonnefois 2004, 180). Ballet (2003, 81) expresses her doubt on whether the dish found in Kellia actually belongs to the group of Aswān red slip wares. It is true that some of the Baramūs examples are made of a lime-rich pink fabric, which could be tied to the fabrics of the north-west coast, corresponding maybe to Hayes' (1972, 399-401) Egyptian 'C' class.

**84.** Context 1. 99I[2](47)1<22>+[...]. Fig. 3.18. Complete object.

Large dish with everted stepped knobbed rim, low curved walls and a medium-high foot. Stamped decoration of radiant palm motifs on the floor. One line of diagonal rouletting on the underside of the rim.

Fabric: 7.5YR 7 / 4 (pink); significant number of lime particles. Slip: matt, flaky; thicker and darker on the inside. Inner surface: 10R 4 / 8 (red), outer surface: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red).

**85.** Context 1. 98V[2](40)30.4. Fig. 3.18. Rim. Form as No. 84. A groove on the inside of the rim. Fabric: 2.5YR 8 / 2 (pinkish white). Slip: thick, semi-lustrous; flaked-out on the inside. 5YR 5 / 8 (yellowish red).

**86.** Context 1. 98V[2](28)25.7. Fig. 3.18. Rim. Form as No. 84. Two grooves on the inside of the rim. Fabric: 2.5YR 8 / 3 (pink). Slip: entirely flaked-out.



Fig. 3.18. Aswān red slip vessels found in the Old Baramūs: dishes with everted stepped rim (Nos. 84-87)

**87.** Context 1. 98I[1](41)34.1. Fig. 3.18. Full profile.

Form as No. 84. The inner walls of the broad horizontal rim form a gentle concavity. One line of rouletting on the underside of the rim.

Fabric: 5YR 7 / 6 (reddish yellow).

Slip: very flaky; matt; 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red).



Fig. 3.19. Aswan red slip dishes found in the Old Baramus (Nos. 88-92)

# Knobbed-rim dishes and dishes with everted rim

88. Context 1. 99I[8](60)15. Fig. 3.19. Rim.
Dish with everted rim, and a groove at the lip.
Fabric: 5YR 8 / 3 (pink).
Slip: dense, semi-lustrous; 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red).
Date: 6<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> c.?
Additional comments: deriving from African red slip ware Hayes 1972, form 60, 100, Fig. 15

**89.** Context 1. 98V[2](38)28+99I[2](47)10. Fig. 3.19. Rim. Fabric: 10R 8 / 3 (pink). Slip: flaked-out, only a thin layer being preserved on the inside. 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Date: second half of 6<sup>th</sup> – early 9<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 86, type 63; Vogt 1997a (Fustāt), 246, Pl.2.2; Additional comments: deriving from African red slip ware Hayes 1972, forms 104 / 105, 160-169, Figs. 30-32,

**90.** Context 1. 98I[1](43)33.6+[1](47)36.2. Fig. 3.19. Rim. Two grooves on the inside of the rim. Fabric: 10R 7 / 4 (pale red). Slip: thick, dense; 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Date: second half of  $6^{th}$  – early  $9^{th}$  c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 86, type 63; Vogt 1997a (Fustāt), 246, Pl.2.2; 91. Out of context. Fig. 3.19. Rim.
One double groove on the inside of the rim.
Fabric: 5YR 7 / 4 (pink).
Slip: thin, matt. 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red).
Date: second half of 6<sup>th</sup> – early 9<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 86, type 63; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999 (Kellia), 529,
Fig. 486, No. 62; Vogt 1997a (Fustāt), 246, Pl.2.2; Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine 1992, 80-81, Abb. 24.6-8, T253); Faiers 2005b (Amarna), 183, Fig. 3.2, No. 8 (with roulette decoration on the underside of the rim).

## Bases of open forms

**92.** Context 3. 07I[31](45)48. Fig. 3.20. Stepped base of a bowl or deep dish with a row of rouletting on the outer wall. Fabric: 7.5YR 7 / 4 (pink). Slip: thin, matt. 5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow). Date:  $5^{\text{th}}$ - $7^{\text{th}}$  c.

**93.** Context 1. 98I[1](54)43. Fig. 3.20. Base with high angular foot. Fabric: 2.5YR 7 / 4 (light reddish brown).

Slip: very flaky; thin, matt. 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red).

Decoration: stamped. A double groove forms a central medallion, also delimited by a row of small circular motifs, composed by a pair of double concentric circles. Seven of these motifs, surrounding a central one, compose rosette-like patterns, which are arranged inside the central medallion. They are separated by alternating vertical bands, composed by small horizontal incisions and small circular motifs.

Date: unknown.

Closed forms

94. Context 7. 07III[22](52)48. Fig. 3.20. Mouth.

Cup-mouthed jug with rolled rim. On the inside of the mouth a strained pierced with a central hole is formed.

Fabric: 5YR 7 / 6 (reddish yellow).

Slip: applied on all surfaces apart from the inner surface of the strainer, where it appears thinner (it probably dripped while its application on the outer surface). 2.5YR 5 / 6 – 4 / 6 (red). Date:  $7^{\text{th}}$  c.+

Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet and Picon 1987 (Kellia), Fig. 6.4; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999 (Kellia), 545, Fig. 490, No. 217; Godlewski 1990b (Naqlūn), 50, Fig. 19; Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 135, Abb. 77.2-5, T714; Lecuyot and Pierrat – Bonnefois 2004 (Tūd), 196, Pl. 15, Td 214.

**95.** Context 6. Southern Pastoforion – floor on bedrock. Fig. 3.20. Mouth.

Narrow-mouthed jug with bead-rim. A collar is formed at the mid-height of the neck.

Fabric: 2.5YR 7 / 6 (light red).

Slip: applied on the outside; thick, dense. 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red).

Date:  $9^{th} / 10^{th} c$ .

Parallels / Bibliography: Hayes 1972, 395, Fig. 876; Johnson 1981 (Karanis), 1, Pl. 1, Nos. 1-3; Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 136, Abb. 77.16-19, T723; Pierrat 1991 (Tūd), Fig. 50d; Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 178, Fig. 27, No. 173; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 2003 (Kellia), 457, Fig. 415, No. 196; Lecuyot and Pierrat – Bonnefois 2004 (Tūd), 195, Pl. 15, Td 211; Majcherek 2008 (Marea), 112, Fig. 39, No. 27.



Fig. 3.20. Aswān red slip vessels found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 93-96)

### Aswān White Slip Ware (Group W)

### Plain-rimmed bowl

96. Context 1. 07I[2](10)8.4. Fig. 3.21. Rim and body.
Small bowl with curved walls and a groove outside the rim.
Fabric: 5YR 7 / 4 (pink).
Slip: dense, matt; darker at the rim's outer face. Body: 10YR 8 / 3 - 8 / 4 (very pale brown), rim: 7.5 YR 5 / 6 (strong brown) and 7.5YR 5 / 4 (brown).
Date: 550-600 (?)
Parallels / Bibliography: Rodziewicz 1976 (Alexandria), 62, Pl. 32, W8. A similar form made of Nile fabric is found in Amarna (Faiers 2005b, Fig. 3.3, No. 14).
Additional comments: deriving from African red slip ware Hayes 1972, form 80A, 127-128, Fig. 22.

### Bowl with inturned rim

97. Cells. 96II[3](13)<55>. Fig. 3.21. Complete object.
Shallow bowl with incurved rim, sloping walls and low angular foot; a notch on the outer face of the rim.
Fabric: 5YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown).
Slip: matt, flaky. 10YR 8 / 2 - 8 / 3 (very pale brown).
Date: 6<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Guerrini 1974 (Šayh 'Abāda / Antinoopolis), 76, Fig. 16, No. 6; Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 74, Abb. 19.11, T231b. Similar form but in group O: Lecuyot and Pierrat - Bonnefois 2004 (Tūd), 181, Pl. 11, Td 146 / 147.

Additional comments: deriving from Phocaean red slip ware Hayes 1972, form 1A, 325-327, Fig. 65.

# Knobbed-rim bowls

Group 1

**98.** Context 1. 98V[2](38)28+99I[2](47)1+[...]. Fig. 3.21. Rim. Fabric: 10R 7 / 4 (pale red). Slip: thick, dense; darker at the rim's outer face. Body: 10YR 8 / 2 (very pale brown), rim: 5YR 6 / 4 (light reddish brown) - 6 / 6 (reddish yellow). Date: late  $5^{th} / early 6^{th}-9^{th}$  c.

Group 2

**99.** Context 1. 98V[2](28)25.8+99I[6](59)13. Fig. 3.21. Rim. Fabric: 10R 7 / 2 (pale red). Slip: flaked out – only traces visible. 2.5Y 8 / 2 (pale yellow). Date:  $6^{th}-10^{th}$  c.

**100.** Context 1. 97I[5](3)10+[5](4)17. Fig. 3.21. Rim. A vertical notch outside the rim. Fabric: 5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow). Slip: thin, dense. 10YR 7 / 4 (very pale brown). Date:  $6^{th}$ -10<sup>th</sup> c.

**101.** Context 1. 97I[5](5)18+98I[1](1)1+[...]. Fig. 3.21. Full profile. Bowl with knobbed rim, almost triangular, sloping walls and flat base. Fabric: 2.5YR 6 / 8 (light red) – 5 / 8 (red). Slip: thick but flaky. 10YR 8 / 4 (very pale brown). Date:  $6^{th}$ - $10^{th}$  c. Parallels / Bibliography: Gempeler 1992, 78, Abb. 22.12, T244 (shallower version).



Fig. 3.21. Aswān white slip vessels found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 97-106)

102. Context 1. 07I[20](28)25. Fig. 3.21. Rim.
Bowl with triangular rim.
Fabric: 5YR 6 / 4 (light reddish brown).
Slip: generally absorbed by the clay body. 5YR 7 / 4 (pink).
Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.

Group 3

**103.** Context 1. 96I[4]Wall G-76. Fig. 3.21. Complete object. Small bowl with knobbed rim, gently carinated walls and stepped base. The letter A is incised on the underside of the base, evoking the issue of the monograms that often appear on vessels. Whether it should be regarded as a potter's mark, or simply the initial of the bowl's owner, it is not easy to answer. However, the second option seems more probable, as most, if not all, of the published Aswān wares that I am aware of do not bare any such monogram. Fabric: 2.5YR 7 / 4 (light reddish brown). Slip: flaked-out – only a thin film remains. 7.5YR 7 / 3 (pink). Date: 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999 (Kellia), 530, Fig. 486, No. 75.

**104.** Context 1. 98V[2](38)28.3. Fig. 3.21. Rim and body. Fabric: 2.5YR 8 / 3 (pink). Slip: thick, dense; darker at the rim's outer face. Body: 2.5Y 8 / 2 (pale yellow), rim: 5YR 4 / 3 (reddish yellow). Date: 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.

Other

**105.** Context 6. Southern Pastoforion – floor on bedrock. Fig. 3.21. Rim and body. Bowl with thickened rim flattened on top and convergent walls. Two lines of rouletting decorate the outer surface. Fabric: 2.5YR 8/4 (pink).

Slip: thin, matt. 10YR 8 / 3 (very pale brown).

Decoration: the rim is painted 5YR 6 / 8 (reddish yellow); a thick and a thinner line below it – 10R 3 / 2 (dusky red) in colour – are drawn outside the rim. Date:  $9^{th} / 10^{th}$  c.

Dute: ) / 10 C.

Plain-rimmed dish

106. Context 1. 99I[6](59)13. Fig. 3.22. Full profile.

Dish with plain rim, slightly thickened on the inside, sloping walls and a rather high angular foot. Stamped decoration is arranged in a band around the centre of the floor: rows of concentric circles and long stylised palm motifs in a diagonal juxtaposition.

Fabric: 5YR 7 / 4 (pink).

Slip: it seems that the dish is covered with two layers of slip. The first layer is applied directly on the clay body and appears cream-white to yellow (10YR 8 / 3, very pale brown - 2.5Y 7 / 8, yellow), while the second layer, which is applied over the first layer of slip, is yellowish-orange to orange-red (10YR 6 / 8, brownish yellow - 5YR 5 / 8, yellowish red). Therefore, it was difficult to decide whether this dish, and other vessels that bear the same characteristic, should be classified among the red or the white slip wares. It was considered more proper to attach them to the last group, as the irregular discolouring of the top layer of slip may result from the temperatures developed in the kiln.

Date:  $8^{th} / 9^{th} c.+$ 

Parallels / Bibliography: very rare form.

Additional comments: although clearly different, the form seems to derive from African red slip ware Hayes 1972, form 88, 134, Fig. 24. This vessel may be considered, next to No. 41, as one of the transitional forms, which continued to be used in the first Egyptian glazed wares. The special treatment, with the two layers of slip applied on the surface, recalls one of the glazing techniques, according to which a layer of slip, usually cream / white is first applied on the clay body to serve as a solid base for the glaze coating. The connection with the glazed wares through this form is attested by a sherd of a similar dish found in 2007 in the area of the tower, unfortunately in one of the layers that

released mixed material.<sup>42</sup> This sherd bears very scarce and flaky traces of polychrome glaze on its inner surface, introducing the form in question among those used for both the red / white slip and glazed Aswān wares. No similar form is so far attested in Fustāt.

# Dish with horizontal rim

**107.** Context 1. 07I[17](25)24. Fig. 3.22.

Dish with broad horizontal rim, hooked on the underside, forming a raised rather angular lip; the wall is sloping.

Fabric: 2.5YR 6 / 4 (light reddish brown).

Slip: almost completely flaked-out – traces on the inside. 2.5Y 8 / 3 (pale yellow).

Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 104, Abb. 45.8, T353a (with painted decoration on the rim; dated to the second half of the  $6^{th}$  – first half of the  $7^{th}$  c.

## Bowls and dishes with everted rim, mostly knobbed

Shallow dishes with everted rim, sloping walls and short rounded foot are included here. They seem to derive from an African red slip ware prototype (Hayes 1972, form 106, 169-171, Fig. 32) – especially Nos. 116 and 117 seem to imitate well the African model. This is one of the long-lasting forms in the repertory of the Aswān wares, produced during a period from the second half of the sixth (Gempeler 1992, 81, Abb.25.2-4, T255) until the late eighth / early ninth century (Vogt 1997a, 246, Pl. 2.1). It occurs in various Egyptian sites, such as Alexandria (Rodziewicz 1976, 62, Pl. 32, W6b), Marea (Majcherek 2008, 112, Fig. 39, Nos. 31-32), Kellia (Egloff 1977, 86, types 63-65; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999, 530, Fig. 486, No. 74; Ballet 2003a, 85, Fig. 5, No. 29), al-Ašmūnayn / Hermopolis (Bailey 1998, 31, Pl. 16, C611) and Ṭūd (Pierrat 1991, 180-181, Fig. 53g-i; Lecuyot and Pierrat – Bonnefois 2004, 181, Pl. 11, Td143). Being one of the forms that survived in the early Arab times, it is noteworthy that it was reproduced by the potters, who developed the glazed techniques in Egypt. Polychrome glazed bowls of this form are found in Alexandria (Rodziewicz 1978, 338, Fig. 1.7-8).

108. Context 1. 98V[2](38)28. Fig. 3.22. Full profile.
Fabric: 5YR 7 / 4 (pink).
Slip: matt, flaky. 10YR 8 / 2 - 8 / 3 (very pale brown).
Date: second half of 6<sup>th</sup> – early 9<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 86, type 64; Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 81,
Abb.25.2-4, T255; Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 85, Fig. 5, No. 29; Pierrat 1991 (Ţūd), 180-181, Fig. 53a-b.

109. Context 1. 97I[5](14)43. Fig. 3.22. Rim and body.
Fabric: 5YR 7 / 4 (pink).
Slip: matt, flaky. 10YR 8 / 2 (very pale brown).
Date: second half of 6<sup>th</sup> – early 9<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 86, type 64; Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 81,
Abb.25.2-4, T255; Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 85, Fig. 5, No. 29; Pierrat 1991 (Ţūd), 180-181, Fig. 53a-b.

**110.** Context 1. 98V[2](28)25+99I[6](57)11. Fig. 3.22. Rim and body. Fabric: 5YR 7 / 4 (pink). Slip: matt, flaky. 10YR 8 / 3 (very pale brown). Date: second half of 6<sup>th</sup> – early 9<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 86, type 64; Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 81, Abb.25.2-4, T255; Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 85, Fig. 5, No. 29; Pierrat 1991 (Ţūd), 180-181, Fig. 53a-b.

111. Context 1. 98I[1](49)38. Fig. 3.22. Rim and body.
Soot all around the rim – implying that it was re-used as lamp?
Fabric: 5YR 7 / 4 (pink).
Slip: flaky. 7.5YR 8 / 2 (pinkish white).
Date: second half of 6<sup>th</sup> – early 9<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 86, type 64; Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 81, Abb.25.2-4, T255; Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 85, Fig. 5, No. 29; Pierrat 1991 (Tūd), 180-181, Fig. 53a-b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> 07I[17](25)24.



Fig. 3.22. Aswān white slip vessels found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 106-118)

112. Context 1. 96I-W profile. Fig. 3.22. Rim and body. Fabric: 5YR 7 / 4 (pink). Slip: seeming thicker on the outside; flaked-out all around the rim. Fired orange at some parts. 10YR 8 /2 - 8/3 (very pale brown) -7.5YR 6/8 (reddish yellow). Date: second half of  $6^{th}$  – early  $9^{th}$  c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 86, type 64; Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 81, Abb.25.2-4, T255; Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 85, Fig. 5, No. 29; Pierrat 1991 (Ţūd), 180-181, Fig. 53a-b. 113. Context 10. 99V[2](11)10. Fig. 3.22. Full profile. Fabric: 5YR 7 / 4 (pink). Slip: thin, matt. 2.5Y 8 / 2 (pale yellow).

Date: late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 86, type 64; Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 81, Abb.25.2-4, T255; Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 85, Fig. 5, No. 29; Pierrat 1991 (Tūd), 180-181, Fig. 53a-b.

114. Context 1. 98I[1](47)36.2. Fig. 3.22. Full profile. Fabric: 2.5YR 6 / 6 (light red). Slip: applied on both surfaces; thick, dense, matt. 10YR 8 / 4 (very pale brown). Date: second half of  $6^{th}$  – early  $9^{th}$  c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 86, type 63; Bailey 1998 (al-Ašmūnayn / Hermopolis), 31, Pl. 16, C611; Calderon 2000 (South Sinai), 202, Fig. 10:134-136 (type 1).

115. Context 1. 98I[1](53)42.1+98V[2](42)33<291>+[...]. Fig. 3.22. Full profile.

Lines of rouletting on the outer wall.

Fabric: 2.5YR 7 / 4 (light reddish brown).

Slip: generally flaked out, only traces remaining. It must have looked like No. 116. The colour is not homogeneous, but varies from 7.5YR 8/4 (pink) to 7.5YR 6/8 (reddish yellow).

Date: second half of  $6^{th}$  – early  $9^{th}$  c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 86, type 63; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999 (Kellia), 530, Fig. 486, No. 75; Bailey 1998 (al-Ašmūnayn / Hermopolis), 31, Pl. 16, C611; Calderon 2000 (South Sinai), 202, Fig. 10:134-136 (type 1).

116. Context 1. 99I[2](47)1<55>. Fig. 3.22. Full profile.

Lines of rouletting on the outer wall.

Fabric: 10R 7 / 3 (pale red).

Slip: thick, glossy, but flaky; its colour is not homogeneous, but varies from 7.5YR 8 / 1 (white) on the inside, especially at the bottom, to 7.5YR 7 / 8 (reddish yellow) on the outside and 5YR 5 / 6 (vellowish red) on both sides, around the rim.

Date: second half of  $6^{th}$  – early  $9^{th}$  c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 86, type 63; Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 80, Abb. 24.2-5, T252.

117. Context 1. 99I[2](47)1<23>. Fig. 3.22. Full profile. Lines of rouletting on the outside and stamped decoration at the floor: a trilobate cross in a central medallion.

Fabric: 5YR 7 / 4 (pink).

Slip: thick, glossy; two layers as in No. 106. First layer: 10YR 8 / 4 (very pale brown); second (surface) layer: 5YR 6 / 8 (reddish yellow).

Date: second half of  $6^{th}$  – early  $9^{th}$  c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 86, type 63; Pierrat 1991 (Tūd), 180, Fig. 53b.

118. Context 1. 98V[2](40)30.9. Fig. 3.22. Rim.

Dish with plain rim, slightly thickened on the inside and sloping walls; groove on the outside of the rim.

Fabric: 2.5YR 7 / 4 (light reddish brown).

Slip: thick, glossy. 2.5Y 8 / 2 (pale yellow).

Date: second half of  $6^{th}$  – early  $9^{th}$  c.

Parallels / Bibliography: similar to a compartmented dish from al-Ašmūnayn / Hermopolis (Bailey 1998, 32, Pl. 17, C616).

Bases

**119.** Context 1. 98I[1](47)36.5. Fig. 3.23. Flat base. Fabric: 5YR 7 / 4 (pink). Slip: not preserved / unslipped.

**120.** Context 1. 99I-NW corner-38. Fig. 3.23. Flat base, slightly hollowed. Fabric: 2.5YR 7 / 4 (light reddish brown). Slip: not preserved / unslipped.

**121.** Context 1. 99I[5](56)10. Fig. 3.23. Flat base, grooved on the underside. Fabric: 5YR 7 / 4 (pink). Slip: thick, glossy, but flaked out in many parts. 10YR 8 / 3 (very pale brown).

**122.** Context 1. 97I[5](5)25. Fig. 3.23. Base with a very low foot. Fabric: 2.5YR 7 / 4 (light reddish brown). Slip: not preserved / unslipped.

**123.** Context 1. 96I-70. Fig. 3.23. Low foot base. Fabric: 10R 7 / 3 (pale red). Slip: traces especially on the inside. Thick, matt; 10YR 8 / 3.

**124.** Context 1. 96I[4]Wall G-76. Fig. 3.23. Low foot base. Fabric: 5YR 7 / 4 (pink). Slip: thin, badly preserved. Inner surface: 10YR 8 / 2 – 7 / 4 (very pale brown), outer surface: 5YR 7 / 3 (pink).

**125.** Context 1. 98V[2](7)6.20. Fig. 3.23. Low foot base. Fabric: 2.5YR 6 / 6 (light red). Slip: thick, glossy, but flaky. 10YR 8 / 4 (very pale brown).

Aswān White Slip Ware (Group W) painted

Cups with plain or inturned rim

These carinated cups are similarly and very simply decorated. They are painted red on the outside, above the carination point; black horizontal lines decorate the outer face of their rim and / or the outer wall, just at the place where it curves to slope towards the base. Some of them may correspond to what Kubiak (1990, 73, 79-81) classifies as *matte bichromatic type*.

**126.** Context 1. 98V[2](42)33.5. Fig. 3.23. Rim and body. Fabric: 5YR 7 / 4 (pink). Slip: badly preserved. 5YR 8 / 3 (pink). Decoration: the outer surface, above and slightly below the carination point, is painted reddish brown (5YR 5 / 4); a red (2.5YR 5 / 6) horizontal line delimits the coloured outer surface. Date: 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup>+



Fig. 3.23. Aswān white slip base-sherds (Nos. 119-125) and painted vessels (Nos. 126-132) found in the Old Baramūs

**127.** Context 1. 07I[34](54)57. Fig. 3.23. Rim and body.

Bowl with plain rim and vertical walls.

Fabric: Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 7 / 4 (pink).

Slip: badly preserved. 10YR 8/2 - 8/3 (very pale brown).

Decoration: painted orange-red on the outside, above the carination point. Colour: 7.5YR 6 / 8 (reddish yellow).

Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.+

Parallels / Bibliography: form similar to Kubiak 1990 (Fustat), 80, Fig. 49.

**128.** Context 1. 98V[2](40)30.15+99I[11](62)18. Fig. 3.23. Rim and body.

Fabric: 2.5YR 7 / 4 (light reddish brown).

Slip: thick, glossy. 7.5YR 8 / 2 (pinkish white).

Decoration: the outer surface, above and slightly below the carination point, is painted yellowish red (5YR 5 / 8); two black (2.5YR 2.5 / 1) horizontal lines – one painted outside the rim and another at the carination point – are visible on the outside.

Date:  $6^{\text{th}} - 7^{\text{th}} +$ 

Parallels / Bibliography: form similar to Kubiak 1990 (Fustāț), 79, Fig. 43.

**129.** Context 1. 98V[2](38)28.9+97I[5](3)10. Fig. 3.23. Rim and body. Fabric: 10R 7 / 4 (pale red). Slip: thick, glossy. 7.5YR 8 / 2 (pinkish white). Decoration: like No. 126. Colours: 5YR 5 / 8 (yellowish red) and 5YR 2.5 / 1 (black). Date: 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup>+ Parallels / Bibliography: Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 118-119, Abb. 65.8-11, 66.1-2, T504.

Bowls with flanged rim

**130.** Context 1. 98V[2](7)6.31+[2](28)25+[...]. Fig. 3.23. Rim. Fabric: 7.5YR 7 / 3 (pink).

Slip: thick, dense, faked-out at certain parts, especially on the inside. Bichrome. Inner surface and outside the rim: 5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown) - 6 / 8 (reddish yellow); outer surface (below the rim): 10YR 8 / 2 (very pale brown).

Decoration: black irregular strokes decorate the outer face of the rim. Colour: 5YR 3 / 1 (very dark grey).

Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999 (Kellia), 530, Fig. 486, No. 66; Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 101, Abb. 42.14-18, T343a.

**131.** Context 1. 98V[2](40)30.11+99I[5](56)10+[...]. Fig. 3.23. Rim and body.

Fabric: 2.5YR 8 / 3 (pink).

Slip: thick, glossy. 10YR 8 / 1 (white).

Decoration: black and red irregular strokes decorate the outer face of the rim. Colours: 2.5YR 3 / 1 (dark reddish grey) and 5YR 5 / 8 (yellowish red).

Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 82, type 39; Pierrat 1991 (Tūd), 181-182, Fig. 54d; Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 101, Abb. 43.1-2, T343b.

Dish

**132.** Context 1. 98V[2](42)33. Fig. 3.23. Rim.

Dish with broad horizontal rim and sloping walls. Two grooves separate the rim from the body on the inside.

Fabric: 10R 8/4 (pink).

Slip: applied mostly on the inside, but dripping on the outside as well; thick, glossy. 10YR 8 /1 (white) - 8 / 2 (very pale brown). Some parts of both surfaces appear discoloured – probably due to irregular firing: 5YR 6 / 8 (reddish yellow) – 4 / 4 (reddish brown).

Decoration: applied at the inner surface of the rim: concentric lines form a band that includes arches. Dots and a sketchy star-like motif are drawn in the arches. Colours: lines, star-like motifs and some dots: 10R 4 / 2 (weak red); strokes and some dots: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red).

Date: Probably of a late date (850 / 950-1100?)

Parallels / Bibliography: Adams 1986 / 2 (Nubia), 553. Decoration similar to: Gempeler 1992, 111, Abb. 57.10 (T374) and Lecuyot and Pierrat – Bonnefois 2004 (Tūd), 192, Pl. 14, Td. 200.

Additional comments: this dish may belong to what Adams (1986 / 2, 552-553, Fig. 308) calls Aswān Early Islamic Ware (Family A, Group A.III, Ware W22), but this assertion is not given with certainty.

# Nile Fabric Red Slip Ware

It seems that another group of red slip ware was produced in a multitude of workshops in the Delta and the Nile Valley, using the Nile silt fabric. Hayes (1972, 397-399) identified this ware as Egyptian red slip B, noting that it copied the African wares. He considered it a Delta product, suggesting that it may embody a number of minor fabrics from the region (Hayes 1972, 399; Id. 1980). Rodziewicz (1976, 50-53, Figs. 17-22) preferred the term 'Group K', referring to the carmine-red colour of the slip that was applied on the surface of the vessels. He expressed the opinion that this ware was produced throughout Egypt, but chiefly in the Delta. In addition, he saw al-Ašmūnayn (Hermopolis Magna) as the point in Egypt, where the balance between the two main Egyptian red slip productions changes; the Aswan slipped wares predominating in the territory south of the city, and the Nile fabric red slip wares prevailing to the north. Without excluding that his conjecture might be false, Bailey (1998, 38) distinguished a possible local al-Ašmūnayn variant, which he named Egyptian red slip H (Hermopolitan). He considered that it was produced by a number of workshops over several centuries. Ballet et al. (1991, 134-139) located two more production zones in Middle Egypt, where 'Group K' wares were manufactured: Zāwiyat al-Mayatīn and Šayh 'Abāda / Antinoopolis.

The published descriptions of the Egyptian red slip B and H wares are very similar, so that I would not dare to suggest a precise origin for the relative finds of Baramūs. In particular, the fabric of the Egyptian red slip B is described as coarse, thick and reddish in colour (Hayes 1972, 398). The break has often a sandwich-like appearance due to irregular firing, the core being mostly purplish red (10R 5 / 4 weak red), the margins orange red or red (2.5YR 5 / 8), while the surface below the slip is brown. This very description is given by Rodziewicz (1976, 50) for his Group K, which is the exact parallel of the Egyptian B, but surprisingly it does not differ significantly from Bailey's description of the Egyptian red slip H. Bailey (1998, 38) argued that sherds exhibiting no layering, initially classified as Egyptian B, may simply be low-fired versions of the same fabric and he eventually grouped them with his Egyptian H. Then he expressed his doubts as for this choice, observing different patterns of slipping. The uniform examples, which were initially considered as being Egyptian red slip B, were slipped overall. In the case of the examples with a sandwich-like break that were classified as Egyptian red slip H, slipping was applied on the inside and on the rim only.

In the site of the Old Monastery of Baramūs both variants occur. They are presented under the general term 'Nile fabric red slip ware' to avoid further confusion. What could be noted is that the fabrics with sandwich-like break correspond to the N1B, while the homogeneous break fabrics to the N2 of the Baramūs fabrics list. The slip is generally thick, uniform and has a lustrous appearance. Bailey's rough distinction is not at all confirmed by the finds of Baramūs, as many sandwich-like fabric examples are overall slipped, whereas examples with a uniform break are slipped only on the interior and on the rim. I therefore doubt about whether technical details, such as the fabric-hue and the slip's application, could decisively contribute towards an identification of the ware's origin. In Baramūs, sherds or objects that initially seemed unslipped are rather frequent. Only after careful observation it is possible to distinguish the once existence of slip. This detail is mentioned by Rodziewicz (1976, 50), who noted that in overused vases the slip might be completely worn out. I would add that this could also be due to the post-depositional environment, taking for instance the fact that the high proportion of salt in the soil of Baramūs seriously damages the surface of the wares.

The forms of the Nile fabric red slip ware are inspired not only by the great pottery production centres of the Mediterranean, but by the indigenous Aswān production as well (Bailey 1998, 38. See also Hayes 1972, 398-399). A number of forms do not seem to appear in the incoming red slip wares.

Although alleged Delta products, Nile fabric red slip wares are not so common in Baramūs (Nos. 133-153, Figs.). As they appear mostly in disturbed contexts there is not much to be added as for their dating, apart from the rough observation that they occur especially in late sixth and seventh century layers.

# Bowl with inturned rim

133. Context 1. 99I[2](47)1. Fig. 3.24. Rim and body.

Bowl with in-turned rim and curved walls. Rouletting on the outside.

Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 5 / 1 (gray), margins: 7.5YR 5 / 4 (brown).

Slip: applied on the inside and outside the rim; erased – traces of thin coat. 10R 4 / 6 (red).

Production place: uncertain (Nile Valley, or Delta).

Date:  $5^{\text{th}} - \hat{6}^{\text{th}} c$ .

Parallels / Bibliography: Bailey 1998 (al-Ašmūnayn / Hermopolis), 41, Pl. 21, D108 (not roulette version).

Additional comments: deriving from Phocaean red slip ware Hayes 1972, form 1A, 325-327, Fig. 65.

### Bowl with inturned grooved rim

134. Context 7. 07III[22](39)36. Fig. 3.24. Rim.

Large bowl with inturned rim, grooved on the outside. Rope marks on the outer walls. Traces of soot on the inside.

Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 10YR 4 / 4 (dark yellowish brown).

Slip: thick, dense, lustrous. 10R 5 / 6 - 4 / 6 (red).

Production place: uncertain (Nile Valley, or Delta).

Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Rodziewicz 1976 (Alexandria), 53, Pl. 20, K20; similar to: Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999 (Kellia), 525, Fig. 485, Nos. 18 / 20; Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 87, Fig. 6, No. 34.

Bowl with triangular rim

135. Context 1. 99I[2](53)9<34>. Fig. 3.24. Complete object.

Small bowl with thickened rim. An offset is formed at the junction with the wall indicating the possible use of mould in the manufacturing process. Carinated body and low chamfered foot. The form is somehow similar to Hayes' (1972, 331, 335-338, Figs. 68-69) form 3H of the Phocaean red slip ware. Remains of soot at the rim.

Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 6 (red), margins: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red).

Slip: applied on the inside; matt, thin. 10R 4 / 4 (weak red).

Production place: uncertain (Nile Valley, or Delta). Date: uncertain



Fig Fig. 3.24. Nile fabric red slip vessels found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 133-143)

### Bowls with flanged rim

**136.** Context 1. 98I[1](47)36.12 +98I[1](51)40.26. Fig. 3.24. Full profile. Small bowl with flanged rim and wavy lip, carinated body and low foot. Soot around the rim. Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Slip: applied on the inside; matt. 10R 5 / 6 - 4 / 6 (red). Production place: uncertain (Nile Valley, or Delta). Date: uncertain Additional comments: it was possibly used as lamp.

137. Context 1. 98V[2](21)16. Fig. 3.24. Rim. Bowl with flanged rim and curved walls.
Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red), margins: 7.5YR 4 / 3 (brown) – 3 / 3 (dark brown).
Slip: applied on both surfaces; flaked-out, remains mainly outside the rim, where its appears rather dense; matt. 10R 4 / 6 (red).
Production place: uncertain (Nile Valley, or Delta).
Date: 6<sup>th</sup> c.-?
Parallels / Bibliography: Rodziewicz 1976 (Alexandria), 52, Pl. 17, K5.

### Bowls with everted rim

**138.** Context 1. 99I[9](71)28. Fig. 3.24. Rim. Bowl with everted rim and carinated walls, scarped on the outside, below the carination-point. Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Slip: matt; worn-out on the inside, but it appears rather dense on the outside. 10R 4 / 8-5 / 8 (red). Production place: uncertain (Nile Valley, or Delta). Date: 6<sup>th</sup> c.-?

**139.** Context 3. 07I[31](45)48. Fig. 3.24. Rim and body. Sharply carinated bowl with everted rim that forms a groove on its upper face. Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 5 / 4 (brown) Slip: matt and thin, applied on both surfaces; on the outer surface the slip appears thinner, almost absorbed by the clay body. 10R 5 / 6 (red). Production place: uncertain (Nile Valley, or Delta). Date:  $5^{th} / 6^{th}$ - $7^{th}$  c.

140. Context 4. 07I[42](81)86. Fig. 3.24. Full profile.

Bowl with everted rim, body with low-placed carination and low angular foot. Two grooves are formed on the inside, at the carination point.

Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 8 (red), margins: 7.5 YR 4 / 4 (brown).

Slip: matt; thicker on the inside, thinner on the outside. 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red).

Production place: possibly Middle Egypt (Šayų́ 'Abāda / Antinoopolis). Date:  $5^{\text{th}} / 6^{\text{th}}$ - $7^{\text{th}}$  c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet *et al.* 1991, 136, Fig. 3. Form existing also in the Aswān red slip wares (Egloff 1977, 85, type 58).

141. Context 1. 99I[5](56)10. Fig. 3.24. Rim and body.

Bowl with horizontal, grooved rim and curved walls.

Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red), margins: 5YR 4 / 4 (reddissh brown). Slip: applied on both surfaces, thicker on the inside; semi-lustrous, dense. 10R 4 / 6-5 / 6 (red). Production place: uncertain (Nile Valley, or Delta). Date: 6th c. Parallels / Bibliography: Rodziewicz 1976 (Alexandria), 52, Pl. 18, K8a; Johnson 1981 (Karanis), 2, Pl.

9, Nos. 74, 76; Ballet 2000 (Tell el-Herr), 217, Fig. 202, No. 60; Bavay *et al.* 2000 (Ṣān al-Ḥaǧar / Tanis), Fig. 18.1.

**142.** Context 1. 99I[2](47)1. Fig. 3.24. Rim. Bowl with horizontal grooved rim, which forms a wavy lip. Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 2.5Y 5 / 2 (greyish brown), inner margin: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red), outer margin: 7.5YR 5 / 4 - 4 / 4 (brown). Slip: applied on the inside and at the rim; dense, semi-lustrous. 10R 4 / 6 (red). Production place: uncertain (Nile Valley, or Delta). Date: 6<sup>th</sup> c.?

**143.** Context 1. 99I[6](59)13. Fig. 3.24. Rim. Form similar to No. 142. Dish with everted rim, forming a wavy lip; a slight concavity is formed on its upper face. It appears thicker than the rim No. 142. Fabric: N1B / 3. Zoned break. Core: 2.5YR 5 / 2 (weak red), margins: 10R 5 / 8 (red). Surfaces (visible where the slip is flaked out): 7.5YR 5 / 4 (brown). Slip: 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red). Soapy and lustrous on the inside, but matt on the outside. Production place: uncertain (Nile Valley, or Delta). Date:  $6^{th} c. - ?$ 

Comment on Nos. 138-143: none of these bowls may find a parallel among the red slip products of the great Mediterranean centres.

# Bowl with rolled rim

144. Context 4. 07I[42](77)82. Fig. 3.25. Rim.
Fabric: N1B / 3 (powdery). Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 6 (red), margins: 10R 5 / 8 (red).
Slip: soapy, lustrous. 10R 5 / 8-4 / 8 (red).
Production place: uncertain (Nile Valley, or Delta).
Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: similar to Rodziewicz 1976 (Alexandria), K22 / K23a, Pl. 20; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999 (Kellia), 526, Fig. 485, No. 21.

# Knobbed-rim dishes<sup>43</sup>

145. Contexts 1. 07I[2](2)3.1+07I[36](56)58. Fig. 3.25. Full profile.
Dish with bead rim, sloping walls and low angular foot. Scraped lower walls.
Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 6 (red), margins: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red).
Slip: semi-glossy and rather dense on the inside; matt and thin on the outside. 10R 4 / 8 (red).
Production place: uncertain (Nile Valley, or Delta).
Date: 7<sup>th</sup> -first half of 8<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet and Picon 1987 (Kellia), Fig. 5.3; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999 (Kellia), 527, Fig. 485, No. 35, Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 88, type 77.

146. Context 1. 99I[2](53)9. Fig. 3.25. Rim.
Dish with knobbed-rim, slightly up-turned, grooved on the inside and sloping walls.
Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 5 / 4 – 4 / 4 (brown).
Slip: entirely flaked out.
Production place: uncertain (Nile Valley, or Delta).
Date: 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Rodziewicz 1976 (Alexandria), K27, Pl. 21; Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 88, type.
Relatively similar to Bailey 1998 (al-Ašmūnayn / Hermopolis), D484 dated between the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 7<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Inspired from African red slip ware Hayes' forms 104-105.



Fig. 3.25. Nile fabric red slip vessels found in the Old Baram $\bar{u}$ s (Nos. 144-153)

**147.** Context 1. 99I[2](53)9. Fig. 3.25. Rim. Knobbed-rim dish with sloping walls. An offset is formed at the junction of the rim with the wall. Cord-impressions are visible outside the rim. Two grooves on the inside. Fabric:N2. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 5/6-4/6 (strong brown). Slip: applied on both surfaces; work-out, especially on the inside; semi-glossy. 10R 5/6-4/6 (red). Production place: uncertain (Nile Valley, or Delta). Date:  $7^{\text{th}}-8^{\text{th}}$  c.? Parallels / Bibliography: similar to Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 88, type 76; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999 (Kellia), 527, Fig. 485, No. 37.

### Bowls and dishes with flaring rim

148. Context 1. 98I[1](27)29. Fig. 3.25. Full profile.
Small shallow bowl with plain rim, flaring walls and low foot.
Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 10R 5 / 6 (red).
Slip: applied on both surfaces; thick dense, lustrous. 10R 3 / 6 (dark red).
Production place: uncertain (Nile Valley, or Delta).
Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.?
Parallels / Bibliography: similar form, but different class in Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 91, Fig. 7, No. 43.

149. Context 1. 99I[8](60)15. Fig. 3.25. Rim.
Dish with flaring rim, grooved on the inside.
Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 4 / 1 (dark grey), margins: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red).
Slip: worn-out, only traces are visible. 10R 5 / 8 (red).
Production place: uncertain (Nile Valley, or Delta).
Date: 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.?

**150.** Context 1. 98V[2](42)33+99I[2](47)1+ [...]. Fig. 3.25. Rim. Dish with flaring rim, grooved on the inside. Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 3 (weak red), inner margins: 10R 5 / 8 – 4 / 8 (red), outer margins: 7.5YR 4 / 3 (brown). Slip: applied on both surfaces; thin coating, generally flaked-out. 10R 5 / 8 (red). Production place: uncertain (Nile Valley, or Delta). Date: 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.?

Comment to Nos. 148-150: rather atypical forms that do not seem to derive from any of the incoming red slip wares.

#### Base of an open vessel

**151.** Context 1. 07I[17](25)24. Fig. 3.25. Base. Base with flaring foot. An incised circle / medallion at the bottom. Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Slip: applied on both surfaces, rather flaky on the outside; dense, lustrous. 10R 4 / 6 - 4 / 8 (red). Production place: uncertain (Nile Valley, or Delta). Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.+?

Nile Fabric Red Slip Ware painted

152. Context 1. 99I[5](56)10. Fig. 3.25. Rim and body.
Knobbed-rim dish.
Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10R 6 / 6 (light red), margins: 7.5YR 4 / 3 (brown).
Slip: matt, thick on the outside, glossy, but severely damaged on the inside. 10R 4 / 6 (red).
Decoration: painted with ceramic colours; applied on the slip. Vertical strokes 2.5YR 7 / 3 (light reddish brown) decorate the inner face of the rim.
Production place: uncertain (Nile Valley, or Delta).
Date: 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.+?

**153.** Context 1. 07I[17](25)24. Fig. 3.25. Mouth. Closed vessel, probably a jug, with flaring mouth. Fabric: N6. Zoned break. Core: 7.5YR 4 / 1 (dark grey), margins: 7.5YR 5 / 4 (brown). Slip: applied on the outside and the inside of the neck; semi-lustrous. 10R 4 / 6 - 4 / 8 (red). Decoration: applied on the slip. One horizontal line – 10R 3 / 1 (dark reddish grey) – is depicted at the neck's base; a row of dots – 7.5YR 8 / 2 (pinkish white) – decorate the line. Production place: uncertain (Nile Valley, or Delta). Date:  $7^{th}-8^{th}$  c.+?

# PAINTED TABLEWARE

Painted decoration was not a common trend in the Mediterranean countries during the Late Roman times, apart from rare exceptions. It seems though that Egypt never ceased producing painted wares, continuing a long tradition that goes back to the pharaonic and Hellenistic times. Richly decorated table wares, with patterns in fired-on ceramic colours, include open and closed forms, mostly medium-deep bowls, dishes and a series of jugs. Painted decoration was often applied on cooking wares, as well as on other utilitarian wares,<sup>44</sup> such as large storage jars, medium-sized or large bowls and basins; it is therefore obvious that painted decoration does not characterise only *deluxe* ceramics. Ballet (1991, 484) explains that the decoration often intended to conceal the technical poverty of the vessel.

Briefly, all the painted wares found in Baramūs are made of Nile fabric. Slip covers the entire surface of the open forms, while in the case of closed forms it covers most of the exterior and the inside of the mouth, usually dripping on the interior. Its colour ranges from white or cream to yellow, pink or even light red. It generally serves as a proper base for the decoration, whose most frequently used colours appear to be black, dark grey, deep purple, red or purple in various shades, brown, white and rarely green. The colours are obtained from vegetal and mineral pigments. According to the study of pigments applied on vases from the collection of the Louvre museum,<sup>45</sup> black was obtained from the combustion of plants, vine or another wood that the analyses were impossible to precise; red is the extract of hematite associated to magnetite; ochre and orange are clays that were coloured by iron, hematite or goethite oxides; white is extracted from calcite, dolomite and gypsum; green is issued from aluminium silicates, such as glaucony and celadonite (see also: Ballet 1991, 485).

Focusing on the table wares, our excavations have released a very restricted number of open vessels (Nos. 154-156, Fig. 3.26) that share common characteristics with deep dishes found in Kellia (Egloff 1977, 145-148), as well as a considerable number of sherds belonging to closed forms, mostly jugs (Nos. 157-225, Figs. 3.27-3.29).<sup>46</sup> Apart from an almost complete vessel (No. 225, Fig. 3.29), all the rest are represented by fragments of mouths and bases, as well as by decorated body-sherds.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Ceramics that belong to the last two categories will be examined in the respective units.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> The study of pigments appearing on a number of vases from the collection of the Louvre museum was carried out by Delphine Reynaud under the auspices of the NADIR/ CNRS and the direction of Claude Coupry. The method applied was the Raman micro-spectrometry (Reynaud 2002). A very brief account of the results is exposed at the following internet page: http://musee.louvre.fr/bases/neyret/contenu\_a.php?page=12a0&lng=0&

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Publications in French use the term 'gargoulette' which is here translated as 'jug', whereas some English publications prefer the term 'flagon'. In an effort to be as precise and consistent as possible, I was based on Yon's definitions for the ceramic forms. About 'gargoulettes' and 'jugs' see: Yon 1981, 107.

This is really a pity given the information that one could draw from these wares. Any indication about possible variants of the so far known forms and their decoration is lost for good. As a result, instead of seriously contributing to the already acquired knowledge concerning the ware, we can only be based on it so as to approach and identify our fragments.

The series of jugs are generally reminiscent to the respective types found in the monastic settlement of Kellia (Egloff 1977, 121-123, 125-128), but they do not resemble the products of Saqqāra (Ghaly 1992, Figs. 10-13). Most of them have a pierced strainer to prevent dirt or little insects from falling into the vessel. Strainers often are deliberately broken through, for a quicker filling and emptying. They are considered to be mainly water containers (Egloff 1977, 121; Bailey 1998, 82) and are often paralleled to the modern day *qulla* ), a vessel which is used to hold and refresh water (Wissa Wassef 1971, 360-361, 402; Henein 1992). It is worth examining this view so as to better understand certain properties of the ware that relate to its technology and use. Cooling of water is achieved through its evaporation on the exterior, which is accomplished as a result of the fabric's permeability (Orton *et al.* 1993, 221). Light coloured surfaces further encourage this process (Orton *et al.* 1993, 221). In this respect, a porous light-coloured fabric would seem ideal.

However, a number of jugs found in Baramus are made of the finest versions of Nile fabric, those termed in our list as N1A, N1B. These mica-rich versions of Nile fabric are generally dense and contain very well sorted, fine or medium-sized inclusions. At first glance, these attributes do not seem in favour of permeability. Furthermore, the thick slip must have acted as a sort of barrier to penetration. It therefore seems that the potters made an effort to reduce permeability. Without denying that, even so, the content of the jugs would still be kept cool and fresh, I believe that it would be worth re-examining them, in a perspective of technology and function. Sharing common characteristics with some jugs from Kellia,<sup>47</sup> not only in terms of technology, but also of decoration (*e.g* wavy lines and dots), one could maintain that they constitute a homogeneous group, which differs from the more porous examples of jugs and flagons found in sites of Middle Egypt, such as al-Ašmūnayn (Hermopolis Magna) (Bailey 1998, 82-90), Bāwīț (personal observation) and elsewhere.

### **Open vessels**

154. Context 4. 07I[43](84)89. Fig. 3.26. Rim and body.

Dish with plain rim and sloping walls.

Fabric: N5. Zoned break. Core: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red), margins: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown).

Slip: applied on both surfaces, damaged; it appears thinner on the inside, but thicker on the outside. 10YR 8 / 2 - 8 / 3 (very pale brown).

Decoration: applied on the inside, over the slip. Geometric motifs: red bands, diagonal lines and dots. Colours: lines and dots: 10R 3 / 1 (dark reddish grey); strokes: 10R 5 / 6 (red).

Production place: uncertain (Nile Valley, or Delta).

Date:  $5^{\text{th}}$  (?)- $7^{\text{th}}$  c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> The detailed fabric descriptions given by Ballet (2003, 166-171) mostly correspond to our N1B and N2.



Fig. 3.26. Open painted table wares found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 154-156)

155. Context 1. 98I[1](47)36.6. Fig. 3.26. Rim and body.

Bowl with flaring rim forming a concave outer face and a slight overhang; sloping, relatively curved, wall.

Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown).

Slip: applied on both surfaces, over the slip; thick matt. .5YR 8/1 (white) -8/3 (pink).

Decoration: A row of cross-hatched bands form festoons, separated from each other by three vertical bands that enclose vertical rows of dots. Some space is left between the cross-hatched bands and the wider curved band, which is ciliated at one side, and encloses a wavy line; this space is decorated with zic-zac lines and dots. Colours: lines and dots: 10R 3 / 1 (dark reddish grey); strokes: 5YR 5 / 8 (yellowish red).

Production place: uncertain (Nile Valley, or Delta).

Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.+

Parallels / Bibliography: similar to Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 146, type 261 (7<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c.). Similar form in Rodziewicz 1984 (Alexandria), Pl. 41.157.

156. Context 7. 07III[22](47)45. Fig. 3.26. Rim.

Dish with broad horizontal rim, slightly thickened on the underside; finger depressions on the lip so as to form a 'wavy' rim.

Fabric: N6. Zoned break. Core: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red), margins: 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown).

Slip: 2.5Y 8 / 2 (pale yellow).

Decoration: applied on the inside, over the slip. Illegible; 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red) and 10R 3 / 1 (dark reddish grey) strokes and blots on the inside.

Production place: uncertain (Nile Valley, or Delta).

Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: similar to Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 147, type 263 (550-650); Faiers 2005a (Amarna), 107, Fig. 2.23, No. 183.

Closed vessels

1) Mouths

Plain-rimmed jugs

157. Contex 1. 98I[1](46)35.2. Fig. 3.27.

Jug with plain rim. Reeded walls.

Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 10R 4 / 6 (red), margins: 5YR 4 / 6 (yellowish red).

Slip: applied on the outside, dripping inside the neck; matt, thin. It appears thin and waterish on the outside, but thick and dense on the inside. 10YR 8 / 3 (very pale brown).

Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date: late  $4^{th} - 6^{th} c$ .

Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 125, type 204, (390-500).

158. Context 4. 07I[42](83)88. Fig. 3.27.

Jug with quadrilobate mouth. Two handles are attached at the base of the neck. Reeded walls. Fabric: N2 / N6. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 4 / 1 (dark grey), margins: 10YR 4 / 4 (dark yellowish

brown). Slip: applied on the outside, dripping inside the neck; dense. 7.5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow).

Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).

Date: late  $4^{th} - 5^{th} c$ .

Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 126, type 205 (390-420).

159. Out of context. Near tower. Fig. 3.27.

Jug with flaring mouth; smooth outer walls, reeded inner surface. Strainer pierced with seven holes, the central being smaller than the rest.

Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 2.5Y 4 / 1 (dark grey), margins: 10R 5 / 4 (weak red). Surface (visible where the slip is flaked out): 2.5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown).

Slip: applied on the outside, dripping inside the neck; matt, thick but flaky. 2.5Y 8 / 4 (pale yellow). Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).

Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c. (after second quarter?).

Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 127-128, types 212 / 213 (630-700).

**160.** Context 1. 98V[1](1)1.3. Fig. 3.27.

Jug with plain rim; smooth outer walls, reeded inner surface. Strainer pierced with five holes, the central being smaller than the rest.

Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 4 (weak red), margins: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red).

Slip: applied on the outside, dripping inside the neck; badly preserved. 2.5Y 8 / 3 (pale yellow).

Decoration: applied on the outside, over the slip. An erased red horizontal band defined by two dark parallel lines decorates the neck's base. Colours: lines: 2.5YR 4 / 2 (weak red); stroke: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red).

Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).

Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c. (after second quarter?).

Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 128, types 214 / 216; Guidotti 2008 (Šayų, 'Abāda / Antinoopolis), 344, Taf. XL, No. 318.

161. Context 1. 96I[12]46. Fig. 3.27.

Jug with small bead-rim; smooth outer walls, reeded inner surface. Strainer deliberately broken. Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown).

Slip: applied on the outside, dripping inside the neck; dense, matt. 10YR 7 / 3 (very pale brown).

Decoration: applied on the outside, over the slip. One horizontal band outside the rim, one more at the neck's base, remains of a stroke on the upper shoulder, as well as remains of a geometric motif composed by two curved lines that surround a curved stroke. Below the lower curved line traces of other lines (cross-hatching?) are visible. Colours: lines: 2.5YR 3 / 2 (dusky red); bands and strokes: 10R 5 / 8 (red).

Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).

Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c. (after second quarter?).

Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 128, types 214 / 216.

**162.** Context 1. 99I[5](56)10. Fig. 3.27.

Jug with small bead-rim; smooth outer walls, gently reeded inner surface. Strainer, deliberately broken, but apparently pierced with at least four holes.

Fabric: N1B / N3. Zoned break. Outer zone: 10R 5 / 3 (weak red), 2), inner zone: 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red). Inner surface: 5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown), outer surface: 2.5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown).

Slip: applied on the outside, dripping inside the neck; thick, dense, but flaky. 2.5Y 8 / 3 (pale yellow) – 5YR 7 / 6 (reddish yellow).

Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).

Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c. (after second quarter?)

Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 128, types 214 / 216.

**163.** Context 1 / 2. 99I[7](58)12+99I[19](64)20. Fig. 3.27.

Jug with plain rim and angular shoulder; smooth outer walls, reeded inner surface. Strainer pierced with fourteen holes, the central being slightly larger than the rest.

Fabric: N1B with fine straw particles sporadically. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 /4 (weak red), margins: 7.5YR 5 / 4 (brown).

Slip: applied on the outside, dense, matt, very well preserved. 10YR 8 / 2 (very pale brown) -5YR 8 / 3 (pink).

Decoration: applied on the outside, over the slip. Two horizontal lines enclosing a red band decorate the neck; three horizontal lines, on which consecutive dots are drawn, decorate the upper shoulder. Colours: lines and dots: 10R 4 / 2 (weak red); band: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red).

Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).

Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c. (after second quarter?)

Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 128, types 214 / 216.



Fig. 3.27. Mouths of closed painted table wares found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 157-178)

Jugs with incurved or upturned rim and pinched neck

**164.** Context 1. 99I[2](53)9. Fig. 3.27. Jug with bevelled, upturned rim, and narrow neck. Four small finger depressions at the lip. Smooth outer wall. Strainer deliberately broken. Fabric: N6. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 4 / 1 (dark grey), margins: 7.5YR 5 / 4 (brown). Slip: worn-out; it appears thin and waterish on the outside, but thicker and better preserved on the inside of the neck, where it dripped. 2.5Y 8 / 3 - 7 / 3 (pale yellow). Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date: first half of 5<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), type 209, 126-127.
165. Context 1. 07I[40](75)79. Fig. 3.27.
Jug with slightly incurved rim Smooth outer walls, fluted inner surface. Strainer deliberately broken.
Fabric: N1B. Homogeneous break. 10R 5 / 6 (red).
The slip and the decoration are entirely worn-out.
Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).
Date: first half of 5<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: similar to Egloff 1977 (Kellia), type 209 (400-450), 126-127.

Jugs with everted rim

166. Context 1. 98V[2](7)6.28. Fig. 3.27.

Jug with everted rim. A ridge marks the neck at its mid-height. Strainer pierced with six holes.
Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 8 (red), margins: 5YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown).
Slip: almost entirely flaked-out on the outside, but well-preserved on the inside, where it dripped; dense, matt. 2.5YR 7 / 4 (light reddish brown).
Decoration: two parallel horizontal lines. 5YR 4 / 1 (dark grey).
Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).
Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c. (after second quarter?)
Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 128-129, type 217 (630-700); Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 167-168, Fig. 25, No. 146.
167. Context 1. 07I[40](75)79. Fig. 3.27.
Jug with everted rim, underlined by a grooved on the outside. The neck's outer walls are convex. A ridge is formed at the neck's base. Smooth outer walls.
Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red), margin: 2.5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown).
Slip: generally flaked out – revealing the external surface, whose colour is 2.5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown).

Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).

Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c. (after second quarter?)

Parallels / Bibliography: variant of Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 128-129, type 217.

168. Context 9. 99V[1](5)5.2. Fig. 3.27.

Jug with everted rim and bell-shaped narrow neck; smooth outer walls, reeded inner surface. Strainer deliberately broken – it was probably pierced with at least three holes.

Fabric: N5. Homogeneous break. 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red).

Slip: applied on the outside; dense, matt. 5YR 7 / 4 (pink).

Decoration: three horizontal lines decorate the neck. Colour: 2.5YR 3 / 1 (dark reddish grey).

Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).

Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c. (after second quarter?)

Parallels / Bibliography: variant of Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 128-129, type 217.

169. Context 1. 98V[2](38)28.5. Fig. 3.27.

Jug with everted rim, biconical, reeded neck, and curved upper shoulder. Two handles are attached at the lower part of the neck, where a ridge is formed. Strainer deliberately broken.

Fabric: N2 / N6. Zoned break. Inner margin and surface: 2.5Y 4 / 2 (dark greyish brown), outer margin: 7.5YR 4 / 6 (brown).

Slip: applied on the outside and dripping inside the neck; flaked-out, only a thin coat remaining. Decoration: traces of a horizontal line are visible on the upper neck. Colour: 2.5YR 2.5 / 2 (very dusky red).

Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).

Date: late  $4^{th}$  – early  $5^{th}$  c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 127, type 211 (390-420).

**170.** Context 1. 98V[2](2)16.3. Fig. 3.27. Jug with slightly everted rim. Fabric: N1A. Homogeneous break. 5YR 5 / 6 – 4 / 6 (yellowish red). Slip: thick, dense. 5YR 7 / 6 (reddish yellow). Decoration: consecutive curved lines enclosing semi-dots are underlined by a diagonal stroke, below which traces of a curved line are visible. Colour: 2.5YR 2.5 / 1 (reddish black). Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c.? **171.** Context 1. 96I[11](10)74. Fig. 3.27.

Jug with slightly everted rim and narrow cylindrical neck. Smooth walls.

Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 5B 5 / 1 (bluish grey), inner margin: 10R 5 / 6 (red), outer margin: 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red).

Slip: applied on the outside and inside the neck; thick, dense, partially flaked-out. 2.5Y 8 / 2 (pale yellow).

Decoration: four horizontal lines. Colour:  $2.5Y \ 2.5 / 1$  (black). Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date:  $5^{\text{th}}-7^{\text{th}}$  c.?

# Other upper parts

172. Context 1. 98V[2](7)6.27. Fig. 3.27. Neck.

A ridge is formed at the neck's base. Smooth outer walls, fluted inner surface.

Fabric: N1B / N2. Zoned break. Core: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown), margin near the inner walls: 10R 5 / 8 (red), margin near the outer walls: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red).

Slip: applied on the outside, dripping inside the neck; it appears thin and waterish. 10YR 8 / 3 - 7 / 3 (very pale brown).

Decoration: a pair of horizontal lines at the neck, and one more above and below the ridge formed at the neck's base. Colour: 10R 2.5 / 2 (very dusky red).

Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.?

173. Context 1. 99I[8](60)14. Fig. 3.27. Strainer.

Strainer pierced with twenty square-shaped holes. Smooth outer walls, fluted inner surface. Fabric: N2 very fine. Zoned break – two zones. Inner zone: 10R 5 / 8 (red), outer zone: 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red).

Slip: applied on the outside; thick, dense. 7.5YR 7 / 4 (pink).

Decoration: one line surrounds the base of the neck; below that, one horizontal stroke decorated with consecutive dots. Colours: line and the dots: 2.5YR 3 / 1 (dark reddish grey); stroke: 10R 4 / 8 (red). Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.?

174. Context 2. 99I[19](64)20. Fig. 3.27. Neck.

Neck of a jug with two bowed handles attached. Strainer pierced with four holes, the central one being the smallest. Smooth outer walls.

Fabric: N5. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 6 (red), margins: 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red).

Slip: applied on the outside 2.5Y 8 / 3 (pale yellow).

Decoration: a red stroke depicted between two curved lines; remains of two other diagonal lines below this motif; a row of dots depicted on the handles. Colours: lines and dots: 2.5YR 3 / 3 (dark reddish brown); stroke: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red) – 5 / 4 (reddish brown). Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date:  $6^{th} / 7^{th}$  c.

175. Context 1. 98I[1](27)29. Fig. 3.27.

Reeded neck of a jug; two handles attached to the lower neck. Strainer pierced with three holes, the central one being the smallest.

Fabric: N2 / 6. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 8 (red), margins: 5YR 4 / 6 (yellowish red).

Slip: very damaged – only traces are visible on the outside. 2.5Y 8 / 3 (pale yellow).

Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).

Date: late  $4^{th}-6^{th}$  c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 125, type 204, (390-500).

**176.** Context 1. 98I[1](27)29. Fig. 3.27. Strainer pierced with at least two holes.

Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5/4 (weak red), margins: 7.5YR 4/4 (brown).

Slip: badly preserved. 2.5Y 8 / 3 (pale yellow).

Decoration: a line surrounds the neck's base. Colour: 2.5YR 3 / 1 (dark reddish grey). Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).

Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.? Parallels / Bibliography: maybe Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 128, type 216.

**177.** Context 7. 07III[22](47)45. Fig. 3.27. Neck.

Jug. The neck is cylindrical and narrow, forming a ridge. A row of vertical incisions is visible on the inside – probably made during piercing the strainer.

Fabric: N5. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 6 (red), margins: 5YR 4 / 6 (yellowish red).

Slip: 2.5Y 8 / 3 (pale yellow).

Decoration: applied over the slip. Outside the neck, two lines in  $10R \ 3 / 2$  (dusky red) are drawn. The space between them is painted 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red). At the base of the neck a row of dots in  $10R \ 3 / 2$  (dusky red).

Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).

Date: 7th c. (or slightly earlier).

Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet and Picon 1987 (Kellia), Fig. 6.1; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 2003 (Kellia), 454, Fig. 415, No. 161.

**178.** Context 7. 07III[22](47)45. Fig. 3.27. Neck and upper body.

A ridge is formed at the neck's base. Two handles are attached at the shoulder. Smooth outer wall, fluted interior.

Fabric: N6. Zoned break. Core: (very dark grey), margins: 2.5YR (reddish brown). Inner surface: 2.5YR 4 / 1 (dark reddish grey).

Slip: applied on the outside. 10YR 7 / 4 (very pale brown).

Decoration: entirely erased – only illegible traces are left.

Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).

Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: maybe Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 128, type 214.

2) Bodysherds

Bodysherds decorated with animal motifs

179. Church. 99III[3](15)<51>. Fig. 3.28. Shoulder.

Bodysherd of a painted jug – fragment of the upper shoulder, with small part of the strainer.

Fabric: N1A. Zoned break. Core: 10R 6 / 8 (light red), inner margin: N5 / - 6 / (gray), outer margin: 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red)

Slip: dense and thick. 10YR 8 / 6 (yellow).

Decoration: a bird is depicted turned towards the right. Its eyes are big and pronounced. Its body is decorated with a vertical row of dots and a curved stroke. Colours: lines and dots: 10R 3 / 2 (dusky red); strokes: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red).

Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date:  $8^{th} / 9^{th} c$ .

180. Church. 99III[6](26)41. Fig. 3.28. Shoulder.

Probably from the same object with the sherd No. 180. A bird is depicted in the same position as the one in No. 180. Here one may see some further details, such as the ribbon illustrated around the bird's neck, and a cross-hatched tear-shaped motif represented on the left of the animal.

Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).

Date:  $8^{th} / 9^{th} c$ .

Comments: stylistically different birds are depicted on numerous jugs found in Kellia (Egloff 1977, 59, 124-131), Šayh 'Abāda / Antinoopolis (Guerrini 1974, 90, Figs. 43-44) and elsewhere.



Fig. 3.28. Bodysherds of closed painted table wares found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 179-210)

Bodysherds decorated with geometric motifs

a) Horizontal bands and dots (several parallels in: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 59, 124-131; Faiers 2005a (Amarna), 145, Fig. 2.47, No. 335; Guidotti 2008 (Šayų, 'Abāda / Antinoopolis), 350, Taf. XLV, No. 358).

**181.** Context 1. 99I[10](63)19. Fig. 3.28. Spherical body, reeded below the shoulder on the outside. Two handles, semi-circular in section, are attached to the upper shoulder.

Fabric: N1A. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 3 (weak red), margin near the inner walls: N 5 / (gray), margins near the outer walls: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red).

Slip: applied on the outside; thin, waterish. 2.5Y 8 / 3 (pale yellow).

Decoration: on the upper shoulder a row of curved lines around dots; below these motifs a pair of

horizontal lines framing a red band, and a row of dots joined with a horizontal line; one more pair of horizontal lines, edging a red band, on the lower shoulder. Colours: lines and dots: 7.5YR 3 / 1 (very dark grey); bands: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red).

Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.

182. Context 3. 07I[32](50)53. Fig. 3.28. Spherical body with spout.

Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 3 (weak red), inner margin: 2.5Y 4 / 1 (dark grey), outer margin: 10R 5 / 8 (red). Inner surface: 2.5YR 4 / 1 (dark reddish grey), outer surface (visible where the slip is flaked out): 7.5 YR 4 / 6 (strong brown).

Slip: applied on the outer surface; thick, dense. 7.5YR 7 / 8 (reddish vellow).

Decoration: a pair of red horizontal bands, framed by lines enclose a row of dots; above these motifs vertical irregular lines. Colours: lines and dots: 2.5YR 2.5 / 1 (reddish black); bands: 10R 5 / 8 (red). Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).

Date: late  $4^{th}-5^{th}$  c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 125, type 204 (390-500).

183. Context 1. 99I[7](58)12.1. Fig. 3.28. Oval-shaped body – the point where the upper shoulder meets the shoulder appears slightly angular.

Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 4 (weak red); margins: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red).

Slip: applied on the outer surface; thick, dense, flaked-out at certain parts. 2.5Y 8 / 3 (pale yellow). Decoration: a horizontal row of dots on the upper shoulder and a red band framed by lines. Colours: lines and dots: 10R 4 / 1 (dark reddish grey); band: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red) - 6 / 6 (reddish yellow). Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.

184. Context 1. 98I[1](45)37.4. Fig. 3.28. Fabric: N2. Zoned break - 2 zones: 1) 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown), 2) 10R 5 / 8 - 4 / 8 (red). Slip: applied on the outside; dense. 10YR 8 / 2 (very pale brown). Decoration: two horizontal bands framed by lines; between them rows of dots. Colours: lines and dots: 2.5YR 3 / 1 (dark reddish grey); bands: 2.5YR 6 / 8 (light red). Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date:  $6^{\text{th}}-8^{\text{th}}$  c.

185. Context 1. 07I[66](58)71. Fig. 3.28.

Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10R 4 / 6 (red), inner walls: 2.5YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown), outer walls: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red).

Slip: applied on the outside; thick, dense. 7.5YR 7 / 4 (pink).

Decoration: two horizontal parallel lines edging a row of dots. Colour: 10R 2.5 / 2 (very dusky red). Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date:  $6^{\text{th}}-8^{\text{th}}$  c.

b) Wavy lines and dots / arches and dots (several parallels in: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 59, 124-131; Faiers 2005a (Amarna), 143, Fig. 247; Eadem 2005b (Amarna), 194, Fig. 3.8, Nos. 64, 65)

186. Context 1. 98I[1](51)40. Fig. 3.28. Angular shoulder. Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 8 (red), inner walls: 2.5YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown), outer walls: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Slip: applied on the outside; thin, semi-lustrous. 2.5YR 4/6 - 4/8 (red). Decoration: an incised wavy line is decorated with painted dots and a white horizontal band. Colours: dots: 10YR 3 / 1 very dark grey; band: 10YR 8 / 2 very pale brown. Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date: uncertain.  $7^{\text{th}}-9^{\text{th}}$  c. (?)

**187.** Context 1. 98I[1](39)30. Fig. 3.28. Shoulder.

Fabric: N1B. Zoned break – two zones. Inner zone: 10R 5 / 2 (weak red), outer zone: 7.5YR 5 /8 (strong brown).

Slip: applied on the outside; thick, dense. 10YR 8 / 4 (very pale brown).

Decoration: a red horizontal band framed by one line on the one side, and two lines on the other. Below that, a wavy line and dots. Colours: lines and dots: 2.5YR 4 / 2 (weak red), band: 5YR 5 / 8 (yellowish red).

Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date:  $7^{th}$  c.+

**188.** Context 4. 07I[42](77)82. Fig. 3.28. Rounded shoulder, sloping walls. Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red), inner walls: 2.5YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown), outer walls: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red). Slip: applied on the outside; thick, dense, flaked-out at certain parts. 10YR 8 / 3 (very pale brown). Decoration: two horizontal bands and between them a row of dots and a wavy line, edged by lines.

Colours: lines and dots: 10R 3 / 1 (dark reddish grey); bands: 10R 5 / 6 - 4 / 6 (red).

Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).

Date: 5<sup>th</sup> c.

**189.** Context 1. 07I[40](75)79. Fig. 3.28. Rounded shoulder, sloping walls; the point where the upper shoulder meets the shoulder is angular.

Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 8 (red), margins: 10YR 4 / 4 (dark yellowish brown).

Slip: a thin yellowish -10YR 7 / 4 (very pale brown) - 2.5Y 8 / 3 (pale yellow) - coat on the outside; a red (10R 4 / 8 - 5 / 8) wash on the inside:

Decoration: combination of arcs and dots; traces of incised arc Colours: lines: 10R 3 / 1 (dark reddish grey), dots: 2.5YR 5 / 6 - 5 / 8 (red).

Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c.

**190.** Context 1. 99I[5](56)10. Fig. 3.28. Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core (thin zone): 10R 4 / 4 (weak red), inner walls: 10R 4 / 4 (weak red), outer walls: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Slip: applied on the outside; thick, dense. 10YR 8 / 3 (very pale brown). Decoration: red band and wavy line with dots. Colours: lines and dots: 2.5YR 3 / 1 (dark reddish grey); band: 10R 5 / 8 (red). Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.+

**191.** Context 1. 99I[6](59)13. Fig. 3.28. Fabric: N1B / N2. Zoned break – two zones: 1) 10R 5 / 6 (red), 2) 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red). Slip: applied on the outside; worn-out. 2.5Y 8 / 1 (white) - 8 / 2 (pale yellow). Decoration: horizontal line and remains of red band, a dot and a horizontal line also visible. Colours: line and dot: 2.5YR 3 / 1 (dark reddish grey); band: 2.5YR 6 / 8 (light red). Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.

**192.** Context 2. 99I[19](64)21. Fig. 3.28.

Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core (very thin zone): 10R 5 / 8 (red), inner wall: 10R 4 / 4 (weak red), outer wall: 5YR 5 / 6 - 4 / 6 (yellowish red).

Slip: applied on the outside; thick, dense. 7.5YR 8 / 4 (pink).

Decoration: red band edged by lines, below which a dot. Colours: lines and dot: 10R 3 / 1 (dark reddish grey); band: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red).

Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date:  $6^{th} / 7^{th} c$ .

**193.** Context 1. 98V[2](40)30.13. Fig. 3.28. Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core (thin zone): 10R 4 / 8 (red), inner walls: 2.5YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown), 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red): outer walls. Slip: applied on the outside; thick, dense. 5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow). Decoration: horizontal red band edged by a line, wavy line, five parallel lines, a dot and two more diagonal parallel lines. Colours: lines and dot: 10R 3 / 1 (dark reddish grey); band: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date: 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.

**194.** Context 1. 98V[2](7)6.25. Fig. 3.28. Fabric: N4. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 5 / 6 (strong brown). Slip: applied on the outside; thin. 7.5YR 7 / 6 (reddish yellow). Decoration: red band edged by a line; traces of arcs and a dot. Colours: lines and dot: 2.5YR 3 / 3 (dark reddish brown); band: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date: uncertain. 5<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.

**195.** Context 1. 99I[3](51)8. Fig. 3.28. Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core (thin zone): 10R 5 / 8 (red), inner margin: 10R 5 / 3 (weak red), outer margin: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Slip: applied on the outside; thick, dense. 10YR 8 / 3 (very pale brown) – 5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow). Decoration: red band framed by lines and traces of arcs. Colours: lines: 10R 4 / 1 (dark reddish grey); band: 10R 5 / 6 (red). Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date: uncertain. 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.

**196.** Context 1. 99I[12](66)23. Fig. 3.28. Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 4 (weak red), margins: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red). Slip: applied on the outside; thin, dense. 2.5Y 8 / 1 (white). Decoration: curved red band edged by lines framing row of dots. Colours: lines and dots: 2.5 YR 4 / 1 (dark reddish grey); band: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date: uncertain. 5<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.

**197.** Context 1. 99I[6](59)13. Fig. 3.28. Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 8 (red), margins: 5YR 5 / 6 – 4 / 6 (yellowish red). Slip: applied on the outside; thick, dense. 7.5YR 7 / 4 (pink). Decoration: two red horizontal bands enclose a wavy line framed by two horizontal lines. Colours: lines: 2.5YR 3 / 2 (dusky red); bands: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red). Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date: uncertain. 5<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.

198. Context 1. 98V[4](18)18.1. Fig. 3.28.
Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core (very thin zone): 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red), inner walls: 10R 5 / 4 (weak red), outer walls: 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown).
Slip: applied on the outside; thick, dense. 5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow).
Decoration: wavy line framed by two horizontal lines, below which a red band. Colours: lines: 2.5YR 2.5 / 2 (very dusky red); stroke: 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red).
Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).
Date: uncertain. 5<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.

199. Context 1. 99I[4]former staircase-2. Fig. 3.28.
Fabric: N1A / B. Zoned break. Core : 10R 5 / 4 (weak red), inner margin (very thin zone): 10R 5 / 8 (red), outer margin: 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown).
Slip: applied on the outside; thick, dense. 5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yelow).
Decoration: four horizontal parallel lines; a wavy line between third and fourth line. Colour: 10R 2.5 / 2 (very dusky red).
Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).
Date: uncertain. 5<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.

200. Context 1. 98V[2](38)28.8. Fig. 3.28.
Fabric: N4. Homogeneous break. 5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow).
Slip: applied on the outside; thick, dense. 5YR 6 / 6 (yellowish red).
Decoration: pair of red horizontal parallel bands enclosing row of wavy lines. Colours: lines: 2.5YR 2.5 / 2 (very dusky red); bands: 10R 5 / 8 - 4 / 8 (red).
Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).
Date: uncertain. 5<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.

# c) Wavy line and leaf-like motifs

**201.** Context 1. 98I[1](27)29.48. Fig. 3.28. Shoulder.

Fabric: N1A. Zoned break. Core: 10R 4 / 8 (red), inner walls: 5YR 4 / 2 (dark redddish grey), outer walls: 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown).

Slip: applied on the outside; thick, dense. 7.5YR 7 / 4 (pink).

Decoration: two horizontal parallel bands framed by lines enclose curved and wavy lines that probably represent the shank from which vine-leafs spring. Colours: lines and vine-leafs: 10R 3 / 2 (dusky red); bands: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red).

Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.+

## d) Other geometric and floral motifs

**202.** Context 1. 07I[39](68)73. Fig. 3.28. Spherical body; two handle springs visible at shoulder-height. Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 6 (red), margin1 (thin zone): 2.5Y 5 / 2 (greyish brown), margin2 (thin zone): 10R 4 / 6 (red), margin3: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red).

Slip: applied on the outside; thick, dense. 10YR 8 / 3 (very pale brown).

Decoration: a hatched tear-shaped motif is depicted among vertical bands; below them a horizontal band and a dot. Colours: lines and dots: 10R 3 / 1 (dark reddish grey); bands: 10R 4 / 6 (red). Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.

203. Context1. 97I[5](9)33.1. Fig. 3.28.

Fabric: N1A. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 5 / 1 (gray), inner margin: 10R 5 / 4 (weak red), outer margin: 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red).

Slip: applied on the outside; thin. 7.5YR 7 / 4 (pink).

Decoration: intersected diagonal lines forming lozenges that enclose cross-hatching or dots. Colours: lines: 5YR 2.5 / 1 (black), dots: 10R 4 / 6 (red).

Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).

Date: uncertain. 7<sup>th</sup> c. (?)

**204.** Context 1. 99I[9](77)35. Fig. 3.28.

Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red), inner wall: 10R 5 / 4 (weak red), outer wall: 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown).

Slip: applied on the outside; thick, dense. 5YR 7 / 6 (reddish yellow).

Decoration: rows of diagonal lines bordering a diagonal red band (leaf-like motif?) and row of dots. Colours: lines and dots: 2.5YR 2.5 / 2 (very dusky red), bands: 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red).

Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).

Date: uncertain. 7<sup>th</sup> c. (?)

Parallels / Bibliography: jars with similar decoration in Górecki 1990 (Tall Atrīb / Athribis), Fig. 14f.

**205.** Context 1. 98V[2](7)6.23. Fig. 3.28.

Fabric: N1A. Core: 10R 6 / 6 (light red) - 5 / 6 (red), thin margin under outer wall: 10R 4 / 6 (red). Inner surface: 2.5YR 5 / 1 (gray).

Slip: applied on the outside; thick, dense. 7.5 YR 8 / 4 - 7 / 4 (pink).

Decoration: a diagonal stroke and a row of parallel lines. Colours: lines: 10R 3 / 1 (dark reddish grey); stroke: 10R 5 / 8 (red).

Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).

Date:

Parallels / Bibliography: jars with similar decoration in Górecki 1990 (Tall Atrīb / Athribis), Fig. 14f.

206. Context 1. 98V[2](7)6.27. Fig. 3.28.

Fabric: N1A. Zoned break. Core: 10R 4 / 8 (red), inner margin: 10R 6 / 4 (pale red), outer margin: 5YR 5/6-4/6 (yellowish red). Inner surface: 5YR 3/2 (dark reddish brown).

Slip: applied on the outside; thick, dense. 2.5Y 8/3 - 8/4 (pale yellow).

Decoration: a row of curved and S-shaped lines, a red band, a dark red line, a red dot, a cross-hatched medallion and remains of curved strokes - the cross-hatched motif is reminiscent to the one depicted next to the bird of No. 181. Colours: lines: 10R 3 / 2 (dusky red), strokes and dot: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).

Date: uncertain. 7<sup>th</sup> c. (?)

207. Context 1. 99I-5. Fig. 3.28.

Fabric: N4. Zoned break – two zones: 1) 10R 5 / 6 (red), 2) 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red).

Slip: applied on the outside; thin, flaky. 2.5Y 8 / 2 (pale yellow).

Decoration: horizontal and vertical bands and lines. Colours: lines: 5YR 3 / 1 (very dark grey); bands: 10R 4 / 6 (red).

Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).

Date: uncertain. 7<sup>th</sup> c. (?)

208. Context 1. 99I[6](59)13. Fig. 3.28.

Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red), inner walls: 10R 5 / 4 (weak red), outer walls: 5YR 5 / 6 - 4 / 6 (yellowish red).

Slip: applied on the outside; thick, dense. 2.5Y 8/2 - 8/3 (pale yellow).

Decoration: horizontal line framing a red band, as the lower limit of a decorated space whose remains are only visible: black and red vertical bands, oe of which dotted; curved line. Colours: lines and dots: 10R 3 / 1 (dark reddish grey); bands: 10R 4 / 8 (red).

Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date: uncertain. 7<sup>th</sup> c. (?)

209. Context 1. 99I[3](51)8. Fig. 3.28. Angular shoulder.

Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 4 (weak red), margins: 5YR 4 / 6 (yellowish red).

Slip: Applied on the outside; thick, dense. 10YR 8 / 4 (very pale brown).

Decoration: horizontal red band framed by lines below shoulder's height; parallel curved lines and interlacing diagonal lines, two of which form a hatched triangle. Colours: lines: 5YR 2.5 / 1 (black); band: 5YR 5 / 8 (yellowish red).

Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date: uncertain. 7<sup>th</sup> c (?)

210. Context 1. 99I[12](66)23. Fig. 3.28. Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Slip: applied on the outside; thin, dense. 10YR 8 / 4 (very pale brown). Decoration: interlacing curved lines, dot, curved red band. Colours: lines and dot: 10YR 3 / 1 (very dark grey); band: 5YR 6 / 8 (reddish yellow). Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date: uncertain. 7<sup>th</sup> c. (?)

3) Bases

Jugs with high flaring foot

211. Context 1. 99I[8](65)22. Fig. 3.29. Fabric: N1B / N3. Zoned break. Core: 10R 4 / 4 (weak red), margins: 2.5YR 5 / 6 - 5 / 8 (red). Slip: worn-out. 10YR 6 / 3 (pale brown). Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date: late  $4^{th}$ -early  $6^{th}$  c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), type 215, 128

**212.** Context 1. 99I[10](63)19. Fig. 3.29. Fabric: N5. Zoned break. Core: 10R 6 / 4 (pale red), margins: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red). Slip: applied on the outside; thick, largely flaked-out. 2.5Y 8 / 3. Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date: late 4<sup>th</sup>-early 6<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Rodziewicz 1984 (Alexandria), Pl. 33.112.

213. Context 1. 99I[7](58)12+[6](59)13. Fig. 3.29.
Fabric: N1B / N2. Zoned break. Core (very thin zone): 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red), inner walls: 10R 4 / 4 (weak red), outer walls: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red).
Slip: applied on the outside and the underside of the base; thick, dense. 7.5YR 8 / 4 (pink) – 5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow)
Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).
Date: late 4<sup>th</sup>-early 6<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Rodziewicz 1984, Pl. 33.112-115.

**214.** Context 7. 07III[34](56)51. Fig. 3.29. Fabric: N1B / N3. Zoned break.Core: 10R 4 / 3 (weak red), margin near the inner walls: 10R 5 / 6 (red), margin near the outer walls: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red). Inner surface: 2.5YR 6 / 6 (light red). Slip: not homogeneously applied. 10YR 8 / 3 (very pale brown). Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Rodziewicz 1984, Pl. 33.113.

Jugs with stepped bases

**215.** Context 2. 99I[19](64)20. Fig. 3.29. Fabric: N1B / N3. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 6 (red), margins: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Slip: applied on the outside, thick, dense. 2.5Y 8 / 3 (pale yellow). Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), types 216 / 217, 128-129.

**216.** Context 1. 99I[6](59)13. Fig. 3.29. Fabric: N5. Zoned break – two zones: 1) 10R 5/4-4/4 (weak red), 2) 2.5YR 5/6 (red). Slip: worn-out, traces on the outside and the underside of the base. 10YR 8/6 (yellow). Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 128-129, types 216/217.

217. Context 1. 98I[1](51)40.6. Fig. 3.29. Base.
Jug with low stepped base.
Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10R 4 / 6 (red), margin near the inner walls: 10R 4 / 3 (weak red), margin near the outer walls: 5YR 5 / 8 (yellowish red).
Slip: applied on the outside, visible also on the underside. 2.5Y 8 / 2 - 8 / 3 (pale yellow).
Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).
Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 128-129, types 216 / 217.

Jugs with turned bases

218. Context 1. 96I[11](10)74. Fig. 3.29.
Jug with ovoid-shaped body, tapering to a turned base.
Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Inner margin: 5YR 4 / 2 (dark reddish grey), outer margin: 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red).
Slip: dense, thick but flaky. 5Y 8 / 2 (pale yellow) and in some parts 10R 7 / 4 (pale red).
Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).
Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 127-128, type 212 (630-700).



**219.** Context 10. [2](11)10.2. Fig. 3.29. Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 8, margin near the inner walls: 10R 5 / 3 (weak red), margin near the outer walls: 2.5YR 5 / 6 - 4 / 6 (red). Slip: applied on the outside; thick, matt. 7.5YR 7 / 4 (pink). Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 127-128, type 212 (630-700).

220. Context 98I[1](41)34.5. Fig. 3.29.
Fabric: N1A / B. Zoned break. Core: 10R 4 / 4 (weak red), inner walls: 10R 5 / 4 (weak red), outer walls: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red).
Slip: applied on the outside and the underside of the base; traces of dripping slip on the inside; thick, dense. 10YR 8 / 3 (very pale brown).
Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).
Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 127-128, type 212 (630-700).

**221.** Context 1. 98I[1](39)30.5. Fig. 3.29. Fabric: N1A / B. Zoned break. Core (very thin): 10R 4 / 6 (red), inner walls: 10R 5 / 6 (red), outer walls: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Slip: applied on the outside, dripping under the base; thick, dense.7.5YR 7 / 4 (pink). Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date: uncertain. 7<sup>th</sup> c. (?)

**222.** Context 1. 97I[5](5)21. Fig. 3.29. Fabric: N1B / N2. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 8 (red), inner walls: 5YR 4 / 2 (dark reddish grey), outer walls: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Slip: applied on the outside; thin. 10YR 8 / 3 (very pale brown). Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date: uncertain. 7<sup>th</sup> c. (?)

**223.** Context 1. 98I[1](47)36.8. Fig. 3.29. Fabric: N1B / N2. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown). Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?). Date: uncertain. 7<sup>th</sup> c. (?)

Closed vessel with flat base

224. Context 1. 99I[2](4)1. Fig. 3.29.
Small jug (or flagon?) with flat base and globular reeded wall.
Fabric: N4. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 4 (weak red), margins: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red).
Slip: applied on the outside and the underside of the base; thick, dense. 2.5Y 8 / 4 (pale yellow) – 5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow).
Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).
Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: similar, but not identical form in Ballet 2003a, 177, Fig. 27, No. 171.

4) Complete object

225. Context 07III[22](39)36+[31](43)43+[...]. Fig. 3.29. Almost complete – rim missing. Jug with almost conical neck, oval-shaped body and rounded reeded base; two handles attached to upper shoulder.
Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 5YR 5 / 1 (gray), inner margins: 10R 6 / 4 (pale red), outer margins: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red).
Slip: thick, dense; applied on the outer surface and inside the neck. 7.5 YR 8 / 3 (pink) and at some parts 10R 6 / 4 (pale red).
Decoration: curved stroke at shoulder-height. Colour: 10R 5 / 3 (weak red).
Production place: uncertain (Nile Delta?).
Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.

# GOUGED / CARVED TABLEWARE

A small group of table wares (Nos. 226-229, Fig. 3.30) is characterised by a distinctive decoration technique. The patterns are gouged, created by removing parts of the surface in certain shapes or carved / relief, consisting in adjacent swags. Nile fabric is used in the manufacture of this group, especially the N1B and N2 variants. Unfortunately most of the vessels come from the non-stratified layers of context 1 so there is not much to be noted as for their chronology. A single parallel from al-Ašmūnayn (Hermopolis Magna) is also found in a non stratified layer (Bailey 1998, 101, 168, Pl.61, N51, context 139, validity E). Similar decoration is applied on vessels found in Kellia (*e.g.* Ballet 2003a, 185, Fig. 28, No. 177) and elsewhere in Egypt, especially in Alexandria and around the Lake Mareotis (Rodziewicz 1986); their date ranges from the fifth to the eighth century. Among the finds of the Old Baramūs only bowl No. 226 could be dated to about the seventh century, judging by its context.

# Open

**226.** Context 7. 07III[22](39)36. Fig. 3.30. Rim and body – almost full profile; the base is missing. Medium-deep bowl with bead rim and carinated walls, somehow 'bell-shaped'.

Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown).

Decoration: The lower body, below the carination is rippled, while gouged decoration spreads on the upper body: pairs of diagonal lines form triangular spaces, which enclose a vertical row of gouged dots and a curved line.

Production place: uncertain – Nile Valley or Delta. Date:  $7^{\text{th}}$  c.

**227.** Context 1. 07I[2](10)8.7+[6](12)11.1. Fig. 3.30.

Medium-deep bowl with everted rim and straight walls with low placed carination. A ridge is formed on the upper body, delimiting the decorated space.

Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 6 / 1 (gray), inner margin: 2.5YR 6 / 4 (light reddish brown), outer margin: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 2.5YR 5 / 6 - 4 / 6 (red).

Decoration: a white  $(2.5YR\ 8\ /\ 1)$  line on the rim and gouged decoration on the outside, consisting in diagonal lines, two of them forming a V motif, as well as some simple depressions.

Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley.

Date: uncertain. Presumably 9<sup>th</sup> c.

**228.** Context 1. 98I[1](27)29. Fig. 3.30. Dish with broad horizontal rim, hooked on the underside. Fabric: N2. 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Decoration: carved - relief decoration of adjacent swags Production place: uncertain – Nile Valley or Delta. Date:  $5^{\text{th}}-8^{\text{th}}/9^{\text{th}}$  c.

**229.** Context 1. 98I[1](27)29. Fig. 3.30. Dish with horizontal knobbed rim. Fabric: N2. 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Decoration: carved - relief decoration of adjacent swags Production place: uncertain – Nile Valley or Delta. Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> / 9<sup>th</sup> c.



Fig. 3.30. Gouged table wares found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 226-229)

# PLAIN TABLEWARE

A number of open and closed vessels bear no decoration at all and have been grouped together as plain ware. In total thirty-six objects and significant sherds are included in the catalogue; they have been divided into open and closed forms and are arranged according to their rim-form, without following a strict chronological order.

All the open forms (Nos. 230-239, Fig. 3.31) are made of Nile fabric, mainly the micaceous variants N1A, N1B and N2, and less frequently the lime-rich N3. Striking morphological similarities may be noted between Nos. 235-237 and the Aswān small carinated bowls that form a rolled rim (Group 3, Nos. 58-72). Most of the closed forms (Nos. 240-248, 252-256, Fig. 3.32) are made of calcareous fabrics, especially the C3A, C3B, occasionally the C4A and C4B variants. Among them, Nos. 244 and 245 seem very close to a Kellia type (Egloff 1977, 124, Type 198), which is found in considerable quantities in Šayh 'Abāda / Antinoopolis and is therefore considered as a Middle Egyptian product, despite the fact that it is made of calcareous fabric.<sup>48</sup> Only two closed plain table wares are made of Nile fabric (Nos. 249, 250, Fig. 3.32).

# Open

# Dishes with everted rim

**230.** Context 4. 07I[42](79)84. Fig. 3.31. Rim and body. Bowl with flat, slightly thickened rim and sloping walls. Sooted outside the rim. Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 5/4-4/4 (brown). Slip: applied on the inside; thin, matt. 10R 5/6 (red). Production place: uncertain – Nile Valley or Delta. Date:  $5^{\text{th}}$ -7<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 153, type 291.

231. Context 1. 99I[2](47)1+[5](56)10+[...]. Fig. 3.31. Full profile.

Dish with everted, knobbed rim, curved walls and low foot.

Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 2.5Y 5 / 2 (greyish brown), inner margin: 10R 5 / 4 (weak red), outer margin: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Outer surface: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red).

Remains of slip are visible on the inside. The whole inner surface was probably coated with a light coloured slip -10YR 8 / 2 (very pale brown) – on which a layer of red (2.5YR 5 / 8) slip was applied. Both layers of slip are so worn-out so that it was preferred to class this dish with the plain undecorated vessels.

Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c. (?)

**232.** Context 1. 99I[2](47)1+[8](60)15. Fig. 3.31. Full profile. Shallow dish with everted rim, curved walls, scraped at their inferior, low-foot, slightly flaring. Sooted outer surface, especially around rim.

Fabric: N3. Zoned break. Core: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red), margins: 7.5YR 4 / 3 (brown). Inner surface: 10R 4 / 6 (red), outer surface: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown).

Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date:  $7^{th}-9^{th}$  c. (?)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Pascale Ballet for sharing with me this information. (Ballet, P. and Guidotti, C., Antinoopolis Survey of the Italian Mission of the G. Vitelli Institute, Florence, unpublished).



Fig. 3.31. Open plain table wares found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 230-239)

**233.** Context 1. 98V[2](7)6+[2](26)21. Fig. 3.31. Rim and body. Shallow dish with everted rim and sloping walls, fluted at parts of both surfaces. Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 5Y 5 / 1 (gray), inner margin: 10R 5 / 6 (red), outer margin: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Surfaces: 2.5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown) – 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red). Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c. (?)

234. Context 1. 98V[2](7)6. Fig. 3.31. Rim and body.
Deep dish with everted rim and sloping walls, fluted on the outside.
Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10Y 6 / 1-5 / 1 (greenish grey), inner margin: 10R 5 / 3 (weak red), outer margin: 10R 5 / 8 (red). Inner surface: 10R 5 / 8-4 / 8 (red), outer surface: 7.5YR 4 / 6-5 / 6 (strong brown).
Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley.
Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c. (?)

The exact function of Nos. 232-234 and their related vessels is somehow muddled. In some cases soot appears all around their rim's outer surface indicating that they could have been used as lamps or cooking-pot lids. This peculiarity may imply that certain vessels were submitted to multiple usages. Already Egloff (1977, 177) suspected that reversed bowls and dishes can be indeed used as lids (*e.g.* Yon 1981, Fig. 153), although he had no clear indication of such a treatment in the Kellia assemblage.

## Knobbed-rim bowls

**235.** Context 1. 98V[2](7)6.2+99[2](47)1. Fig. 3.31. Full profile. Small carinated bowl with knobbed rim and flat base. Deformed. Fabric: N1B / N3. Homogeneous break. 5YR 4 / 6 (yellowish red). Wash: applied on both surfaces; waterish. 7.5YR 8 / 1 (white). Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date:  $6^{th}-8^{th}$  c.

**236.** Context 1. 99I[12]16. Fig. 3.31. Rim and body. Form as No. 235. Fabric: N1B / 3. Homogeneous break. 5YR 5 / 6 - 4 / 6 (yellowish red). Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date: 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.

237. Context 6. Southern Pastoforion – underground bin. Fig. 3.31. Full profile.
Knobbed-rim bowl with curved walls and flat base.
Fabric: C2. Homogeneous break. 5YR 5/6 (yellowish red) – 6/6 (reddish yellow). Surfaces: 5YR 6/6 – 7/6 (reddish yellow); at parts, especially below rim on the inside: 10YR 8/4 (very pale brown).
Production place: unknown.
Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.

#### Bowls with flanged rim

**238.** Context 1. 99I[6](59)13. Fig. 3.31. Full profile. Small carinated bowl with flanged rim and flat base. Grooving on the inside at carination point. Fabric: N5. Homogeneous break. 5YR 4 / 6 (yellowish red). Surfaces: 7.5YR 6 / 4 (light brown). Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date:  $5^{\text{th}}$ -7<sup>th</sup> c.

239. Context 1. 07I[30](44)77. Fig. 3.31. Rim.
Small bowl. The rim forms a short rounded flange.
Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 6 (red), margins and surfaces: 5YR 4 / 6 (yellowish red).
Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley.
Date: uncertain. 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Faiers 2005a (Amarna), 195, Fig. 2.21, No. 175.

## Closed

# Cup-mouth jugs

**240.** Context 1. 07I[40](75)79. Fig. 3.32. Flaring mouth. Up-turned rim, thin neck, two handles attached to neck; sort of filter pierced with one hole. Fabric: C3A. Homogeneous break. 5YR 7 / 4 (pink). Surface: 7.5YR 8 / 2 (pinkish white). Production place: unknown. Date: first half of 5<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 124, type 199 (400-450); Ballet 2000 (Tell el-Herr), 222, Fig. 204, No. 85.

**240bis.** Context 1. 07I[38](66)71. Fig. 3.32. Base with high flaring foot. Fabric: C3A. Homogeneous break. 5YR 7 / 4 (pink). Surface: 7.5YR 8 / 2 (pinkish white). Production place: unknown. Date: first half of 5<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 124, type 199 (400-450); Ballet 2000 (Tell el-Herr), 222, Fig. 204, No. 85. **241.** Context 7. 07III[22](39)36. Fig. 3.32. Mouth. Fabric: C3B. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 7 / 2 (pinkish grey) – 7 / 3 (pink). Inner surface: 5Y 8 / 4 (pale yellow), outer surface: 5YR 7 / 6 (reddish yellow). Production place: unknown. Date: 7th c.

**242.** Context 1. 98V[2](28)25.9. Fig. 3.32. Upper part. Jug with slightly everted rim, thin neck, rounded shoulder. Fabric: C2. Homogeneous break. 5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow). Decoration: red band around the neck and at rim. Colour: 10R 5 / 8 (red). Production place: unknown. Date: uncertain.  $6^{th}$ -7<sup>th</sup> c. (?)

**243.** Context 1. 99I[6](57)11. Fig. 3.32. Upper part. Jug with two ear-shaped handles attached to mouth and shoulder. Fabric: C3A. Homogeneous break. 2.5Y 8/2 (pale yellow). Production place: unknown. Date: uncertain. 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> (?)

244. Context 1. 99I[2](47)1. Fig. 3.32. Mouth.
Jug with inturned rim; two grooved handles attached to upper neck; sort of filter pierced with one hole.
Fabric: C3A. Homogeneous break. 10YR 7 / 2 (light grey).
Production place: unknown.
Date: first half of 5<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: similar to Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 124, type 198 (400-450).

**245.** Context 1. 99I[6](59)13. Fig. 3.32. Upper part. Jug with inturned hook rim; two grooved handles attached to neck and upper shoulder; sort of filter pierced with oe hole. Fabric: C3A. Homogeneous break. 10YR 8 / 1 (white). Production place: unknown. Date: uncertain. 5<sup>th</sup> c. (?)

Trefoil-mouth jugs

Vessels with such a mouth were often used as boilers (Ballet 2003a, 123-124, Fig. 13, Nos. 90-91). Nevertheless, the Baramūs examples do not seem to belong to the cooking wares, as they do not bear any burning traces or soot. In addition, their fabric radically differs from that of the cooking-pots. At any rate this form is also typical for jugs holding liquids.

**246.** Context 1. 98I[1](49)38+99I[11](62)18. Fig. 3.32. Mouth. Triangular rim, narrow cylindrical neck, reeded on the inside; one handle, elliptical in section attached to the mouth; a pointed knob formed on the handle. Fabric: C4B. Homogeneous break. 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Outer surface: 5YR 8 / 2 (pinkish white). Production place: Mareotis (?) Date: uncertain. 6<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> c. (?)

247. Context 10. 99V[2](11)10.1 Fig. 3.32. Mouth.
Everted rim; a protrusion or ridge at neck-height; one grooved handle, elliptical in section, attached to rim.
Fabric: C4B. 5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow). Outer surface: 2.5Y 8 / 3 (pale yellow).
Production place: Abū Mīnā (?)
Date: late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Rodziewicz 1984 (Alexandria), Pl. 31.91.

**248.** Context 1. 99I[7](58)12. Fig. 3.32. Mouth. Everted rim, forming an angle at the junction with the neck; one handle attached to the mouth; irregular knob applied on handle. Remains of a black dripping substance. Fabric: C4B. Homogeneous break. 10R 7/3 - 7/4 (pale red) Production place: Mareotis (?) Date: uncertain.  $6^{th}/7^{th}$  c. (?)



Fig. 3.32. Closed plain table wares found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 240-256)

249. Context 1. 96I-Baulk 1 [3]4. Fig. 3.32. Upper part.

Everted rim; cylindrical neck; one vertical handle, elliptical in section, attached to the rim and the upper shoulder; a ridge right below the neck's base.

Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 10R 6 / 3 (pale red), inner walls: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red), outer walls: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red).

Slip: applied on the outside and inside the neck; thin, flaky. 2.5Y 8 / 3 (pale yellow).

Production place: uncertain. Nile Valley or Delta. Date: uncertain.  $6^{th} / 7^{th} c.$  (?)

250. Context 4. 07I[44](87)92. Fig. 3.32. Upper part.

Knobbed rim, with concave outer face; conical reeded neck; one handle, almost round in section, attached to the neck.

Fabric: N1B. Zoned break – two zones: 1) 10R 6 / 4 (pale red), 2) 10R 4 / 3 (weak red). Inner surface: 10YR 4 / 1 (dark grey), outer surface: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red).

Wash: applied on the outside and dripping inside the neck. 10YR 8 / 2 (very pale brown).

Production place: uncertain. Nile Valley or Delta. Date: uncertain. 7<sup>th</sup> c. (?) or later.

## Other closed

**251.** Context 1. 07I[20](28)25. Fig. 3.32. Rim. Jug (or amphorisc) with wide conical neck; two grooved handles attached to rim. Fabric: C4B. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 6 / 3 (light brown). Outer surface: 2.5YR 7 / 3 (pink). Production place: unknown. Date: uncertain.

**252.** Context 1. 99I[13](69)26. Fig. 3.32. Rim. Jug (or amphorisc) with wide cylindrical neck Fabric: C3A. Homogeneous break. 2.5Y 8 / 1 (white). Decoration: remains of horizontal painted line at rim. Colour: 2.5YR 3 / 1 (dark reddish grey). Production place: unknown. Date: uncertain.

**253.** Context1. 98V[2](7)6.3. Fig. 3.32. Rim. Jug (or amphorisc) with flaring almond-shaped rim. A curved incision outside the neck. Fabric: C2 coarse. Zoned break. Inner margin: 10YR 7 / 3 (very pale brown), outer margin: 10YR 8 / 2 (very pale brown). Outer surface: 2.5Y 8 / 2 (pale yellow). Production place: unknown. Date: uncertain.

**254.** Context 7. 07III[22](37)35. Fig. 3.32. Body.

Jug with oval-shaped body. The outer walls are decorated with two horizontal bands of incised lines, the inner surface is fluted. Two handles are attached to the upper shoulder. Fabric: C4B. Zoned break – two zones: 1) 2.5YR 6 / 8 (light red) – 5 / 8 (red), 2) 10YR 5 / 4 (yellowish

brown). Outer surface: 2.5Y 8 / 3 (pale yellow), inner surface: 10YR 5 / 4 (yellowish brown). Production place: Mareotis (?) Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 2003a, 176, Fig. 26, No. 168.

255. Context 7. 07III[22](39)36. Fig. 3.32. Body.

Jug with long cylindrical neck underlined by a ridge, and spherical body. Two bowed handles are attached to the neck and the upper body. The inner surface is fluted.

Fabric: C3A. Homogeneous break. 2.5Y 7 / 3 (pale yellow). Surfaces: 2.5Y 7 / 4 (pale yellow) to 10YR 8 / 4 (very pale brown).

Production place: unknown.

Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 176, Fig. 26, No. 167.

**256.** Context 1. 98I[1](24)21.1. Fig. 3.32. Base. High foot with inturned edge. Fabric: C3A. Homogeneous break. 2.5Y 8 / 1 (white). Production place: unknown Date: uncertain.

# EARLY GLAZED WARE

Since the monastic settlement of the Old of Baramūs has survived until the Mamlūk period, it is not unusual that the excavations in the site have released a considerable number of glazed wares.<sup>49</sup> The present study focuses on the period from the late fourth to the ninth century and as a result only a small amount of glazed objects and sherds are included. This is due to the fact that the last centuries of our study coincide with the reappearance of glaze in the Egyptian territory.

The so far research in Alexandria (Rodziewicz 1978; *Id.* 1983) and in Fustāț (Scanlon 1984; *Id.* 1998; *Id.* 2006) has proven that glazed ceramics appeared in Egypt in the early ninth century, while the probability that those were produced already from the eighth century, is not rejected (Rodziewicz 1978, 344-345; *Idem* 1983, 73-74; Scanlon 1991b, 253; Gayraud 2006, 105-106). It seems that glazed objects were initially produced by workshops and potters that were well trained in the manufacture of red slip wares (Rodziewicz 1978, 338). This conclusion is drawn by the fact that the first glazed ceramics in Egypt are made of the Aswān fabric, while the repertory of forms does not differ at all from that of the Aswān red slip wares; furthermore, a transparent glaze often occurs covering the surface of red or white slip wares. A major production centre of such Aswān fabric glazed ceramics is Fustāț, as indicated by the strong presence of biscuits (Rice 1987, 473), that is to say ceramics that have been fired once and were discarded before the application of glaze.

Seven glazed small bowls (Nos. 257-263, Fig. 3.33) are presented below; among them six (Nos. 257-262) are made of Aswan fabric and one (No. 263) of a seemingly calcareous granular cream-coloured fabric. Three bowls (Nos. 257-259) are plain glazed; green lead glaze has been applied directly on the fabric and appears rather thicker on the inner surface. All the rest are decorated with coloured glazes.<sup>50</sup> A homogeneous group is constituted by Nos. 260-262, which are characterised by their Aswān fabric. Yellow (Nos. 260-261) or honey-brown (No. 262) glaze is applied directly on the fabric and covers the entire surface of the bowls. In the case of Nos. 260 and 261, the decoration is spread over the glaze and consists in simple green curved strokes (No. 260), or in a combination of wide green and thin dark brown curved strokes (No. 261). The abstract and somehow blurred green and dark brown patterns of No. 262 are applied under glaze. Nos. 260-262 and 263 belong to a common category, known as 'Fayyūmī' ware (Ballet 1986, 303; Engemann 1989, 161-177; Bailey 1991, 205-219; Joël 1993, 2-3; Bailey 1998, 113; François 1999, 22), which at first sight resembles the T'ang dynasty (618-906) sancai glazes (Vainker 2005, 75-78, 225). However, their technological differences impose their separate examination. Unlike the six first bowls (Nos. 257-262) that are characterised by a lead glaze, the surface of No. 263 is covered with a white tin glaze, over which the polychrome glazes are applied.

Connection of splashed wares, such as the 'Fayyūmī', with the *sancai* tradition has given rise to a great deal of discussion (Grube 1994, 13, note: 28). Chinese *sancai* glazed wares were mostly found in tombs and it is considered that they would not have been exported to the West. Furthermore, their production ceased in the mideighth century, while splashed wares become popular in the Arab world somewhere in the ninth century. Possible derivation of splashed wares from the *sancai* pottery

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Glaze is a glassy coating melted onto the surface of a ceramic article, applied as a liquid suspension to a ware that has usually been fired once (biscuit) and is subsequently refired (glost) (Rice 1987, 476).
 <sup>50</sup> Colours are achieved by adding metal oxides: copper for green and iron for yellow or brown.



touches the issue of contacts between China and the major centres of the Muslim world.

Fig. 3.33. Early glazed table wares found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 257-263)

**257.** Context 10. 99V[2](11)10<35>. Fig. 3.33. Small hemispherical bowl with plain rim and flat base. Fabric: Aswān kaolinitic. 7.5YR 7 / 4 (pink). Monochrome. Dashes of light yellowish green glaze with brown dapples. The glaze covers mainly the inside and parts of the outside. Production place: Fustāt? Date: late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c.

**258.** Context 1. 07I[17](25)24. Fig. 3.33. Almost complete object. Small bowl with plain rim and sloping walls. Sooted, mainly near rim. Fabric: Aswān kaolinitic. 7.5YR 4 / 3 (brown) – due to soot. Monochrome. It seems like a thin layer of transparent yellowish glaze was applied on the whole surface immediately on the clay body, and then a layer of green lead (?) glaze was applied thickly and irregularly on the inside – dripping on the outside. Production place: Fustāt? Date: 8<sup>th</sup> / 9<sup>th</sup> c. **259.** Context 1. 06II[1](1)1<29>. Fig. 3.33. Rim. Small bowl with plain rim, straight vertical walls, marked by a groove on the inside, and flat base. Fabric: Aswān kaolinitic. 7.5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow). Monochrome. Green transparent glaze applied on the inside, dripping on the outside. Applied straight on the clay body, and therefore small dark green dapples are formed. Production place: Fustāt? Date: 8<sup>th</sup> / 9<sup>th</sup> c.

**260.** Context 1. 07I<> Fig. 3.33. Full profile.

Bowl with plain rim, sloping walls, marked by a groove on the inside, and flat base.

Fabric: Aswān kaolinitic. 7.5YR 8 / 3 (pink).

Decoration: polychrome glazed. A thin layer of yellow opaque glaze is applied on the clay body. A row of 'radiating' brown and green wavy strokes is applied on the yellow glaze, which serves as a base for the decoration. The green strokes appear wider and shiny.

Production place: Fustāt? Date: 8<sup>th</sup> / 9<sup>th</sup> c.

261. Context 1. 07I[6](12)11. Fig. 3.33. Full profile.

Small bowl with everted rim, underlined by a wide corrugation on the outside, and walls sloping to a flat base.

Fabric: Aswān kaolinitic. 7.5YR 8 / 4 (pink).

Decoration: polychrome glazed. Underglaze painted with vitreous colours. Green curved strokes are painted under a yellow transparent lead (?) glaze to decorate the inner surface of the vessel. A yellow, thin, rather opaque glaze is applied on the outside, immediately on the clay body (it is not clear whether it was applied on the entire vessel).

Production place: Fustat?

Date:  $8^{th} / 9^{th} c$ .

**262.** Context 9. 99V[1](4)4<7>. Fig. 3.33. Full profile.

Small bowl. Form as No. 261. The base is slightly hollowed.

Fabric: Aswān kaolinitic. 7.5YR 7 / 4 (pink).

Decoration: polychrome glazed. Underglaze painted with vitreous colours. Green and dark brown dashes decorate the rim and dark purplish brown dashes the bottom. A honey-brown lead (?) glaze covers the interior and the rim of the vessel – some drops on the outer surface. Production place: Fustāt?

Date:  $8^{th} +$ 

**263.** Context 6. Southern Pastoforion – underground bin. Fig. 3.33. Full profile.

Small bowl with plain rim, sloping walls and flat base.

Fabric: C3B. Homogeneous break. 7.5 YR 7 / 3 (pink).

Decoration: polychrome glazed. Green and dark brown splashes are applied on a layer of opaque white glaze, which covers the interior of the vessel and drips around its outer rim.

Production place: unknown.

Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.

# 2.2.2 COOKING WARE

Cooking utensils, not the most attractive of wares, are generally characterised by their sooty surface. Mostly used in warming up meals or other substances, their technological characteristics are hence dictated by their particular function. The discussion about the properties required in the manufacture of a good and long-lasting cooking pot, is long and may be enriched with the help of many ethno-archaeological notices.

Cooking wares are seriously exposed to mechanical and thermal stress. In the first case, activities such as the stirring of the contents, the placing of the vessel in the fire and so on, may damage or even break it. Hardness and strength stand as the basic properties against mechanical stress. As for the thermal shock, it is caused by uneven or unequal reactions to heat over the vessel body (Rice 1987, 229, 363-370). When a pot is heated the external surfaces become hotter than the interior, resulting in compressive stresses on the exterior and tensile stresses on the interior. On cooling, the reverse is true, with more rapid contraction on the exterior causing tensile stresses, while the interiors suffer compressional stress (Kingery 1955, 4).

According to Rye, there are three main ways to manipulate thermal properties and reduce stresses: the shape of the vessel, the porosity of the fabric and the mineral inclusions of the clay (Rye 1976). The ideal pot is described as round-based, globular and thin-walled; characteristics which not only increase thermal shock resistance, but also help to conduct heat better, so as to cook the food faster and save fuel (Rice 1987, 227; Orton et al. 1993, 220). Increasing porosity is a further way to increase resistance to thermal stress. Pores provide elasticity in the body, which allows sudden expansion of the materials. However, this practice has its weaknesses, as repeated heating and cooling of porous materials lead to their gradual loss of strength and cause thermal fatigue (Rice 1987, 230). Finally, the clay should be carefully and wellprepared. The composition of the fabric, especially the inclusions present or added (non-plastics) significantly affect a pot's thermal behaviour. Pots that are exposed to heat should preferably have inclusions with coefficients similar or less than that of the clay. Such inclusions are grog (crushed sherds), calcite, crushed burnt shell, zircon, rutile, feldspar, augite and hornblende (Rye 1976, 116-117; Rice 1987, 229). It is attested though that the above three factors are not generally applied, so that thickwalled and / or flat-based cooking wares may be very common (Orton et al. 1993, 220).

The cooking wares found in the Old Baramūs are all made of Nile fabric. Two main groups have been used in their manufacture: the micaceous N1A, N1B and N2 variants, and more often the quartz-rich N4 and N5 variants. The presence of quartz in the matrix may be considered against the principles of the ideal cooking ware recipe, as its thermal expansion coefficient is clearly higher than that of typical clay (Orton *et al.* 1993, 220). It is however interesting to note and further investigate the discrepancies between theory and practice. In this respect, it appears that the Egyptian cooking wares offer a significant example.

#### Pans, frying pans, casseroles

As pans or frying pans are characterised the shallow or medium-deep open cooking vessels, which may occur in various forms and sizes. The shape of their base may serve as an indicator of the cooking process for which they were used. A rounded base is ideal when cooking in open fire, while a flat base is more appropriate when cooking in the oven. Apart from two exceptions (Nos. 266, 269) most of the unearthed objects or sherds have a rounded base.

264. Context 3. 07I[31](43)46. Fig. 3.34.

Pan with inturned rim, curved walls and rounded reeded base.

Fabric: N1A / N1B. Zoned break. Core: 7.5YR 5 / 1 (gray), inner margin: 10R 6 / 4 (pale red), outer margin: 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Production place: uncertain. Nile Valley or Delta.

Date:  $5^{\text{th}}-7^{\text{th}}$  c.

265. Context 9. 99V[1](4)4<9>. Fig. 3.34.

Pan with bevelled rim, gently sloping walls, slightly fluted on the inside and rounded base. Soot on both surfaces.

Fabric: N6. Zoned break. Core: 5Y 5 / 2 (olive grey), inner margin: 10R 5 / 8 (red), outer margin: 10YR 4 / 3 (brown). Surfaces: 2.5YR 4 / 3 (reddish brown) - 3 / 3 (dark reddish brown). Production place: uncertain. Nile Valley or Delta. Date: 8<sup>th</sup> c. or later.

266. Context 1. 99I[13](69)26. Fig. 3.34.

Pan with knobbed rim, slightly curved walls fluted on the inside and flat base. Soot outside the base. A vertical incision on the lower body.

Fabric: N5. Zoned break. Core: 7.5YR 4 / 2 (brown), margins: 2.5Y 2.5 / 1 (black). Surfaces: 5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown).

Production place: uncertain. Nile Valley or Delta. Date: uncertain.

**267.** Context 1. 07I[20](28)25. Fig. 3.34.

Pan with plain rim, and a probably shallow, carinated body; two horizontal handles, semi-circular in section, are attached below the rim. Sooted outer surface.

Fabric: N1B. Homogeneous break. 10YR 3 / 2 (very dark greyish brown).

Slip: applied on the inside; semi-glossy. 2.5YR 4 / 3 (reddish brown).

Production place: uncertain. Nile Valley or Delta. Kūm Abū Billū (?)

Date: uncertain. 7<sup>th</sup> c. (?)

Parallels / Bibliography: Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999 (Kellia), 532, Fig. 486, No. 84, Ballet 1994 (Kūm Abū Billū), 363, Fig. 14; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 2003 (Kellia), 445, Fig. 412, No. 61; Jacquet – Gordon 1972 (Isnā), Pl. CCXIX, A10 (ribbed example); Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 148, Abb. 83.11, K119.

**268.** Context 1. 98V[2](42)33. Fig. 3.34.

Small deep pan with plain rim and carinated body; a corrugation on the outside, right below the rim. Soot on both surfaces, especially on the outside.

Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 6 (red), margins: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Surfaces: 10R 5 / 6 - 4 / 6 (red).

Production place: uncertain. Nile Valley or Delta.

Date: uncertain. 7<sup>th</sup> c. (?)

Parallels / Bibliography: Jacquet – Gordon 1972 (Isnā), Pl. CCXIX, A7; similar to Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 95, type 89, but no handle attached to sherd No. 268.



Fig. 3.34. Cooking wares found in the Old Baramūs: frying pans and casseroles (Nos. 264-279)

**269.** Church. 05I<46>. Fig. 3.34.

Small deep pan with plain, straight rim and vertical walls sloping to a flat base, grooved on the outside. A ridge marks the mid-height of the walls on the outside. Soot at the base and around the rim. Similar pans found elsewhere had a horizontal handle attached.

Fabric: N4. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 5 / 6 - 4 / 6 (strong brown). Outer surface: 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red), inner surface: 7.5YR 7 / 4 (pink).

Production place: uncertain. Nile Valley or Delta.

Date: late  $6^{\text{th}}-7^{\text{th}}$  c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Faiers 2005a, 165, Fig. 2.59, No. 429.

**270.** Context 10. 99V[2](11)10.4<36>. Fig. 3.34.

Small casserole with everted rim, underlined by a wide depression; straight walls, reeded on both surfaces, especially on the inside; two horizontal handles attached below rim; rounded base. Soot on both surfaces.

Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10R 4 / 1 (dark reddish grey), margins: 10R 4 / 6 (red). Surfaces (underneath slip): 10YR 3 / 2 (very dark greyish brown).

Slip: glossy; visible mainly on the inside (soot on the outside); applied probably to create a non-sticky surface. 10R 4/8 (red).

Production place: uncertain. Nile Valley or Delta. Date: late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c.

**271.** Context 7. 07III[22](47)45. Fig. 3.34. Rim and body. Frying pan with everted rim and carinated body. Soot on both surfaces. Fabric: N4. Homogeneous break. 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red) – 5YR 4 / 6 (yellowish red). Inner surface (thin wash?): 2.5YR 6 / 6 (light red), outer surface: 10R 5 / 6 (red). Production place: uncertain. Nile Valley or Delta.

Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.

Nos. 272 and 273 belong to a distinctive type of frying pans characterised by a carinated body; a conspicuous red slip is often applied on their interior to create a non-stick surface (Egloff 1977, types 90-91, 95-96; Pierrat 1991, 150, Fig. 3b; Gempeler 1992, 148, Abb. 83.7-8; Vogt 1997, Pl. III, Fig. 4, No. 1; Ballet 2003a, 113-114, Nos. 68-69). Nos. 274-277 may be considered as variants of the above type which survived from the fifth until the ninth century (Vogt 1997a, 252). Casseroles differ from the pans and frying pans by being considerably deeper.

**272.** Context 1. 99I[5](56)10. Fig. 3.34. Almost complete object.

Frying pan with knobbed rim and carinated body, reeded on both surfaces, especially on the inside, above the carination point; rounded base. Soot on the outer surface, especially underneath the base. Fabric: N5. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 4 (weak red), inner margin: 10R 5 / 6 (red), outer margin: 5YR 4 / 6 (yellowish red).

Slip: applied on the inside; matt, flaky. 10R 5 / 6 -4 / 6 (red). Production place: uncertain. Nile Delta (?) Date:  $5^{\text{th}}-9^{\text{th}}$  c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999 (Kellia), 532, Fig. 487, Nos. 88 / 89.

**273.** Cells. 98II[11](40)<39>. Fig. 3.34.

Frying pan with knobbed rim and carinated body, reeded on both surfaces, especially on the inside, above the carination point. Sooted outer surface.

Fabric: N1B / N2. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 6 (red), margins: 10R 4 / 8 (red). Surfaces (underneath slip): 7.5YR 4 / 3.

Slip: applied on the whole vessel; rather dense, in many parts flaked out. 10R 4 / 8 (red).

Production place: uncertain. Nile Delta (?)

Date:  $7^{\text{th}} / 8^{\text{th}} \text{ c.}$ 

Parallels / Bibliography: Bailey 1998 (al-Ašmūnayn / Hermopolis), 39, Pl. 20, D2 ('locally made sigillatas and finewares'); or *Ibid.* 68, Pl. 42, E407 ('casseroles in fine cooking-pot fabric').

**274.** Context 1. 99I[8](60)15. Fig. 3.34.

Frying pan with slightly knobbed rim and carinated body, reeded on the outside, above the carination point. Soot on both surfaces. Irregular incisions, maybe as traces of rubbing with a sort of brush (to clean the pot?).

Fabric: N4. Zoned break. Core: 10R 4 / 3 (weak red), margins and outer surface: 7.5YR 3 / 1 (very dark grey). Inner surface: 10R 6 / 4 (pale red).

Production place: uncertain. Nile Delta (?)

Date:  $5^{\text{th}}-9^{\text{th}}$  c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Konstantinidou 2010, 953, Fig. 9, No. 37. Form similar to Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999 (Kellia), 532, Fig. 487, Nos. 88 / 89; Bailey 1998 (al-Ašmūnayn / Hermopolis), 68, Pl. 42, E407.

275. Context 1. 98V[2](26)21. Fig. 3.34.

Frying pan with slightly knobbed rim and carinated body, reeded on the inside, above the carination point.

Fabric: N1B / N5. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 6 (red), margins and outer surface: 5YR 5 / 8 (yellowish red).

Slip: thin and generally flaked out; applied on the inner surface. 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red).

Decoration: a white wavy line is painted on the inner surface, right below the rim. 10YR 8 / 1 (white). Production place: uncertain. Nile Delta (?) Date:  $5^{th}-9^{th}$  c.

**276.** Context 2. 99I[19](64)20. Fig. 3.34.

Frying pan with thickened rim and carinated body; fluted inner surface. Fabric: N4. Homogeneous break. 10R 5 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 10YR 4 / 4 (dark yellowish brown). Slip: applied on both surfaces of the vessel; thin, matt. 10R 5 / 6. Production place: uncertain. Nile Delta (?) Date: late  $6^{th} - 7^{th}$  c.

**277.** Context 2. 99I[19](64)20. Fig. 3.34. Similar to No. 278, but larger and better preserved. Sooted outer surface. Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red), margins: 10YR 4 / 3 (brown). Slip: applied on both surfaces; semi-glossy on the inside, matt on the outside. 10R 5 / 8 (red). Production place: uncertain. Nile Delta (?) Date: late  $6^{th} - 7^{th}$  c.

**278.** Context 1. 98I[1](52)41.2. Fig. 3.34.

Casserole with everted rim that forms a slightly upturned edge. Carinated body. Fabric: N3. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 5 / 1 (gray), margins: 10YR 4 / 2 (dark greyish brown). Decoration: painted with ceramic colours. White band all around rim and white curved band on outer wall. Colour: 5Y 8 / 1 (white). Production place: uncertain. Nile Delta (?) Date: late 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 97-98, type 101.

279. Context 1. 99I[6](59)13. Fig. 3.26. Rim.

Bowl with bead-rim, slightly in-turned, and straight walls.

Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 2.5Y 5 / 2 (greyish brown), inner margins: 10R 5 / 6 (red), outer margins: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Inner surface: 5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown).

Slip: applied on the outside and inside the rim; thin, waterish. 2.5Y 8 / 2 (pale yellow).

Decoration: applied on the outside. Two horizontal strokes and a wavy line are visible outside the rim. Colours: lines: 2.5YR 3 / 1 (dark reddish grey); strokes: 2.5YR 5 / 6.

Production place: uncertain. Nile Delta (?)

Date: 6th c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 97, type 99.

#### Casseroles E114-E116

Apart from Nos. 271 and 279 all the casseroles found in the Old Baramūs belong to the type of hemispherical casserole with plain flat or bevelled rim; two horizontal handles, straight or uplifted, are attached at their rim-height; their base is usually rounded (Egloff 1977, 100-101, types 114-116). The manufacture technique of these vessels is very particular (Rhodes 1978, Fig. 93.6; Ballet 1991; Id. 2003, 115): at first, an almost spherical closed form was created. After letting it dry and harden enough, its upper part would be cut so as to be used in the manufacture of its accompanying lid. The lower part would constitute the casserole itself. This type survived from the fifth until the tenth century or even slightly later (Vogt 1997a, 256; Ballet 1997c, 125, Nos. 7-8) and is discovered in various Egyptian sites, such as Marea (Majcherek 2008, 115, Fig. 42, Nos. 67-69), Kellia (Goyon 1969, Fig. 3, type 4; Egloff 1977, 100-101, types 114-116; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999, 534, Fig. 487, No. 111; Ballet 2003a, 115-116, Fig. 11.1, Nos. 70-72; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 2003, 448, fig. 412, Nos. 89-91), Naqlūn (Godlewksi 1990, Fig. 14), Isnā (Jacquet - Gordon 1972, Pl. CCXXV, L7), Gempeler 1992, 166, Abb. 99.6, K386), Dandara (Marchand and Laisney 2000, 273) and the Sinai (Ballet 1997, 125, Pl. I, No. 7; Snape 1997, 104, Pl. IV, Fig. 4; Vogt 1997, 9-10, Pl. III, Fig. 4; Ballet 2000, 219, Fig. 202, Nos. 65-66; Calderon 2000, 191, Fig. 4:53-55). The fabric's texture and the wall's thickness generally contribute to the dating of these long-lived casseroles, so that a thin-walled vessel made of a fine, dense Nile fabric might be considered rather early  $(5^{th} - 7^{th} c.)$  (Ballet 2003a, 115).

280. Context 10. 99V[2](11)10.12. Fig. 3.35. Full profile.

Bevelled rim, uplifted grooved handles attached outside rim. Grooved upper body on the outside, reeded inner surface. Sooted outer surface, especially the underside.

Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10B 6 / 1 (bluish grey), inner margin: 10R 6 / 6 (light red), outer margin: 10YR 4 / 3 (brown). Inner surface: 10R 5 / 6 (red), outer surface: 10R 5 / 8 (red).

Decoration: painted with ceramic colour. White wavy band. Colour: 10YR 8 / 1 (white).

Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta.

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Date: late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c.
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**281.** Context 7. 07III[22](47)45+[...]. Fig. 3.35. Full profile. Bevelled rim, slightly uplifted handles, elliptical in section, attached outside rim; gently fluted walls. Heavily sooted undersides. Fabric: N4. Zoned break. Core: 10B 4 / 1 (dark bluish grey), margins: 7.5YR 5 / 4 (brown). Slip: applied on the outer surface; thin, semi-glossy. 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red). Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta. Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Konstantinidou 2010, 953, Fig. 9, No. 35.

282. Context 10. 99V[2](11)10.15. Fig. 3.35. Full profile.
Bevelled rim, slightly uplifted grooved handles attached below rim. Grooved upper outer walls, reeded interior and base. Sooted outer surface.
Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 5PB 5 / 1 (bluish grey), margins: 10R 5/6 (red). Surfaces: 5YR 4/4 (reddish brown).
Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta.
Date: late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c.

**283.** Context 10. 99V[2](11)10.14. Fig. 3.35. Upper part. Flat rim, straight grooved handles attached outside rim; reeded walls. Sooted outer surface. Fabric: N4. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 4 (weak red), margins: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta. Date: late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c.

**284.** Context 7. 07III-Under destruction level. Fig. 3.35. Rim. Bevelled rim, slightly uplifted handles, semi-circular in section, attached outside rim; grooved outer walls. Sooted outer surface. Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown). Slip: applied on both surfaces; thin, matt. 10R 5 / 6 – 4 / 6 (red). Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta. Date:  $7^{th}-9^{th}$  c.



Fig. 3.35. Cooking wares found in the Old Baramūs: casseroles *E114-E116* (Nos. 280-289)

285. Context 6. Southern Pastoforion – floor on bedrock. Fig. 3.35. Rim.
Thin bevelled rim, grooved walls. Sooted outer surface.
Fabric: N4. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 3/1 (very dark grey); margins: 5YR 4/6 (yellowish red) – 7.5YR 4/6 (strong brown). Outer surface: 5YR 4/4 (reddish brown) – 4/6 (yellowish red), inner surface: 5YR 5/4 (reddish brown).
Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta.
Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.

**286.** Context 1. 07I[1](1)1.4. Fig. 3.35. Rim.

Bevelled rim, uplifted handles, semi-circular in section, attached slightly below rim. Fabric: N4. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 5 / 1 (gray), margins: 7.5YR 5 / 4 – 4 / 4 (brown). Surfaces: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta.

Date:  $8^{\text{th}}-9^{\text{th}}$  c.

**287.** Context 7. 07III[22](39)37+[25](48)44+[...]. Fig. 3.35. Rim. Straight rim, slightly uplifted grooved handles attached outside rim. Fluted inner walls. Sooted inner surface. Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 10R 4 / 8 (red), margins and inner surface: 4 / 3 (weak red).

Slip: applied on both surfaces, but it appears thicker and better preserved on the outside; matt. 10R 4 / 6 (red).

Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta.

Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Konstantinidou 2010, 953, Fig. 9, No. 36.

**288.** Context 1. 98V[2](22)31. Fig. 3.35. Full profile.

Multi-handled hemispherical casserole with bevelled rim. At least three horizontal, grooved uplifted handles attached outside rim. Fluted walls. Rounded base.

Fabric: N5. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 4 (weak red), margins: 5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown). Inner surface: 10R 5 / 6 (red), outer surface: 2.5YR 3 / 1 (dark reddish grey).

Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta.

Date:  $6^{\text{th}} - 7^{\text{th}}$  c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Marchand and Laisney 2000 (Dandara), 273, No. 203.

**289.** Cells. 96III<118>. Fig. 3.35. Almost complete – base missing.

Hemispherical casserole with bevelled rim. Two horizontal, slightly up-lifted handles, semi-circular in section, attached outside rim. The rounded base is partially missing. Fluted inner walls, zone of grooving at outer walls, right below the rim.

Fabric: N5. Zoned break (two zones). Inner margin and surface: 10YR 4 / 2 (dark greyish brown), outer margin: 7.5YR 5 / 4 - 4 / 4 (brown). Outer surface: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta.

Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.

**290.** Context 6. Southern Pastoforion – floor on bedrock. Fig. 3.36. Upper part. Bevelled rim, rather broad; curved smooth walls. Fabric: N2 Zoned break Core: 5XP 4 / 4 (reddich brown) margine: 7.5XP

Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown), margins: 7.5YR 4 / 3 (brown). Inner surface: 7.5YR 6 / 4 (light brown) – 6 / 6 (reddish yellow), outer surface: 10YR 3 / 1 (very dark grey). Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta. Date:  $9^{th}$  c.

**291.** Context 6. *Southern Pastoforion – floor on bedrock*. Fig. 3.36. Upper part. Flat rim, thickened on the inside, two straight handles, elliptical in section, attached below rim. Soot, especially at the underside of the handle. Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red), margins: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Surface: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red).

Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta. Date:  $9^{th}$  c.



Fig. 3.36. Cooking wares found in the Old Baramūs: casseroles E114-E116 (Nos. 290-294)

292. Context 1. 99I[8](60)14. Fig. 3.36. Upper part.
Bevelled rim, slightly up-lifted handles, semi-circular in section, attached outside rim.
Fabric: N4. Zoned break. Core: 2.5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown), margin: 10YR 4 / 2 (dark greyish brown).
Inner surface: 7.5YR 4 / 3 (brown), outer surface: 10R 5 / 6 (red).
Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta.
Date: 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 1997c (Tell al-Farama), 125, Pl. I, No. 8; Vogt 1997b (Tell el-Fadda), 9-10, Pl. III, Fig. 4, No. 3; Bavay *et al.* 2000 (Şān al-Ḥaǧar / Tanis), Fig. 20.8.

**293.** Context 6. *Southern Pastoforion – floor on bedrock*. Fig. 3.36. Upper part. Slightly bevelled rim, reeded walls. Sooted outer surface. Fabric: N4. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 4 / 1 (dark grey), margins: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Outer surface: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red), inner surface: 5YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown). Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta. Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.

**294.** Context 1. 07I[19](33)32. Fig. 3.36. Upper part. Shallow casserole with bevelled rim and uplifted handles, elliptical in section attached outside rim. Soot. Fabric: N5. Homogeneous break. 10R 5 / 6 (red) or 7.5YR 4 / 1 (dark grey). Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta. Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.+

#### Cooking-pots

## Cooking-pot with in-turned bead-rim

A single example that finds parallel among the Kellia ceramics.

**295.** Context 1 / 2. 99I[8](60)15+[8](65)22+[...]. Fig. 3.37. Upper part. Cooking-pot with in-turned bead-rim; two horizontal handles, elliptical in section, are attached on the shoulder. The upper body (from rim to handles' height) is reeded. Sooted outer surface. Fabric: N1B. Homogeneous break. 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta. Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 116, Fig. 11.2-3, No. 73.

#### Cooking-pots with everted rim

Most of them appear to have a reeded body, while some are slightly reeded at shoulder-height (Nos. 297, 306, 310). In general the reeding appears below shoulder-height, apart from rare exceptions. Only three among the illustrated examples are handled (Nos. 297, 298, 299). One of them (No. 299) bears painted decoration.

**296.** Context 5. 07II[52](94)91. Fig. 3.37. Upper part.

Cooking-pot with everted rim; probably oval-shaped body; two horizontal handles, semi-circular in section, attached at shoulder-height; a band of grooving at shoulder-height, on the outer surface. Fabric: N1B / 3. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 6 (red), margins: 10R 5 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 5YR 5 / 6 – 4 / 6 (yellowish red). Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta. Date: second half of 7<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 101, type 117 (630-700).

297. Context 3. 07I-Feature B- 42. Fig. 3.37. Upper part.

Cooking-pot with everted rim, which forms a concave inner face, bearing two grooves; the body is probably oval-shaped; the outer walls are reeded; two horizontal handles, semi-circular in section, are attached on the upper shoulder; the base is missing.

Fabric: N5. Homogeneous break. 2.5YR 5 / 3 (reddish brown). Inner surface: 2.5YR 5 / 8 - 4 / 8 (red), outer surface: 5YR 4 / 6 (yellowish red).

Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.

Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977, (Kellia), 101, type 118.

**298.** Context 8. 07III[26](40)<53>. Fig. 3.37. Complete object.

Cooking-pot with everted rim, almost spherical body and rounded base. Two arched handles, round in section, are attached on the shoulder. The outer surface is reeded.

Fabric: N4. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 1 (reddish grey), inner margin: 10R 5 / 4 (weak red), outer margin: 10R 5 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown).

Decoration: painted. A stroke is painted on the inner face of the rim. A wavy line decorates the upper shoulder. 10YR 8 / 2 (very pale brown).

Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.

Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: similar versions in Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 102, type 129 / 130; Ballet and Picon 1987 (Kellia), Fig. 6.2; Godlewski 1990b (Naqlūn), Fig. 12; Lecuyot and Pierrat – Bonnefois 2004 (Ţūd), 160, Pl. 5, Td56.

**299.** Context 1. 99I[10](73)30. Fig. 3.37. Rim.

Thin-walled, probably spherical cooking-pot with out-turned rim that forms a flat upper face. The outer walls are smooth, while the inner walls appear slightly fluted.

Fabric: N1B. Homogeneous break. 2.5Y 5 / 2 (greyish brown). Surfaces: 7.5YR 4 / 6 (brown). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.

Date: uncertain. 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> c. (?)



Fig. 3.37. Cooking wares found in the Old Baramūs: cooking-pots (Nos. 295-307)

**300.** Context 4. 07I[44](87)92. Fig. 3.37. Rim. Cooking-pot with everted rim that forms a concave upper face. Jogged upper shoulder. Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 2.5Y 6 / 3 (light yellowish brown), margins: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 7.5YR 5 / 4 (brown). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c. 301. Context 3. 071[30](48)51. Fig. 3.37. Rim.
Wide-mouthed version of No. 300.
Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 7.5YR 4 / 1 (dark grey), margins: 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red). Surfaces: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown).
Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.
Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c.

**302.** Context 3. 07I[30](44)47. Fig. 3.37. Rim. Upper part of a cooking-pot with everted rim, forming a concave upper face; the upper shoulder is smooth, while the rest of the body appears reeded. Fabric: N3. Homogeneous break. 2.5YR 5 / 2 (weak red). Surfaces: 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 175, Abb. 108.3, K446.

303. Context 1. 07I[21](32)29. Fig. 3.37. Rim.
Cooking-pot with everted rim, grooved on the inside. Reeded upper body.
Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 5B 5 / 1 (bluish grey), margins and surfaces: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red).
Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.
Date: 7<sup>th</sup> / 8<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Bailey 1998 (al-Ašmūnayn / Hermopolis), 64, Pl. 37, E243.

**304.** Cells. 96II-25. Fig. 3.37. Rim. Cooking pot with short everted rim and spherical body, smooth on the outside. Traces of soot all around the rim. Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 4 (weak red), inner margin: 10R 5 / 8 (red), outer margins: 7.5YR 4 / 3 (brown) and 7.5 YR 3 / 2 (dark brown). Surfaces: 5YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown). Decoration: a band of white colour (10YR 8 / 4, very pale brown) decorates the rim's inner face. Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.

305. Context 3. 07I[31](45)48. Fig. 3.37. Rim.
Cooking pot with short, everted rim; a band of reeding at shoulder-height.
Fabric: N1B. Homogeneous break. 5YR 5 / 6 – 4 / 6 (yellowish red).
Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.
Date: 5<sup>th</sup> – 7<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: similar form in Aswān fabric in Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 156-157, Abb. 90.8, K317.

306. Context 3. 07I[32](52)55. Fig. 3.37. Rim.
Cooking-pot with everted rim, somehow up-turned; it forms a concave inner face.
Fabric: N4. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 4 / 1 (dark grey), margins: 5YR 4 / 6 (yellowish red). Surfaces: 10YR 3 / 2 (very dark greyish brown).
Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.
Date: 5<sup>th</sup> - 7<sup>th</sup> c.

**307.** Context 3. 07I[31](45)48+07I[31](46)49. Fig. 3.37. Rim. Cooking pot with broad, everted rim, grooved on the outside, low conical neck and an apparently spherical reeded body. Fabric: N4. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 4 / 2 (dark greyish brown), margins: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Surfaces: 10YR 4 / 1 (dark grey). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: 5<sup>th</sup> - 7<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: similar to Bailey 1998 (al-Ašmūnayn / Hermopolis), E226, 64, Pl.36 (proposed dating: 650-800+).

#### Plain-rimmed cooking-pots

They all have reeded body. None of the sherds preserve traces of handles.

308. Context 4. 07I[42](83)88+07I[42](85)90. Fig. 3.38. Full profile. Miniature cooking pot with plain rim, spherical body, reeded on the outside, and flat base. Soot on both surfaces. Fabric: N1B / N3. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 5 / 1 (gray), margins: 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red). Slip: applied on the outside until the mid-height of the body; dripping on the inside. 2.5Y 8 / 2 (pale yellow). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c.
309. Context 1. 99I[2](47)1. Fig. 3.38. Rim.

Spherical cooking-pot with plain, slightly everted rim. Reeded upper body. Soot on both surfaces. Fabric: N4. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4 / 3 (brown). Surfaces: 7.5YR 4 / 1 (dark grey). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

310. Context 1. 99I[5](56)10. Fig. 3.38. Rim.
Cooking-pot with straight rim. Reeded upper body.
Fabric: N4. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 6 (red), inner margin: 10R 5 / 8 (red), outer margin: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Surfaces: 10R 4 / 6 - 5 / 6 (red).
Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.
Date: 8<sup>th</sup> / 9<sup>th</sup> c.

311. Context 10. 99V[2](11)10.8. Fig. 3.38. Almost full profile – base missing. Spherical cooking-pot with almond-shaped rim, grooved on the outside.
Fabric: N4. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 3 / 1 (very dark grey), margins and inner surface: 10YR 4 / 4 (dark yellowish brown). Outer surface: 10YR 5 / 4 (yellowish brown).
Decoration: a horizontal band is painted on the outside, at the rim and the upper shoulder. Colour: 10YR 8 / 3 (very pale brown).
Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.
Date: late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c.

**312.** Context 1. 99I[5](56)10. Fig. 3.38. Rim.

Cooking-pot with plain rim and reeded upper shoulder.

Fabric: N6. Zoned break. Core: 2.5YR 5 / 2 (weak red), inner margin: 10R 5 / 8 (red), outer margin: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Inner surface: 10YR 5 / 4 (yellowish brown), outer surface: 5YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown).

Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.

Date: second half of  $7^{th}$  c.-early  $8^{th}$  c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 101, pl. 49.2, type 123 (630-700); Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 118, Fig. 11.3-6, No. 78.

313. Context 1. 99I[5](56)10. Fig. 3.38. Rim.

Spherical cooking-pot with plain rim and short neck, concave on the inside, ridged on the outside. Reeded upper body.

Fabric: N5. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 5 / 2 (greyish brown), inner margin: 10R 5 / 4 (weak red), outer margin: 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red). Inner surface: 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown), outer surface: 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date:  $8^{th} / 9^{th}$  c.

**314.** Context 1. 07I[24](38)38. Fig. 3.38. Rim.

Spherical cooking-pot with plain rim that forms a flat upper face; low neck; reeded body. Sooted outer surface.

Fabric: N4. Zoned break. Core: 2.5Y 5 / 1 (gray), inner margin: 10R 5 / 4 (weak red), outer margin: 10R 5 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown).

Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.

Date:  $8^{th} / 9^{\tilde{t}h} c$ .


Fig. 3.38. Cooking wares found in the Old Baramūs: cooking-pots (Nos. 308-320)

Cooking-pots with rim that forms a concave inner face

The rim's concave inner face presumably functions as seating for a lid. Most of these cooking-pots are handled (Nos. 316, 318, 319, 320).

315. Cells. 96II-Wall L-24. Fig. 3.38. Almost complete object.

Spherical cooking-pot. Rim with concave inner face, grooved on the outside. Two arched handles, grooved, attached to rim and upper shoulder. The outer walls are slightly fluted below mid-height. The base is rounded and reeded.

Fabric: N6. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 4 (weak red), inner margin: 10R 5 / 8 (red), outer margin: 10R 5 / 8 (red).

Remains of a thin red (10R 5 / 8) wash on the outside and inside, below the rim.

Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date:  $8^{th} / 9^{th} c$ .

316. Context 1. 07I[38](66)71. Fig. 3.38. Rim.
Rim with concave inner face, grooved on the outside.
Fabric: N5. Zoned break. Core: N 4 / (dark grey), inner margin: 10R 7 / 4 (pale red), outer margin: 10R 5 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red).
Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.
Date: uncertain. 7<sup>th</sup> c. (?)

317. Cells. 96II-Wall L-24. Fig. 3.38. Upper part.

Rim with concave inner face, grooved on the outside. Sloping walls. Two twisted, ear-shaped handles attached to rim and the upper shoulder. Soot mainly all around the rim, and at parts of the inner and outer surface. Fingerprints on the inside of the rim.

Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 2.5YR 3 / 1 (dark reddish grey), margins: 10R 5 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red).

Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date:  $8^{th} / 9^{th} c$ .

**318.** Context 6. *Southern Pastoforion – floor on bedrock*. Fig. 3.38. Rim. Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 2.5Y 5/2 (greyish brown), margins: 7.5YR 4/4 (brown). Slip: applied on both surfaces; dense. Colour: 10R 5/6 – 4/6 (red). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Rodziewicz 1984 (Alexandria), Pl. 29.64; similar to Ballet 2003a (Kellia) 118, Fig. 11.3-6, No. 79.

**319.** Context 1. 99I[2](47)1. Fig. 3.38. Upper part. Cooking-pot. Rim with concave inner face; at the mid-height of the rim's outside a ridge is formed underlined by a band of grooving. Two vertical handles attached on the rim and the upper shoulder. Fabric: N1B / N3. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 3 (weak red), margins: 10R 5 / 8 (red). Inner surface: 7.5YR 5 / 6 (strong brown). Slip: applied on the outer surface and on the inside of the rim; matt. 10R 4 / 6 – 5 / 6 (red). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: 7<sup>th</sup> -9<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 103, type 141.

**320.** Context 1. 99I[3](51)6. Fig. 3.38. Rim. Rim with concave inner face; two horizontal grooves on the outside. Fabric: N4. Zoned break. Core: N 4 / (dark grey), inner margin: 10R 7 / 4 (pale red), outer margin: 10R 5 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: uncertain. 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

## Necked cooking-pots and cooking-jars

Cooking jars can be distinguished from simple necked cooking-pots by their size, which is visibly larger; their height considerably surpasses their width. Such jars found in Kellia were considered to be west Delta products (Ballet 2003a, 121). The only vessels of this group that give a full profile are two cooking jars dating to the ninth century (Nos. 336-337).

**321.** Context 5. 07II[52](94)92. Fig. 3.39. Upper part.

Cooking-pot with everted rim, conical neck and sloping shoulder; two bowed handles, ovoid in section, are attached to the neck and the upper shoulder.

Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 5YR 5 / 3 (reddish brown), margins: 10R 5 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Sooted outer surface.

Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.

Date: second half of 7<sup>th</sup> c.

322. Context 1. 07I[36](56)58. Fig. 3.39. Upper part.

Spherical cooking-pot with short bulged neck, marked by an external groove below the rim. The upper body is grooved. Two ear-handles, elliptical in section, are attached on the rim and the upper shoulder. Fabric: N3. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 1 (reddish grey) - 10R 5 / 2 (weak red), margins: 10R 5 / 6 (red). Surfaces: 7.5YR 4 / 3 (brown). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.

Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c. (third quarter?)

Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 119, Fig. 11.3-6, No. 81; Bavay et al. 2000 (Sān al-Hağar / Tanis), Fig. 20.4.

**323.** Context 1. 07I[10](17)14.10. Fig. 3.39. Rim.

Cooking pot with everted, tapered-off rim and short, swollen neck; two handles spring from rim-heigh. Fabric: N3. Homogeneous break. 10R 5 / 6 (red). Surfaces: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: late 7<sup>th</sup> c. and / or later. Parallels / Bibliography: Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 177, Abb. 110.4-8, K465.

**324.** Context 1. 99I[5](56)10+99I[7](58)12. Fig. 3.39. Upper part.

Cooking-pot with everted rim that forms a concave outer face; low cylindrical neck and sloping shoulder. Two vertical handles, almost round in section, are attached to the rim and the upper shoulder. Fabric: N1B / N3. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 4 / 1 (dark grey), inner margin: 10R 6 / 4 (pale red), outer margin: 10R 5 / 8 (red). Inner surface: 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown), outer surface: 5YR 4 / 6 (yellowish red).

Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: uncertain.  $7^{th} / 8^{th} c. (?)$ 

**325.** Context 1. 07I[6](12)11.20. Fig. 3.39. Body. Soot on the outside. Fabric: N2. Zoned brek. Core: 10YR 5 / 2 (greyish brown), margins: 7.5YR 5 / 4 (brown). Outer surface: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red). Decoration: horizontal band at neck's base and at shoulder height enclose intersected curved bands. Colour: 10YR 8 / 2 (very pale brown). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: ucertain -c 7<sup>th</sup> c (?).

**326.** Context 3. 07I[31](45)48. Fig. 3.39. Rim. Cooking-jar with squared-off rim and conical neck. Fabric: N3. Homogeneous break. 10YR 5 / 2 (greyish brown). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: similar to Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 109, type 161 (400-450).

327. Context 3. 07I[31](45)48. Fig. 3.39. Rim.
Cooking-jar with squared-off rim underlined by a collar, and cylindrical neck; springs of handles at rim-height.
Fabric: N4. Homogeneous break. N4 / (dark grey). Inner surface: 10Y 5 / 1 (greenish grey), outer surface: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red).
Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.
Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Jacquet – Gordon 1972 (Isnā), Pl. CCXXV, M24; Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 123, Fig. 14, No. 89.
328. Context 1. 99I[8](60)15. Fig. 3.39. Upper part.
Cooking-jar with knobbed rim, grooved on the outside; cylindrical, somehow flaring neck, underlined by a collar; two handles, elliptical in section, attached to rim and upper shoulder; curved walls; reeding

by a collar; two handles, elliptical in section, attached to rim and upper shoulder; curved walls; reeding starting from shoulder-height downwards. Fabric: N1B – powdery. Zoned break. Core: 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red), margins and surfaces: 7.5YR 4 / 2

Fabric: NTB = powdery. Zoned break. Core: 2.5 rK 4 / 6 (red), margins and surfaces: 7.5 rK 4 / 2 (brown).

Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.

Date: uncertain.  $7^{th} / 8^{th} c.$  (?)

Parallels / Bibliography: Ghaly 1992 (Saqqāra), 168, Fig. 9.



Fig. 3.39. Cooking wares found in the Old Baramūs: cooking-pots and jars (Nos. 321-334)

**329.** Context 1. 96I[11](10)74. Fig. 3.39. Upper part.

Cooking jar with bevelled rim and cylindrical slightly fluted neck; jogging on the upper shoulder; two handles were probably attached, only their springs being visible on the upper shoulder. Soot especially on the outside.

Fabric: N6. Homogeneous break. 2.5YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown); remains of grey colour around the voids / negatives of the melted straw. Surfaces: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Traces of soot on the outer surface. Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date:uncertain  $-7^{\text{th}}$  / 8<sup>th</sup> c. (?)

**330.** Context 1. 07I[20](28)25. Fig. 3.39. Upper part.

Cooking-jar with flat rim, grooved on the outside; two ear-shaped handles, elliptical in section, attached to rim and upper shoulder.

Fabric: N1A. Homogeneous break. 10R 5 / 6 (red). Surfaces: 10R 4 / 4 (weak red).

Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.

Date: late  $7^{\text{th}} - 9^{\text{th}} \text{ c}$ .

Parallels / Bibliography: similar to Vogt 1997b (Tell el-Fadda), 11, Pl. III, Fig. 4, No. 6; Ballet 2003a (Kellia), No. 83, 120, Fig. 11.6-7.

**331.** Context 1. 07I[22](35)34. Fig. 3.39. Upper part.

Cooking-jar with plain rim, wide, short neck and reeded shoulder; two bowed handles, elliptical in section, attached to rim and upper shoulder. Soot, especially on the outside.

Fabric: N3. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 4 / 1 (dark grey), margins: 7.5YR 4 / 3 (brown).

Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.

Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: similar to Vogt 1997b (Tell el-Fadda), 11, Pl. III, Fig. 4, No. 4; Ballet 2000 (Tell el-Herr), 210, Fig. 197, No. 5; *Eadem* 2003 (Kellia), 122, Fig. 12, No. 86.

**332.** Context 10. 99V[3](12)11.6. Fig. 3.39. Upper part.

Cooking-jar with everted rim, short bulged neck and reeded shoulder; two grooved handles attached to neck.

Fabric: N3. Zoned break. Core: 5YR 4 / 1 (dark grey), margins: 10R 6 / 3 (pale red). Surfaces: 2.5YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown).

Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c.

**333.** Context 10. 99V[2](11)10.11. Fig. 3.39. Upper part. Cooking-jar with rim that forms a concave outer face, long fluted neck and reeded shoulder; two bowed grooved handles attached to rim and upper shoulder. Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 10YR 4 / 3 (brown). Outer surface: 2.5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.

Date: late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c.

334. Context 6. Southern Pastoforion – underground bin. Fig. 3.39. Rim.

Almost almond-shaped rim with concave outer face; handle, semi-circular in section, attached to rim. Soot on both surfaces.

Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 4 / 1 (dark grey), inner margins: 5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown), outer margins: 7.5YR 4 / 3 (brown). Outer surface: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red), inner surface: 5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown).

Decoration: horizontal band at rim. Colour: 10YR 8/2 (very pale brown). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.



Fig. 3.40. Cooking wares found in the Old Baramūs: cooking- jars (Nos. 335-336)

335. Context 6. Southern Pastoforion - underground bin. Fig. 3.40. Almost complete object.

Cooking-jar with everted rim that forms a concave upper face, short, bulged neck, rounded shoulder, walls sloping to a rounded base; grooved outer walls; two bowed handles, elliptical in section, attached to rim and upper shoulder. Soot on parts of the outside. Cord marks on the outside.

Fabric: N4. Zoned break. Core: 10R 4 / 1 (dark reddish grey) - 4 / 2 (weak red), margins: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Outer surface: 10R 7 / 6 (light red), inner surface: 10R 5 / 6 (red).

Decoration: horizontal band at neck and intersected bands edged by a diagonal band at shoulder. Colour: 10YR 8/2 (very pale brown).

Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.

Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.

336. Context 6. Southern Pastoforion – underground bin. Fig. 3.40. Almost complete object.

Cooking-jar with grooved rim, short, bulged neck Soot on parts of the outside, especially at handles. Cord marks on the outside.

Fabric: N4. Zoned break. Core: 10R 4 / 1 (dark reddish grey) - 4 / 2 (weak red), margins: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red).Outer surface: inner surface: 10R 5/6 (red).

Decoration: horizontal band at neck and curved bands edged by a horizontal band at shoulder. Colour: 10YR 8/2 (very pale brown).

Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.

#### *Casserole lids (E347-E349)*

These are the lids that are made at the same time with the casserole, which are meant to cover (Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 179, types 347-349; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999 (Kellia), 536, Fig. 488, No. 143; Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 187, Fig. 29, Nos. 181-183; Calderon 2000 (South Sinai), 191, Fig. 4: 58-61). They are characterised by a flat or bevelled rim and a knob handle of various shapes. Their surface is reeded and they are often pierced with one or more steam holes. It is noteworthy that the amount of such lids found is thirty percent less than that of their relative casseroles.

**337.** Context 1. 96I-Feature G-[6] Fig. 3.41. Full profile.

Bevelled rim, reeded upper body, walls pierced with three steam-holes, central knob-handle. Soot all around the rim and on the inside.

Fabric: N4. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 4 / 1 (dark grey), margins and surfaces: 10YR 5 / 4 (brown). Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta.

Date:  $5^{\text{th}}-9^{\text{th}}$  c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Godlewski 1990b (Naqlūn), 50, Fig. 18; Vogt 1997b (Tell el-Fadda).

**338.** Context 10. 99V[3](12)11.11. Fig. 3.41. Almost full profile – knob missing. Shallow lid with bevelled rim, reeded body, two steam holes. Fabric: N4. Zoned break. Core: 7.5YR 5 / 1 (gray), margins: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Surfaces: 10R 5 / 6 (red). Production places proceeding a probable Nilo Date.

Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta. Date: late  $7^{th}$ -early  $8^{th}$  c.

339. Context 6. Southern Pastoforion – underground bin. Fig. 3.41. Almost full profile – knob missing. Bevelled rim, reeded upper body.
Fabric: N1B. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Inner surface: 5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown).
Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta.
Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 2000 (Tell el-Herr), Fig. 218, No. 68.

**340.** Context 6. *Southern Pastoforion – underground bin*. Fig. 3.41. Almost full profile – knob missing. Flat rim, curved walls. Fabric: N4. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4/6 (strong brown). Outer surface: 7.5YR 4/3 – 4/2 (brown), inner surface: 7/5YR 4/1 (dark grey) – 3/1 (very dark grey). Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta. Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.



Fig. 3.41. Casserole lids (E347-E349) found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 337-359)

**341.** Context 6. *Southern Pastoforion – underground bin*. Fig. 3.41. Almost full profile – knob missing. Flat rim, curved walls. Fabric: N1B. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4/4 (brown). Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta.

Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.

342. Context 9. 99V[1](5)5.4. Fig. 3.41. Full profile.
Bevelled rim, reeded upper body, central knob-handle. Soot on both surfaces.
Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 5 / 2 (brown). Surfaces: 2.5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown).
Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta.
Date: 7<sup>th</sup> / 8<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 179, type 347.

343. Context 1. 99I[2](47)1+[2](53)9 Fig. 3.41. Full profile. Upturned rim, reeded upper body, walls pierced with at least 2 steam-holes, central knob-handle with two circular grooves around its centre. Fabric: N1B / N3. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 6 (red), margins: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Surfaces: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red).
Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta. Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 187, Fig. 29, No. 183.
344. Context 1. 99I[2](47)1. Fig. 3.41. Full profile.

Bevelled rim, reeded upper body, walls pierced with at least one steam-hole, central knob handle. Fabric: N1B / N3. Homogeneous break. 10R 5 / 3 (weak red). Surfaces: 10R 4 / 6 (red). Sooted, especially on the inside. Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta. Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 179, type 348.

**345.** Context 1. 07I[32](51)54. Fig. 3.41. Almost full profile – knob missing. Bevelled out-turned rim, angular walls. Soot on both surfaces. Fabric: N4. Homogeneous break: 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown). Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta. Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

346. Context 10. 99V[3](12)11.12. Fig. 3.41. Almost full profile – knob missing.
Bevelled rim, reeded upper body. Soot all around rim.
Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 7.5YR 5 / 1 (gray), margins: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Surfaces: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red).
Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta.
Date: late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c.

347. Context 6. Southern Pastoforion – underground bin. Fig. 3.41. Almost full profile – knob missing. Bevelled rim, reeded upper body.
Fabric: N4. Break: at rim-height 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red); rest of sherd 10YR 5 / 6 (yellowish brown).
Surfaces: 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown).
Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta.
Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.

**348.** Context 6. *Southern Pastoforion – South Chapel*. Fig. 3.41. Almost full profile – knob missing. Shallow lid with thin bevelled rim and reeded upper body; band of incised wavy lines on the outside. Soot on the inside.

Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 5YR 5 / 1 (gray), margins: 5YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown). Inner surface: 2.5Y 4 / 1 (dark grey), outer surface: 7.5YR 5 / 4 (brown). Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta.

Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta. Date:  $9^{th}$  c.

**349.** Context 6. *Southern Pastoforion – underground bin*. Fig. 3.41. Almost complete object. Bevelled rim, curved walls, reeded on their upper part and pierced with at least two steam-holes, knobhandle.

Fabric: N5. Homogeneous break. 5YR 6/4 (light reddish brown). Surfaces: 5YR 8/3 (pink). Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta. Date:  $9^{th}$  c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 179, type 348; Ballet 1997c (Tell al-Farama), 126, Pl. I, No. 9. Konstantinidou 2010, 953, Fig. 9, No. 34.

**350.** Context 1. 98I[1](46)35. Fig. 3.41. Rim. Bevelled and out-turned rim, sloping, reeded walls. Soot all around rim. Fabric: N5. Zoned break. Core: 7.5YR 4 / 1 (dark grey), margins: 7.5YR 5 / 4 (brown). Inner surface: 10YR 4 /. 2 (dark greyish brown), outer surface: 5YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown). Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta. Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 1997c (Tell al-Farama), 124, Pl. I, No. 3.

**351.** Context 1. 07I[1](5)2+ 07I[1](6)4+[...]. Fig. 3.41. Almost full profile – knob missing. Thin, bevelled rim and shallow, reeded body, somehow hollowed. At least 2 steam holes (traces visible). Soot on both surfaces. Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 2.5YR 4 / 3 (reddish brown), outer margin: 10R 5 / 8 (red). Inner surface: 2.5YR 4 / 3 (reddish brown), outer surface: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta. Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

**352.** Context 1. 07I[14](22)21. Fig. 3.41. Complete object. Bevelled rim; reeded upper body pierced with three steam-holes; knob-handle with circular groove around its centre. Sooted surfaces, especially all around the rim. Fabric: N4. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown). Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta. Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: similar to Rodziewicz 1984 (Alexandria), Pl. 30.76.

**353.** Context 6. *Southern Pastoforion – underground bin.* Fig. 3.41. Central knob-handle. Fabric: N4. Zoned break. Core: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red), margins: 10YR 5 / 6 (yellowish brown). Surfaces: 7.5YR 4/6 (strong brown). Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta. Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.

**354.** Context 7. 07III[19](30)27. Fig. 3.41. Central knob-handle. Reeded upper body. Soot on the inside. Fabric: N4. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4/3 - 4/4 (brown). Surfaces: 5YR 5/3 (reddish brown). Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta. Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

355. Context 1. 98I[1](39)30.19. Fig. 3.41. Central knob-handle.
Soot on the inside.
Fabric: N5. Zoned break. Core: 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red), margins: 7.5YR 5 / 6 (brown). Outer surface: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red).
Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta.
Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

**356.** Context 1. 99I[2](47)1. Fig. 3.41. Central knob-handle. Soot on the inside. Fabric: N3. Homogeneous break. 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Surfaces: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta. Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

357. Context 1. 99I[5](56)10. Fig. 3.41. Central knob-handle.
Relatively wide, with central knob surrounded by a shallow groove. Reeded upper body. Soot on the inside.
Fabric: N5. Zoned break. Core: 5YR 5 / 6, margins: 10YR 4 / 4 (dark yellowish brown). Outer surface: 10R 5 / 6 - 4 / 6 (red).
Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta.
Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

**358.** Context 1. 99I[5](56)10. Fig. 3.41. Central knob-handle. Central depression and a groove around central knob. Upper body reeded and pierced with one steam hole, only a small part of which is visible. Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta. Date:  $5^{\text{th}}-9^{\text{th}}$  c.

**359.** Context 1. 99I[5](56)10. Fig. 3.41. Central knob-handle. Knob-handle with central shallow depression. Like No. 358, the lid's upper body is reeded and pierced with one steam hole, only a small part of which is visible. Sooted inner surface. Fabric: N5. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 8 (red), margin: 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown). Inner surface: 10R 6 / 4 (pale red), outer surface: 5YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown). Production place: uncertain – probably Nile Delta. Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

## 2.2.3 OTHER UTILITARIAN WARE

A wide range of other wares, mostly jars (Yon 1981, 128), medium to large bowls<sup>51</sup> and troughs<sup>52</sup>, were employed for the preparation, storage or containment of provisions and various other substances. They are arranged according to their decoration and form into: painted open and closed (Nos. 360-372, Figs. 7.38-7.40), gouged (Nos. 373-374, Fig. 3.45), relief (No. 375, Fig. 3.46), plain open and closed (Nos. 376-407, Figs. 3.47-3.49). Apart from a few exceptions they are made of Nile fabric – all the discerned variants may occur, but coarser versions are mostly used in the manufacture of thick-walled vessels.

## Painted open

**360.** Context 1. 99I[8](60)15+[10](63)19+[...]. Fig. 3.42. Almost full profile (base missing).

Large, deep, bell-shaped trough with everted rim, and two vertical handles, elliptical in section.

Fabric: N6. Zoned break. Core: 5YR 5 / 1 (gray), margins: 10R 6 / 4 (pale red). Surfaces: 10R 4 / 4 (weak red).

Decoration: row of dots at rim; dots edged by horizontal lines at lower body; curved convergent lines and a wavy line at body; white bands painted over the dots. Colours: lines and dots: 10YR 2/1 (black); bands: 2.5YR 8/1 (white).

Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.

Date:  $7^{\text{th}} / 8^{\text{th}} \text{ c.}$ 

Parallels / Bibliography: Górecki 1990 (Tall Atrīb / Athribis), Fig. 3: 1.D.

**361.** Context 1. 98V[2](38)28.4+98V[2](42)33. Fig. 3.42. Body.

Body-sherds of a large thick-walled open vessel decorated on both surfaces.

Fabric: N3 – fine version. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 6 (red), margins: 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red).

Slip: generally dense and matt; flaked out in some parts of the outer surface. 5Y 8 / 1 (white) - 8 / 2 (pale yellow); in some parts: 10YR 8 / 3 (very pale brown).

Decoration: dots, simple or ciliate curved lines are depicted both on the interior and the exterior. A fish is represented on the inner surface; details such as its gills, scales and fins are rendered. Colours: lines and dots: 10R 2.5 / 1 (reddish black), strokes: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red).

Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.

Date: late 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> This group of vessels corresponds to Egloff's (1977, 143) 'plats creux' and 'jattes'. See also: Yon 1981, 129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> The term corresponds to the French 'bassin': Egloff 1977, 143; Yon 1981, 35.



Fig. 3.42. Painted troughs found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 360-362)

**362.** Context 1. 98V[2](42)<289>+99I[12](16)+[...]. Fig. 3.42. Rim and body. Large trough with knobbed rim, slightly down-turned, underlined by a wide groove; sloping walls. Elliptic perimeter. Fabric: N3. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 5 / 1 (gray), inner margins: 10R 7 / 3 (pale red), outer margins: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 5YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown). Decoration: incised wavy lines on the outside and painted dotted arches on the inside. Colours: arches:10YR 8 / 3 (very pale brown); dots: 10R 4 / 2 (weak red). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: uncertain. 7<sup>th</sup> / 8<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: similar to Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 153, type 293 (650-730).

### Painted closed

#### Small painted jars

363. Cells. 96III[6](25)43. Fig. 3.43. Body.

Angular shoulder. Soot on the outside.

Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 4 (weak red) - 6 / 4 (pale red), margins: 2.5 YR 5 / 6 (red).

Slip: dense coat covering the vessel on the outside, up to shoulder-height. 5YR 6 / 4 (light reddish brown) – 10YR 7 / 4 (very pale brown).

Decoration: executed on the upper shoulder: row of diagonal lines edged by two lines; two divergent curved bands form a sort of triangle enclosing two dotted parallel semi-circular lines, which frame an irregular dot. Colours: lines and dots: 10R 3 / 1 (dark reddish grey); bands: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.

Date:  $7^{\text{th}} / 8^{\text{th}} \text{ c.}$ 

Medium-sized painted jars

**364.** Cells. 96III[6](25)43. Fig. 3.43. Body.

Rounded shoulder, probably ring-handles.

Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 4 (weak red), margins: 5YR 5 / 8 (yellowish red).

Slip: thick, dense. 10YR 8 / 2 (very pale brown).

Decoration: geometric motifs: two vertical lines framing horizontal double lines, a red irregular band, two more vertical lines framing consecutive arches and a surface of intersected diagonal lines with dots at their intersections. All these motifs are edged by a horizontal red band framed by two lines; below that, traces of arches. Colours: lines and dots: 2.5YR 3 / 1 (dark reddish grey); bands: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.

Date:  $7^{th} / 8^{th} c$ .

**365.** Cells. 97II[24](102)119. Fig. 3.43. Upper part.

Jar with bevelled rim, thickened on the inside, slightly conical neck, sloping shoulder and two vertical, grooved handles; fluted inner walls.

Fabric: N1B / N3. Zoned break. Core: 5PB 5 / 1 (bluish grey), inner margins: 10R 6 / 4 (pale red), outer margins: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red).

Slip: thick, dense. 10YR7/3 (very pale brown) -7.5YR7/4 (pink).

Decoration: two horizontal lines outside rim. On the neck a row of vertical bands resembling leaf-like motifs separate the surface in several zones where the same motif is repeated: two diagonal intersected lines forming and X surrounded by four dots. Vertical lines and bands decorate the handles. Colours: lines and dots: 10R 4 / 3 (weak red); bands: 10R 5 / 6 - 5 / 8 (red).

Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.

Date:  $7^{\text{th}} / 8^{\overline{\text{th}}} \text{ c.}$ 



Fig. 3.43. Painted jars found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 363-372)

366. Context 1. 96I[4]Wall G. Fig. 3.43. Mouth.
Everted rim, waisted neck, fluted walls.
Fabric: N4. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5/3 (weak red), inner margins: 10R 5/8 (red), outer margins: 7.5YR 4/3 (brown).
Slip: applied on both surfaces; semi-glossy, dense. 2.5YR 5/6 (red).
Decoration: on a white horizontal band row of dots edged by a horizontal line. Colours: lines and dots: 5YR 2.5/1 (black); band: 10YR 8/2 (very pale brown).
Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.

Date: uncertain. 7<sup>th</sup> c. (?)



Fig. 3.44. Painted jar found in the Old Baramūs (No. 367)

367. Cells. 98II[11](37)39<57>. Fig. 3.44. Body.

Fabric: N1B with occasionally very fine straw. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 5 / 1 (gray), margins: 2.5YR 4/8 (red).

Slip: applied on the outside; thin, dense; the lower body of the vessel is left unslipped. 2.5Y 8 / 3 (pale yellow) – 2.5YR 6 / 6 (light red).

Decoration: the base of the neck is decorated with intersected wavy lines enclosing dots. A frieze on the upper shoulder is decorated alternately with birds and antelopes turned towards each other in an S-shaped movement. Each bird is inscribed in an arch and it is depicted holding a cross-hatched leaf with its beak. The eyes are accentuated, the neck is decorated with a row of dots and two curved lines, which represent a ribbon, and the body is decorated with dots and two parallel circles, while the tail with rows of dots. A quadrilobate flower is depicted below the bird. Each antelope is painted red, and appears surrounded by a metope-like pattern, which could be interpreted as a stylised veil. A red band, on which consecutive wavy lines are depicted, decorates the shoulder. Simple geometric decoration of intersected arches enclosing dots is applied on the body. Colours: lines: 10R 3 / 2 (dusky red); bands: 10R 4 / 8 (red).

Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: uncertain.  $7^{th} / 8^{th} c. (?)$ 

**368.** Cells. 96III[11](26)39. Fig. 3.43. Neck and upper shoulder.

Fabric: N1B (powdery). Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 6 (red), margins: 7.5YR 5 / 6 (strong brown). Slip: thin, waterish. 10YR 8 / 2 (very pale brown).

Decoration: horizontal line at neck's base. Geometric motifs at the upper shoulder: two vertical rows of dots and a vertical band framed by two lines between them. Curved lines and bands interrupted by a horizontal band; cross-hatching and dots. Colours: lines: 2.5YR 4 / 2 (weak red); bands and dots: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red).

Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date:  $7^{th} / 8^{th} c$ .

369. Out of context. Near tower. Fig. 3.43. Rim.
Jar with flat rim, thickened on the outside, a ridge formed below neck.
Fabric: N6. Zoned break. Core: 2.5Y 4 / 1 (dark grey), inner margins: 10R 5 / 8 (red), outer margins: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown).
Slip: applied on the outside; thin, waterish. 10YR 7/3 (very pale brown).
Decoration: traces on the upper shoulder. Two convergent lines forming a sort of floral motif covered with a red splash. Colours: lines: 5YR 3/1 (very dark grey); splash: 2.5YR 5/6 (red).
Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.
Date: uncertain. 7<sup>th</sup> / 8<sup>th</sup> c. (?).

#### Large painted jars

**370.** Context 1. 99I[7](58)12+06II[5](8)<12>+[...]. Fig. 3.43. Rim and body.

Form like No. 369 – larger version.

Fabric: N3. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 4 / 1 (dark grey), inner margins: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red), outer margins: 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red). Outer surface: 10R 4 / 4 (weak red).

Decoration: applied directly on the fabric. The surviving fragments show that the surface was separated in a number of vertical zones, only three being preserved; the first includes two fishes, the second two birds and the third a floral motif. It seems that each pattern stands as a representative of a different environment: the sea, the sky and the earth. Colours: lines:  $2.5YR \ 3 / 1$  (dark reddish grey); bands: 7.5YR 8 / 2 (pinkish white).

Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.

Date: late  $6^{th}-8^{th} c$ .

Parallels / Bibliography: Górecki 1990 (Tall Atrīb / Athribis), Fig. 7.

**371.** Context 6. Southern Pastoforion – floor on bedrock. Fig. 3.43. Rim.

Jar with almond-shaped rim, short cylindrical neck that forms a ridge at its base and curved upper shoulder.

Fabric: N3. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 5 / 1 (gray) – 4 / 1 (dark grey), inner margins: 10R 6 / 6 (light red), outer margins: 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red).

Slip: thick, dense. 2.5Y 8 / 4 (pale yellow).

Decoration: only a small part of it is visible. Convergent diagonal lines and a row of lines. Colours: lines: 2.5YR 3 / 1 (dark reddish grey); bands: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red).

Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.

Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.

**372.** Context 10. 99V[3](12)11.5. Fig. 3.43. Rim.

Jar with square rim; a gentle ridge at the neck's base; divergent walls.

Fabric: N6. Homogeneous break. N3 / (very dark grey). Outer surface: 5YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown). Slip: 5Y 8 / 3 (pale yellow).

Decoration: only a dot is visible at neck's height 10R 3 / 1 (dark reddish grey).

Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.

Date: late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: similar form in Górecki 1990 (Tall Atrīb / Athribis), Fig. 19.

#### Gouged closed

373. Context 1. 98I[1](51)40+98I[1](54)53. Fig. 3.45

Jar with gouged decoration. Its exact size and shape remain obscure, so does its overall decoration. Except for its neck and upper shoulder, only scattered body-sherds that cannot be glued together are found. It is probable that the lower part of the body would have been left undecorated, as indicated by a sherd that forms a horizontal ridge delimiting the gouged surface; underneath this ridge no decoration is applied, apart from a vertical incision, which leads to a small irregular knob. The upper part is certainly decorated with diagonal wide incisions (gouging) and rows of small triangular impressions. The handle is also gouged on one face only.

Fabric: C4A. Zoned break. Core: 2.5Y 6 / 1 (gray), margins: 5YR 6 / 3 (light reddish brown). Outer surface: 5YR 7 / 3 (pink) – 6 / 3 (light reddish brown), inner surface: 5YR 5 / 3 (reddish brown). Production place: Mareotis (?) Date: late  $6^{th} - 8^{th} c$ .

Additional comments: as it often happens with the calcareous fabrics, the colour of this vessel's surface appears lighter, as a result of the concentration of minerals on the surface during the process of drying (Matson 1974). These technical characteristics indicate that this ambiguous broken object was produced in one of the workshops organised in the area around the Lake Mareotis (Rodziewicz 1986, 312). It apparently belongs to the category, known in the literature as *Mareotic incised pottery* (Rodziewicz 1986; Majcherek 2002, 60-61, Fig. 3.3; *Idem* 2008, 115, Fig. 41, Nos. 60-62). Such wares are generally uncommon on archaeological sites in Egypt, but they occur rather often in Alexandria and the neighbouring regions.



374. Context 1. 98I[1](39)30.8. Fig. 3.45. Neck.
A ridge is formed around the neck's base. Vertical incisions at the upper shoulder.
Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 7.5YR 5 / 1 (gray), margins: 7.5YR 5 / 4 (brown). Surfaces: 7.5YR 5 / 4 (brown).
Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.
Date: uncertain. 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

## Relief

**375.** Church. 99II[16](35)<188>. Fig. 3.46. Rim. Anthropomorphic jar. Rim with concave outer face underlined by a ridge. Fabric: N3. Zoned break. Core: 7.5YR 4 / 2 (brown), margins: 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red). Thin wash applied on the outside. 7.5YR 7/3 (pink). Decoration: relief. A human face is modelled on the outside, below rim. Immediately below rim a

Decoration: relief. A human face is modelled on the outside, below rim. Immediately below rim a surface of deep incisions (hair). Each eye is represented by a hollow, in which a knob of clay with central horizontal incision has been inserted. The nose and the cheeks are also modelled. Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.

Date: uncertain.

Discussion: It is one more example of the rarely occurring anthropomorphic jars (Clédat 1904, 102, Fig. 57; Murray 1935, 2-3, Pl. II, 2, III) and it is a pity that it is represented by a small fragment only. Despite its state, the specific fragment is comparable to a jar found in Karanis that dates in the fourth to the mid-fifth century (Johnson 1981, 5, Pl. 21, No. 148). Another such jar is kept in the Coptic Museum (Ballet 1991, 484). These three examples are characterised by a fairly high artistic quality, as the human face appears realistic; details such as the eyebrows, the pupils, the nostrils and the hair, are rendered. A number of stylised anthropomorphic jars are found in Tebtynis (Rousset and Marchand 2000, Fig. 28m: mid-7<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c; Rousset *et al.*, 2001, 435, Fig. 20: 8<sup>th</sup> c.) and in Naqlūn (Żurek 2004, 165-166, Figs. 1-2: 8<sup>th</sup> – early 9<sup>th</sup> c.). These vessels somehow recall a series of rare terracotta sarcophagus lids dating to the New Kingdom period (Cotelle-Michel 2004). Such sarcophagi are found in numerous Egyptian necropolises deprived from any rich or luxurious offerings.



Fig. 3.46. Anthropomorphic jar found in the Old Baramūs (No. 375)

#### Plain open

Sixteen bowls of various shapes and sizes and three troughs are included here (Nos. 376-393) (Egloff 1977, 143-155; Vogt 1997a, 252, Pls. 7-8; Bailey 1998, 101-104; Ballet 2003a, 104-106). Mostly knobbed- and everted-rim vessels. Nos. 379, 381, 382 and 390 form a wavy lip. Two carinated bowls (Nos. 382, 383) form a sort of ledge at the rim, probably to facilitate their transport. Nos. 390-391 are large troughs. Cord-impressions are visible on the outer surface of No. 391. Two flat bases (Nos. 392, 393) are also included.

**376.** Context 3. 07I[31](43)46. Fig. 3.47. Rim. Deep bowl with triangular rim; fluted inner walls. Fabric: C4B. Homogeneous break. 2.5YR 6 / 4 (light reddish brown). Surfaces: 2.5Y 7 / 4 (pale yellow) – 6 / 4 (light yellowish brown). Production place: Mareotis (?) Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c. 377. Context 1. 99I[7](58)12. Fig. 3.47. Rim. Deep bowl with rolled, slightly overhanging rim and sloping walls. A wide groove below rim. Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 5B 4 / 1 (dark bluish grey), margins: 10YR 4 / 4 (dark yellowish brown). Surfaces: 10YR 4 / 4 (dark yellowish brown). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: uncertain.

378. Context 3. 07I[32](52)55. Fig. 3.47. Rim. Deep bowl with flat rim and vertical walls marked by a horizontal groove on the outside. Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown). Slip: applied on the outside; semi-lustrous appearance. 10R 4 / 6 - 4 / 8 (red). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: uncertain.  $6^{\text{th}} / 7^{\text{th}} \text{ c. } (?)$ 

379. Context 3. 07I[30](42)45. Fig. 3.47. Rim. Carinated bowl with grooved rim that forms a wavy lip. Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 4 - 4 / 4 (weak red), inner margins: 10R 5 / 8 (red), outer margins: 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date:  $5^{\text{th}}-7^{\text{th}}$  c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 152, type 287 (early 5<sup>th</sup> c.).

380. Context. 07I[35](55)59. Fig. 3.47. Rim. Bowl with everted rim and convergent walls, fluted on the inside. Fabric: N6. Zoned break. Core: N 3 / (very dark grey), inner margins: 10R 7 / 4 (pale red), outer margins: 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 148-149, type 272; Snape 1997 (Pelusium), 103, Pl. II, Fig. 2, B3; Bavay et al. 2000 (Sān al-Hağar / Tanis), Fig. 21.5.

381. Context 1. 07I[2](2)3.6. Fig. 3.47. Rim. Large bowl with wavy rim and convergent walls. Fluted inner walls. Fabric: N6. Zoned break. Core: N3 / (very dark grey), margins: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 10R 4 / 6 (red). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 149, type 274 (650-730); Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999 (Kellia), 551, Fig. 492, No. 275; Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 105, Fig. 8, No. 61.

**382.** Context 1. 96IBaulk[3]4. Fig. 3.47. Rim. Large bowl with wavy rim and convergent walls. Fluted inner walls. Fabric: N6. Zoned break. Core: 7.5YR 4 / 1 (dark grey), inner margins: 10R 5 / 4 (weak red), outer margins: 10R 5 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 2.5YR 5 / 6 – 4 / 6 (red). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date:  $7^{\text{th}}-9^{\text{th}}$  c. Parallels / Bibliography: Rodziewicz 1984 (Alexandria), Pl. 56.218; Vogt 1997a (Fustāt), Pl. 8.3; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999 (Kellia), 551, Fig. 492, No. 276; Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 105, Fig. 8, No. 60.

**383.** Context 1. 07I[6](12)11<23>. Fig. 3.47. Rim and body. Carinated bowl with knobbed grooved rim; two finger depressions formed outside the rim. The outer walls are reeded above the carination point. Fabric: N3. Zoned break. Core: 7.5YR 4 / 1 (dark grey) – 4 / 2 (brown), margins: 10R 6/3 (pale red). Surfaces: 5YR 4/4 (reddish brown).

Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.

Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.



Fig. 3.47. Undecorated medium-sized bowls found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 376-389)

**384.** Context 1. 99I[2](47)1. Fig. 3.47. Rim and body. Carinated bowl with everted rim forming a sort of grooved ledge at a certain part. Fabric: N1B / N3. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 8 (red), margins: 10R 4 / 4 (dark yellowish brown). Slip: applied on both surfaces; flaked-out on the inside; matt appearance. 10R 4 / 8 (red). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date:  $7^{th}-9^{th}$  c. **385.** Context 1. 99I[6](59)13. Fig. 3.47. Rim. Bowl with everted, grooved rim. Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10R 6 / 6 (light red), inner margins: 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red), outer margins: 5YR 5 / 6 - 4 / 6 (yellowish red). Slip: applied on both surfaces, thicker on the inside. 10R 5 / 8 - 4 / 8 (red). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: uncertain.  $5^{th}-9^{th}$  c.

**386.** Context 1. 99I[6](59)13. Fig. 3.47. Rim. Deep bowl with thickened grooved rim. A wavy incision decorates the walls on the outside, below rim. Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5/8 (red), margins: 7.5YR 4/4 (brown). Remains of red (10R 5/6) wash on the outside. Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: uncertain. 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999 (Kellia), 552, Fig. 492, No. 290; Calderon 2000 (South Sinai), 194, Fig. 7:98.

**387.** Context 2. 99I[19](64)20. Fig. 3.47. Rim and body. Deep bowl with flat rim, thickened on both sides and somewhat carinated body. Fabric: N4. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5/8 (red), margins: 10YR 4/3 (brown). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: 6<sup>th</sup> / 7<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999 (Kellia), 552, Fig. 492, No. 290.

**388.** Context 1. 98V[2](28)25+99I[5](56)10. Fig. 3.47. Almost full profile – base missing. Deep bowl with everted rim, which forms a convex upper face, and curved walls. Cord-impressions outside rim. Clay accretions and irregularities due to use of rope during manufacture. Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 5/4-4/4 (brown). Matt wash is applied on the inside. 10R 5/6 (red). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: uncertain. 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: similar to Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 150, type 279.

**389.** Context 4. 07I[42](79)84. Fig. 3.47. Rim and body. Fabric: N1B / N3. Zoned break. Core: N4 / (dark grey), margins: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Slip: irregularly applied on both surfaces. 10R 4 / 6 (red). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: variant with wavy rim in Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 99, Fig. 8.1-2, No. 50.

**390.** Context 1. 98V[2](42)33. Fig. 3.48. Rim. Trough with wavy rim and convergent walls. Fabric: N4. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 3 / 1 (very dark grey), inner margins: 10R 5 / 4 (weak red), outer margins: 10R 5 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Vogt 1997a (Fustāt), Pl. 8.4.

**391.** Context 1. 98V[2](42)33. Fig. 3.48. Rim. Large trough with knobbed grooved rim and vertical walls. Cord impressions and other irregularities on the outside. Fabric: N6. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 4 (weak red), inner margins: 10R 5 / 8 (red), outer margins: 7.5 YR 4 / 4 (brown). Thin wash applied on the outside. 10YR 7 / 4 (very pale brown). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: uncertain. 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c. (?)



Fig. 3.48. Large bowls / basins found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 390-393)

**392.** Context 6. *Southern Pastoforion – floor on bedrock*. Fig. 3.48. Base. Fabric: N6. Homogeneous break. 5YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.

**393.** Context 3. 07I[30](42)45. Fig. 3.48. Base. Fabric: N3. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 3 (weak red), margins: 10R 5 / 8 (red). Inner surface: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red), outer surface: 10YR 4 / 3 (brown). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.

Plain closed

Some of these vessels would probably fit in the group of table wares. However, their size might imply multiple uses, apart from just the serving of liquids during the meals. Maybe they were also used in storing and keeping their content cool, but it is not easy to assert with certainty.

**394.** Context 10. 99V[2](11)10.7. Fig. 3.49. Upper part. Jug with slightly everted rim, wide neck, spherical body and a turned base; one vertical handle, elliptical in section, is attached to the rim and the upper shoulder. Fabric: N1B / 3. Zoned break. Core: N4 / (dark grey), inner margin: 10R 6 / 4 (pale red), outer margin: 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 134, type 225 (630-700).



Fig. 3.49. Closed utilitarian wares found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 394-407)

395. Context 10. 99V[3](12)11.1. Fig. 3.49. Lower part. Grooved upper body, turned base.
Fabric: N1B. Core: 10R 5 / 2 (weak red), inner margins: 10R 4 / 8 (red), outer margin: 7.5YR 4 / 3 (brown). Inner surface: 5YR 4 / 3 (reddish brown), outer surface: 10R 4 / 8 (red).
Decoration: thick yellow line that appears dripping on the outside. Colour: 2.5Y 8 / 4 (pale yellow).
Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.
Date: late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 134, type 225 (630-700).

**396.** Context 3. 07I[30](42)45. Fig. 3.49. Mouth. Plain rim, conical neck, ridge around neck's base. Fabric: very fine, dense, regular fracture; apart from a few very fine white particles no other inclusion visible. Production place: undetermined. 5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow). Thin film covers the outer surface. 2.5YR 5 / 6 – 4 / 6 (red). Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c.

**397.** Context 1. 98I[1](46)35.1. Fig. 3.49. Mouth. A pair of small handles spring from the mid-height of the neck. Fabric: N1A. Homogeneous break. 10R 5 / 6 – 5 / 8 (red). Decoration: white band outside rim. 2.5Y 8 / 2 (pale yellow). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: uncertain. 8<sup>th</sup> c. (?)

**398.** Context 6. *Southern Pastoforion – floor on bedrock.* Fig. 3.49. Base. Turned base, rounded walls, fluted on the inside. Fabric: N3. Homogeneous break. 2.5YR 4 / 8 – 5 / 8 (red). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c. – or earlier (?) Parallels / Bibliography: similar to Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 114, type 171 (5<sup>th</sup> c.).

399. Context 10. 99V[3](12)11.4A-B. Fig. 3.49. Two fragments: upper part and spike.

 $S\bar{a}qiya$  ( ) pot, also known as  $q\bar{a}d\bar{u}s$  ( ) (Shiøler 1973, 101-108; Menassa and Laferrière 1974, 18-23), a term which seems to have derived from the Greek word  $\kappa \alpha \delta \sigma \varsigma$  (Oleson 1984, 10). They are related to the bucket-chain or pot-garland, an element of the water lifting device known as  $s\bar{a}qiya$  (Shiøler 1973; Menassa and Laferrière 1974; Oleson 1984, 10-12, 370-384; Oleson 2000). In particular, these pots are lashed to short wooden rods, which are connected to each other by a pair of long rope loops passing over a support wheel. When the support wheel is caused to turn, usually by a draft animal (an  $\alpha x$ , camel or donkey, according to the local circumstances), the pots dip in the water source, fill and are lifted to the top of the loops, where they dump their contents into a trough located within the support wheel (Oleson 1984, 11-12). For their quick filling and emptying during this process it was necessary that they have a wide mouth, often with flaring rim. At the same time they should be well tied to the ropes of the wheel and for that reason their foot is knobbed, rising immediately to an almost bell-shaped, fluted body. Their shape did not change significantly in time, so that even modern examples (Henein 1992, 38, No. 44; 58, No. 78) do not differ from ancient versions.

Fabric: N6. Zoned break. Core: 2.5Y 4 / 1 (dark grey), inner margin: 10R 5 / 4 (weak red), outer margin: 10R 4 / 3 (weak red), outer margin2: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red). Inner surface: 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red), outer surface: 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red).

Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.

Date: late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Jacquet – Gordon 1972 (Isnā), Pl. CCXXVIII, R1, R2; Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 140-141, type 256; Godlewski 1990b (Naqlūn), 51, Fig. 27; Pierrat 1991 (Tūd), 154, Fig. 7a-d; Bavay *et al.* 2000 (Ṣān al-Ḥağar / Tanis), Fig. 23.1-2; Calderon 2000 (South Sinai), 194, Fig. 6:93-96; Marchand and Laisney 2000 (Dandara), 273, Nos. 208-214; Lecuyot and Pierrat – Bonnefois 2004 (Tūd), 168, Pl. 7, Td87-Td89; Faiers 2005a (Amarna), 149-153, Figs. 2.50-2.51, Nos. 353-378; Guidotti 2008 (Šayh 'Abāda / Antinoopolis), 314, Taf. XIV, No. 117; Majcherek 2008 (Marea), 116, Fig. 42, Nos. 71-75.

400. Context 4. 07I[44](87)92. Fig. 3.49. Rim.
Jar with hooked rim.
Fabric: N3. Zoned break. Core: 10R 6 / 4 (pale red), margins: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red).
Thin, waterish film applied on the outside and dripping on the inside below the rim. 10YR 8 / 2 (very pale brown).
Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.
Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Faiers 2005a (Amarna), 138, Fig. 244, No. 295.

**401.** Context 3. 07I[30](44)47. Fig. 3.49. Rim. Jar with squared-off rim and fluted walls. Fabric: N1B with fine straw particles sporadically. Zoned break. Core: 5BG 5/1 (greenish grey), margins: 2.5YR 5/6 (red). Surfaces: 2.5YR 5/6 (red). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c.

**402.** Context 4. 07I[44](87)92+[44](88)94+[...]. Fig. 3.49. Upper part. Wide mouthed jar with everted rim, grooved on the outside; two handles are attached on the rim and the upper shoulder; the exterior of the wall is fluted. Fabric: N6. Zoned break. Core: 7.5YR 4/1 (dark grey), inner margins: 10R 6/3 (pale red), outer margins: 10R 5/6 (red). Surfaces: 7.5YR 4/3 (brown). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c. – second half. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 109, type 163 (650-700).

**403.** Context 1. 99I[2](47)1. Fig. 3.49. Upper part. Jar with somehow upturned rim and angular wall. Fabric: N1B / N3. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 8 (red), margins: 10R 4 / 4 (dark yellowish brown). Slip: applied on both surfaces; matt; flaked-out on the inside. 10R 4 / 8 (red). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: uncertain. 8<sup>th</sup> / 9<sup>th</sup> c. (?) Parallels / Bibliography: similar to a jar with crude pellet decoration found in Tebtynis (Rousset and Marchand 2000, Fig. 28m), but our example is undecorated.

## 404. Context 6. Southern Pastoforion – underground bin. Fig. 3.49. Upper part.

Unspecified object, probably a large jar, initially falsely considered to be a version of the Late Roman amphora 2. Only the upper part is found, and one may note that this object has no neck; a round rim is formed instead, being the edge of the upper shoulder itself; the upper shoulder is grooved; cord impressions are visible at shoulder-height. It is not so clear, whether this rim was initially made as such, or whether a neck once existed, so that the current formation resulted after smoothening the break. The same question is cited in the description of a similar object found in Kellia (Ballet 2003a, 136, No. 100), which is identified as amphora.

Fabric: N3 / N6. Zoned break. Core: 2.5YR 6 / 6 (light red), margins: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Inner surface: 10YR 4 / 2 (dark greyish brown) – 4 / 3 (brown).

Thin wash on the outer surface. 10YR 7 / 3 (very pale brown).

Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.

Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: spherical version in Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 136, Fig. 15, No. 100.

**405.** Context 6. *Southern Pastoforion – underground bin*. Fig. 3.49. Body and base.

Jar with oval-shaped body and low foot. A row of incised wavy lines decorate the upper part of the outer wall, while its lower part, right above the base, is grooved. The inner wall is fluted. It is a pity that the neck and the rim are not preserved in the only object that was possible to reconstruct. It took days of gluing pieces before reaching the final form and it was a surprise to see that this small and generally thin-walled base fitted to an object that was initially thought to be a late version of the Egyptian amphora, usually mentioned as Late Roman 5 / 6. In the Old Baramūs this type is very common, but for years its base-fragments were registered as belonging to open table wares, since the object No. 405 was glued during one of the last pottery study seasons. Similar jars are found in the church D of Bāwīţ (personal observation).

Fabric: N1A. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 5 / 2 (greyish brown), inner margins: 10R 5 / 3 (weak red), outer margins: 10R 5 / 8 (red). Outer surface: 5YR 4 / 6 (yellowish red), inner surface: 10R 5 / 6 (red). Production place: probably Nile Delta. Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Południkiewicz and Konstantinidou (Bāwīț) 2012, Fig. 19.

#### 406. Context 4. 07I[44](88)94. Fig. 3.49. Mouth.

Small fragment of rim and upper neck of a jar. I may be mistaken, but it looks like the neck of a barrelshaped vessel (Yon 1981, 234-235), often referred to as churn (Yon 1981, 234-235), keg or costrel (Bailey 1998, 34). Such an object is *shaped like a rugby football, with a substantial cylindrical neck and mouth. It was made by luting together two wheel-thrown parabolic bowls at their rims, cutting a hole for the insertion of the neck, also wheelmade, finishing by hand to hide the joins, slipping it at the appropriate moment and then firing it (Bailey 1998, 34). The most interesting thing about this form that survived from the fourth century until nowadays is that it may be related with multiple functions (Egloff 1977, 172-173, type 338; Bailey 1998, 34-35. See also: Henein 1992, Nos. 8: makhāda (); 70: garra () or saqa (); 71: garrat-laban ().* 

Fabric: N1B / N3. 10R 5 / 6 (red).

A sort of thin waterish wash applied on both surfaces. 5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow).

Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.

Date:  $5^{\text{th}}-7^{\text{th}}$  c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 172-173, type 338 (390-450).

407. Context 1. 07I[17](25)24. Fig. 3.49. Mouth.

Upper part of a large jar with plain rim, cylindrical neck and a ridge around the base of the neck.

Fabric: medium-coarse, dense, containing mainly sub-rounded white particles of various sizes and sparsely sub-rounded medium-sized grey-black particles. Some fine oblong voids visible in the break. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 6 / 1 (gray), margins: 7.5YR 7 / 4 (pink). Surfaces: .10YR 6 / 4 (light yellowish brown).

Production place: Nebi Samwil (?).

Date:  $9^{th} / 10^{th} c$ .

Parallels / Bibliography: Gascoigne and Pyke 2011, Fig. 2.

Additional comments: nowadays, jars of much later date, which present similar technological features with the Nebi Samwil-type jars, are to be found in storerooms in the Keep of the Monastery of the Virgin of Baramūs, as well as in the Monastery of the Syrians in the Wādī al-Naṭrun (personal observation). They are known as zal'a ( ).

# 2.2.4 AMPHORAE



As the pottery studies developed, the interest in amphorae increased and their importance in understanding the socioeconomic structures of the Byzantine state became more and more clear. A multitude of studies often referred to the same type under a different term, until Riley introduced his typologies from Berenice (1979) and Carthage (1981), including especially Eastern Mediterranean containers, for which he suggested the accepted term Late widely Roman Amphorae. At the same time, new typologies and terms continued to appear, so that accordance between different terms designating the same form was, and in many cases still is, a necessity. In this respect the contribution of Pieri (2005; *Id.* 2007) is really great, as it was him to take the first step in the standardisation of most of the Eastern Mediterranean amphora types (Fig. 3.50). His study is an important reference point, as he has gathered, coexamined and summarised all the information that are so far known. On the other hand, the key reference for amphorae that were made to carry African products is Keay's (1984) publication and later on the overall classification of the African ceramics by Bonifay (2004). The present study has largely benefited from all the above books, as well as from the very instructive internet page of the University of Southampton *Roman Amphorae: a digital resource*<sup>53</sup> organised by Professor Simon Keay and Dr. David Williams, together with contributions by many other specialists (Bonifay, Opaiţ, Reynolds, *et al.*)

The amphora production and circulation is not the main issue of this research, while the respective discussion appears inexhaustible, for that reason any reprise of already published information will not be cited in details. Observations considering the non-Egyptian amphorae will be based on the finds of the Old Baramūs, so as to add further evidence, which could be handled and interpreted by specialists who have gained experience in the specific field. Egyptian amphorae, on the contrary, will be examined more thoroughly, with some thoughts and new suggestions put forward, especially for the type known as Egyptian *Late Roman* 5 / 6, which is found in considerable quantity, and a group of Egyptian Early Arab containers.

## NON-EGYPTIAN AMPHORAE

## Late Roman Amphorae 1

(Dressel 1899: 34. Robinson 1959: M333. Thomas 1959: British B2. Farid 1963: Ballana 6. Beltran 1970: 82. Kuzmanov 1973: 13. Egloff 1977: types 164, 166, 168, 169. Scorpan 1975: 8B. Riley 1979: Berenice Late Roman amphora 1. Riley 1981: Carthage Late Roman amphora 1. Bass 1982: type 1. Keay 1984: 53. Peacock and Williams 1986: Class 44)

The most frequent type of transport amphora, produced in the period from the fourth to the seventh century, is the Late Roman amphora 1. The main production zone is located in an area composed of ultra basic as well as sedimentary rocks (Williams 1979; Peacock and Williams 1986, 187), lying in the Gulf of Alexandretta (Ballet and Picon 1987, 21-26; Empereur and Picon 1989, 236-243; Reynolds 2005a, 565-567; Williams 2005a) and Cyprus (Demesticha and Michaelides 2001; Demesticha 2003). Kiln sites have been discovered along the coastal area from Antioch-on-the-Orontes westwards through Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia and Caria to the island of Rhodes. Most of the sites occur in Cilicia Pedias, especially around the Gulf of Iskenderon (Empereur and Picon 1988, Fig. 21; Empereur and Picon 1989, Figs. 18-19; Williams 2005a, 160-161; Burragato *et al.* 2007; Ferrazzoli and Ricci 2010b). The main production sites in Cyprus are so far located in Amathus, Kourion, Paphos and Zygi-Petrini (Empereur and Picon 1989, 242; Manning *et al.* 2000; Demesticha 2005a, 160-161).

Chemical analyses of Late Roman 1 samples have proven that it is possible to distinguish amphorae made in Cilicia / northern Syria from those that were produced

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup>http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/archive/amphora\_ahrb\_2005/?CFID=573996&CFTOKEN=39545028

in Cyprus (Empereur and Picon 1989, 242-243, Fig. 24). From a petrological point of view, there have been difficulties in differentiating between Late Roman 1 fabrics due to the geological similarities of the producing regions (Williams 2005a, 162). These difficulties seem to be gradually surpassed as new evidence shows that in fact it may be possible to discern amphorae from Cyprus and Cilicia / northern Syria. Recent petrological studies prove that despite the presence of similar inclusions in samples from both the above areas, a single mineral inclusion (brown hornblende / basaltic hornblende) appear to be characteristic of the fabric from Kourion in Cyprus (Williams 2005a, 166-167). At least half of the analysed samples from Kellia showed a Cypriot origin (Ballet and Picon 1987, 24-26). None of the samples found in the Old Monastery of Baramūs have been analysed, however four fabric-variants have been discerned after careful visual examination.

**Bar-LRA1 fabric 1** includes mainly samples with pinkish to yellowish-red break, while yellowish samples may also occur. The fabric is medium-coarse, generally dense and its fracture is regular. It contains mainly medium-sized to very coarse white particles, as well as medium-sized red and black particles of various shapes (from rounded to sub-angular); medium-sized sparkling particles (mica?) sparsely occur. The inclusions are well sorted.

**Bar-LRA1 fabric 2** samples are generally reddish yellow in colour. The fabric is medium-fine, and rather granular; its fracture is irregular. It contains many black and dark green particles; red and brownish particles are common and white particles sparsely occur; some sparkling particles may be present. All the particles are of various shapes and their size varies from medium to coarse; they are very well sorted.

**Bar-LRA1 fabric 3** samples often have a sandwich-like break, the core being reddish and the surface reddish yellow. The fabric is medium-coarse, dense, and its fracture is regular. It contains coarse to very coarse particles of various shapes, mostly red and black and some white. The inclusions are very well sorted.

**Bar-LRA1 fabric 4** samples are generally pink, yellowish or even greyish in colour; in some cases the break has a sandwich-like appearance, the core being pink and the surface pale yellow. The fabric is medium-coarse and its fracture is irregular. It is rich in red particles, but it is very often to have voids with reaction rims instead – a red colour being visible around the voids' rims. Black particles are common and white occur sparsely. All the particles are of various shapes and their size varies from medium to coarse; they are very well sorted.

The morphological evolution of the type took place in two respective phases. An early form existed in the first two centuries of its manufacture; the later, more commonly found, developed form appeared in the sixth century and survived until its final fadeout. A diminished version of the later developed type was also produced mainly in the seventh century (Van Alfen 1996). The fourth century variants are characterised by a folded band rim, a generally long narrow neck, and probably a small pear shaped fluted body resting on a small knob-base. In the first half of the fifth century the neck was made shorter and the shoulder wider. During the second half of the fifth century the neck got even wider and more cylindrical and the rim formed the wide concave outface, which characterises the type. The fifth century examples still have a pear-shaped body and a small knob-base. (Pieri 2005, 70-74, Fig. 25, generation 1A)

The containers produced in the sixth century clearly differ by having a more cylindrical body, with widely spaced ridging at the mid-height of the body, gradually narrowing at the shoulder and the base that is now rounded. The ridge applied is in fact a spiral from the base to the neck. In the late sixth and seventh centuries several small modules of were produced, wide and narrow-necked variants being contemporary. (Pieri 2005, 75-76, Fig. 25, generation 1B) All through the period of their production Late Roman amphorae 1 had rather uneven mouths.

More or less all the known versions occur in Baramūs and in the general area of the Wādī al-Naṭrūn: from the fourth century narrow mouthed version (No. 408, Fig. 3.51) (Egloff 1977, type 169; Williams 1987, type 5; Bass and Van Doorninck 1971, Figs. 10-11; Pieri 2005, 70-74, Fig. 25, type 1A) to the seventh century examples with the massive elongated neck (Nos. 419, 420, Fig. 3.54) (Egloff 1977, type 166; Van Alfen 1996; Pieri 2005, 75-76, Fig. 25, type 1B1). The most interesting illustrated variant is an amphora with flaring mouth and waisted neck (No. 410, Fig. 3.51). The handles are attached immediately to the rim and a part of their outer face is treated so as to substitute the outer face of the rim. This not so familiar form seems to occur rather often in the monastic sites of the Wādī al-Naṭrūn – it is also found in the surrounds of the Monastery of the Syrians – and it could be dated to the fifth century (first half?).

Apart from the area of the Wādī al-Naṭrūn, Late Roman Amphorae 1 occur very frequently in various Egyptian sites: Alexandria (Rodziewicz 1984, Pl. 57.237-238), Marea (Majcherek 2008, 118, Fig. 44, Nos. 90-91), Schedia (Martin 2008, 266, Fig. 15), Şān al-Hağar / Tanis (Bavay *et al.* 2000, Figs. 25-26), Kellia (Egloff 1977, 112-113, types 164, 166, 169; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999, 154, Fig. 489, No. 154; Ballet 2003a, 132-133, Fig. 14, Nos. 92-94), Abū Ruwāš (Marchand 2007, 183, Fig. 19.a-b), Old Cairo (Gascoigne 2007, 164-165, Figs. 4-6), Saqqāra (Lecuyot 2007a, 201, Fig. 3.8-10), Naqlūn (Godlewski 1990b, 51), al-Ašmūnayn / Hermopolis Magna (Bailey 1998, 121-122, Pl. 77, T13-T59), Bawīṭ (Marchand and Dixneuf 2007, 319-320, Figs. 33-35; Dixneuf 2008, 44, Figs. 12-13), Amarna (Faiers 2005a, 169-170, Nos. 440-443, Fig. 2.61; *Eadem* 2005b, 205, Fig. 3.13, No. 101), Dandara (Marchand and Laisney 2000, 272, Nos. 121-122), Isnā (Jacquet – Gordon 1972, Pl. CCXXVII, P8, P9), Elephantine (Gempeler 1992, 198, Abb. 128.1-2, K758-759) and the Sinai (Ballet 2000, 219, Fig. 203, No. 81 and 222, Fig. 204, No. 90; Calderon 2000, 186, Fig. 2:20-22; Dixneuf 2007b, 541-542, Fig. 5).

Greek *dipinto* inscriptions, often mentioned as *tituli picti*, in black and / or red colour appear mainly on fragments that date from the fourth to the fifth century (Nos. 409, 411, 412, Figs. 7.47-7.49). Such inscriptions are rather problematic, as they are often difficult to read and interpret.<sup>54</sup> In the Old Baramūs examples, none of them refers to the content of the amphora on which it is written. However, on Late Roman amphorae 1 found in Romania and Bulgaria one reads that they were filled with sweet oil ( $\gamma\lambda\nu\kappa\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\sigma\nu$ ) or salted oil ( $\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\iota\sigma\nu$ ); an example found in Naqlūn (Egypt) would probably contain sacred oil ( $\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\iota\sigma\nu$   $\dot{\alpha}\gamma\iota\sigma\nu$ ), as indicated by the respective inscription (Derda 1992a, 138). Olive oil or olives are mostly mentioned by *dipinti* on Late Roman amphorae 1 from Ballana (Emery and Kirwan 1938, 402, Pl. 117, No. 9). At the same time, inscriptions from Ballāna and Qustul (Emery and Kirwan 1938, 403, No. 19) imply wine as content, especially the one produced on the island of Rhodes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> A significant corpus of *dipinti* on LRA1 is found in Šayh 'Abāda / Antinoopolis (Fournet and Pieri 2008)

Hence, it seems that from an 'epigraphic' point of view there are testimonies that indicate both oil and wine as possible contents of this type.

Literature seems to be in favour of wine, based on a single grape seed found in a complete amphora from the Yassi Ada shipwreck (Van Alfen 1996, 203), as well as on the fact that many of the Late Roman amphorae 1 preserve remains of a resin lining. It is the famous 'pitching' ( $\pi i \sigma \sigma \omega \mu \alpha$ ) (Cockle 1981; Benaissa 2010, 281-283) that was made to coat the inner surface of the amphorae (one should be careful in the use of identification of a coating as 'pitching' or as resin lining: about the actual difference between resin and pitch: Acovitsioti – Hameau *et al.* 1995). Three are the prevailing explanations about the purpose of the resin coating (discussion in Vogt *et al.* 2002, 73): a) it was meant to conserve the wine during transportation; b) it was used to prevent seepage through their porous clay body (Lucas and Harris 1962, 20; full discussion in Pieri 2005, 81-85); c) it was used to improve the wine's flavour or even to preserve it (André 1961, 166; Cockle 1981, 94).

Vogt et al. (2002, 73) point out that there seems to be a misunderstanding between terms involving two processes whose aims are totally different the resin coating of the amphorae and the addition of resin to the wine. Even if indeed the resin lining aimed to limit the wine's oxidation and to make the vessels impermeable it did not exert an adequate antiseptic action to preserve it. For that reason a resin solution should be mixed with the must of the grapes or the wine (Acovitsioti – Hameau et al. 1993, 112-113). This process is still followed in Greece for the preparation of the retsina.

For years it was thought that by no means a coated amphora would contain oil. Condamin and Formenti (1976) noted that a resin lining would make oil inconsumable; furthermore, it was not necessary for oil amphorae to be coated, due to the viscosity of their content. Nonetheless, recent residual studies have shown that in fact amphorae bearing resin lining may as well contain oil (Pecci *et al.* 2010; Frère and Hugot 2012) so that one should no longer rely on lining to suppose or exclude any content. In an enthusiastic conversation during the *3rd International Conference on Late Roman Coarse Wares*, Alessandra Pecci informed me that the pitch may even scent the oil, , in which case could hence be used for cosmetic or medicinal purposes.

Consequently, it is not impossible that many of the pitched Late Roman amphorae 1 may have carried oil (Wickham 2005, 760). It would therefore be worth reconsidering the relation of the type with the major oil press sites that lie close to its production sites (Decker 2001). In this respect, the case of Salamis in Cyprus (Argoud *et al.* 1980) could be proven very substantial. It should be stressed that the above argumentation does not aim to exclude wine, or any other product (*e.g.*Emery and Kirwan 1938, 402, consider that these vessels may as well carry corn or barley) as a possible content of certain Late Roman amphorae 1. On the contrary, it shows that the question of contents still remains somewhat confusing and it is obvious that only specialised analyses may lead to reliable results.

Apart from their use as containers transferring certain goods and supplies, entire Late Roman amphorae 1, or just fragments of the type were often used as architectural elements (Ballet 2003b).



Fig. 3.51. LRA1 found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 408-410)

**408.** Context 1. 07I[20](31)28. Fig. 3.51. Upper part.

Fabric: LRA1 fabric 2. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow).

Date:  $4^{th}$  c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), type 169; Williams 1987, 237, Fig. 5, type 5; Bass and Van Doorninck 1971, Figs. 10-11; Pieri 2005, 70-74, type 1A; Konstantinidou 2010, 951, Fig. 4, No. 1.

**409.** Context 4. 07I[49](86)91. Fig. 3.51. Shoulder.

Fabric: LRA1 fabric 1. Homogeneous break. 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red).

Inscription(s): the letters  $\Lambda A$ , which designate the number thirty-one, are written in red colour indicating the capacity of the amphora, most probably in *xestai* ( $\xi \epsilon \sigma \tau \alpha i$ ) – that is the *sextarii* – (Derda 1992a, 138. About capacity measures: Hultsch 1882; Schilbach 1970; Lang 1976; Van Alfen 1996, 203-207; Kruit and Worp 1999, 111-117; Karagiorgou 2009). Remains of other scriptures are visible on the sherd, meaning that more than one inscription were applied on the container (Fournet and Pieri 2008, Fig. 3, inscriptions type a and b).

Date: 5<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Williams 1987, 237, Fig. 5, type 5; Ballet 2000 (Tell el-Herr), 219, Fig. 203, No. 81 and 222, Fig. 204, No. 90; Pieri 2005, 70-74, type 1A.

**410.** Context 1. 99I[8](65)22. Fig. 3.51. Upper part.

Fabric: LRA1 fabric 1. Homogeneous break. 2.5Y 7 / 3 (pale yellow). Surfaces: 2.5Y 8 / 4 (pale yellow).

Date: 5<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Pieri 2005, 70-74, type 1A; Konstantinidou 2010, 951, Fig. 4, No. 2.



Fig. 3.52. LRA1 found in the Old Baramūs (No. 411)

**411.** Context 1. 07I[40](75)<170>79. Fig. 3.52. Upper part.

Fabric: LRA1 fabric 4. Homogeneous break. 10YR 8 / 3 (very pale brown). Outer surface: 2.5Y 8 / 2 (pale yellow).

Inscription(s): three cursive inscriptions in red colour are visible at shoulder-height of the amphora (Fournet and Pieri 2008, Fig. 3, inscriptions type a, b and c). At the upper shoulder the letters XMF, which have been the subject of long discussions among papyrologists, but they may be understood as Xριστός Μαρίας γέννα or γέννημα (Christ, Mary's creature) (Derda 1992a, 136; *Id*. 1992a; Fournet and Pieri 2008, 182). Below them, a larger set of letters followed by a Cross-monogram. Apart from the letter  $\Xi$  that stands as the common symbol for *xestai* it has not been possible to read with certainty the letters before it. The letter written right before the  $\Xi$  of the *xestai* is probably a M, but I hesitate to identify the first letter, or letters of the line (is it a P the letter that protrudes towards the XMF line?). Anyway it would be a surprise if the unintelligible letters do not determine the exact number of *xestai*, defining the volume of the container and therefore of the product carried. Finally, behind one of the handles, a *dipinto* in tiny letters is even more difficult to read. Four lines are written and I am only able to recommise the letter X at the beginning of the fourth line.<sup>55</sup>

Date: 5<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Pieri 2005, 70-74, type 1A.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Hopefully the dipinto marks on amphorae from the Old Baramūs will be soon read by specialists.

412. Context 1. 07I[29](41)41. Fig. 3.53. Almost full profile – base missing.

Fabric: LRA1 fabric 1. Homogeneous break. 2.5Y 8 / 2 (pale yellow).

Inscription(s): around the shoulder (Fournet and Pieri 2008, Fig. 3, inscriptions type a and b); both black and red inks were used. Apart from the  $XM\Gamma$  symbol, all the rest have not been properly read or explained.

Date: 5<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Pieri 2005, 70-74, type 1A; Konstantinidou 2010, 951, Fig. 4, No. 5.





**413.** Context 3. 07I[31](46)49. Fig. 3.54. Upper part. Traces of simple vertical drops of red colour at neck. Fabric: LRA1 fabric 2. Homogeneous break. 5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow). Date: 5<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), type 164; Pieri 2005, 70-74, type 1A.

**414.** Context 3. 07I[32](52)55. Fig. 3.54. Lower part. Fabric: LRA1 fabric 4. Homogeneous break. 5Y 7 / 2 (light gray). Date: 5<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Pieri 2005, 70-74, type 1A.

**415.** Context 3. 07I-Feature B-42. Fig. 3.54. Upper part. Fabric: LRA1 fabric 1. Homogeneous break. 5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow). Date: 5<sup>th</sup> / 6<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Pieri 2005, 72, Fig. 25, type 1A transition.

**416.** Context 1. 07I[1](6)4.3. Fig. 3.54. Upper part. Fabric: LRA1 fabric 2. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 6 / 4 (light brown). Date: late  $5^{th}$  /  $6^{th}$  c. Parallels / Bibliography: Pieri 2005, 75-76, Fig. 25, type 1B.

**417.** Context 1. 98I[3](3)3.1. Fig. 3.54. Upper part. Simple vertical drops of red colour at neck. Resin coating on the interior. Fabric: LRA1 fabric 1. Homogeneous break. 2.5Y 7 / 3 (pale yellow). Surfaces: 2.5Y 8 / 4 (pale yellow). Date: 6<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Pieri 2005, 75-76, Fig. 25, type 1B.

**418.** Context 1. 99I[5](56)10. Fig. 3.54. Upper part. Fabric: LRA fabric 3. Homogeneous break. 5YR 7 / 3 (pink). Surfaces: 5YR 7 / 3 (pink). Date: late 6<sup>th</sup> / 7<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Konstantinidou 2010, 951, Fig. 4, No. 3; Pieri 2005, 75-76, Fig. 25, type 1B.

**419.** Context 1. 98I[1](51)40. Fig. 3.54. Upper part. Simple vertical drops of red colour at neck. Fabric: LRA1 fabric 3. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 7 / 6 (reddish yellow), thin zone towards the outer surface: 5YR 7 / 6 (reddish yellow). Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Konstantinidou 2010, 951, Fig. 4, No. 4; Pieri 2005, 75-76, Fig. 25, type 1B.

**420.** Context 1. 98V[2](38)28. Fig. 3.54. Upper part. Fabric: Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), type 166; Pieri 2005, 75-76, Fig. 25, type 1B.



Fig. 3.54. LRA1 found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 413-420)

## Late Roman Amphorae 4

(Almagro 1955: 54. Kuzmanov 1973: 14. Zemer 1978: 36, 49- 53. Egloff 1977: types 182, 183. Riley 1979: Berenice Late Roman amphora 3. Riley 1981: Carthage Late Roman amphora 4. Keay 1984: 54. Peacock and Williams 1986: Classes 48, 49. Pieri 2005: LRA 4B.)

The second group of vessels – found in remarkable quantity, though less frequently than the previous one – is the Late Roman Amphora 4. This container is characterised by an oblong body with rounded or conical base and no neck, provided with two loop handles on the shoulder (Petrie 1905, 129, Pl. 23; Majcherek 1995, 163; Dixneuf 2005). It is the famous Gazan amphora, its provenance being confirmed by petrographic analyses (Riley 1975, 30-31; Peacock 1985, 30; Peacock and Williams 1986, 196-199; Blakely 1987, 227-239).

Despite this appellation, the production zone of the type is not located in the vicinity of Gaza only, but it extends north towards Ascalon (Kogan - Zehavi 1999; Israel 1995a; Id. 1995b) and Ašdūd (Baumgarten 2000), and to the south towards north Sinai (Pieri 2005, 109-110). Such vessels would have probably carried the renowned wines of Gaza and Ascalon (Mayerson 1985; Pieri 2005, 110-114). Recent contents analyses have suggested that olive-oil and sesame-oil were carried in vessels of this form, although this remains to be substantiated (Passi et al 1981; Rothschild-Boros 1981). Two ostraca from Egypt kept in the Fitzwilliam Museum Collection (Inv. GR P532 and P530), Cambridge (Shelton 1991, 276), and are now recognised as being pieces of Gazan amphorae (Bailey 1992), list pistachios and dried fruit, but Bailey concluded that they probably indicate a secondary use of the jars. In this respect maybe the olive-oil and sesame-oil remains are related to a secondary use as well. Although other commodities, such as pickled fish, honey-cakes, wheat meals (Sperber 1976, 141-142), cheese, meat and many more are considered to have been traded in these amphorae as well, Pieri (2005, 110-114) argues that it is rather unlikely that Late Roman amphorae 4 would include another product but wine.

Although it is still unclear when the type exactly appeared, it seems that its earlier version or its predecessor (Peacock and Williams 1986: Class 48) existed in the first (Zemer 1978, 53, Pl. 12) to mid-third centuries (Majchereck 1995, 166; Pieri 2005, 101). This early variant / predecessor (Zemer 1978, 36; Majcherek 1995, form 1) is wide bodied, thick-walled, with a rounded base. The shoulders are almost flat and slightly rounded, ending in a vertical rim of medium height. The handles are attached to the upper shoulder, which is covered with a regular wide-spaced and shallow ridging.

In the fourth to the first half of the fifth century (Zemer 1978, 52-53; Peacock and Williams 1986, Class 48; Majcherek 1995, form 2; Pieri 2005, 104, Fig. 66, type 4A1) the vessels are cylindrical and still rather short, passing gently to a rounded base. The rim is now shorter, thickened, often grooved on the inside. The handles are attached at shoulder-height. The shoulder and the base are ridged. One may observe that from now on the band of ridging starts descending.

Late fifth to early seventh century examples (Zemer 1978, 49-50; Majcherek 1995, 168-169, Pl. 6, form 3; Pieri 2005, 105-107, Fig. 66, types 4B1-4B2) are taller and slender, tapering to a narrow, rounded base. The rim is short and thickened, often grooved on the inside. The shoulder is short and steeply sloping. The handles are attached at shoulder-height and the band of ridging has descended even more.
Finally, the late sixth to mid-seventh century variants (Zemer 1978, 51; Majcherek 1995, 169, Pls. 7-8, form 4; Pieri 2005, 107, Fig. 66, type 4B3) are even taller and slender, tapering to a conical base. Their rim is flat and thickened; the shoulder is sloping, slightly rounded. This form has no shoulder ridging, but a band of horizontal shallow incisions or combing has descended below the handles or at midheight of the body.

Just below the rim and on the upper shoulder, irregular clay accretions are preserved. They are considered as evidence of the base-forming phase, during which the upper part of the amphora was held in place on the wheel by wrapping a clay support around it (Landgraf 1980, 82; Adan Bayewitz 1986, 97). According to another opinion, these accretions were made after firing to support the stopper seal (Tubb 1986, 55; Ballet and Picon 1987, 32, note 40).

Late Roman Amphorae 4 are widely distributed in Egypt, especially in its northern part. They are found in the Sinai (Ballet 1997c, 123-124, Pl. I, No. 2; *Eadem* 1997d, 131, Pl. I, No. 3; Snape 1997, 103, Pl. I, Fig. 1, A1-A4; Vogt 1997b, 12-14, Pl. IV, Fig. 6, No. 1; Ballet 2000, 215, Fig. 200, Nos. 37-41, Fig. 201, No. 51; Calderon 2000, 183-184, Fig. 1:4; Dixneuf 2007b, 541, Fig. 4), Alexandria (Rodziewicz 1984, Pl. 57.242), Marea (Majcherek 2008, 118-119, Fig. 44, Nos. 94-95), Schedia (Martin 2008, 266, Fig. 11), Şān al-Ḥağar / Tanis (Bavay *et al.* 2000, Figs. 27.1-5), Kellia (Egloff 1977, 116-117, types 182-183; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999, 170, Fig. 489, No. 170), Old Cairo (Gascoigne 2007, 165, Figs. 8-9), Saqqāra (Lecuyot 2007a, 201, Fig. 3.7), al-Ašmūnayn / Hermopolis Magna (Bailey 1998, 123-125, Pl. 77, T64-T127), Bawīţ (Marchand and Dixneuf 2007, 320-321, Figs. 36-38; Dixneuf 2008, 45, Figs. 15-16), Amarna (Faiers 2005a, 167, Nos. 432-435, Fig. 2.60), Dandara (Marchand and Laisney 2000, 272, Nos. 116-120), Isnā (Jacquet – Gordon 1972, Pl. CCXXVII, P12), Elephantine (Gempeler 1992, 198, Abb. 128.1-2, K758-759) and Kysis (Ballet 2004, 227, Fig. 223, No. 63).

It seems that only the late versions of this type reached Baramūs (Majcherek 1995, 168-169, Pls. 6-8, forms 3 and 4; Pieri 2005, 106-107, Fig. 66, types 4B1-4B3). They are all made of the fabric that denotes the type (Peacock 1985; Peacock and Williams 1986, 197, 199; Ballet and Picon 1987, 30-33). Petrological analyses showed that the fabric contains abundant well-sorted angular and sub-angular grains of quartz and occasional plagioclase feldspar. Some fragments of microcrystalline limestone with fossil remains and occasionally fossil shell with angite and tournaline as accessory minerals are also present (Peacock and Williams 1986, 199).

Careful visual examination of the sherds found in the Old Baramūs made possible to discern two fabric variants:

**Bar-LRA4 fabric 1** is characterised by a broad colour range, from reddish yellow to strong brown. It is medium-fine and its fracture is irregular. It contains some flat, white and grayish particles of various sizes (from fine to very coarse) and shapes; sparsely medium-sized and coarse spherical quartz grains of various shapes (from well-rounded to sub-rounded). The inclusions are well-sorted. Lime eruptions are visible on the surface.

**Bar-LRA4 fabric 2** (Negev variant?<sup>56</sup>) has a red-orange colour. It generally shares the same characteristics with the fabric variant 1, but it differs by being granular and by containing more quartz grains in the matrix. Lime eruptions are visible on the surface.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/amphora\_ahrb\_2005/petrology.cfm?id=16&CFID =5289545&CFTOKEN=38130180)



Fig. 3.55. LRA4 found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 421-431)

**421.** Context 1. 07I[40](75)79. Fig. 3.55. Upper part. Fabric: LRA 4 fabric 1. Homogeneous break. 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Date: late 5<sup>th</sup>-600. Parallels / Bibliography: Zemer 1978, 49-50; Majcherek 1995, 168-169, Pl. 6, form 3; Pieri 2005, 105-107, Fig. 66, types 4B1-4B2; Konstantinidou 2010, 951, Fig. 5, No. 7.

#### LRA4 with plain thickened rim

**422.** Context 1. 98I[1](45)37. Fig. 3.55. Mouth. Fabric: LRA 4 fabric 1. Homogeneous break. 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Date: 575-700. Parallels / Bibliography: Zemer 1978, 51; Majcherek 1995, 169, Pls. 7-8, form 4; Pieri 2005, 107, Fig. 66, type 4B3; Konstantinidou 2010, 951, Fig. 5, No. 8.

**423.** Context 1. 07I[2](8)6.7. Fig. 3.55. Mouth. Fabric: LRA 4 fabric 1. Homogeneous break. 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Date: 575-700. Parallels / Bibliography: Zemer 1978, 51; Majcherek 1995, 169, Pls. 7-8, form 4; Pieri 2005, 107, Fig. 66, type 4B3; Konstantinidou 2010, 951, Fig. 5, No. 8.

#### LRA4 with everted rim

**424.** Context 1. 98I[1](51)40+99I[2](53)9. Fig. 3.55. Mouth. Fabric: LRA 4 fabric 1. Homogeneous break. 5YR 5/6 (yellowish red). Date: 575-700. Parallels / Bibliography: Zemer 1978, 51; Majcherek 1995, 169, Pls. 7-8, form 4; Pieri 2005, 107, Fig. 66, type 4B3; Konstantinidou 2010, 951, Fig. 5, No. 9.

**425.** Contex 2. 99I[19](64)20. Fig. 3.55. Mouth. Fabric: LRA 4 fabric 1. Homogeneous break. 5YR 5/6 (yellowish red). Date: 575-700. Parallels / Bibliography: Zemer 1978, 51; Majcherek 1995, 169, Pls. 7-8, form 4; Pieri 2005, 107, Fig. 66, type 4B3.

#### LRA4 with thickened 'squared-off' rim

**426.** Context 2. 99I[19](64)20. Fig. 3.55. Mouth. Fabric: LRA 4 fabric 1. Homogeneous break. 5YR 5/6 (yellowish red). Date: 575-700. Parallels / Bibliography: Zemer 1978, 51; Majcherek 1995, 169, Pls. 7-8, form 4; Pieri 2005, 107, Fig. 66, type 4B3; Konstantinidou 2010, 951, Fig. 5, No. 10.

LRA4 with somewhat upright thickened rim concave on the inside or at the upper inner surface

**427.** Context 1. 97I[5](15)44+99I[7](58)12+[...]. Fig. 3.55. Upper part. Fabric: LRA 4 fabric 1. Zoned break. Core: 7.5YR 6 / 4 (light brown) – 6 / 6 (reddish yellow), margins: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Surfaces: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Date: 575-700. Parallels / Bibliography: Zemer 1978, 51; Majcherek 1995, 169, Pls. 7-8, form 4; Pieri 2005, 107, Fig. 66, type 4B3; Konstantinidou 2010, 951, Fig. 5, No. 11.

**428.** Context 1. 99I[6](59)13. Fig. 3.55. Mouth. Fabric: LRA 4 fabric 1. Homogeneous break. 5YR 5/6 (yellowish red). Date: 575-700. Parallels / Bibliography: Zemer 1978, 51; Majcherek 1995, 169, Pls. 7-8, form 4; Pieri 2005, 107, Fig. 66, type 4B3.

**429.** Context 1. 99I[5](56)10. Fig. 3.55. Mouth. Fabric: LRA 4 fabric 1. Homogeneous break. 5YR 5/6 (yellowish red). Date: 575-700. Parallels / Bibliography: Zemer 1978, 51; Majcherek 1995, 169, Pls. 7-8, form 4; Pieri 2005, 107, Fig. 66, type 4B3. **430.** Context 1. 99I[7](58)12. Fig. 3.55. Mouth. Fabric: LRA 4 fabric 1. Homogeneous break. 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Date: 575-700. Parallels / Bibliography: Zemer 1978, 51; Majcherek 1995, 169, Pls. 7-8, form 4; Pieri 2005, 107, Fig. 66, type 4B3; Konstantinidou 2010, 951, Fig. 5, No. 12.

LRA4 with short 'hooked' rim

**431.** Context 2. 99I[19](64)20. Fig. 3.55. Mouth. Fabric: LRA 4 fabric 1. Homogeneous break. 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Date: 575-700. Parallels / Bibliography: Zemer 1978, 51; Majcherek 1995, 169, Pls. 7-8, form 4; Pieri 2005, 107, Fig. 66, type 4B3.

LRA4 body

**432.** Context 1. 98V[2](40)30. Fig. 3.56. Fabric: LRA 4 fabric 2. Homogeneous break. 5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow). Date: 575-700 (?) Parallels / Bibliography: Zemer 1978, 51; Majcherek 1995, 169, Pls. 7-8, form 4; Pieri 2005, 107, Fig. 66, type 4B3.



Fig. 3.56. LRA4 found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 432-437)

#### LRA4 bases

**433.** Context 1. 99I[2](53)9. Fig. 3.56. Fabric: LRA 4 fabric 1. Homogeneous break. 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Date: late 5<sup>th</sup>-600 (?) Parallels / Bibliography: Zemer 1978, 49-50; Majcherek 1995, 168-169, Pl. 6, form 3; Pieri 2005, 105-107, Fig. 66, types 4B1-4B2.

**434.** Context 6. *Southern Pastoforion – floor on bedrock*. Fig. 3.56. Fabric: LRA 4 fabric 1. Homogeneous break. 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Date: 575-700. Parallels / Bibliography: Zemer 1978, 51; Majcherek 1995, 169, Pls. 7-8, form 4; Pieri 2005, 107, Fig. 66, type 4B3.

**435.** Context 6. *Southern Pastoforion – floor on bedrock*. Fig. 3.56. Fabric: LRA 4 fabric 1. Homogeneous break. 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Date: late 5<sup>th</sup>-600 (?) Parallels / Bibliography: Zemer 1978, 49-50; Majcherek 1995, 168-169, Pl. 6, form 3; Pieri 2005, 105-107, Fig. 66, types 4B1-4B2

**436.** Context 1. 99I[7](58)12. Fig. 3.56. Fabric: LRA 4 fabric 1. Homogeneous break. 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Date: 575-700. Parallels / Bibliography: Zemer 1978, 51; Majcherek 1995, 169, Pls. 7-8, form 4; Pieri 2005, 107, Fig. 66, type 4B3.

#### LRA4 body-sherd with dipinto mark

**437.** Context 3. 07I-Feature B-42. Fig. 3.56. Fabric: LRA 4 fabric 1. Homogeneous break. 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Additional comments: unintelligible *dipinto* inscription in red.

### Other non-Egyptian Amphorae

Three more eastern Mediterranean types are represented in Baramūs, although scarce.

#### Late Roman Amphorae 2

Only two rim-sherds and a small bulk of body-sherds represent the globular Late Roman amphora 2 (Robinson 1959: M272. Thomas 1959: British B1. Kuzmanov 1973: 19. Scorpan 1975: 7A. Riley 1979: Berenice Late Roman amphora 2. Riley 1981: Carthage Late Roman amphora 2. Keay 1984: 65. Peacock and Williams 1986: Class 43. Pieri 2005, 86-88, Fig. 45, type 2A). This type was in circulation during the period from the fourth to the seventh century and there is evidence that it may have carried both wine and oil. It may have derived from a container (Dressel type 24) produced in *a Greek area* during the first century BC; a container, which occurs very often in the Black Sea region, especially on sites of its western and northern coasts (Opait 2007).

Kiln sites are located at Kounoupi (Munn 1985) and Halieis (Wolf 1979, 294-321) in the Argolid. Megara in Attica must have been a thriving production centre (Korossis 2011, 24: note 121, 73), while other production sites should be searched in central and northern Greece (this assumption is also expressed by Pieri 2005, 91). Workshops and wasters of such amphorae are also located in the region of Dilesi in Boeotia (Gerousi in *LRCW*4). Furthermore, on the island of Thasos (north Aegean) Late Roman amphorae 2 are found in considerable quantity; the occurring fabric variants are striking, and at least one amphora is probably made of local Thasos fabric (personal observation).

In conclusion, there are still many kiln sites to be published and even more to be discovered. Nevertheless, it is already evident that this type was produced in an extended geographical zone. Consequently, it should be expected that it must be characterised by a variety of fabrics, according to the clay source. This situation is not in favour of a definite determination of the content carried. Oil is proposed (Hautumm 1981, 51; Abadie – Reynal 1989a, 52), so are grains (Böttger 1982, 90) and wine (Pieri 2005, 93 with list of references) – but again based on the existence of resin lining on the inner surface.

Most of the finds in the Old Baramūs did not arrive before the sixth century, judging by the rim-forms, as well as by the sort of incisions that many of the bodysherds bear. Late Roman 2 jars are not very frequent in Egypt, they are found in Kellia (Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999, 155-158, Fig. 489, Nos. 155-158), Old Cairo (Gascoigne 2007, 165), al-Ašmūnayn / Hermopolis Magna (Bailey 1998, 122, Pl. 77, T60-T62), Bawīţ (Marchand and Dixneuf 2007, 321-322, Fig. 41) and elsewhere.

# Late Roman Amphorae 3

Even rarer, the spindle-shaped Late Roman amphora 3 (Thomas 1959: British B4. Kuzmanov 1973: 7. Scorpan 1975: 5. Egloff 1977: type 181. Riley 1979: Berenice Late Roman amphora 10. Riley 1981: Carthage Late Roman 3. Peacock and Williams 1986: Class 45. Pieri 2005, 95-97, Fig. 57, type 3A2) is represented by a rim-sherd (No. 438, Fig. 3.57), a fragment of neck and upper shoulder (No. 439, Fig. 3.57) and a small number of body-sherds. All the examples belong to the two-handled variant, which first occurs in the late fourth century (Annis 1976, 31, Nos. 1, 2). This type was produced in several production sites in western Asia Minor, including Ephesus, the Meander Valley, Kusadasi, Miletos and possibly Pergamon (Reutman 1995; Ladstätter 2000); its content (or contents) remain unknown. Pieri (2005, 101) is in favour of wine, judging by the resin coating of many such amphorae. Due to its small size it was also thought that it may have carried a high quality precious product (Pieri 2005, 100). It is characterised by a hard, dense and smooth micaceous fabric, in most cases reddish brown in colour. Thin section showed abundant flakes of muscovite and biotite mica, together with grains of quartz, fragments of metamorphic quartzite and rarer quartz-muscovite-schist (Peacock and Williams 1986, 189-190).

In Egypt, Late Roman 3 jars are found in the Sinai (Ballet 2000, 217, Fig. 201, No. 54; Dixneuf 2007b, 541-542, Fig. 6), Marea (Majcherek 2008, 118, Fig. 44, No. 92), Kellia (Egloff 1977, 116, type 181), Old Cairo (Gascoigne 2007, 165), Kysis (Ballet 2004, 227, Fig. 223, No. 64) and elsewhere.

**438.** Context 1. 99I[5](56)10. Fig. 3.57. Mouth. Fabric: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Date: 6<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Konstantinidou 2010, 951, Fig. 5, No. 15.

**439.** Context 4. 07I[42](85)90+[44](87)92. Fig. 3.57. Neck and upper body. Fabric: zoned break. Inner zone and surface: 5BG 6 / 1 (greenish grey), core: 10R 6 / 6 (light red), outer zone and surface: 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red). Date: 6<sup>th</sup> c. (?)



Fig. 3.57. LRA3 found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 438-439)



Fig. 3.58. Palestinian *bag-shaped* amphorae (*LRA*5) found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 440-441)

### Palestinian bag-shaped amphorae (Late Roman 5)

The Palestinian *bag-shaped* 'Late Roman' amphorae 5 are represented by scarce examples; only two upper parts are included in the catalogue (Nos. 440-441, Fig. 3.58), being the best preserved among the related sherds.

The class of amphorae, known as Late Roman 5 (Riley 1979: Berenice Late Roman amphora 4. Riley 1981: Carthage Late Roman amphora 5. Peacock and Williams 1986: Class 46. Pieri 2005, 114-127, *late bag-shaped amphorae*), has often been the subject of misinterpretations. Its morphological resemblance to the Late Roman amphorae 6, which often imposed their simultaneous examination (*e.g.* Riley 1981, 121 discusses both types in a single chapter), resulted to the adoption by many scholars of the term Late Roman amphorae 5 / 6. This is serious confusion, since the term Late Roman amphora 6 (Hayes, 1976, 117) refers to a specific product within the group of Palestinian Late Roman amphorae 5, the reduced-fired amphora, typical of the city of Beth Shean / Bīsān (*Scythopolis*) (Landgraf 1980, 75-80). It has a very hard, reduced, dark grey-black fabric and it is typically decorated with white painted loops and horizontal lines. As a result, the generalised term Late Roman amphora 5 / 6 lacks accuracy and fuses two different cases.

But even the term Late Roman amphora 5 is not precise enough, as it encompasses a multitude of products manufactured in several regions of Palestine and Egypt. It is therefore necessary to mention the production area as well, in order to avoid erroneous interpretations. Finally, the term Late Roman needs to be reconsidered, as it does not seem appropriate to designate these amphorae, which survived from the Roman (first to second centuries) until the 'Abbāsid period or even later – the Egyptian variants survived until the eleventh century. As a result, the production area followed by the general term *bag-shaped amphorae* seems more correct when referring to this type.

No complete Palestinian *bag-shaped amphora* is found in the Old Baramūs. However, even if only two examples were chosen to be presented below, the examination of the respective material as a whole resulted in the distinction of three main fabric variants:

**Bar-LRA 5 Fabric 1** is almost identical to the LRA4 fabric variant 1 (Reynolds 2005a, 575), indicating the strong affinity between the two Palestinian types.

**Bar-LRA 5 Fabric 2** usually appears light red, or orange red in colour, the break being generally homogeneous. It is fine, granular, and its fracture is irregular. It contains high proportions of red particles; quartz occurs commonly, while white particles are sparse. The inclusions are of various sizes (from medium-sized to coarse; some white may be very coarse) and shapes (generally from rounded to sub-rounded, while some white may appear angular). They are very well sorted. Such an orange-red brown fabric, rich in iron oxide pellets, quartz and lime is presumably related to the *Judaea* region.

**Bar-LRA 5 Fabric 3** includes mostly buff, pale brown and yellowish examples. It is medium-fine, granular, slightly open or dense, and its fracture is irregular. It contains quartz grains and white (lime) particles of various sizes (from fine to coarse) and shapes (from well-rounded to angular). The inclusions are well sorted. This fabric variant mostly characterises North Palestinian examples (petrology in Peacock and Williams 1986, 191-192).

Palestinian *bag-shaped* amphorae are associated with wine production in western Galilee (alongside the carrot-bodied amphora Agora M334 type: Reynolds, 2005a, 571-572), *Caesarea* (Hirschfeld and Birger-Calderon 1991), Jerusalem (Hamilton 1935) at Modi'in (Hizmi 1992). Rabbinic texts note that the *bag-shaped* 'havith' contained primarily wine, but also oil, dry figs and fish sauce (Pieri 2005, 125). Johnson (1986, 591) suggests water or dry goods.

**440.** Context 1. 99I[7](58)12. Fig. 3.58. Upper part. Fabric: LRA 5 fabric 1. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 7 / 4 (pink). Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Konstantinidou 2010, 951, Fig. 5, No. 16.

**441.** Context 1. 07I[6](12)11. Fig. 3.58. Upper part. Fabric: LRA 5 fabric 2. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 7 / 1 (light grey) – 7 / 2 (pinkish grey). Surfaces: 5YR 7 / 3 (pink). Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c. (?) Parallels / Bibliography: Pieri 2005, *bag-shaped* 3.

# African amphorae

A group of western amphorae is also attested. So far only imports from *Africa Proconsularis* and *Byzacena* have been found, including, apart from a rim-sherd (No. 442, Fig. 3.59), mainly spikes that belong to large cylindrical vessels with tapering base dating between the sixth and the seventh century (Nos. 443-446, Fig. 3.59). The amount of African amphorae is considerably smaller than that of the red slip wares. This is a phenomenon noted in the Eastern Mediterranean. In Egypt, almost everywhere save Alexandria African amphorae are found in moderate quantities (Ballet *et al.* forthcoming).

African amphorae are characterised by hard fired, granular fabrics that appear brick red to orange in section. Their external surface has a yellowish, white or cream skin resulting from the use of saline water (Peacock 1984b; Bonifay 2004, 41-44). This skin is often carefully smoothed with a tool, leaving vertical or slightly wavy marks on the body, the so-called 'steccature'.

Petrographic analyses have shown that the African pastes include quartz, which has aeolian features, mostly evident in its spherical, opaque, coarse grains. Aeolian quartz is often associated with calcareous microfossils and limestone fragments. Metamorphic or volcanic components are absent or extremely rare, so are some other common minerals, such as mica (Peacock 1984a; Capelli and Bonifay 2007; *Id*. 2010, 39).

African fabrics are in general rather poorly distinguishable from each other. However, recent studies carried out with an integrated archaeological and archaeometric (by optical microscopy) approach have shown that several productions can be identified by a careful analysis of either accessory mineralogical petrographic elements (for instance the heavy minerals) and textual features of fabrics (for instance sorting and roundness of various inclusions (Capelli and Bonifay 2007, 551).

Three main variants are roughly discerned through the visual examination of the Old Baramūs samples. Hopefully they will be more precisely ascribed to the activity of one or another African workshop, after laboratory analyses, which will supplement the initial inferences that are based on typological grounds.

**Bar-African fabric 1** is the fabric that characterises the African red slip wares found in the Old Baramūs and it is described in the respective unit. It represents a single production zone situated in northern Tunisia.

**Bar-African fabric 2** is light red to brick or orange red in colour. It is mediumfine, granular, and its fracture is irregular. It contains a considerable amount of quartz grains, many white inclusions, and sparsely red particles and mica specks of various sizes (from fine to very coarse) and shapes (from rounded to sub-angular). The inclusions are well sorted.

**Bar-African fabric 3** is generally pinkish in colour. It is fine, granular, and its fracture is irregular. It contains mostly medium-sized, spherical, rounded quartz grains and medium-sized, sub-rounded to sub-angular white particles; mica (?) specks sparsely occur. The inclusions are very well sorted.

**442.** Context 1. 97I[5](3)10. Fig. 3.59. Rim. Fabric: African 3. Zoned break. Core: 7.5YR 7 / 3 (pink), margins: 10R 6 / 8 (light red) – 5 / 8 (red). Outer surface: 10YR 8 / 2 (very pale brown), inner surface: 2.5YR 8 / 3 (pink). Production place: Tunisia. Date: uncertain. 5<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> (?) Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 2004 (Kysis), 227, Fig. 223, No. 62.

443. Context 1. 99I[8](60)14. Fig. 3.59. Spike.

A ring-shaped bulge and a short rounded bottom which may have acted as a sort of axial pivot are formed.

Fabric: African 2. Zoned break. Core: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red), margins: 7.5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow).

Surface: a yellow scum is created on the exterior: 2.5Y 7 / 4 (pale yellow).

Production place: workshops of Muknīn and *Leptiminus* in the Sāhal region (Bonifay 2003, 562; *Id.* 2004, 141).

Content: unknown.

Date:  $6^{th} - 7^{th} c$ .

Parallels / Bibliography: Keay 1984, type 61; Bonifay 2004, type 49, 140, Fig. 75. Konstantinidou 2010, 951, Fig. 6, No. 19.

444. Context 1. 06IV[1](1)1. Fig. 3.59. Same as No. 443. Spike.
Fabric:
Production place: workshops of Muknīn and *Leptiminus* in the Sāḥal region (Bonifay 2003, 562; *Id.* 2004, 141).
Content: unknown.
Date: 6<sup>th</sup> - 7<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Keay 1984, type 61; Bonifay 2004, type 49, 140, Fig. 75

445. Context. 97I[5](7)26. Fig. 3.59. Spike. *Pulley* shaped.
Fabric: African 2; 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red).
Surface: 2.5Y 8 / 3 (pale yellow).
Production place: *Sullectum* (Sālaqta) region (workshop of Qşūr al-Sāf / Hanšir al-Šaqāf) (Peacock *et al.*, 1989; Bonifay 2004, 140; Nacef 2007; *Id.* 2010).
Content: unknown.
Date: 6<sup>th</sup> - 7<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Keay 1984, type 61C; Bonifay 2004, type 47, Fig. 75. Konstantinidou 2010, 951, Fig. 6, No. 18.

446. Context 1. 99I[2](47)10. Fig. 3.59. Spike.

Rounded base with distinctive foot; deep cut on the underside; a knob on the inside.

Fabric: African 2; 2.5Y 6 / 8 (light red) – 5 / 8 (red).

Production place: Tunisia. The production of this form is attested both in the region of Byzacena, near Sullectum (workshop of Qşūr al-Sāf / Hanšir al-Šaqāf) (Peacock et al., 1989; Bonifay 2003, 562; Id. 2004, 140; Nacef 2007; Id. 2010) and in the Zeugitana region near Nābal (workshop of Sīdī Zahrūnī) (Ghalia et al. 2005).

Content: uncertain. Date:  $6^{th} - 7^{th}$  c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Keay 1984, type 62; Bonifay 2004, type 46, 140, Fig. 74. Konstantinidou 2010, 951, Fig. 6, No. 17.



Fig. 3.59. African amphorae found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 442-446)

### EGYPTIAN AMPHORAE

Although well-known, Egyptian amphorae (Dixneuf 2011) are still a subject for further study and new evidence leaves no doubt that they should be dealt with special treatment. Things nowadays seem rather clear and a terminology is established, but in some cases the following units will reconsider it, proving that it is somehow insufficient and worth discussion. It is observed that no matter how far amphora studies have progressed, the necessity for reconsidering well-established terms should not be ignored. It is obvious that it is still rather early to attempt any generalised classification, before studying and understanding certain *local* types in time. An effort to underline some discordance between the terms widely used and the amphorae that they designate is attempted.

# Late Egyptian Amphorae 3

(Egloff 1977: type 172. Spencer and Bailey 1982: Late Roman Hermopolitan A. Peacock and Williams 1986: Class 53; Dixneuf 2011: Amphores Égyptiennes 3 Tardives.)

The amphora type known as Egyptian A (Bailey 1998, 125-129) or Egyptian Amphora 3 (Empereur and Picon 1992, 148; *Id.* 1998, 77; Dixneuf 2011, 97-128), is the most typical Egyptian amphora of the Roman times. It is characterised by a long, cylindrical neck, two short, loop handles attached to the rim and the top of the neck, and a bitroncoconical body tapering to a small solid spike, often knobbed. Two main forms are known, a slender form, smooth from top to toe (Tomber 2006, 143-146, types 1-7, Figs. 1.55-1.56), and a wide form, with reeded neck and readings on the body (Tomber 2006, types 8-12, 14-17, 146-150, Figs. 1.57-1.58). Egyptian type A amphora is considered to be a wine amphora, related to two different production zones according to the fabric: the Mareotic region (Empereur and Picon 1998) or Middle Egypt (Ballet *et al.* 1991, 138, Fig. 15).

This type (especially its slender version) is recognised as the actual *spatheion*<sup>57</sup> mentioned in Egyptian papyri of the Roman and Late Roman times (full discussion in Bailey 1998, 121, 127). It was initially an African amphora (Riley 1979: Berenice Late Roman Amphora 8; Keay 1984, type 26; Peacock and Williams 1986, Class 51) that was held to be the *spatheion*, but it is verified that *the name occurs in Egyptian papyri well before this particular type was devised in Africa* (Bailey 1998, 120). It was therefore considered very probable that the jar described in the papyri of the late second to the fifth century was the actually sword-shaped Egyptian type A amphora (Bailey 1998, 121). Bailey (1998, 127) thought that after the end of the fifth century, when the type was ultimately abandoned, the documents referred either to its Egyptian replacement, the type B (Riley 1981: Carthage Late Roman Amphora 7), or to the aforementioned African amphora.

However, it seems more probable that the actual continuation of the Egyptian type A amphora is the sword-shaped version that appears in the Kellia typology as E172 (Egloff 1977, 114) and its short-bodied module E180 (Egloff 1977, 116; Kasser 1983, 444, No. 91), although Bailey (2007, 228, note 5) considers that E172 *is an anomaly which should not be regarded as either AE3 or Late Roman* 7. Both variants (E172 and E180) were grouped together under the term *Late Egyptian Amphorae 3* by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> In Greek  $\sigma\pi\alpha\theta\epsilon\tilde{i}ov$ , deriving from the word  $\sigma\pi\alpha\theta i$ , meaning 'the sword'.

Dixneuf (2011, 138-142). This type was initially dated to the late fourth to the late fifth century (Egloff 1977, 114), but fieldwork has shown that it must have survived until the late seventh and the early eighth century (Ballet 2003a, 139-140, Nos. 107-108; Bonnet 1994, 390-391; Marchand and Dixneuf 2007, 315; Dixneuf 2007b, 540), like its short-bodied equivalent (Egloff 1977, 116). A number of workshops that used to produce this type have been located in Middle Egypt – in Zāwiyat al-Mayatīn (Kūm al-Aḥmar) and al-Ašmūnayn (Hermopolis Magna) (Fig. 7.1) (Ballet *et al.* 1991, 138-139; Dixneuf 2007a, 172-175; *Eadem* 2008, 42-43).

In the Old Baramūs this type is found in small quantities (Nos. 447-459, Fig. 3.60) and only in fragments impossible to determine if belonging to the oblong (E172) or the short-bodied (E180) version. All the examples are of Nile fabric, the most frequently occurring variants being the N2 and N6.

Other sites in Egypt, where the type is located are: Schedia (Martin 2008, 266, Fig. 16), Kellia (Egloff 1977, 114, type 172; 116, type 180; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999, 169, Fig. 489, No. 169; Ballet 2003a, 139-141, Figs. 17-18, Nos. 107-108, 112), Saqqāra (Lecuyot 2007a, 200, Fig. 1), Šayh 'Abāda / Antinoopolis (Guidotti 2008, 353, Taf. XLVII, No. 372), Bawīt (Marchand and Dixneuf 2007, 315, Figs. 16-18; Dixneuf 2008, 41, Fig. 9), Tūd (Pierrat 1991, 152, Fig. 4c; Lecuyot and Pierrat – Bonnefois 2004, 165, Pl. 6, Td83), Isnā (Jacquet – Gordon 1972, Pl. CCXXVII, P7), Elephantine (Gempeler 1992, 188-189, Abb. 120.1-2, K700-701), Kysis (Ballet 2004, 227, Fig. 223, No. 63) and the Sinai (Calderon 2000, 188, Fig. 3:35).

447. Context 2. 99I[19](64)20. Fig. 3.60. Upper part.
Pierced neck.
Fabric: N6. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 6 / 1 (gray), margins: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Surfaces: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown).
Production place: Middle Egypt.
Date: 6<sup>th</sup> / 7<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Konstantinidou 2010, 952, Fig. 6, No. 21.

**448.** Context 2. 99I[19](64)20. Fig. 3.60. Upper part. Fabric: N6. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 5 / 4 (brown). Production place: Middle Egypt. Date: 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 2000 (Tell el-Herr), 215-216, Fig. 201, No. 52.

**449.** Context 1. 99I[9](76)33. Fig. 3.60. Upper part. Fabric: N3 / 6. Zoned break. Core: 2.5Y 4 / 2 (dark greyish brown), margins: 10R 5 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 5YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown). Production place: Middle Egypt. Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Konstantinidou 2010, 952, Fig. 6, No. 20.

**450.** Context 1. 97I[5](16)45.2. Fig. 3.60. Upper part. Fabric: N2 / 6. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Production place: Middle Egypt. Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: similar to Ballet 1997d (Tell al-Kanaïs), 131-132, Pl. I, No. 4.

451. Context 1. 99I[12]16. Fig. 3.60. Upper part.
Fabric: N3 / N6. Zoned break. Core: 10R 4 / 8 (red), margins: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Surfaces: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown).
Production place: Middle Egypt.
Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Pierrat 1991 (Tūd), 152, Fig. 4c; Lecuyot 2007a (Saqqāra), 200, Fig. 1.11; Dixneuf 2008 (Bawīt), 41, Fig. 9.



Fig. 3.60. Late Egyptian Amphorae 3 found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 447-459)

452. Context 1. 99I[8](60)15. Fig. 3.60. Upper part. Everted rim, underlined by a ridge on the exterior; cylindrical, reeded neck; two ring handles, ovoid in section, attached to rim and neck. Fabric: N3. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 4 (weak red), margins: 10R 4 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown).
Production place: Middle Egypt. Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Pierrat 1991 (Tūd), 152, Fig. 4c; Lecuyot 2007a (Saqqāra), 200, Fig. 1.11; Dixneuf 2008 (Bawīţ), 41, Fig. 9.

**453.** Context 1. 99I[13](69)26. Fig. 3.60. Upper part. Fabric: N2 / 6. Zoned break. Core: 10R 4 / 6 (red), margins: 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown). Surfaces: 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown). Production place: Middle Egypt. Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Lecuyot 2007a (Saqqāra), 200, Fig. 1.13.

**454.** Context 4. 07I[42](85)90. Fig. 3.60. Mouth. Fabric: N2 / N6. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4 / 3 (brown). Production place: Middle Egypt. Date:  $5^{\text{th}}-7^{\text{th}}$  c.

**455.** Context 4. 07I[42](85)90. Fig. 3.60. Mouth. Fabric: N2 / 6. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Production place: Middle Egypt. Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Martin 2008 (Schedia), 266, Fig. 16.

**456.** Context 1. 99I[2](47)1. Fig. 3.60. Spike. Knobbed base. Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Production place: Middle Egypt. Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c.

**457.** Context 3. 07I-Feature B-42. Fig. 3.60. Spike. Ring-shaped bulge and rounded bottom. Fabric: N6. 7.5YR 4 / 3 (brown). Production place: Middle Egypt. Date:  $5^{\text{th}}$ - $7^{\text{th}}$  c.

**458.** Context 4. 07I[42](83)88. Fig. 3.60. Spike. Ring-shaped bulge and a short rounded bottom. Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown). Surfaces: 7.5YR 5 / 4 (brown). Production place: Middle Egypt. Date: 5<sup>th</sup> -7<sup>th</sup> c.

**459.** Context 3. 07I[31](47)50. Fig. 3.60. Spike. Lower body tapering to a knobbed base; the outer surface is widely reeded. Remains of resin lining. Fabric: N6. Zoned break. Inner margin: 10R 5 / 6 (red), outer margin: 10YR 5 / 4 (yellowish brown), inner surface: 10R 5 / 6 (red), outer surface: 10YR 5 / 4 (yellowish brown). Production place: Middle Egypt. Date: 5<sup>th</sup> c.

# Egyptian Amphorae 7

(Egloff 1977: types 173, 174, 175, 177. Riley 1981: Carthage Late Roman 7. Spencer and Bailey 1982: Late Roman Hermopolitan B. Peacock and Williams 1986: Class 52B. Bailey 1998: type B; Dixneuf 2011: Amphores Égyptiennes 7.)

These are the most representative Egyptian amphorae produced in the period since the fifth century, or perhaps slightly earlier (Bailey 1998, 129), until the tenth or even the eleventh century (Ballet 1986, 302; Vogt 1997a, 258; Vogt et al. 2002; Ballet 2003a, 137). They are present in most of the Egyptian sites, such as Alexandria (Rodziewicz 1984, Pl. 57.227-231), Schedia (Martin 2010, 946), Şān al-Hağar / Tanis (Bavay et al. 2000, Fig. 28), Kellia (Egloff 1977, , types 173-177; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999, 167-168, Fig. 489, Nos. 166-168; Ballet 2003a, 137-138, Fig. 14, Nos. 103-106), Abū Ruwāš (Marchand 2007, 179), Old Cairo (Gascoigne 2007, 166, Figs. 12-13), Saqqāra (Lecuyot 2007a, 200, Fig. 2.1-8), Naqlūn (Godlewski 1990b, 50-51, Fig. 20-24), Tebtunis (Marchand and Marangou 2007, 269-270, Figs. 161-165), Šayh 'Abāda / Antinoopolis (Guidotti 2008, 354-355, Taf. XLVII-XLVIII, Nos. 374-380), al-Ašmūnavn / Hermopolis Magna (Bailey 1998, 129-135, Pl. 79-84, V1-V797), Bawīț (Marchand and Dixneuf 2007, 312-314, Figs. 1-15), Amarna (Faiers 2005a, 170, Nos. 444-458, Fig. 2.61-2.62; Pyke 2005, 217-219), Dandara (Marchand and Laisney 2000, 271, Nos. 123-125), Coptos (Lawall 2003, 177-179, Fig. 106, Nos. 53-59) Tūd (Pierrat 1991, 152, Fig. 4a-b; Lecuyot and Pierrat – Bonnefois 2004, 166, Pl. 6, Td85-Td86), Isnā (Jacquet - Gordon 1972, Pl. CCXXVII, P3, P4, P5), Thebes (Lecuyot 2007b, 380, Fig. 3.1-7; 381, Fig. 3.14; Bavay 2007, 391-393, Figs. 1-5), Elephantine (Gempeler 1992, 194-196, Abb. 125.2-8 - 126.1-7, K737-744) and the Sinai (Vogt 1997b, 15-16, Pl. IV, Fig. 6, No. 4).

They are often referred to as *chocolate* amphorae, because of their fabric colour, the brown micaceous Nile silt (Peacock and Williams 1986, 205; Ballet and Picon 1987, 36-39; Vogt *et al.* 2002, 69), which corresponds to the N2 variant of our list. They are small to medium-sized vessels their characteristic feature being a long carrot-shaped body tapering to a spike, on which thick 'screw-like' corrugations are often traced.

It seems that the type developed from jars with tall narrow neck and rounded shoulder (Peacock and Williams 1986, 204, Class 52B) to those with short, often squat, neck and square shoulder (Peacock and Williams 1986: Class 52A: 204). This sequence, noted by Bailey (1998, 129) in his study of the material from al-Ašmūnayn (Hermopolis Magna), is confirmed by the Fustāt finds. Vogt (1997, 258; Vogt *et al.* 2002, 67) and later Gayraud (2003, 558) observed that in the eighth century amphorae with rounded shoulder disappeared and was replaced by those with angular shoulder, often forming a ledge. I am aware of only one exception with rounded shoulder from Tūd dated to 750-900 (Lecuyot and Pierrat – Bonnefois 2004, 166, Pl. 6, Td 85). A further characteristic of the late examples is the exaggerated ribbing (Winlock and Crum 1926, 78; Bailey 1998, 129)

A number of workshops producing the type and / or their vast wasters have been located in Middle Egypt (Empereur and Picon 1989, 244-245; Ballet *et al.* 1991, 134-139; Vogt *et al.* 2002, 69; Pieri 2005, 129-132; Dixneuf 2007a, 170-175; *Eadem* 2008, 42-43; *Eadem* 2011, 157-163): in al-Bahnasā (Oxyrhynchus), Qarāra (Hipponon), Šarūna (Kūm al-Aḥmar), Ṭiḥnā al-Ğabal (Akoris), Zāwiyat al-Mayatin (Kūm al-Aḥmar), Šayḥ 'Abāda (Antinoopolis), al-Ašmūnayn (Hermopolis Magna),

Isnā (Latopolis) and Adfū (Apollonopolis Magna) (Fig. 7.1). The region of Middle Egypt was famous for its wine production, and the *Egyptian Amphorae* 7 were the main containers involved in the process (Vogt *et al.* 2002, 69). Papyrological data (Cockle 1981, 90-93) support the idea that wine amphorae were probably produced by seasonal potters in the location of the wine preparation.<sup>58</sup>

In spite of an apparent standardisation, capacity measurements carried out on a number of vessels found in al-Ašmūnayn (Hermopolis Magna) and Fusțāț showed a variation in their dimension. The capacity of the al-Ašmūnayn examples varied from 3.65 to 8.6 litres and Bailey (1998, 129-130) inquired the possibility of these jars being the ancient *knidion* (Casson 1939; Johnson and West 1949, 178-181; Rathbone 1983, 83-84; Kruit and Worp 2000, 72-73, 80-82, 107-110).

*Egyptian Amphorae* 7 appear almost always coated with resin on their interior (Bailey 1998, 130; Vogt 2002, 67; Ballet 2003a, 137; Pieri 2005, 132; Pyke 2005, 214). According to a third century lease at Oxyrynchus, the potter was assigned to coat the jars from foot to rim (Cockle 1981, 90). A sixth century pottery workshop included an oven for melting the resin (Maspero 1911, 172-175; Bailey 1998, 130).

Another usual feature is a hole drilled through the neck or the shoulder of the vessels (e.g. Nos. 460, 466). The most common explanation is that such a hole would allow the fermentation gases of the wine to escape (Adan – Bayewitz 1986, 92-94; Empereur 1993, 42). Vogt et al. (2002, 68-69) however noted that this theory is weak, explaining that the must of grapes was preferably fermented in vats or open jars. After fermentation was completed a number of additives were mixed with the wine to enrich its flavour and improve its quality. Since the hole was in fact drilled after firing and coating and even probably after shipping the vessel to vendors, a hypothesis of a vent for the escape of the fermentation gas must be completely dismissed. The authors suggested that the hole must have been drilled just before the sale to the client, probably to verify with a pipette the quality of the content without opening the amphora and removing its sealed stopper. As further evidence for the above they cited the attestation of the Umayyad poet Abū Nuwās (Bencheikh 1963-1964, 24) that the stopper of the amphora was not removed but the vessel was drilled with a hollow reed at the time of consumption – the amphora fragment No. 474 possibly stands as an interesting example of this practise. Drilling the vessel in order to empty its content is also mentioned in one of the Apophthegmata Patrum<sup>59</sup> (AP, Benjamin, 1), meaning that this practice existed already in the fifth century.

In the Old Monastery of Baramūs, half of the *Egyptian Amphorae* 7 were gathered in context 5 and date to the second half of the seventh century (Nos. 460, 462-466, 468, 471, Figs. 7.57-7.59). Although contemporary, the vessels of this context portray a remarkable typological diversity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> A list of 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> century papyri referring to pottery workshops in Middle Egypt in: Bailey 1998, 130 (with references).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Once the harvest was over, an amount of oil brought from Alexandria in plastered vessels was given to each monk as payment their work. When the time of harvest came again, the brothers brought what was left to the church. All of them brought their plaster vessels as they were, save Abba Benjamin, who had abstracted a little of the content through a hole, which he bore with a needle (AP, Benjamin, 1).



Fig. 3.61, Egyptian amphorae 7 found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 460-464)

460. Context 5. 06I[27](37)<113>. Fig. 3.61. Almost complete object – base missing.

Amphora with plain rim, a rather conical neck, a band of reeding below the rim and at the mid-height of the neck; a small hole drilled at mid-height of the neck. Traces of black organic material dripping on the neck.

Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 3/4 (dark brown).

Date: second half of 7<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: same mouth but different body in Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 138, Fig. 16, No. 104; Marquié and Sourisseau 2007, 685, Fig. 5.3. Konstantinidou 2010, 952, Fig. 6, No. 22.

**461.** Context 7. 07III[22](50)<67>. Fig. 3.61. Almost complete object – base missing.

Amphora with bevelled rim and a tall narrow neck; jogging below the rim. Broken part of the shoulder in a regular manner, as if a stopper was formed.

Fabric: N2 / N6. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4 / 3 (brown). Date:  $7^{\text{th}}$  c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 138, Fig. 16, No. 106.

**462.** Context 5. 07II[52](94)91/92. Fig. 3.61. Upper part. Amphora with bevelled rim and a tall narrow neck; jogging below the rim Fabric: N2 / N6. Zoned break. Core: 7.5YR 4 / 1 (dark gray), margins: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Surfaces: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Date: second half of 7<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 138, Fig. 16, No. 106; Konstantinidou 2010, 952, Fig. 6, No. 23.

**463.** Context 5. 07II[52](94)91. Fig. 3.61. Almost complete object – base missing. Amphora with S-shaped rim and tall neck; band of reeding at the mid-height of the neck. Traces of dripped organic material (liquid) outside rim and on handle. Fabric: N2 / N6. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4 / 3 (brown). Date: second half of 7<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 115, type 174. Konstantinidou 2010, 952, Fig. 7, No. 24.

**464.** Context 5. 07II[52](94)91. Fig. 3.61. Almost complete object – base missing. Amphora with a seemingly 'cup-mouth' and tall waisted neck, reeded walls. Fabric: N2 / N6. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 3 / 1 (very dark gray), margins: 7.5YR 5 / 4 (brown). Surfaces: 7.5YR 5 / 4 (brown). Date: second half of 7<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 114-115, type 173 (630-700); Rizzo 2007, 661, Fig. 6.

**465.** Context 5. 07II[52](94)91. Fig. 3.62. Upper part. Amphora with a convex on the outside rim and tall narrow waisted neck; reeding below the rim. Fabric: N2 / N6. 7.5YR 5 / 4 – 4 / 4 (brown). Date: second half of 7<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 2004 (Kysis), 225-226, Fig. 221, No. 55; Konstantinidou 2010, 952, Fig. 7, No. 25.

**466.** Context 5. 07II[52](94)91. Fig. 3.62. Upper part. Upper part of an amphora with rolled rim and tall narrow reeded neck; a small hole drilled at midheight of the neck. Fabric: N2 / N6. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 5 / 4 - 4 / 4 (brown). Date: second half of 7<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Konstantinidou 2010, 952, Fig. 7, No. 26.

**467.** Context 1. 97I[5](3)10.2. Fig. 3.62. Mouth. Upper part of an amphora with inturned, slightly overhanging rim and reeded neck. Fabric: N2 / N6. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown). Date: uncertain. 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Dixneuf and Lecuyot 2007 (Bouto), 136, Fig. 7.



Fig. 3.62. *Egyptian amphorae 7* found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 465-470)

**468.** Context 5. 07II[52](94)92. Fig. 3.62. Almost complete object – mouth and base missing. A row of cord impressions at shoulder height. Traces of a dipinto inscription in red – only a cross (?) is visible. Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 5YR 5 / 1 (gray), margins: 7.5YR 5 / 6 (strong brown). Surfaces: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Date: second half of 7<sup>th</sup> c.

**469.** Context 1. 98I[1](53)42. Fig. 3.62. Almost complete object – mouth and base missing. Fabric: N2 / N6. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c. (?)

**470.** Cells. 96II<82>. Fig. 3.62. Almost complete object – mouth and base missing. Fabric: N2 / N6. Zoned break. Core: 7.5YR 4 / 1 (dark gray), margins: 7.5YR 4 / 3 (brown). Surfaces: 7.5YR 4 / 3 (brown). Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.

**471.** Context 5. 07II[52](94)91. Fig. 3.63. Neck and shoulder.

Upper part of amphora; the lower neck and the shoulder are only preserved.

This is the only example bearing a red *dipinto* inscription in Coptic, the name  $\varphi_{I}[...] \land M \in N$ (Phibamen)<sup>60</sup> being that of its owner.

Fabric: N2 / N6. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 3 / 1 (very dark grey), margins: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Inner surface: 7.5YR 4 / 4, outer surface: 7.5YR 5 / 4 (brown). Date: second half of 7<sup>th</sup> c.

472. Context 1. 97I[5](3)10.3. Fig. 3.63. Neck and shoulder.

A ledge is formed right below the neck's base. This characteristic ledge appears in several examples found in Bāwīţ (Marchand and Dixneuf 2007, 314, Figs. 10-12) while the only relevant fragment found in Ašmunayn (Hermopolis Magna) is dated between the sixth and the eighth century (Bailey 1998, 134, Pl. 82: V58).

Fabric: N2 / N6. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 5 / 4 – 4 / 4 (brown). Date:  $6^{th}$ - $8^{th}$ 

**473.** Context 1. 99I[5](56)10. Fig. 3.63. Neck and shoulder. Form like No. 472. Fabric: N2 / N6. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Surfaces: 7.5YR 5 / 4 (brown). Date: 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup>

474. Context 9. 99V[1](5)5.1. Fig. 3.63. Mouth.

Upper part of an amphora with its plaster stopper attached. Fabric: N2 / N6. Homogeneous break. .5YR 5 / 4 (brown). Inner surface: 10YR 4 / 3 (dark greyish brown), outer surface: 7.5YR 5 / 4 (brown). Date: uncertain

Egyptian amphorae 7: spikes

**475.** Out of context. Near tower. Fig. 3.63. Fabric: N2 / N6. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 5 / 4 (brown). The inner surface is covered by a sort of white coat. Outer surface: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Date: uncertain.

#### **476.** Context 3. 07I[30](42)44. Fig. 3.63.

Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 10R 4 / 6 (red), inner margins: 10R 5 / 6 (red), outer margins: 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown). Outer surface: 5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown), inner surface: 5YR 5 / 3 (reddish brown). Date:  $5^{th}$ - $7^{th}$  c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to Prof. Jacques Van der Vliet for helping me in reading this inscription.



Fig. 3.63. Egyptian amphorae 7 found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 471-476)

# 'Late Roman 5 / 6' Egyptian Amphorae 5 or Egyptian bag-shaped?

In the Old Monastery of Baramūs, the vast majority of the finds belongs to the *bag-shaped* amphora usually referred to as 'Egyptian Late Roman 5 / 6' (or simply 'Late Roman 5 / 6'). Recently Dixneuf (2011, 142-153) introduced the term *Egyptian Amphorae* 5 / 6. The reasons why such a term is inadequate – even if widely accepted – have been explained in a previous chapter. But what would be the best term to designate the vessels under discussion?

First of all, the production of a similar type in the area of Palestine imposes the definition of the general production area so that the epithet *Egyptian* is requisite. Secondly, the term 'Late Roman' should be seriously reconsidered – and even avoided. Like their Palestinian equivalents, Egyptian *bag-shaped* amphorae survived much longer than the seventh century, which marks the end of the so-called Late Roman period. In particular, the production and distribution of the Nile fabric versions of the type was intensified after the first half of the seventh century (Vogt 1997a, 258) and lasted until the tenth / eleventh century (Ballet 1994; *Id.* 2007). Finally, it is already explained that only number 5 of Riley's (1981) typology should be preferred instead of the confusing 5 / 6. As a result it is either the term *Egyptian Amphora* 5 (Empereur and Picon 1992, 150 prefer the term *Amphores Égyptiennes* 5) or the term *Egyptian bag-shaped amphora* that appear precise enough. In the present study Egyptian amphorae are discussed under descriptive terms referring to their chief morphological attribute; the term *Egyptian bag-shaped* is hence adopted.

*Bag-shaped* amphorae in Egypt may be discerned in two broad groups: those made of calcareous fabrics (Egloff 1977, 117-118, type 186; Ballet and Picon 1987, 33-34; Vogt 1997a, 258; Ballet 2003a, 141-145, Nos. 113-121) and those made of Nile fabrics (Egloff 1977, 118, types 187-190; Ballet and Picon 1987, 39-40; Vogt 1997a, 257-258; Ballet 2003a, 145-148, Nos. 122-127).

The first are chiefly related to the region of the Lake Mareotis – especially its south zone including Marea and Būrg al-'Arab (El-Fakharany 1983, 175-186; Empereur and Picon 1992, 145-147) – and the pottery production organised there, although no clear evidence can yet confirm this assumption (Empereur and Picon 1989, 243; *Id.* 1992, 150-151; Ballet 2003a, 142). Kiln sites are so far located in the adjacent pilgrimage centre of Saint Mena (Egloff 1977, 117; Engemann 1992, 145-147; Dixneuf 2011, 144-145). *Bag-shaped* amphorae of calcareous fabric were also made in a seventh - eighth century pottery workshop, located in the area known as 'Ayūn Mūsā (the Sources of Moses), which lies in the west coast of the Sinai Peninsula, some twelve kilometres south of Suez (Ballet 2001, 42, Figs. 13-14; Ballet and Dixneuf 2004, 70-71; Ballet 2007b, 622-623, Figs. 3-4).

Two different origins were initially suggested for the second: the Delta (Ballet and Picon 1987, 40) and Middle Egypt (Empereur and Picon 1989, 243, Fig. 26). The extended archaeological surveys in the Nile Valley (Ballet *et al.* 1991, 134-139) did not confirm the hypothesis about a Middle Egyptian origin. Furthermore, the chemical composition of the *bag-shaped* amphorae differentiates them from the *Egyptian Amphorae* 7 Middle Egyptian products. As a result the initial estimation about a possible Middle Egyptian origin is eventually utterly rejected. The only known kiln site is indeed situated in the Delta, in Kūm Abū Billū– ancient Terenuthis, in Coptic **TEPENOYTI** or **TEPNOYT** (Amélineau 1893, 493), in Arabic Țarrāna – and it is estimated that it must have functioned until the tenth century, or slightly later (Ballet 1994; Ballet and Dixneuf 2004, 70; Ballet 2007a; Dixneuf 2011, 145). Nile fabric *bag-shaped* vessels are often divided into two principal groups, according to the tendency of their fabrics (Ballet 2003a, 145-148). One group is characterised by a red fabric, generally hard and poor in vegetable inclusions, which appear as dark grey oblong lines in the core (Vogt 1997a, 258; Ballet 2003a, 146). Ballet (2003, 146) observed that it is mainly Egloff's (1977, 118) type 187 made of this fabric variant. A second group includes amphorae made of a rather friable brown fabric. Discordance in literature concerns the amount of vegetable inclusions that these brown fabrics contain. On the one hand Vogt (1997, 258) reports that the amount of straw particles is very high, noting that amphorae made of such a fabric are slightly more frequent in Middle and Upper Egypt than in the Delta. Ballet (2003, 146) on the other hand mentions that the straw particles are less visible in the brown fabrics and observes that Egloff's (1977, 118) type 190 is mostly made of this fabric group, although Egloff (1977, 118) himself describes this type as a red grooved amphora.

One needs no more contradicting arguments to realise how complex the case of these amphorae is. The rich repertory of *bag-shaped* jars found in the Old Baramūs proves that generalised groupings are not easy to be formulated. First of all, it is squarely stated that the major typological groups, which will be described below, are not definitely characterised by a distinct Nile fabric variant – so that for instance both observations (Egloff 1977, 118 and Ballet 2003a, 146) about the colour of the Egloff type 190 are right.

Let us now examine the features of the red and the brown fabrics, based on our assemblage. Indeed, red-coloured fabrics appear hard, dense and they generally fall into the fine sandy N1A and N1B variants of our list. Fine straw particles are not always contained in the matrix, but when they do, they appear exactly as Ballet (2003, 146) describes, in the form of oblong lines, especially visible in the core. These fabrics are almost always zoned in the break, the core being dark grey or grey, but often pinkish or light red; very thin brown or reddish brown margins are visible between the core and the red surface of the vessel. These very same features are observed in a part of the brown-coloured fabrics. In fact, the hard and dense brown fabric variants contain no straw particles, or a very small amount of them. At the same time, there are many brown fabrics, which are soft, friable and apart from sand they contain a considerable amount of fine straw particles. They are generally reminiscent to the N2 variant of our list, but as no red particles or quartz are visible, I would rather distinguish them from this group, which is mostly related to the *Egyptian Amphorae* 7 and other Middle Egyptian products.

COLOUR	TEXTURE	INCLUSIONS
Red 1A	Hard, dense	Very fine – fine sand
Red 1B	Hard, dense	Very fine – fine sand;
		occasionally fine straw
		particles
Brown 1A	Hard, dense	Very fine – fine sand
Brown 1B	Hard, dense	Very fine – fine sand;
		sparsely fine straw
		particles
Brown 2	Soft, friable	Fine sand; straw particles

Table 3.2. Egyptian bag-shaped amphorae: the Nile fabric groups

In general, there is a wide range of fabric variants between the finer and the less fine versions, which are furthermore characterised by significant hue variability. It therefore seems more reasonable that this differentiation is a matter of firing, without necessarily reflecting any technological distinction. However, all possibilities remain open, as the observations cited above are results of the fabrics' visual examination. Maybe it would worth examining Vogt's (1997, 258) and Bailey's (1998, 137) view about a possible Middle Egyptian origin of the brown, straw-rich samples.



Fig. 3.64. Egyptian Bag-shaped amphorae: the Kellia typology (Egloff 1977)

Also remarkable is the morphological variety of the type, which concerns both the calcareous and the Nile fabric amphorae. A distinction of basis is made by Egloff (1977, 117-118), whose key study is once more proven essential. Five different types of *bag-shaped* amphorae dated to the Umayyad period are discerned – the first made of calcareous fabric, the other four made of Nile silt:

a) Type 186 (Egloff 1977, 117-118) is recognised as product of a kiln located in Abū Mīnā. It is a short-necked, grooved spherical amphora, its body being barely higher than wider; two ring handles are attached to the shoulder; its capacity is estimated at 23.6 litres. It was in circulation from the late sixth century (See also: Engemann 1992; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999, 540; Ballet 2003a, 141-145; Dixneuf 2011, 144-148).

b) Type 187 (Egloff 1977, 118) is characterised by a plump body with point of greatest diameter near the rounded base; its neck is medium-high, with more or less convex outer wall ending to an everted grooved rim; two grooved ring handles are attached to the shoulder – similar handles appear on the thee other types, described below. The body appears grooved on the handle zone and from the mid-height downwards to the base. The surface underneath the handle zone, which is left ungrooved, is often decorated with a row of wavy lines, probably combed. Its capacity is about 8.5 litres.

c) Type 188 (Egloff 1977, 118) forms a distinctive S-shaped mouth. According to Egloff, this type does not exist before the eighth century.

d) Type 189 (Egloff 1977, 118) is a small, rather narrow oval-shaped amphora with short mouth and chamfered rim.

e) Type 190 (Egloff 1977, 118; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999, 171-177, Fig. 490, No. 177) is an oval-shaped amphora with flaring mouth, its body being entirely grooved.

Pieri (2005, 114-127) gives a basic typology of his *late bag-shaped* (*amphores-sacs tardives*), which does not elaborate significantly Egloff's classification, as illustrated in Table 3.3.

Egloff 1977	Piéri 2005
186	3
187	4A
188	4B
189	4C (?)
190	4D

Table 3.3. Concordances between Egloff 1977 and Pieri 2005 *bag-shaped* amphora types

Although indeed including the most characteristic forms, Egloff's (1977) typology remains somehow insufficient. The *bag-shaped* amphorae made of calcareous fabric are only represented by the globular type 186. However, a rich repertory of mouths and rims from Kellia (Bonnet 1983, 442) supplemented by a number of complete vessels from Abū Mīnā (Engemann 1992) demonstrated the morphological variety of the group. While, one may suppose that calcareous *bag-shaped* amphorae are mostly spherical, Engemann (1992, 156-158) reported that oval-and pear-shaped variants do occur. Spherical versions existed since the fifth century (Empereur and Picon 1992, 150), while the oval-shaped jars appeared in the seventh to finally prevail in the eighth century, outclassing their spherical ancestors (Engemann 1992, 157). Especially the eighth and ninth century ovoid examples mainly form an almost vertical, medium-high neck – like the Egloff type 190; their surface is smooth, having lost the characteristic yellowish scum, as a result of a bad preparation of the wet clay during the eighth and ninth century (Engemann 1992, 158).

To summarise, it is considered that the better way to designate the Egyptian spherical or oval-shaped amphorae would be either through the term *Egyptian Amphorae* 5, or *Egyptian bag-shaped amphorae*. Accuracy imposes the determination of the fabric group, of which a vessel is made: calcareous or Nile fabric. What is left is the definition of the form. In Egypt, the type generally developed from short-mouthed, spherical jars to oval-shaped vessels with high neck. The finds in the Old Monastery of Baramūs allow the distinction of at least eight different forms, each including a multitude of variants. They are all known, as respective parallels have already appeared in past publications; however, no attempt for a more systematic classification has been so far undertaken. It is important to stress that many of these forms co-exist in both the calcareous and the Nile fabric groups.

Finally, the question of the content kept in these amphorae is interesting, yet unsolved. Wine is implied for the calcareous amphorae of group 1 (Ballet and Picon 1987, 34). The discussion concerning the Nile fabric vessels of group 2 is more complicated. Bonnet (1986, 62-63) considered that due to their form and their technical characteristics (thin-walled, frangible body) these vessels are not appropriate to contain any liquid product. As they are found in considerable quantity in Kellia, she supposed that they contained a product of high consumption, probably wheat for the preparation of bread. However, it is also possible that they contained water, as mentioned in the discussion that followed (Bridel 1986, 84). Bailey (1998, 136) is also in favour of water as a possible content. It is also (Ballet and Dixneuf 2004, 70; Ballet 2007a, 159) suggested that the amphorae produced in Kūm Abū Billū (ancient Terenuthis / Țarrāna in Arab times) served in the transportation of natron, which was an important station of the caravans transferring natron. It is obvious that only laboratory analyses will shed light on this intriguing issue.

<u>**Type 1**</u> (Nos. 477-481, 497) includes spherical amphorae, characterised by a more or less everted rim, often with tapered edge, and a usually conical bulged neck (similar to Dixneuf 2011, Fig. 138: variante D). The only complete example appears ribbed throughout its surface. Its capacity is estimated to c18 litres. Amphorae of both fabric groups are included.

<u>Type 2</u> represents spherical and oval-shaped amphorae with plain or bead rim underlined by a corrugation or a simple groove (similar to Dixneuf 2011, Fig. 133: variante A). Amphorae of both fabric groups are included and four variants are roughly distinguished:

**Type 2A** (Nos. 482-484) includes mostly spherical jars of the first group with plain rim, often tapered at its edge and straight cylindrical neck that forms a protuberance at mid-height. Only one example (No. 482) is restored giving an almost full profile – the handles are missing. Its capacity is estimated at c16.2 litres. All examples calcareous

*Type 2B* (Nos. 498-499) does not seem to differ from *type 2A*. Only the rim appears flattened on top, and the neck is rather taller, often with convex outer walls. All examples are made of Nile fabric.

**Type 2C** (Nos. 485, 500-505) is characterised by a medium-high or a tall neck with convex outer walls and a seemingly bead-rim underlined by a deep and wide groove (this upper part resembles the Egloff 1977, type 187 and Pieri 2005, 121-122, Fig. 79, *bag-shaped* type 4A). This type variant incorporates products of the workshop located in Kūm Abū Billū, very common among the finds in the Old Monastery of Baramūs and the other monastic sites of the Wādī al-Naṭrūn. Two almost complete vessels (Nos. 502, 503) are found in the late ninth century context of the *southern pastoforion* (context 6). Their body is oval-shaped and rather narrow, the point of its greatest diameter being near the base. Grooving appears in the handle zone, while the surface from the mid-height of the body downwards to the base is fluted. The part bearing no grooving or fluting is decorated with wavy lines and it is evident that a different instrument is used in the execution of the decoration: a sharp pin for No 502, and a sort of 'reed' for No. 503. The approximate capacity is *c*5.3 litres. Both calcareous and Nile fabric amphorae are included.

*Type 2D* (Nos. 486, 496) includes smaller oval-shaped jars with flaring mouths and bead rim. Both calcareous and Nile fabric amphorae are included.

<u>**Type 3</u>** roughly corresponds to the amphorae with S-shaped mouth (Egloff 1977, type 188; Pieri 2005, 121-122, Fig. 79, *bag-shaped* type 4B; similar to Dixneuf 2011, Fig. 136: variante B). The majority of *type 3* amphorae found in the Old Baramūs are made of Nile fabric but there exist a few rim-sherds made of calcareous fabric. They can be roughly divided into four variants:</u>

Type 3A (No. 507) includes spherical amphorae with short, somehow inturned mouth.

**Type 3B** (Nos. 487, 508-511) encompasses spherical amphorae with short mouth and everted rim with thinned lip. The only complete amphora belonging to this type variant (No. 508) bears an incised monogram (sgraffito) of the letter M, as a numeric notation designating the capacity – which is estimated to c10 litres – or as the initial of the owner's name. Both calcareous and Nile fabric amphorae are included.

*Type 3C* (Nos. 512-513)comprises of spherical amphorae with slightly higher neck than the previous two and everted rim with rounded lip. All examples are made of Nile fabric.

*Type 3D* (Nos. 488-489, 514-516) includes oval-shaped amphorae with high neck and slightly everted rim; the two better preserved examples of the 3D variant come from an eighth century context (context 10). Both calcareous and Nile fabric amphorae are included.

<u>**Type 4**</u> (Nos. 517-518) includes amphorae with chamfered rim underlined by a corrugation. Two variants, both Nile fabric, are discerned:

*Type 4A* (No. 517) is characterised by a short flaring mouth (resembling Egloff 1977, type 189).

*Type 4B* (No. 518) is characterised by a high flaring mouth and an oval-shaped body.

<u>Type 5</u> (Nos. 515-533) corresponds to the cup-mouth oval-shaped amphorae (Egloff 1977, type 190; Pieri 2005, 121-122, Fig. 79, *bag-shaped* type 4D; similar to Dixneuf 2011, Fig. 139: variante A). The variability of this type is so intense that it is avoided to distinguish any sub-types. However, a rough distinction would separate amphorae with straight mouths from those with flaring ones.

<u>Type 6</u> (Nos. 534-535) is a high-necked derivative of the type 2 amphorae, occurring in layers above the ninth century destruction level. It therefore seems that it survived well into the tenth century. The specific type is not known from any other publication, but it lies as important evidence of 'survivals' from the past during the Arab periods. The amphorae of type 6 have relatively flaring neck and plain rim, underlined by two corrugations, situated close by or at a small distance. Their body is almost identical to that of the Egloff (1977) type 187, as described above. Only a few differences may be noted, such as the lower zone of grooving, which has 'fallen' at the base height, the rest of the body being reeded. No. 535 bears three zones of incised decoration (asymmetrical wavy lines): at lower shoulder, almost at mid-height of the body, at the base. The capacity of the type is highly hypothetical, as the examples found are not complete (their base is missing); however, it is worth citing that it may vary from c8.2 to c11.5 litres. All samples are made of Nile fabric.

<u>Type 7</u> (Nos. 536-541) is a high-necked derivative of the *type 3* oval-shaped amphorae with S-shaped mouth (similar to Dixneuf 2011, Fig. 141: variante C). This very type is also rare, but its resemblance to its predecessors renders it easily recognisable. The body of these jars is not overall grooved, but it forms two zones of grooving. Incised decoration of wavy lines may cover the ungrooved surface of the body (No. 536), or it may be applied on three zones (below the shoulder, slightly below the mid-height of the body, at the base). These features also characterise vessels of *type 6*. A capacity of c7.4 litres was estimated on the basis of reconstruction, so that it may not correspond to exact measures. *Type 7* is well contemporary to *type 6*, but it appears that this one emerged somewhere in the eighth century. The same dating is suggested by Gempeler (1992, 200, Abb. 129) for his type K767, which is the exact parallel of our *type 7*. All samples are made of Nile fabric.

<u>**Type 8**</u> (No. 542) is a high-necked variant, deriving from the *type 5* oval-shaped amphorae (similar to Dixneuf 2011, Fig. 140: variante B). It is made of Nile fabric. A similar find is discovered in the kiln site of Kūm Abū Billū(Ballet 1994, Fig. 12; 2007a, Fig. 4). No complete amphora is found in the Old Baramūs, but one may guess that the body of these jars does not differ from that of the *type 7* amphorae, to which they are contemporary.

# Catalogue

# A) Calcareous Egyptian bag-shaped amphorae

Type 1

**477.** Context 7. 07III[22](47)45+[...]. Fig. 3.65. Almost complete object.

Restored complete spherical amphora with everted rim that forms a tapered lip; the rim's upper face is slightly concave. The neck is conical and appears bulged at mid-height. Two ring-handles, almost elliptical in section, are attached on the shoulder. The body is ribbed throughout its surface; its maximum diameter is reached at its lowest part. The base is rounded.

Fabric: C4B. Zoned break. Core: 5YR 5 / 2 (reddish grey); margins: 10R 6 / 6 (light red) - 10R 5 / 6 (red). Outer surface: 2.5Y 7 / 3 (pale yellow).

Production place: Mareotis.

Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 145, Fig. 19, No. 120; Konstantinidou 2010, 952, Fig. 8, No. 28.

**478.** Context 1. 98I[1](40)31. Fig. 3.65. Mouth.

Everted rim forming a tapered lip, bulged, conical neck. Fabric: C4B. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 5/3 - 5/4 (brown). Outer surface: 2.5Y 8/2 - 8/3 (pale yellow).

Production place: Mareotis.

Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Engemann 1992 (Abū Mīnā), Fig. 8:90.56.

479. Context 1. 98V[2](39)32. Fig. 3.65. Mouth.

Everted rim, tapered lip, short, thickened neck, grooved upper shoulder. Fabric: C4B. Zoned break. Core: 5Y 6 / 2 (light olive gray), margins: 5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow). Outer surface: 2.5Y 8 / 3 (pale yellow), inner surface: 2.5YR 6 / 6 (light red). Production place: Mareotis. Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 144, Fig. 19, No. 118.

**480.** Context 4. 07I[43](86)91. Fig. 3.65. Mouth. Everted, round rim, bulged neck. Fabric: C4A. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 6 / 4 (light yellowish brown), margins: 2.5YR 6 / 6 (light red). Outer surface: 2.5Y 8 / 2 - 8 / 3 (pale yellow). Production place: Mareotis. Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Bonnet 1983 (Kellia), No. 78; Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 143, Fig. 19, No. 114.

**481.** Context 1. 99I[5](56)10. Fig. 3.65. Mouth. Everted, round rim, bulged neck. Thick-walled version of No. 480. Fabric: C4A. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow). Outer surface: 10YR 8 / 3 – 8 / 4 (very pale brown). Production place: Mareotis. Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.+



Fig. 3.65. Egyptian Bag-shaped amphorae. Calcareous. Types: 1, 2A, 2C, 2D (Nos. 477-495)

## Type 2A

**482.** Context 1. 97I[5](11)37. Fig. 3.65. Almost full profile – handles and part of the lower body missing.

Fabric: C4A. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 6/4 (light yellowish brown), margins: 5YR 5/6 (yellowish red). Outer surface: 10YR 7/4 (very pale brown).

Production place: Mareotis.

Date:  $7^{\text{th}} / 8^{\text{th}} \text{ c.}$ 

Parallels / Bibliography: Engemann 1992 (Abū Mīnā), Fig. 8:90.20; Lecuyot 2007a (Saqqāra), 200, Fig. 3.6.

**483.** Context 1. 07I[41](73)78. Fig. 3.65. Upper part.

Fabric: C5. Homogeneous break. 5YR 5 / 2 (reddish gray). Outer surface: 5Y 8 / 3 (pale yellow). Production place: Mareotis (?)

Date:  $7^{\text{th}} / 8^{\overline{\text{th}}} c$ .

Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 144, Fig. 19, No. 116; Gascoigne 2007 (Old Cairo), 166, Fig. 15.

484. Context 7. 07III[22](52)48. Fig. 3.65. Upper part.

Fabric: C4B. Zoned break. 7.5YR 4/1 (dark gray): core; 10R 5/8 (red): zones surrounding core; 10YR 4/3 (brown): wall. SURFACE: outer (thin wash?) 5YR 6/6 (reddish yellow) – 5/6 (yellowish red); inner 10YR 5/3 (brown).

Production place: Mareotis. Date: 7th c.

*Type 2C* 

**485.** Context 6. *Southern Pastoforion – floor on bedrock*. Fig. 3.65. Upper part. Fabric: C4B. Zoned break. Core: 7.5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow), margins: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Outer surface: 10YR 8 / 4 (very pale brown), inner surface: 5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow). Production place: Mareotis. Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Bonnet 1983 (Kellia), No. 80; Ballet 1997c (Tell al-Farama), 127, Pl. I, No. 15; *Eadem* 2003 (Kellia), 143, Fig. 19, No. 113.

Type 2D

**486.** Context 7. 07III[22](37)35. Fig. 3.65. Mouth. Fabric: C4B. Zoned break. Core: 7.5YR 5 / 4 (brown), margins: 2.5Y 5 / 2 (grayish brown). Outer surface: 2.5Y 7 / 3 (pale yellow). Production place: Mareotis (?) Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.

*Type 3B* 

**487.** Context 1. 99I[2](53)9. Fig. 3.66. Mouth. Fabric: C4A. Homogeneous break. 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Outer surface: . Production place: Mareotis. Date: 6<sup>th</sup> / 7<sup>th</sup> c. (?) Parallels / Bibliography: Watson 1995, Fig. 8.2.

*Type 3D* 

**488.** Context 3. 07I[31](43)46. Fig. 3.66. Mouth. Fabric: C1. Homogeneous break. 5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow). Outer surface: 2.5Y 8 / 4 – 7 / 4 (pale yellow). Production place: Mareotis (?) Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: similar to Majcherek 2008 (Marea), 117, Fig. 43, No. 77. **489.** Out of context. Near tower. Fig. 3.66. Upper part – handles missing. Fabric: C4A. Zoned break. Core: 2.5Y 5 / 3 (light olive brown), margins: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Production place: Mareotis. Date: uncertain. 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.



Type 5

**490.** Context 1. 99I[2](47)1. Fig. 3.66. Mouth. Fabric: C4A. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow). Surfaces: 5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow). Production place: Mareotis. Date: uncertain. 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

**491.** Context 1. 98I[1](48)39.1. Fig. 3.66. Mouth. Fabric: C4A. Homogeneous break. 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Outer surface: .2.5Y 8 / 3 (pale yellow). Production place: Mareotis. Date: uncertain. 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Engemann 1992, Fig. 8:90.19; Gascoigne 2007 (Old Cairo), 166, Fig. 14; Marchand and Dixneuf 2007 (Bawīţ), 316-317, Fig. 25.

**492.** Context 1. 99I[2](47)1. Fig. 3.66. Mouth. Fabric: C4B. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow). Outer surface: 10YR 8 / 3 (very pale brown). Production place: Mareotis. Date: uncertain. 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Calderon 2000 (South Sinai), 184, Fig. 1:9. **493.** Context 1. 98V[2](39)32. Fig. 3.66. Mouth. Fabric: C4B. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 7 / 4 (very pale brown), margins: 5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow). Outer surface: 10YR 8 / 4 – 7 / 4 (very pale brown). Production place: Mareotis. Date: uncertain.  $5^{th}$ - $9^{th}$  c. Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 143, Fig. 19, No. 115.

**494.** Context 1. 98V[2](40)30. Fig. 3.66. Upper part. Traces of dripped organic material (remains of the content?) on the inside. Fabric: C4A. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 6 / 4 (light yellowish brown), margins: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Outer surface: 2.5Y 8 / 3 (pale yellow). Production place: Mareotis. Date: uncertain. 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Jacquet – Gordon 1972 (Isnā), Pl. CCXXVII, P11.

**495.** Context 1. 98I[1](51)40. Fig. 3.66. Upper part. Fabric: C4B. Zoned break. Core: 7.5YR 7 / 4 (pink) – 7 / 6 (reddish yellow), margins: 2.5YR 6 / 8 (light red). Outer surface: 2.5Y 8 / 3 – 8 / 4 (pale yellow), inner surface: 2.5YR 7 / 6 (light red). Production place: Mareotis. Date: uncertain.  $5^{th}$ - $9^{th}$  c.

**496.** Contex 1. 99I[2](47)1. Fig. 3.66. Upper part. Fabric: C4B. Homogeneous break. 2.5YR 6 / 8 (light red). Outer surface: 10YR 7 / 3 (very pale brown). Production place: Mareotis. Date: uncertain. 8<sup>th</sup> / 9<sup>th</sup> c. (?)

B) Nile fabric Egyptian bag-shaped amphorae

Type 1

**497.** Context 7. 07III[22](39)36. Fig. 3.67. Mouth.

Everted, round rim, neck with convex outer walls, generally slightly flaring mouth; gentle grooving on the upper shoulder.

Fabric: N6. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 6 (red) with 7.5YR 4 / 1 (dark grey) stains within– melted vegetable inclusions or lime; margins: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Surfaces: 5YR 5 / 6 – 4 / 6 (yellowish red). Production place: probably Nile Delta. Date:  $7^{\text{th}} / 8^{\text{th}}$  c.

Type 2B

**498.** Context 7. 07III[23](36)34. Fig. 3.67. Mouth. Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 5 / 4 (yellowish brown), margins: 10R 5 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 7.5YR 5 / 4 (brown). Production place: probably Nile Delta. Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c Parallels / Bibliography: Bonnet 1983, No. 82; Watson 1995, Fig. 9.2; Lecuyot 2007a (Saqqāra), 200, Fig. 3.3.

**499.** Context 7. 07III[22](37)35. Fig. 3.67. Upper part. Clay accretions on the rim. Fabric: N1A. Zoned break. Core: 2.5Y 4 / 1 (dark grey), margins: 2.5Y 5 / 3 (light olive brown). Outer surface: 5YR 5 / 6 – 4 / 6 (yellowish red). Production place: probably Nile Delta. Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.



Fig. 3.67. Egyptian Bag-shaped amphorae. Nile fabric. Types: 1, 2B, 2C, 2D (Nos. 497-506)

Type 2C

**500.** Context 1. 98V[2](7)6. Fig. 3.67.. Upper part.

Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 2.5Y 5 / 1 (gray), margins: 10R 6 / 6 (light red). Surfaces: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red).

Production place: Kūm Abū Billū.

Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.+

Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 1994 (Kūm Abū Billū), 363, Fig. 10; Vogt 1997b (Tell el-Fadda), 15, Pl. IV, Fig. 6, No. 3; Ballet 2007 (Kūm Abū Billū), 158, Fig. 3.2.

**501.** Context 1. 07I[23](36)37. Fig. 3.67. Upper part.

Fabric: fine N6. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 3 (weak red), inner margins: 10R 5 / 8 (red), outer margins: 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown). Outer surface: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red).

Production place: Kūm Abū Billū. Date:  $7^{th}-9^{th} / 10^{th}$  c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 1994 (Kūm Abū Billū), 363, Fig. 10; *Eadem* 2007 (Kūm Abū Billū), 158, Fig. 3.2; Gascoigne 2007 (Old Cairo), 166, Fig. 17; Lecuyot 2007a (Saqqāra), 200, Fig. 3.4.

**502.** Context 6. *Southern Pastoforion – underground bin*. Fig. 3.67. Full profile.

Fabric: fine N6. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 8 - 4 / 8 (red), inner margins: 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red), outer margins: 7.5YR 5 / 4 - 4 / 4 (brown). Outer surface: 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red), inner surface: 7.5YR 4 / 3 (brown).

Production place: Kūm Abū Billū.

Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 1994 (Kūm Abū Billū), 363, Fig. 10; *Eadem* 2007 (Kūm Abū Billū), 158, Fig. 3.2; Konstantinidou 2010, 952, Fig. 8, No. 30.

503. Context 6. Southern Pastoforion – underground bin. Fig. 3.67. Complete object.
Fabric: N1B / N3. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 6 (red), margins: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Surfaces: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red).
Production place: Kūm Abū Billū.
Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 1994 (Kūm Abū Billū), 363, Fig. 10; *Eadem* 2007 (Kūm Abū Billū), 158, Fig. 3.2.

**504.** Context 1. 98V[2](7)6. Fig. 3.67. Mouth.

Fabric: N3 / 6. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 4 (weak red), grey traces around voids of melted straw and / or lime, inner margin: 10R 4 / 8 (red), outer margin: 5YR 4 / 6 (yellowish red). Inner surface: 5YR 4 / 6 (yellowish red), outer surface: 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red). Production place: Kūm Abū Billū.

Date:  $7^{\text{th}}-9^{\text{th}} / 10^{\text{th}} \text{ c.}$ 

505. Context 1. 98V[2](35)26. Fig. 3.67. Mouth.
Fabric: N1A. Zoned break. Core: 10R 6 / 4 (pale red), margins: 10R 4 / 6 (red). Surfaces: 10R 4 / 6 (red).
Production place: Kūm Abū Billū.
Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> / 10<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 1994 (Kūm Abū Billū), 363, Fig. 10; *Eadem* 2007 (Kūm Abū Billū), 158, Fig. 3.2.

Type 2D

506. Context 1. 98I[1](54)43. Fig. 3.67. Upper part.
Fabric: fine N6. Zoned break. Core: N / 4 (dark gray), margins: 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 5YR 4 / 6 (yellowish red).
Production place: Kūm Abū Billū.
Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> / 10<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 1994 (Kūm Abū Billū), 363, Fig. 10; *Eadem* 2007 (Kūm Abū Billū), 158, Fig. 3.2.



Fig. 3.68. Egyptian Bag-shaped amphorae. Nile fabric. Types: 3A, 3B, 3C, 3D (Nos. 507-516)
Type 3A

**507.** Context 1. 07I[1](6)4.8. Fig. 3.68. Mouth. Fabric: N1B / 3. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 4 (weak red), margins: 10R 4 / 4 (weak red). Surfaces: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red). Production place: probably Nile Delta. Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

*Type 3B* 

508. Context 1. 97I[5](11)37. Fig. 3.68. Complete object.
Fabric: fine N6. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 1 (reddish gray) in 10R 5 / 4 (weak red), margins: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red).
Surface: 2.5Y 8 / 2 (pale yellow) flaky wash applied on the outside.
Production place: probably Nile Delta.
Date: presumably 7<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Dixneuf 2007b (Tell el-Makhzan), 540, Fig. 3.

**509.** Context 1. 97I[5](3)10+[5](5)18. Fig. 3.68. Upper part. Fabric: N2 /6. Zoned break. Core: N 4 / (dark gray), margins: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Surface: 10YR 7 / 5 (very pale brown) wash applied on the outside, below upper shoulder, under lower handle-attachment. Some drops on the inside. A wavy band (10YR 7 / 4 'very pale brown') on the outside, on upper shoulder, above slipped area. Production place: probably Nile Delta. Date: presumably 7<sup>th</sup> c.

**510.** Context 7. 07III[22](39)36. Fig. 3.68. Mouth. Fabric: N1A. Zoned break. Core: 10B 5 / 1 (bluish gray), margins: 2.5YR 5 / 6. Surfaces: 2.5YR 5 / 6. Production place: probably Nile Delta. Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.

**511.** Context 6. *Southern Pastoforion – floor on bedrock*. Fig. 3.68. Upper part. Fabric: N1B / N3. Zoned break. Core: 7.5YR 4 / 1 (dark gray), margins: 10R 5 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 7.5YR. 4/4 (brown). Production place: probably Nile Delta. Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.

*Type 3C* 

512. Context 6. Southern Pastoforion – floor on bedrock. Fig. 3.68. Mouth.
Fabric: N6. Zoned break. Core: 7.5YR 3 / 1 (very dark gray), margins: 7.5YR 4 / 3 – 10YR 4 / 4 (brown). Surfaces: 10YR 4 / 4 (brown).
Production place: probably Nile Delta.
Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 148, Fig. 20, Nos. 126-127; Dixneuf 2007b (Tell el-Makhzan), 540, Fig. 2 (calcareous fabric parallel); Majcherek 2008 (Marea), 118, Fig. 43, No. 82.

513. Context 7. 07III[22](39)36. Fig. 3.68. Upper part.
Fabric: N6. Zoned break. Core: 2.5YR 4 / 1 (dark gray), margins: 2.5YR 5/6 (red). Surfaces: 5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown).
Production place: probably Nile Delta.
Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: see No. 503.

Type 3D

**514.** Context 7. 07III[22](37)35. Fig. 3.68. Upper part. Fabric: N1B with very sparse fine straw. Zoned break. Core: N /5 (gray), margins: 10R 5 / 8 (red). Outer surface: 5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown) with traces of 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red) skin or wash (?), inner surface: 7.5YR 4 / 3 (brown). Production place: probably Nile Delta. Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.

515. Context 10. 99V[2](11)10.6. Fig. 3.68. Almost full profile – base missing.
Wide grooving at shoulder; fluted lower body. Handles, semi-cirsular in section.
Fabric: N1A / B. Homogeneous break. 2.5YR 5 / 3 (light olive brown). Surfaces: 10R 5 / 8 – 4 / 8 (red).
Production place: probably Nile Delta.
Date: late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Watson 1995, Fig. 9.3.

516. Context 10. 99V[2](11)10.5. Fig. 3.68. Almost full profile – base missing. Fluted body. Soot on the outside.
Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown).
Production place: probably Nile Delta.
Date: late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c.

# *Type 4A*

517. Context 7. 07III[22](37)35. Fig. 3.69. Mouth.
Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 4 / 1 (dark gray), margins: 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown).
Production place: Kūm Abū Billū.
Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 1994 (Kūm Abū Billū), 363, Fig. 11; *Eadem* 2007 (Kūm Abū Billū), 158, Fig. 2.

#### Type 4B

**518.** Context 1. 97I[5](6)25. Fig. 3.69. Upper part. Fabric: N1A. Zoned break. Core: 5B 5 / 1 (bluish gray), margins: 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 10R 4 / 6 (red). Production place: Kūm Abū Billū (?) Date: uncertain. 9<sup>th</sup> / 10<sup>th</sup> c. (?)

Two rare examples look like they derive from type 4. I am driven to such a distinction by the corrugation that underlines the rim of No. 519, which comes to be a mere protrusion in No. 520.

**519.** Context 7. 07III[22](39)37.2. Fig. 3.69. Mouth. Fabric: N1A. Zoned break. Core: slightly darker than 10R 5 / 6 (red), margins: 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red).Surfaces: 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red). Production place: probably Nile Delta (Kūm Abū Billū?). Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Lecuyot 2007a (Saqqāra), 200, Fig. 3.2.

**520.** Context 1. 98I[1](54)43. Fig. 3.69. Upper part. Fabric: N3 / N6. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 3 (weak red), margins: 10R 5 / 6 (red). Surfaces: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Horizontal band (10YR 8 / 2 'very pale brown') on the outside below shoulder. Production place: probably Nile Delta. Date:  $7^{th}-9^{th}$  /  $10^{th}$  c.



Fig. 3.69. Egyptian Bag-shaped amphorae. Nile fabric. Types: 4A, 4B, atypical, 5 (Nos. 517-533)

Type 5

**521.** Context 7. 07III[22](39)36. Fig. 3.69. Mouth. Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 7.5YR 5 / 1 (gray), inner margins: 10R 5 / 4 (weak red), outer margins: 10R 5 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Production place: probably Nile Delta. Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

**522.** Context 7. 07III[22](39)36. Fig. 3.69. Mouth. Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 4 / 1 (dark gray), inner margins: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red), outer margins: 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown). Surfaces: 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown). Production place: probably Nile Delta. Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

**523.** Context 7. 07III[22](39)37.4. Fig. 3.69. Mouth. Fabric: N2 / N6. Zoned break. Core: 7.5YR 4 / 1 (dark gray), margins: 10R 5 / 8 – 4 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 10R 5 / 8 (red). Production place: probably Nile Delta. Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

**524.** Context 7. 07III[22](47)45. Fig. 3.69. Upper part. Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 5PB 4 / 1 (dark bluish gray), margins: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Production place: probably Nile Delta. Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 147, Fig. 20, No. 122.

525. Context 1. 98I[1](49)38. Fig. 3.69. Full profile.
Traces of black organic material on the inside – resin lining (?)
Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red), margins: 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown). Surfaces: 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown).
Production place: probably Nile Delta.
Date: 6<sup>th</sup> / 7<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Bailey 1998 (al-Ašmūnayn / Hermopolis), 137, Pl. 85, W7; Konstantinidou 2010, 952, Fig. 8, No. 29.

**526.** Context 1. 97I[5](3)10+98I[1](47)36. Fig. 3.69. Upper part. Hole pierced at the upper shoulder, right below neck. Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 5BG 5 / 1 (greenish gray), margins: 7.5YR 5 / 4 (brown). Surfaces: 7.5YR 4 / 3 (brown). Production place: probably Nile Delta. Date: uncertain. 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

**527.** Context 7. 07III[22](39)37.3. Fig. 3.69. Upper part. Fabric: N1A. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 8 (red), margins: 7.5YR 4/4 (brown). Surfaces: 7.5YR 4/4 (brown). Production place: probably Nile Delta (Kūm Abū Billū?). Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

**528.** Context 1. 98I[1](45)37.8. Fig. 3.69. Mouth. Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10R 6 / 4 (pale red), margins: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red). Production place: probably Nile Delta (Kūm Abū Billū?). Date:  $7^{\text{th}}-9^{\text{th}}$  /  $10^{\text{th}}$  c. 529. Context 1. 07I[1](7)5.13. Fig. 3.69. Upper part.
Curved incision at upper shoulder.
Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10R 4 / 1 (dark reddish gray), inner margins: 10R 6 / 6 (light red), outer margins: 10R 4 / 6 (red). Surfaces: 10R 5 / 6 (red).
Production place: probably Nile Delta.
Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> / 10<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Gascoigne 2007 (Old Cairo), 166, Fig. 16.

**530.** Context 10. 99V[3](12)11.10. Fig. 3.69. Upper part. Fabric: N1A. Zoned break. Core: N4 / (dark grey), margins and surfaces: 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown). Production place: probably Nile Delta. Date: late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Watson 1995, Fig. 9.4.

**531.** Context 10. 99V[2](11)10.13. Fig. 3.69. Upper part. Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 6 (red), margin: 10R 6 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 5YR 4 / 6 (yellowish red). Production place: probably Nile Delta. Date: late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Watson 1995, Fig. 9.1; Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 147, Fig. 20, No. 124.

**532.** Context 7. 07III[23](36)34. Fig. 3.69. Mouth. Fabric: N1A. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 5 / 1 (gray), margins: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red).Surfaces: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Production place: probably Nile Delta (Kūm Abū Billū?). Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

533. Context 1. 97I[6](5)14.4. Fig. 3.69. Mouth.
Fabric: N1B with very sparse fine straw. Zoned break. Core: 10B 6 / 1 (bluish gray), margins: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red).
Surfaces: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red).
Production place: probably Nile Delta (Kūm Abū Billū?).
Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> / 10<sup>th</sup> c.

# *Type* 6

**534.** Cells. 97II[19](61)<107>. Fig. 3.70. Almost full profile – base missing. Soot on the outside. Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 5YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown). Surfaces: 5YR 6 / 4 (light reddish brown). Production place: probably Nile Delta. Date:  $8^{th} / 9^{th}$  c.

535. Cells. 98III[2](46). Fig. 3.70. Almost full profile – base missing.
Fabric: N2 / 6. Zoned break. Core: 7.5YR 5 / 1 (gray), margins: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Surfaces: 5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow).
Production place: probably Nile Delta.
Date: 8<sup>th</sup> / 9<sup>th</sup> c.+

Type 7

536. Cells. 97II[2](17)32. Fig. 3.70. Almost full profile – base missing.
Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 5PB 5 / 1 (bluish gray), margins: 10R 6 / 6 (light red). Outer surface: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red), inner surface: 2.5YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown).
Production place: probably Nile Delta.
Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.+
Parallels / Bibliography: Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 200, Abb. 129.4, K767.



Fig. 3.70. Egyptian Bag-shaped amphorae. Nile fabric. Types: 6, 7, 8 (Nos. 534-542)

537. Cells. 97II[29](92)110. Fig. 3.70. Body – rim and base missing.
Fabric: N1A. Zoned break. Core: 10R 6 / 6 (light red), margins: 2.5YR 5 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 10R 4 / 6 (red).
Decoration: traces of slip on the handles and the body; a dot visible at neck's base. Colour: 10YR 8 / 2 (very pale brown).
Production place: probably Nile Delta.
Date: 8<sup>th</sup> / early 9<sup>th</sup> c.

**538.** Context 1. 96IBaulk1[3]4. Fig. 3.70. Upper part. Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 2.5Y 5 / 3 (light olive brown), margins: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Inner surface: 7.5YR 5 / 2 (brown), outer surface: 5YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown). Production place: probably Nile Delta. Date: uncertain. Presumably 9<sup>th</sup> c.+

**539.** Context 7. 07III[22](37)35. Fig. 3.70. Mouth. Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 4 / 1 (dark gray), inner margins: 10R 5 / 6 (red), outer margins: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Surfaces: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Production place: probably Nile Delta. Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

**540.** Context 7. 07III[22](37)35. Fig. 3.70. Mouth. Fabric: N6. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4/4 (brown). Production place: probably Nile Delta. Date:  $7^{\text{th}}-9^{\text{th}}$  c.

**541.** Context 1. 96I Baulk 1 [3]4. Fig. 3.70. Upper part. Fabric: N1B. Homogeneous break. N4 / (dark grey). Inner surface: 7.5YR 4 / 1 (dark grey), outer surface: 7.5YR 4 / 3 (brown). Production place: probably Nile Delta. Date: uncertain. Presumably 9<sup>th</sup> c.+

Type 8

542. Context 7. 07III[22](39)37. Fig. 3.70. Upper part.
Fabric: N6. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown).
Production place: Kūm Abū Billū (?)
Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: similar to Ballet 1994 (Kūm Abū Billū), 363, Fig. 12; *Eadem* 2007 (Kūm Abū Billū), 158, Fig. 4.

# Other Egyptian Early Arab amphorae

The excavations in the Old Monastery of the Romans have brought to light a number of very interesting amphora-types that date from the Umayyad (658-750) to the 'Abbāsid (750-868) periods or even later. They are all made of Nile silt fabric and manifestly derive from specific Late Roman types. The classification that is suggested here would not have been possible without the careful examination of a number of amphorae that are kept in a glass display case in the Monastery of Saint Macarius in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn (Figs. 7.68, 7.70, 7.71) (unpublished – reproduced here with the kind permission of abūna Juhanna). These complete or almost complete vessels would remain unintelligible, if similar vessels or fragments that match them would have not been found in well-dated contexts of the Old Baramūs excavations. At the same time, their contribution in determining and recognising often occurring but usually fragmentary preserved types, has proven extremely important. Three main groups have been discerned and they are named after their Late Roman predecessors.

The term suggested for the first group is *Egyptian Early Arab amphorae 1*, due to their strong morphological similarity with the Late Roman amphorae 1, from which they seem to have derived. It corresponds to the type *Egyptian Amphora 8.2* of the classification suggested by Dixneuf (2011, 177-179, Figs. 177-178). Fragments of such vessels are found in Kellia (Ballet 2003a, 152-153, Fig. 23), in Bāwīț (Marchand and Dixneuf 2007, 316, Figs. 21-23) and in the workshops of Saint Jeremiah in Saqqāra, which have been considered as a possible production source, although not with certainty (Ghaly 1992, 168, Fig. 16a-b; Dixneuf 2011, 174-175). The type is to

be found among the products of 'Ayūn Mūsā, made of calcareous fabric (Ballet 2001, 41-42, Figs. 9, 12; Ballet and Dixneuf 2004, 70-71, Fig.12; Ballet 2007b, 622, Figs. 1-2; Dixneuf 2011, 175-177).



Fig. 3.71. Egyptian Early Arab Amphorae 1A and 1B from Saint Macarius Monastery

The Kellia examples are dated to the first half of the eighth century; this date appears plausible judging by the Baramūs fragments (Nos. 543-547), which are not against the possibility that the form emerged somewhere in the second half of the seventh century. Egyptian Early Arab amphorae 1 are made of brown Nile fabric, the micaceous N2 variant having been used in the finer versions, while the straw-rich N6 in the coarser ones. They are mostly recognisable by the ridge formed outside their rounded rim, their usually cylindrical neck, which appears reeded, especially on the inside and the two handles attached exactly at the rim-height or slightly below rim and on the upper shoulder. The excavations in the Old Baramūs have released a number of upper parts and some rounded bases that belong to this group of wares. Hence, only assumptions could be made as for the shape of their body, which is generally visualised as the typical cylindrical grooved body of the Late Roman amphorae 1. The solution here is given by the Saint Macarius collection, which includes two different type variants, referred to as Egyptian Early Arab amphorae 1A and 1B.

The 1A variants (Fig. 3.71) are characterised by a round, slightly everted rim, not necessarily underlined by a ridge on the exterior. The neck is cylindrical, fluted on both surfaces. Two loop handles are attached below the rim and at the upper shoulder.

The body is oval-shaped, slightly tapering to a rounded base. The upper shoulder, the lower part of the body and the base are reeded. This variant is somehow reminiscent to certain early fifth century Late Roman 1 amphorae. Its capacity is estimated at about 6.2 litres if filled up to the neck height, or at 6.9 litres if filled up to the rim height. It is possible that the upper part only might be identified as the amphora type known as Egloff 167, which is dated to the second half of the seventh until the first half of the eighth century (Egloff 1977, 113). However, in his Kellia typology the above author has published an incomplete vessel, so that it is not easy to verify if the specific Egyptian Early Arab amphora variant corresponds to this type or not. At any rate, it seems that Egloff remarked a typological similarity between the Late Roman amphorae 1 and his form 167, so that he chose to classify it among the aforementioned amphorae.<sup>61</sup>

# 543. Context 1. 99I[5](56)10. Fig. 3.72. Upper part

Collar rim, cylindrical reeded neck and sloping shoulder; two bowed handles attached at mid-height of the neck and on the upper shoulder.

Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Inner surface: 10YR 4 / 2 (dark greyish brown). Date: late  $7^{th} - 8^{th}$  c.

The Egyptian Early Arab 1B amphorae (Fig. 3.71) have a rim with a wide concave outer face, in most cases created by running the finger across it to form the concave moulding, rather than by folding it. The neck is cylindrical or slightly conical, and appears grooved only at the inner surface. Two handles are attached on the rim and the upper shoulder, which is rounded and grooved. The body is rather elongated, tapering to a narrow rounded reeded base. This type is reminiscent to one of the modules that Pieri (2005, 76-77, Fig. 25, sous-module 1B) discerns, dating to the period from the mid-sixth to the mid-seventh century (see also: Diederichs 1980, Pl. 19, Nos. 211, 212; Adan-Bayewitz 1986, 124, Fig. 2, No. 4). The estimated capacity varies from 6.3 litres up to the neck-height until 6.8 litres up to the rimheight. It is obvious that the lower body differs than that of the typical Late Roman predecessors, but I am not yet sure if the upper parts only are enough to allow us classify a vessel to the one or the other type variant. Nevertheless, it is important to note the diversity of forms within a single type, expecting the existence of more variants that would supplement the repertory between the 1A and the 1B.

544. Context 7. 07III[22](52)48. Fig. 3.72. Upper part.

Plain rim, gentle ridge outside rim, slightly conical neck with reeded inner walls, fluted upper shoulder, two grooved bowed handles attached to rim and upper shoulder.

Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 10YR 4 / 4 (dark yellowish brown).

Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Ghaly 1992 (Saqqāra), 168, Fig. 16a-b; Konstantinidou 2010, 952, Fig. 8, No. 32.

545. Context 1. 07I[5](23)22. Fig. 3.72. Upper part.

Slightly thickened rim underlined by ridge on the outside, conical neck, two vertical handles, elliptical in section, attached to rim and upper shoulder.

Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown) – 10YR 4 / 4 (dark yellowish brown). Inner surface: 7.5YR 4 / 2 – 4 / 3 (brown).

Date: uncertain. 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 153, Fig. 23, No. 138.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Late Roman amphorae 1 appear in Egloff's typology as numbers 164, 166, 168 and 169.



Fig. 3.72. Egyptian Early Arab Amphorae 1A and 1B found in the Old Baramūs

**546.** Context 1. 07I[2](10)8.1. Fig. 3.72. Upper part. Bead rim, underlined by a collar; cylindrical neck, rather bulged at mid-height; a groove at neck's base; two handles attached at the rim and upper shoulder – only their springs are preserved. Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 10YR 4 / 4 (dark yellowish brown). Date: uncertain.  $7^{th}-9^{th}$  c.

**547.** Context 1. 98V[2](28)25. Fig. 3.72. Base. Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 10YR 4 / 3 (brown). Date: uncertain.  $7^{th}-9^{th}$  c.

The containers of the second group are classified as *Egyptian Early Arab amphorae 2* (Nos. 548-555,), since they seem to have derived from the Late Roman amphorae 2. This group corresponds to the *Egyptian Amphora 8.1* of the classification suggested by Dixneuf (2011, 179, Figs. 179-180). They are made of brown Nile fabric, especially the sandy N1B or N2 variants, but the lime-rich N3 and the straw-rich N6 variants are also used. Their main features are a cylindrical or conical fluted neck; two vertical handles attached to the neck and the upper shoulder; a wide globular or pear-shaped body, grooved or reeded at the upper shoulder, and a rounded base. A significant variety of rim forms is striking: a slightly everted, flattened rim on top with concave inner face, along with a thickened bead-rim seem to be the commonest versions in the Old Baramūs. The capacity of the vessels reaches

approximately the 9.2 litres, when filled up to the neck, or the 9.6 litres, when filled up to the rim. These amphorae are considered to have carried wine, while a production centre should be probably searched somewhere in the Western Delta – Kūm Abū Billū (Terenuthis) is mentioned as also producing this amphora type (Ballet 2003a, 148-149; *Id.*, 2007a, 159). A calcareous variant of the type is produced in the kiln site of 'Ayūn Mūsā (Ballet 2001, 42-43, Fig.15; Ballet and Dixneuf 2004, 70-71; Ballet 2007b, 623, Fig. 6; Dixneuf 2011, 175-177).



Fig. 3.73. *Egyptian Early Arab Amphora 2* from Saint Macarius Monastery and the Old Baramūs (Nos. 548-555)

**548**. Context 10. 99V[2](11)10.10. Fig. 3.73. Upper part.

Squared-off rim, cylindrical neck, two handles, elliptical in section, attached outside rim.

Fabric: N3 / 6. Zoned break. Core: N3 / (very dark grey), inner margin: 10YR 4 / 2 (dark greyish brown), outer margin: 10YR 4 / 3 (brown). Inner surface: 10YR 5 / 4 (yellowish brown), outer surface: 10YR 4 / 4 (dark yellowish brown).

Date: late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 149, Fig. 21, No. 129.

549. Context 1. 06II[18](9)23. Fig. 3.73. Upper part.

Everted rim with concave inner face, conical neck, two curved handles, elliptical in section attached to neck and upper shoulder. Thick traces of resin lining inside neck and on parts of rim.

Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: N3 / (very dark gray), margins: 7.5YR 5 / 4 – 4 / 4 (brown). Outer surface: 7.5YR 5 / 4 – 4 / 4 (brown), inner surface: 7.5YR 4 / 2 (brown). Date: late 7<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Bonnet 1994 (Kellia), 364, Fig. 225, No. 64; Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 150, Fig. 21, No. 130; Konstantinidou 2010, 952, Fig. 8, No. 31.

550. Context 1. 96I Baulk 1 [3]4. Fig. 3.73. Upper part.

Plain rim, conical neck, two ear-shaped handles, semi-circular in section, attached to neck and upper shoulder.

Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 2.5Y 3 / 1 (very dark grey), margins and surfaces: 7.5YR 4 / 3 (brown). Date: late  $7^{th} - 8^{th} c.+$ 

551. Context 10. 99V[3](12)11.7. Fig. 3.73. Upper part.

Bead-rim, conical neck, two handles, circular in section, attached below rim.

Fabric: N3 / 6. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 5 / 3 (brown), margins: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Outer surface: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). The inner surface is covered with salt (?).

Date: late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Bonnet 1994 (Kellia), 364, Fig. 225, No. 65; Majcherek 2008 (Marea), 118, Fig. 44, No. 88.

552. Context 10. 99V[3](12)11.8. Fig. 3.73. Upper body.

Rolled, almond-shaped rim, cylindrical neck, two bowed handles, elliptical in section, attached to neck and upper shoulder. Seven rows of horizontal incised parallel lines at shoulder.

Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 5Y 5 / 1 (gray), margins: 10R 5 / 8 (red). Inner surface: 7.5YR 3 / 2 (dark brown), outer surface: 7.5YR 4 / 3 (brown).

Date: late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c.

**553.** Context 1. 98I[1](52)41. Fig. 3.73. Mouth. Rolled, almond-shaped rim, cylindrical neck, two grooved handles attached to neck. Fabric: N6. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 5 / 1 (gray), margins: 7.5YR 5 / 6 (strong brown). Surfaces: 7.5YR 5 / 6 (strong brown). Date: uncertain. 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c. (?)

**554.** Context 3. 07I[31](43)46. Fig. 3.73. Mouth. Bead-rim, cylindrical neck, two bowed handles, semi-circular in section, attached to neck. Fabric: N2 / N6. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 5 / 6 – 4 / 6 (strong brown). Date:  $7^{\text{th}}$  c. (?)

**555.** Context 1. 07I[17](25)24. Fig. 3.73. Base. Rounded, fluted. Fabric: N2 / N6. Homogeneous break. 10YR 4 / 4 (dark yellowish brown). Date: uncertain. 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

Complete objects or upper parts that correspond to this type are found in Kellia (Bonnet 1994, 364, Fig. 225, Nos. 64-65; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 1999, 539, Fig. 489, No. 160; Ballet 2003a, 148-151), in Marea (Majcherek 2002, 61-63, Fig. 2.4-5; *Idem* 2008, 118, Fig. 44, Nos. 85-89) and in Bāwīț (Marchand and Dixneuf 2007, 31-316, Figs. 19-20) in contexts dating to the second half of the seventh and the eighth

century, as well as in Naqlūn (Górecki 1993, 60-61, Fig. 5a) in ninth to tenth century contexts. The body of two amphorae, which look like Egyptian Early Arab 2, is published by Żurek (2004, 172, Fig. 5.1-2). An element that differentiates one of them is a sort of incised decoration consisting in a wavy line between horizontal lines. It is probable that the later finds are later versions – successors – of the Egyptian Early Arab amphorae 2.

Both the publications concerning the pottery from Kellia and from Marea refer to the finds that belong to this type as Egloff 167. Indeed, the Egyptian Early Arab amphorae 2 should be related to the aforementioned Kellia type. However, confusion between the Egyptian Early Arab amphorae 1A and 2 could occur due to a number of common characteristics that they both share, such as the fluted neck, the handles attached right below the rim and on the upper shoulder, as well as the grooved or reeded upper shoulder. It is therefore normal to sometimes group these two different types together under the umbrella of the Egloff type 167, especially when only finding their broken upper parts.

The third group includes a series of spindle-shaped amphorae, which seem to derive from a synthesis of the bitroncoconical *Late Egyptian Amphorae 3* and the carrot-shaped *Egyptian Amphorae 7*. The term *Egyptian Early Arab 3* is suggested, implying at the same time their probable origin from the Egyptian amphorae 3 (equivalent to the Egyptian A) of the Roman times. Brown Nile fabric was used in the manufacture of these containers as well, especially the N2 variant, and in one case the N6. Two type variants are discerned.

Egyptian Early Arab amphorae 3A (Nos. 556-558) have a rather long, ribbed neck often forming a ledge at its lower point; two loop handles are attached below the mid-height of the neck and at the upper shoulder; the shoulder is mostly rounded; a ridge is formed above the spike. Two different rim shapes are noted: a slightly inturned undulating or grooved rim (Roman predecessor in: Tomber 2006, 148, type 12), and an incurved almond-shaped rim (Roman predecessor in: Tomber 2006: 143-145, types 1-2). Certain characteristics, such as the rim shapes, the long neck, the non-fluted shoulder and the ridge above the spike recall the bitroncoconical Egyptian amphorae 3. But the handles, the ledge at the base of the neck and generally the shape of the body are inspired from the *Egyptian amphorae* 7. This type is so far located in Kellia (Kasser 1994, No. 58) only and it is dated to the first half of the eighth century (Ballet 2003a, 152, Fig. 22). One of the amphorae found in the Old Monastery of Baramūs is pierced at the lower neck, at a distance of ten centimetres below the rim. The capacity of the 3A variants is estimated about 4.8 litres if filled up to the neck or almost 5.3 litres if filled up to the rim-height.

**556.** Context 10. 99V[3](12)11.2. Fig. 3.75. Almost complete –rim and base missing. Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 10YR 4 / 3 (brown). Date: late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 152, Fig. 22, No. 136.



Egyptian Early Arab Amphora 3B

Fig. 3.74. Egyptian Early Arab Amphorae 3A and 3B from Saint Macarius Monastery

**557.** Context 10. 99V[3](12)11.9. Fig. 3.75. Upper part. Amphora with almond-shaped rim, long ribbed neck, pierced right below mid-height, and two ear-shaped handles, ovoid in section attached at the lower neck. Fabric: N2 / 6. Homogeneous break. 10YR 4 / 4 (dark yellowish brown). Date: late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 152, Fig. 22, No. 137.

558. Context 10. 99V[2](12)11.3. Fig. 3.75. Neck and upper shoulder.

Fragment of *EEA3A* amphora variant with carinated shoulder. A ledge is formed at the neck's base, separating it from the shoulder. Two curved handles, semi-circular in section, are attached at the lower neck and the upper shoulder. Decoration of incised horizontal and wavy bands is applied on the upper shoulder.

Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4/4 (brown). Date: late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c.



Fig. 3.75. Egyptian Early Arab Amphorae 3A and 3B found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 556-559)

The variant 3B of Egyptian Early Arab amphorae (No. 559, Fig. 3.75) is plainrimmed, with a cylindrical neck, two handles attached at the lower neck and the upper shoulder and a spindle-shaped body that tapers to a narrow, rounded base; the upper shoulder is reeded, so are the lower body and the base. The lower body of this type variant can be confused with that of the Egyptian Early amphorae 1B, but the wallthickness of the later is generally bigger. The capacity of the only complete example that we were able to examine,<sup>62</sup> is estimated at about 8.1 litres if filled up to the neck; in case that one such vessel was filled up to rim-height its capacity would reach the 8.6 litres.

**559** Context 7. 07III[22](17)<75>. Fig. 3.75. Almost complete object – rim missing. Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 5/4 - 4/4 (brown). Date: late 7<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Konstantinidou 2010, 952, Fig. 9, No. 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> It is found in the glass display case in the Monastery of Saint Macarius.

In conclusion, a number of new amphora types were produced in the second half of the seventh and the eighth century, existing along with the *Egyptian Amphorae* 7 and the *Egyptian bag-shaped* amphorae. Although not entirely unknown in the literature, the fact that they were usually found in fragments did not facilitate their identification. In this respect, the collection kept in the glass display case of the Saint Macarius Monastery has proven significantly important. So are the complete or almost complete amphorae unearthed in the excavation site of the Old Monastery of Baramūs. These new types incorporate morphological elements that derived from certain Late Roman Mediterranean or Egyptian amphorae, the production of which ceased somewhere in the late seventh century. For the first time they are roughly classified, described and their capacity is estimated. It is also proven that before finding the complete vessels, two actually different types could be recognised as one. Eventually, they are discerned and their slight differences are pinpointed in order to avoid confusion and further misinterpretations.

Nonetheless, there are still some important issues that remain unanswered, such as the location of the production centres (or centre), the content of the amphorae and the scale of their distribution. The similar fabrics used in their manufacture imply a common production centre. If this should be located around Saqqāra is not yet sure, as the hypothesis about the production of Egyptian Early Arab amphorae 1 in the region is not confirmed. Meanwhile, Ballet (2007, 159) reported that the site of Kūm Abū Billū (Terenuthis) is the production centre of the Egloff type 167 (equivalent to Egyptian Early Arab 2), and noted some technological similarities between this type and the Egyptian *bag-shaped* amphorae made of Nile fabric (Ballet 2003a, 148). The Old Baramūs finds generally do not affirm this observation, although there are indeed some Egyptian amphorae 5 that are made of the same fabric with the Egyptian Early Arab amphorae 2. The same author suspected at least for the Egyptian *bag-shaped* amphorae a link with the commerce and distribution of natron, and considered that the kiln site of Kūm Abū Billū would cover the needs of the neighbouring Monasteries of the Wādī al-Naţrūn.

At this point, it is worth noting a strange contradiction that deserves further investigation. On the one hand the fabrics of the Egyptian Early Arab amphorae found in the Wādī al-Natrūn are the same with those used in the *Late Egyptian 3* and the *Egyptian Amphorae 7*, the production centres of which are located in the Nile Valley. On the other hand, most of the published examples are found in Lower Egypt (Kellia, Marea), especially in the monastic settlements of Kellia and the Wādī al-Natrūn. In my opinion, the last observation should be taken more seriously into consideration, indicating the Nile Delta as the probable production place of the Egyptian Early Arab amphorae under discussion. If some of the adjacent monastic sites were the main consumers of these types and their contents is still rather early to maintain; it would be wiser to wait for more publications of ceramic assemblages dating to the Early Arab times so as to draw any conclusion.

# 2.2.5 MISCELLANEA

Apart from the wares that served for the transportation, storage, preparation, cooking and serving of the foodstuffs, various other wares were found in the site of the Old Monastery of Baramūs and are grouped together as miscellaneous objects. Not only lamps, lids and reworked objects are included, but a group of small and medium-sized closed vessels that probably contained holy substances and hence could not be considered as table wares.

# Wares containing Holy substances

The mouth of a pilgrim's flask (No. 560) (Kaufmann 1910; Metzger 1981, 9-16, 25-39, Figs. 1-6, 10-80; Kiss 1989; *Id.* 1991; Witt 2000), along with a sixth century miniature jug (No. 561) (Kaufmann 1908, Fig. 78. Similar to Egloff 1977, 137, type 239) and a number of seventh century rippled jugs (Nos. 562-564) (Egloff 1977, 134-135, types 227-228) arrived in the Old Monastery of Baramūs from the pilgrimage centre of Saint Mena (Abū Mīnā) near the Lake Mareotis.

Ballet and Picon (1987, 34) considered that the Abū Mīnā rippled jugs, whose commercialisation accompanied that of the amphorae, may have served as an element of promotion in the wine commerce. However, the inscriptions  $\varepsilon \delta \lambda o \gamma i \alpha \tau o \tilde{\sigma} A \gamma i o v M \eta v \tilde{\alpha}$  (blessing of Saint Mena) or simply  $\tau o \tilde{v} A \gamma i o v M \eta v \tilde{\alpha}$  (Saint Mena's) that they often bear may be considered as an indication that they would have contained, or that they were made to contain a holy substance. Especially the Greek word  $\varepsilon \delta \lambda o \gamma i \alpha$  designates the pilgrim's flasks, as individual objects, even nowadays.

Such jugs were located in considerable quantities in the baths of the *coenobia* and of the  $\Xi \epsilon vo\delta o\chi \epsilon \tilde{\iota} ov$  (hotel), in cisterns as well as in the Sacred Source (Kaufmann 1908, 109-122)<sup>63</sup> and they probably relate to the use of the  $\pi \dot{\alpha} v \kappa \alpha \lambda \lambda ov \ \ddot{\upsilon} \delta \omega \rho$ , the sacred water of Saint Mena (Kaufmann 1908, 64). In a later article, Ballet (1991) pinpointed that these jugs were probably *intended to hold the miraculous water of the sanctuary*. They were often found side by side with the famous flasks that were diffused throughout the Mediterranean as 'souvenirs' of the pilgrims' trip to the Shrine of Saint Mena. Pilgrims from more or less all over the Mediterranean world swarmed in the site, seeking its famous healing powers that were attributed to the therapeutic effects of the Sacred Source's water. Then they kept some sacred water or oil from the lamp that burnt before the tomb of the Saint.

**<sup>560.</sup>** Context 2. 99I[19](64)20. Fig. 3.76. Mouth. Cup mouth pierced with one central hole. Probably from an  $Ab\bar{u} M\bar{n}n\bar{a}$  pilgrim flask. Fabric: C1. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow). Production place:  $Ab\bar{u} M\bar{n}n\bar{a}$ . Date:  $6^{th} - 7^{th}$  c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> The Sacred Source marks the spot near where the camels that carried the body of Saint Mena stopped and this is where the body of the Saint was eventually buried.



Fig. 3.76. Wares containing Holy substances from Abū Mīnā found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 561-564)

561. Out of context. Surface. Fig. 3.76. Complete object.

Small jug with flaring rim, conical neck, spherical body and flat base. A small spout protrudes from the upper shoulder. One almost ear-shaped handle, somehow square in section, is attached to the rim and the body. Remains of an inscription (the letter M?) on the shoulder-height. The colour of the inscription is 10R 3 / 1 (dark reddish grey).

Fabric: C3B – not powdery. Homogeneous break. 10YR 8/4 - 7/4 (very pale brown). Surfaces: same colour with the break.

Production place: Abū Mīnā.

Date: 6<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 137, type 239 (without spout); Rodziewicz 1984 (Alexandria), Pl. 32:99.

**562.** Context 1. 99I[2](53)9. Fig. 3.76. Body. Fabric: C3A. Homogeneous break. .5YR 7 / 2 (pinkish gray). Outer surface: 5YR 7 / 2 (pinkish gray), inner surface: 7.5YR 7 / 1 (light gray). Production place: *Abū Mīnā*. Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.

**563.** Context 1. 99I<135>. Fig. 3.76. Body. Fabric: C3A. Homogeneous break. 5YR 7 / 4 (pink). Outer surface: 5YR 7 / 2 (pinkish gray). Production place: *Abū Mīnā*. Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.

**564.** Context 1. 98V[2](42)33. Fig. 3.76. Base. Fabric: C3A. Zoned break – two zones. Inner zone and surface: 7.5YR 7 / 1 (light gray), outer zone: 5YR 6 / 6 (reddish yellow). Outer surface: 10YR 8 / 1 (white). Production place:  $Ab\bar{u} M\bar{n}n\bar{a}$ . Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.

**562-564.** Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 134-135, types 227-228; Johnson 1981 (Karanis), 8, Pl. 31, No. 194; Rodziewicz 1984 (Alexandria), Pl. 32:94; Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 175, Fig. 26, No. 165; Majcherek 2008 (Marea), 115, Fig. 41, No. 63.

Another case of wares possibly containing a holy substance is related to the Monastery of Saint Macarius in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn. Three unknown types of flagons made of calcareous fabrics were found in the Old Monastery of the Romans chiefly in ninth-century layers. Their outer walls, as well as the inner walls, from the rim until the neck's base, appear lighter. This should be probably interpreted as scum, namely the thin layer of effloresced salts covering the vases' surface.

**Type 1.** Small flagons (Nos. 565-568) (H: 10.5cm; Max. D: 7cm; approximate capacity: 0.139lt – 0.145lt) with flaring mouth, neck with concave outer walls, ovoid body and rounded base that forms a small knob; one handle is attached to the rim and the upper shoulder. These flagons often bear two horizontal bands of incised parallel lines (combing?), one on the upper and one on the lower shoulder.

**565.** Cells. 96III[8](36)51<117>. Fig. 3.77. Almost complete object – base missing. Fabric: C3B. Homogeneous break. 5YR 7 / 6 (reddish yellow). Surfaces: 5Y 8 / 2 - 8 / 3 (pale yellow). Production place: Wādī al-Naṭrūn, Saint Macarius Monastery. Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.

**566.** Context 1. 97I[5](5)21. Fig. 3.77. Upper part. Fabric: C3B. Zoned break. Core: 2.5Y 6 / 2 (light brownish gray), margins: 5YR 7 / 4 (pink). Outer surface: 5Y 8 / 1 (white). Production place: Wādī al-Naṭrūn, Saint Macarius Monastery. Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.

**567.** Context 1. 07I[6](12)11. Fig. 3.77. Upper part. Fabric: C3B. Homogeneous break. 10YR 7 / 4 (very pale brown). Surfaces: 2.5Y 8 / 3 (pale yellow). Production place: Wādī al-Naṭrūn, Saint Macarius Monastery. Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.

568. Context 1. 98I[1](39)30. Fig. 3.77. Lower body.
Fabric: C3A. Homogeneous break. 10YR 7 / 3 (very pale brown). Surfaces: 10YR 7 / 3 (very pale brown).
Production place: Wādī al-Naţrūn, Saint Macarius Monastery.
Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.



Fig. 3.77. Flagons from the Saint Macarius Monastery and the Old Baramūs

*Type 2*. Flagons (Nos. 569-571) with flaring mouth, waisted neck and spherical body with a turned, base, slightly stepped on the underside; two ring-handles are attached to the shoulder. These spherical flagons occur in two sizes: small (PH: 13cm; Max. D: 12cm; approximate capacity: 0.395lt) and medium-sized (PH: 14.6cm; Max. D: 14.2cm; approximate capacity: 0.905lt). The smaller versions of this form often bear painted decoration of ceramic colours consisting of horizontal bands, composed by lines and strokes that surround a wavy line. The lines are usually purple black (10R 3 / 2 – dusky red) and the strokes are red (10R 4 / 6). Like in the case of the fabrics and the surfaces, firing temperatures might as well affect the final hue of the colours applied. Hence, it is not striking that in some of the over-fired painted sherds the colours appear distorted, with the lines being almost brown (5YR 5 / 3 – reddish brown) and the strokes light brownish (10YR 5 / 4 – yellowish brown). Some of the non-painted flagons of this type might bear one or more horizontal bands of incised parallel lines on the shoulder.

Although the type is not known from any other publication, surprisingly two interesting parallels are illustrated in a wall-painting of the Red Monastery in Suhāğ. At the sanctuary's north semi-dome the representation of the Virgin *Galactotrophousa* is arranged in an interesting architectural background composed by three arcades resting on four square-pillars. These arcades – especially those surrounding the four prophets (Ezekiel, and Jeremiah on the one side, Isaiah and Daniel on the other) that flank Virgin Mary – are richly decorated with censers, lamps and vases (Bolman 2006, Pl. 2; Leferrière 2008, 26-28, Pl. IV). These vases, which are depicted hanging, cords having been lashed around their handles, are morphologically and apparently technically (they are painted white) identical to our *type 2* flagons.

**569.** Context 1. 07I[34](54)57. Fig. 3.77. Upper body. Fabric: C3B. Homogeneous break. 5Y 8 / 3 (pale yellow). Production place: Wādī al-Naṭrūn, Saint Macarius Monastery. Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.

**570.** Context 1. 98V[2](38)28.6+99I[2](53)9+[...] Fig. 3.77. Body.

Fabric: C3B. Zoned break. Core: 7.5YR 8 / 4 (pink), inner margin: 2.5Y 7 / 2 (light grey), outer margin: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Surfaces: 2.5Y 8 / 3 (pale yellow).

Decoration: painted with ceramic colours. Four dark reddish brown (5YR 3 / 2) horizontal lines enclosing two red (2.5YR 4 / 6) strokes. A wavy line (5YR 3 / 2) is depicted between the second and the third lines.

Production place: Wādī al-Naṭrūn, Saint Macarius Monastery. Date:  $9^{th}$  c.

**571.** Context 1. 97I[5](5)25. Fig. 3.77. Base. Fabric: C3B. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 8 / 4 (pink). Surfaces: 2.5Y 8 / 3 (pale yellow). Production place: Wādī al-Naṭrūn, Saint Macarius Monastery. Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.

**Type 3.** A distinctive type of medium-sized bottles (Nos. 572-575, Fig. 3.77) (H: 25cm; Max. D: 8cm; approximate capacity: 0.700lt - 0.815lt) with flaring mouth, neck with convex outer walls and cylindrical body with somehow angular shoulder, tapering towards a flat base; one handle is attached to the rim and the upper shoulder. Horizontal bands of incised parallel lines on the shoulder and the body often 'decorate' the vessels. This form seems to have immediately derived from a glass prototype (*e.g.* Egloff 1977, type 368).

**572.** Cells. 97II-93. Fig. 3.77. Almost complete – part of body and handle missing Fabric: C3A. Zoned break. Core: 2.5Y 7 / 2 (light grey), margins: 5YR 7 / 3 (pink). Outer surface: 2.5Y 8 / 1 (white). Production place: Wādī al-Naṭrūn, Saint Macarius Monastery. Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.

573. Church. 99II<157>. Fig. 3.77. Body.
A ridge is formed all along the base of the neck. Three horizontal bands of incised parallel lines, one on the shoulder and two on the upper body.
Fabric: C3B. Zoned break. Core: 5Y 8 / 2 (pale yellow), margins: 7.5YR 8 / 6 (reddish yellow).
Surfaces: 2.5Y 8 / 3 (pale yellow).
Production place: Wādī al-Naṭrūn, Saint Macarius Monastery.
Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.

**574.** Context 1. 07I[6](12)11. Fig. 3.77. Upper part. Fabric: C3A. Zoned break. Core: 2.5Y 7 / 3 (pale yellow), margins: 5YR 7 / 4 (pink). Outer surface: 5Y 8 / 1 (white). Production place: Wādī al-Naṭrūn, Saint Macarius Monastery. Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.

575. Out of context. Near cells. Fig. 3.77. Body.
Fabric: C3B. Zoned break. Core: 2.5Y 7 / 2 (light grey), margins: 5YR 7 / 6 (reddish yellow). Surfaces: 2.5Y 8 / 3 (pale yellow). Traces of a black organic material on the inside.
Production place: Wādī al-Naţrūn, Saint Macarius Monastery.
Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.

During a survey in the environs of the Monastery of Saint Macarius, it was discovered that these types would have been manufactured there.

# Lamps

Lighting was achieved with the help of specialised objects, the lamps. These vessels needed to contain a fuel (*e.g.* oil) and their rim was often shaped so as to hold a wick (Yon 1981, 138-139). In Egypt, during the period from the fourth to the ninth century, the chief fashioning technique was throwing; moulding was employed less frequently and concerned mostly lamps, while modelling was not preferred at all, apart from certain elements, such as handles and grips (Ballet 1991, 481). In the Old Monastery of Baramūs only four fragmentary examples of mould-made lamps (Nos. 576-579, Fig.7.75) are found.

**576.** Context 1. 99I<125>+<134>. Fig. 3.78.

Flat topped lamp, with a seemingly circular discus and broad shoulder. A straight channel connects the discus with the nozzle. The handle is upright, imperforated, slightly projecting behind the body. The decoration consists of clearly incised chevrons on the shoulder. This not so common group of lamps with the chevron band as a characteristic feature usually bears the representation of a fish on the discus. Fabric: African 1. Homogeneous break. 10R 6/8 (light red).

Slip: thin coat, dense, semi-lustrous. 10R 5 / 8 (red).

Production place: probably central Tunisia.

Date: second half of  $5^{\text{th}}$  – early  $6^{\text{th}}$  c. (Bonifay 2004, 373-382, 390).

Parallels / Bibliography: Hayes 1972, 311, African lamps-type 2; Ennabli 1976, 159, Pl. 39, No. 744; Bonifay 2004, 390, Fig. 217, lamp type 58.



Fig. 3.78. Lamps found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 576-606)

**577.** Context 1. 99I<121>. Fig. 3.78.

Only the top is preserved. Lamp with circular body, a wide, slightly convex shoulder and a concave disc. A rosette pattern radiates from the central filling hole. One ridge, from which extends one row of grooves, encircles the central motif. The nozzle and the handle are not preserved.

Fabric: C2. Homogeneous break. 10YR 8 / 4 - 7 / 4 (very pale brown). Surfaces: same colour with break.

Production place: Abū Mīnā

Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c. or slightly later. Parallels / Bibliography: Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 191-192, Fig. 34, No. 195; Szymańska 2008 (Marea), 164, Fig. 58, No. 61.

578. Context 1. 98V[2](7)<149>. Fig. 3.78.
Only the top is preserved. Ovoid lamp with knob handle, non-pierced. Soot around the nozzle. It is decorated with relief dots on the shoulder.
Fabric: Aswān kaolinitic. Homogeneous break. 10YR 6 / 4 (light yellowish brown).
Slip: flaked-out, only some remains are visible. 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red).
Production place: Aswān
Date: late 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c. (?)
Parallels / Bibliography: Broneer 1930: type 28 derivative. Similar to Szymańska 2008 (Marea), 162, Fig. 55, No. 32.

**579.** Context 1. 07I[34](54)57. Fig. 3.78. Circular lamp with incised decoration. Fabric: Aswān kaolinitic. Homogeneous break. 2.5YR 6 / 6 (light red). Slip: generally damaged. 10R 5 / 6 (red). Production place: Aswān? Date: uncertain.

The rest (Nos. 580-606, Fig.7.75) of the lamps found in the Old Baramūs are wheel-made. Ballet (1991, 495) noted that wheel-made lamps could be divided into two groups:

#### Group 1

Lamps in the shape of a teapot or juglet, with pot-bellied bodies, often topped by a neck; their nozzle and handle were added after the reservoir was formed (Bailey 1988, Pl. 56, Q2270-Q2279; Bailey 1998, 148-149, Pl. 91, X171-X175). The only representative of this group is lamp No. 580 (Fig. 3.78) characterised by a relatively high tubular rim; the applied nozzle and the vertical handle are broken.

**580.** Context 2. 99I[19](64)<130>. Fig. 3.78. Complete object. Soot all around the nozzle and at the front side of the neck. Fabric: N3. Zoned break. Core: 10R 4 / 6 (red), margins: 7.5YR 4 / 3 (brown). Slip: applied on the upper part of the disc and the neck; smooth, glossy. 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red). Production place: Date: late 6<sup>th</sup> / 7<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Bailey 1988, 233, Pl. 56, No. 2277. Almost full profile (handles and nozzle missing).

# Group 2

Small cups or bowls used as lamps (*saucer-lamps*), recognisable by the traces of the wick's burning on the rim. Saucer lamps follow a long ancient tradition in the Delta, at least from the Late Period until the Ptolemaic and Early Roman times (Ballet *et al.* 2006, Fig. 13.7-8). This group is especially found in monasteries and hermitages (Winlock and Crum 1926, 88, Fig. 38; Jacquet-Gordon 1972, 7-8, Pl. 228; Egloff 1977, 162-163, Pl. 85, types 308-315; Ballet 1991, 495). Egloff (1977, 161) divided the lamps of this group into two categories, according to their depth: short shallow bowls (Egloff 1977, 162, types 308-310) and deep bowls (Egloff 1977, 162-163, types 311-315), both versions occurring in the Old Baramūs.

The group, which corresponds exactly to the first category of Egloff (1977, 162, types 308-310), is the most widespread in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 581-596, Fig. 3.78). It comprises of shallow, mostly flat-bottomed bowls with sloping walls; a relative variability concerns mostly their rim-form, based on which one may distinguish the following versions: plain-rimmed bowls (Nos. 581-582, Fig. 3.78); bowls with plain rim underlined by an imperceptible groove (Nos. 583-584, Fig. 3.78); knobbed-rim bowls (Nos. 585-594), some of which forming a hollowed base (Nos. 591-592, Fig.

3.78); wider bowls with grooved on both surfaces rim, sloping walls and rounded base (Nos. 595-596, Fig. 3.78). Nile fabric is used in their manufacture, especially the quartz-rich (N4, N5) variants.

**581.** Context 1. 99I[2](47)1+ 99I[2](53)9. Fig. 3.78. Complete object. Lamp in the shape of a small shallow bowl with plain rim, sloping walls and flat base. Fabric: N5. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 8 (red), margins: 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown). Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date:  $5^{th}-8^{th}$  c.

582. Context 1. 99I[5](56)10. Fig. 3.78. Full profile.
Lamp in the shape of a bowl with plain rim, sloping walls and flat base.
Fabric: N5. Zoned break. Core: 10R 6 / 4 (pale red), margins: 10R 4 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Traces of soot on the inside.
Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley.
Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.

583. Context 1. 98V-38. Fig. 3.78. Full profile.
Lamp in the shape of a small bowl with plain rim, slightly grooved on the outside, sloping walls and flat base.
Fabric:
Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley.
Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.

**584.** Context 1. 99I[2](47)1. Fig. 3.78. Full profile.

Lamp in the shape of a small bowl with plain rim, slightly grooved on the outside, sloping walls and flat base. Soot around the rim and on the inside of the bowl.

Fabric: N4. Zoned break. Core: 5Y 5 / 2 (olive grey), inner margin: 10R 6 / 4 (pale red) – 5 / 4 (weak red), outer margin: 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red). Inner surface: 5YR 4 / 6 (yellowish red), outer surface: 2.5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown).

Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date:  $5^{\text{th}}-8^{\text{th}}$  c.

585. Context 1. 99I[2](47)1. Fig. 3.78. Full profile.

Lamp in the shape of a small bowl with slightly thickened on the outside rim, underlined by a groove on the exterior, sloping walls and flat base.

Fabric:

Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date:  $5^{\text{th}}-8^{\text{th}}$  c.

**586.** Context 1. 99I[7](58)12. Fig. 3.78. Full profile. Lamp in the shape of a small shallow bowl with knobbed rim that forms a slightly concave outer face, sloping walls and flat base. Sooted especially around the rim. Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: N 2.5 / (black), margins and surfaces: 10YR 5 / 3 (brown). Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.

**587.** Context 1. 98V[2](39)32. Fig. 3.78. Complete object. Lamp in the shape of a small bowl – larger version of No. 586. Fabric: N. Zoned break. Core: , margins: . Surfaces. Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date:  $5^{\text{th}}-8^{\text{th}}$  c.

**588.** Context 1. 98V[2](39)32. Fig. 3.78. Full profile. Lamp in the shape of a small bowl – similar to No. 587. Fabric: Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley.

Date:  $5^{\text{th}}-8^{\text{th}}$  c.

**589.** Context 1. 97I[6](5)14. Fig. 3.78. Rim. Lamp in the shape of a small bowl with knobbed rim, decorated with finger depressions on the outside. The lower body and the base are missing. Soot around the rim. Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: 5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown), margins: 10YR 4 / 3 (brown). A sort of thin wash is applied on both surfaces. 10R 4 / 4 (weak red) – 4 / 6 (red). Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date:  $5^{th}-8^{th}$  c.

**590.** Context 1. 07I[11](19)16. Fig. 3.78. Full profile.

Lamp in the shape of a small shallow bowl with knobbed rim, sloping walls and flat base. Heavily sooted.

Fabric: N1B. Homogeneous break. 10YR 3 / 2 (very dark greyish brown). Surfaces: 10YR 2 / 1 (black).

Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date:  $5^{\text{th}}-9^{\text{th}}$  c.

**591.** Context 1. 99I[10](73)30. Fig. 3.78. Full profile.

Lamp in the shape of a small shallow bowl with knobbed rim relatively curved walls and hollowed base. A groove on the outside of the rim.

Fabric: N3. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 6 (red), margins: 10R 4 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 5YR 5 / 6 – 4 / 6 (yellowish red). Traces of soot.

Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley.

Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: similar to Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 162, type 310; Bonnet-Borel and Cattin 2003 (Kellia), 462, Fig. 416, No. 249.

**592.** Context 1. 99I[2](47)1+99I[12] 16. Fig. 3.78. Full profile. Lamp in the shape of a small shallow bowl with knobbed rim, which forms a concave outer face, curved walls and hollowed base. Fabric: Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date:

**593.** Context 1. 99I[2](47)1. Fig. 3.78. Full profile. Lamp in the shape of a small shallow bowl with knobbed rim, curved walls and flat base. Fabric: Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 162, type 309.

**594.** Context 1. 99I[2](53)9+[5](56)10. Fig. 3.78. Complete object. Lamp in the shape of a small shallow bowl with knobbed rim, curved walls and flat base. Fabric: N1B / N3. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Slip: applied on both surfaces; matt, dense. 2.5YR 4 / 8 (red). Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 162, type 309.

**595.** Context 1. 99I[2](53)9. Fig. 3.78. Complete object. Lamp in the shape of a shallow bowl with plain rim, forming an offset at the inside; the walls are curving towards a flat base. Fabric: N4. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 3 (weak red), inner margin: 10R 4 / 8 (red), outer margin: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Outer surface: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Wash: a sort of matt wash is applied on the inside. 2.5YR 5 / 6 (red). Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 162, type 308. **596.** Context 1. 98V[2](40)30+99I[2](47)1. Fig. 3.78. Almost full profile – base missing. Lamp in the shape of a shallow bowl. The rim is thickened on the outside, while an offset is formed at the inside separating the rim from the body. The walls are curved. Fabric: N3. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 3 (weak red), margins: 10R 4 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Remains of soot on walls, especially around the rim. Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 162, type 308.

Finally, a group of lamps in the form of deep bowls with everted rim, sloping walls and flat base (Nos. 597-598, Fig. 3.78) (Egloff 1977, 162, type 312), often forming a central knob (Nos. 599-601, Fig. 3.78) occur in the Old Baramūs mostly in layers dating from the seventh to the tenth century. They are all made of Nile fabric, especially the quartz-rich variants N4 and N5.

597. Context 1. 99I[7](58)12. Fig. 3.78. Full profile. Fabric: Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 162, type 312; Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 189, Fig. 31, No. 189.

598. Church. 99III<42>. Fig. 3.78. Full profile.
Fabric:
Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley.
Date: 9<sup>th</sup> / 10<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 162, type 312; Ballet 2003a (Kellia), 189, Fig. 31, No. 189.

**599.** Context 1. 98I[1](48)39.2. Fig. 3.78. Full profile. Fabric: Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

**600.** Context 4. 07I[44](37)92. Fig. 3.78. Base and central knob. Heavily sooted. Fabric: N4. 10YR 3 / 1 (very dark grey). Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date: 7<sup>th</sup> c.

**601.** Context 1. 98I[1](39)30.18. Fig. 3.78. Base and central knob. Fabric: Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date: 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

Some finds (Nos. 602-606, Fig. 3.78) do not quite belong to any of the known groups of *saucer-lamps*. No. 581 is a hemispherical bowl with bevelled rim and a base with low rounded foot; its wall appears pierced. It is made of calcareous fabric (C3B variant of the fabrics' list). Traces of soot are visible on the inside of the vessel – which might have served as censer in case it is wrongly interpreted as a lamp. Numbers 582-585 are small cups and bowls of different shapes; they are all made of Nile fabric and they bear traces of burning. They generally belong to the first category of Egloff's (1977, 161) division.

**602.** Context 1. 99I[2](53)9+07I[36](56)58. Fig. 3.78. Full profile. Fabric: Production place: unknown. Date: uncertain. 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

**603.** Context 1. 96I[11](10)74. Fig. 3.78. Full profile. Lamp in the shape of a small bowl with flaring wall and flat base; the inner surface is reeded. Fabric: N5. Homogeneous break. 2.5YR 4 / 6 (red). Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date: uncertain. 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

**604.** Context 1. 07I[20](28)25. Fig. 3.78. Full profile. Lamp in the shape of a small shallow bowl with flaring wall and flat base. A groove is formed on the inside, almost at mid-height of the wall. Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 3 (weak red), very thin margin surrounding the core: 2.5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown), outer margin: 5YR 4 / 6 (yellowish red). Wash: thin, matt; applied on both surfaces. 7.5YR 6 / 4 (light brown). Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date: 9<sup>th</sup> / 10<sup>th</sup> c.

**605.** Context 1. 99I[5](56)10. Fig. 3.78. Full profile. Fabric: Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date: uncertain. 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Jacquet – Gordon 1972 (Isnā), Pl. CCXXVIII, U7.

**606.** Context 1. 07I[36](56)58. Fig. 3.78. Full profile. Lamp in the shape of a small bowl with plain rim, curved walls and flat base. Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 2 (weak red), margins: 10R 4 / 8 (red). Surfaces: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Traces of soot around the rim. Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date: uncertain. 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: similar to Jacquet – Gordon 1972 (Isnā), Pl. CCXXVIII, U8.

LAMP (TYPE)	CATALOGUE NOS.	FREQUENCY
Mould-made	576-579	10%
Wheel-made: Group1	580	2%
Wheel-made: Group2A1	(40)	24%
Wheel-made: Group2A2 (E308-E310)	581-596	40%
Wheel-made: Group2A3	602-606	11%
Wheel-made: Group2B (E312)	597-601	13%

Table 7.4. The lamps found in the Old Baramūs

The classical authors and several Greek papyri (references in: Lucas 1962, 329; Shier 1978, 7) provide information about the various oils used to feed lamps in Egypt; castor oil, palm oil, and olive oil are mentioned. The above documents refer mostly to the small mould-made lamps – and perhaps include the necked wheel-made lamps that form a nozzle – however, it is still not certain what the substance used to feed the simple wheel-made *saucer-lamps* was (Egloff 1977, 157). It would be, therefore, interesting to undertake laboratory investigations to ascertain if they were fed with oil or fat. Vegetable fibres or strands of wool formed the wicks (Shier 1978, 7; Bailey 1988, 56, Pl. 232, Q2272).

#### Censers

Together with lamps, censers bear evident traces of their use that is facilitated by their morphological features. Such vessels are characterised by a hemispherical body resting on a high flaring foot – Egloff (1977, 157) estimated that the foot only covers 26 to 45% of the total object. An interesting find, which was unfortunately not further analysed, was discovered in Bucheum of Armant (Mond and Myers 1934, 89): an odoriferous vegetable resin, whose specie although not defined, was found in an incense burner. In the Old Monastery of Baramūs only a few rim-sherds are found (Nos. 607-610). They all belong to thick-walled vessels with everted rim, while two of them (Nos. 609-610) bear geometric decoration on the rim.



Fig. 3.79. Censers (Nos. 607-610) and lids (Nos. 611-620) found in the Old Baramūs

607. Context 6. Southern Pastoforion: floor on bedrock. Fig. 3.79. Rim.
Fabric:
Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley.
Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: similar to Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 159-160, type 302; Johnson 1981 (Karanis), 4, Pl. 16, No. 119.

**608.** Context 3. 07I[31](43)46. Fig. 3.79. Rim. Fabric: Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date: 5<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c.

**609.** Cells. 96III[1](2)5. Fig. 3.79. Rim. Fabric: Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date: 8<sup>th</sup> / 9<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: similar to Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 160, type 304.

**610.** Context 6. *Southern Pastoforion: floor on bedrock*. Fig. 3.79. Rim. Fabric: Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date: 9<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: similar to Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 160, type 303.

# Lids, lion-handle, re-worked objects

A number of reasons, such as keeping the content of a vessel sealed during its transportation, protecting it from impurities, reducing its evaporation, or concentrating the heating while cooking (Egloff 1977, 177), necessitated the use of lids and stoppers to cover a vessel. Stoppers (Yon 1981, 41-42) were used to seal a circular orifice; once inserted in the opening destined to cover, they were not detachable and that is their key difference from the removable lids (Yon 1981, 63). These are characterised by a variety of dimensions and forms, according to the vessel that they would cover. Wares that were usually lidded are cooking-pots, jars, jugs, barrel-shaped vessels, mould-made lamps and others.

A group of wheel-made lids (Nos. 611-614, Fig. 3.79) are bowl-shaped (Egloff 1977, 180, types 351-352). They form a straight or rounded rim and an almost hemispherical body. In some cases rilling may be rather pronounced on one of the surfaces. Their similarity to a specific type of *saucer-lamps* (Nos. 595-596, Fig. 3.78) is striking so that they are not easy to discern when finding their rim only. What actually distinguishes them is the handle (Nos. 611, 614) or the knob applied on their bottom. The variants, which bear a handle on their bottom, are much like the objects, often mentioned as *spinning bowls*. The date range suggested for this type is wide, extending from the fourth to the eighth century. Apart from the calcareous lid No. 614, all the rest are made of Nile fabric.

**611.** Context 1. 99I[12](6)<154>. Fig. 3.79. Complete object.

Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 6 (red), margins: 7.5YR 4 / 6 (strong brown). Surface: 10R 4 / 6 (red).

Production place: uncertain - Nile Delta or Valley.

Date: uncertain. 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 180, type 351; Godlewski 1990 (Naqlūn), 50, Fig. 17; Gempeler 1992 (Elephantine), 203, Abb. 131.1, K819; Vogt 1997b (Tell el-Fadda), 12, Pl. IV, Fig. 5, No. 5.

**612.** Context 1. 99I[2](47)1+98V[2](40)30. Fig. 3.79. Rim and body. Fabric: Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date: uncertain. 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c. Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 180, type 351. **613.** Context 10. 99V[2](11)10.9. Fig. 3.79. Rim and body. Fabric: N3. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 3 (weak red), inner margin: 10R 4 / 8 (red), outer margin: 7.5YR 4 / 3 (brown). Inner surface: 7.5YR 4 / 2 (brown), outer surface: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date: late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> c.

**614.** Context 1. 97I[6](5)14.1. Fig. 3.79. Full profile. Fabric: Production place: unknown. Date: uncertain. 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

An example corresponds to the lids that are usually related to storage jars. These lids are modelled like a disc, on which a handle is applied (Egloff 1977, 178, type 343). They are made of Nile silt, which contains considerable proportions of straw particles (N6), and which is not well-fired.

**615.** Context 3. 07I[31](43)46. Fig. 3.79. Handle. Fabric: N6. Zoned break. Core: 10R 3 / 1 (dark reddish grey), margins: 10R 5 / 8 (red).Surfaces: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown): walls. Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date: 5<sup>th</sup> c.? Parallels / Bibliography: Egloff 1977 (Kellia), 178, type 343.

Finally, a restricted number of small wheel-made (Nos. 616-619) or hand-made (No. 620) lids supplement the repertory of forms.

**616.** Context 1. 99I[5](56)<66>. Fig. 3.79. Complete object. Lid with flat, flaring rim and rounded lip; the upper part (serving as handle) is flat, but not straight. Sooted on both surfaces. Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 2.5YR 4 / 3 (reddish brown), margins: 10YR 3 / 1 (very dark grey). Production place: Date: uncertain. 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

**617.** Context 1. 07I[34](54)57. Fig. 3.79. Complete object. Small, almost conical lid with plain rim; part of the inner wall appears reeded; a short hollow is formed on the inside of its top. Fabric: C4A. Homogeneous break. 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red). Outer surface: 2.5Y 7 / 3 (pale yellow). Production place: unknown. Date: uncertain. 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

**618.** Context 1. 96I Baulk5[3]4. Fig. 3.79. Complete object. Fabric: N6. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 8 (red), margin: 7.5YR 4 / 4 (brown). Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date: uncertain. 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

**619.** Context 1. 97I[6](5)<42>. Fig. 3.79. Complete object. Fabric: Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley. Date: uncertain. 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

**620.** Context 1. 96I[10](8)<62>. Fig. 3.79. Complete object. Small hand-made lid with rounded base and central knob-handle. Fabric: C3B. Homogeneous break. 5YR 7 / 4 (pink). Surfaces: 2.5Y 6 / 3 (light yellowish brown). Production place: unknown. Date: uncertain. 5<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> c.

Unique among the finds is a bowed handle terminating to a lion-head (No. 621). It is grouped together with the miscellaneous objects, simply because it is not possible to identify the exact form of the vessel on which it was attached. It is probably mouldmade, then further modelled in certain details, such as the mane. Remains of creamvellowish slip are visible. The shape is generally rather uncommon, as most of the zoomorphic handles are usually horizontal (e.g. Robinson 1959, 103-104, M209, M210, Pls. 26, 37, 71; Mackensen 1993, Taf. 77.54.2; 78.59;79.64). Robinson (1959, 103) emphasised that from the first century zoomorphic handles often occur in metal vessels, and appear very frequently in clay bowls in Athens in the fourth century. Numerous parallels are to be found in Egypt, Syria and Palestine. Considerable variety is to be noted in the animal-head termination of the handles of the clay bowls; the most common animals are ram, panther, lion and lioness; of greater rarity are boar, dog, horse, crocodile, bird (accipiter). Stylistically the lion head rendered at the termination of our handle is very similar to a lion-head carved on a limestone block (presumably from a frieze) kept in the glass display case in the Monastery of Saint Macarius.

#### 621. Context 1. 99I[8](65)22<145>. Fig. 3.80. Handle.

Curved thick piece of clay, formed so as to function as a handle. Its lower part was attached to the vessel. It has been worked out and shaped like an animal (lion). A clay 'pillar', adjusted at the underside of the handle, supports the head of the animal. Traces of pink colour (7.5YR 8 / 4) at the 'pillar's' edges. The animal is represented with an open mouth, the tongue hanging outside. Two small pairs of concentric circles form the muzzle. Three incisions at each part of the mouth. The eyes are represented by two impressed circles. A pink (7.5YR 8 / 4) painted line follows the outline of the animal's head and surrounds its muzzle, eyes and ears. A line of the same colour follows the backbone. Dots of the same colour liven the clay protrusions that represent the animal's coat. The part of handle that represents the backbone is jagged. A formation that probably represents the mane separates head from 'body'.

Fabric: N1B powdery. Zoned break. Core: 10YR 4 / 1 (dark grey), margins and surfaces: 2.5YR 4 / 4 (reddish brown).

Production place: uncertain – Nile Delta or Valley.

Date: uncertain. Presumably  $8^{th} / 9^{th} c$ .

Re-worked objects were found in considerable quantities, providing additional information about the re-using and re-cycling of certain wares (Peña 2007, 119-208). Mainly amphora-spikes (Nos. 622, 630), jug-bases<sup>64</sup> (Nos. 623-625, 631-635) and body-sherds fashioned as disks (Nos. 626-629, Fig. 3.80) would have been used as lids or stoppers (Peña 2007, 153-158, 205), while in some cases, the first two only, as incense burners (Peña 2007, 144) or lamps. The dating of such objects is not easy to be determined, when they occur in disturbed layers.

# Spikes and bases as stoppers (?)

622. Context 1. 98I[1](53)<160>. Fig. 3.80.
Re-used base with hight flaring foot. Soot on the underside.
Fabric: N4. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 8 (red), margin: 10YR 4 / 4 (dark yellowish brown). Surfaces: 5YR 5 / 6 (yellowish red).
Production place: Asia Minor.
Date: uncertain. After the 4<sup>th</sup> c.
Parallels / Bibliography: Bailey 1998 (al-Ašmūnayn / Hermopolis), 125, Pl. 77, T132.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> The re-use of jug fragments is often imposed by the objects' natural decay, as after a time minerals in the water that they would contain seal the pores so the pot loses its effectiveness as a cooler, and it may then be switched to some other use (Fontana et al. 1962: 80. Rice 1987: 231).

**623**. Context 1. 98I[1](53)<163>. Fig. 3.80. Fabric: Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: uncertain. After the 5<sup>th</sup> c.

**624.** Context 1. 98I[1](45)<122>. Fig. 3.80. Fabric: Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: uncertain. After the 4<sup>th</sup> c.

**625.** Context 1. 99I<129>. Fig. 3.80. Fabric: Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: uncertain. After the 5<sup>th</sup> c.

Bodysherds as stoppers

**626.** Church. 99II<146>. Fig. 3.80. Fabric: N3. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 6 (red), inner margins: 10R 4 / 8 (red), outer margins: 5YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown). Thin wash on the outer surface: 10YR 7 / 2 (light grey).

**627.** Church. 99II<146>. Fig. 3.80. Fabric: N3. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 6 (red), inner margins: 10R 4 / 8 (red), outer margins: 5YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown). Thin wash on the outer surface: 2.5YR 5 / 3 (reddish brown).

**628.** Church. 99II<146>. Fig. 3.80. Fabric: N3. Zoned break. Core: 10R 5 / 6 (red), inner margins: 10R 4 / 8 (red), outer margins: 5YR 5 / 4 (reddish brown). Slip: 7.5YR 8 / 2 (pinkish white) - 8 / 3 (pink).

**629.** Context 1. 07I[36](16)58. Fig. 3.80. Fabric: C1, very dense. Homogeneous break. 10YR 5 / 1 (gray). Surfaces: 7.5YR 7 / 4 (pink).

Spikes and bases as censers or lamps

**630.** Context 1. 98I[1](53)<146>. Fig. 3.80. Re-used amphora spike. Soot on the inside. Fabric: N2. Zoned break – two zones: 1) 2.5Y 3 / 1 (very dark grey), 2) 10R 5 / 8 (red). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: uncertain.

631. Context 1. 99I[5](56)10. Fig. 3.80. Base.
Re-used base with high foot. Soot on both surfaces.
Fabric: N1B. Zoned break. Core: 2.5YR 5 / 3 (reddish brown), margins: 7.5YR 4 / 2 (brown) – 3 / 2 (dark brown).
Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.
Date: uncertain.

**632.** Context 1. 99I[5](56)10. Fig. 3.80. Re-used base with high foot. Soot on both surfaces. Fabric: N2 / 6. 2.5YR 4 / 3 (reddish brown) – 5YR 2.5 / 2 (dark reddish brown). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: uncertain.

**633.** Context 1. 07I[1](7)5.5. Fig. 3.80. Base. Re-used flat base. Soot on the outside, mainly around the rim. Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 3 / 2 - 3 / 3 (dark brown). Surfaces: 5YR 4 / 6 (yellowish red). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: uncertain.



Fig. 3.80. Lion-handle (No. 621) and re-worked objects (Nos. 622-639) found in the Old Baramūs

**634.** Context 1. 07I[1](7)5.5. Fig. 3.80. Base. Re-used flat base of an object. Soot on both surfaces. Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 10YR 5 / 3 (brown). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: uncertain. 635. Context 1. 07I[10](17)14.1. Fig. 3.80.
Re-used flat base of an object. Soot on both surfaces.
Fabric: N4. Break: 2.5Y 2.5 / 1 (black); inner surface: 7.5YR 4 / 2 (brown); outer surface: 7.5YR 4 / 1 (dark grey).
Production place: Nile Valley or Delta.
Date: uncertain.

Detached amphora-tops were also found (Nos. 636-637), but their use after recycling is not easy to determine. It is usual that detached amphora-tops were used as funnels after removing their handles (Peña 2007, 148), but the illustrated examples, especially No. 636, do not seem to correspond to such an interpretation.

**636.** Context Cells. 97II[24](102)119. Fig. 3.80. Detached upper part of an *Egyptian Early Arab Amphora 2*. Row of holes drilled at shoulder-height to cut-off the upper part. Fabric: N2. 7.5YR 5 / 4 (brown). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: uncertain. After the 8<sup>th</sup> c.

**637.** Context Cells. 97II-54. Fig. 3.80. Upper part of an *Egyptian Early Arab Amphora 2*. One of the handles is cut-off. A hole is pierced at the base of the neck. Remains of a black linen on the inside. Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 10YR 4 / 3 (brown). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: uncertain. After the 8<sup>th</sup> c.

Finally detached and pierced amphora-bottoms (Nos. 638-639) were probably used as strainers (Peña 2007, 144).

**638.** Context 1. 07I[40](72)77. Fig. 3.80. Rounded base detached from an oval-shaped amphora. Reeded outer walls, pierced (four holes are visible). Soot on the outside. Fabric: N2. Homogeneous break. 7.5YR 5 / 4 - 4 / 4 (brown). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date:

**639.** Context 1. 07I[40](72)77. Fig. 3.80. Lower part of a vessel in second use – maybe as sieve. Its body forms a low-placed carination and a rounded base, which is pierced. Fabric: N2. Zoned break. Core: N3 / (very dark grey), margins and surfaces: 7.5YR 4 / 3 (brown). Production place: Nile Valley or Delta. Date: 7th-9th c.

# **3. – THE CONTEXTS AND THEIR CONTENTS**

# **3.1 TABLES AND COMMENTS**

The physical characteristics of each context are described back in chapter 2, following the presentation of the excavation site. The contents of each selected context are presented in this part of the study that focuses on the pottery finds. This chapter aims to observe the activity that took place in certain areas of the site so as to suggest possible interpretations concerning their character and function. It should be stressed, however, that the rates cited are merely indicative and by no means the result of exhaustive quantifications based on counting and weighting of all finds and sherds. On the one hand the lack of time and experience<sup>65</sup> during study seasons, and on the other hand the fact that the fieldwork is still in progress – even in some of the contexts discussed below, such as those related to the area of the tower – do not yet allow definite and precise conclusions. Furthermore, material was discarded during past missions, so that useful information is lost for good. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to provide a preliminary account of the functional groups and types that occur more frequently in each sector of the site.

The contents of the contexts are presented in two tables followed by a commentary. The first table is organised so as to demonstrate the quantity of each functional category present in each context. The minimum amount of individual objects (MNI), complete or partially preserved, is marked under the respective initials. The second table is organised in the same way, with an aim to portray the quantity of the most representative classes or types so as to follow which of them occur most frequently.<sup>66</sup>

# Context 1

#### Tower: Layer of mixed debris

Context 1 represents the entire area of the tower, which is generally severely disturbed. The numbers given are based on selected material, enough though to portray the situation in and around the building. This context is not a general reflection of the material in circulation in the area of the monastery, but represents the area of the tower solely.

WARE	MNI
Tableware	191
Cooking ware	46
Utilitarian	17
Amphorae	78
Miscellanea	55

Table 3.5A. Context 1: amounts of functional categories (sampling)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Frankly, there is no other reason why a systematic quantification was not followed. Especially the lack of previous experience, during the first times I had to deal with the numerous sherds found in the Old Baramūs, was an important factor, due to which I failed to follow a coherent quantification system. Hopefully as the fieldwork goes on, new and more organised attempts to quantify will lead to more reliable conclusions than those presented here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> The abbreviations used in this table are the following: RSW (Red Slip Ware), according to Hayes 1972; WSW (White Slip Ware); LRA (Late Roman Amphora), according to Riley 1979; E and number of type, according to Egloff 1977; EA (Egyptian Amphora), according to Dixneuf 2011.
CLASS/TYPE	MNI
Imported RSW	22
Aswan RSW/	73
WSW	
E114-116	23
E347-349	12
LRA1	8
LRA4	9
Egyptian bag-	33
shaped amphorae	
EA7	8

Table 3.5B. Context 1: amounts of significant classes / types (sampling)

Cat. Nos.:

African red slip ware: 2-7, 10, 11.

Late Roman 'D' ware: 18-25, 29, 33, 35, 36.

Phocaean red slip ware: 37.

Aswān red slip ware: 40-42, 44, 45, 47-50, 52, 55-68, 71, 73, 76-81, 83-90, 93.

Aswān white slip ware: 99-104, 106-112, 114-132.

Nile fabric red slip ware: 133, 135-137, 141-143, 145-153.

Painted ware: 154, 160-162, 164-167, 169-173, 175, 176, 181, 183, 184-187, 189-191, 193-213, 216-218, 220-224.

Gouged ware: 227-229.

Plain tableware: 231-236, 238, 239, 240, 240bis, 242-246, 248, 249, 251-253, 256. Early glazed ware: 258-261.

Cooking ware: 266-268, 273, 274, 275, 278, 279, 286, 288, 292, 294, 295, 299, 301, 303, 306, 308-310, 312-314, 316, 319, 320, 322, 323-325, 328-331, 337, 343-345, 350-352, 355-359.

Utilitarian ware: 360-362, 366, 370, 373, 374, 377, 380, 381-386, 388, 390, 391, 397, 403, 407.

Amphorae: 408, 410-412, 416-424, 427-430, 432-433, 436, 438, 440-446, 449-453, 455-456, 460, 467, 469, 472, 473, 478, 479, 481, 482, 483, 487, 490, 493, 494-496, 500, 501, 504-509, 518, 517, 518, 520, 525, 526, 528, 529, 533, 538, 541, 543, 545-547, 549, 550, 553, 555.

Miscellanea: 562, 564, 566-570, 574, 576-597, 599, 601-606, 611, 612, 614, 616-624, 629-635, 638, 639.

There is not much to be written about this context, as it includes mixed material dating from the late fourth to the ninth / tenth century. The majority of the ceramics found here are table wares, among which twenty-two were made in the three great centres of the Mediterranean: Africa, Cyprus / northern Asia Minor and Phocaea. Red slip wares arrived from Africa and Cyprus / northern Asia Minor since the late fourth century, while the only Phocaean example must have been imported around the sixth century. The latest Late Roman 'D' wares found in context 1 date to the late sixth to seventh century. However, most of the table wares unearthed in the disturbed layers of the tower are of Egyptian manufacture. Aswān red slip and white slip wares, other Egyptian red slip wares made of the Nile fabric, along with a considerable number (fifty-seven in total) of painted dishes and jugs, and other non decorated wares, fine and coarse.

Second in range are the amphorae. It is again attested that it was in the period from the late fourth to the seventh century that a number of non-Egyptian amphorae (Late Roman 1, Late Roman 2, Late Roman 3, Late Roman 4, Palestinian *bag-shaped* and some seventh century African amphorae) were imported in the Old Monastery of Baramūs and were stored in the tower. The non-Egyptianamphora types that occur more often are the Late Roman 1 and Late Roman 4. As in the case of the table wares, the vast majority of amphorae unearthed are made in Egypt. The preponderant type appears to be the Egyptian *bag-shaped* amphora, or Egyptian amphora 5.

All the cooking wares found in the tower are made in Egypt. Most of them belong to the type of hemispherical casserole, which is characterised by a cut rim and horizontal handles attached at rim-height (Egloff 1977, 100-101, type 114 - 116). These casseroles should be considered side by side with the lids (Egloff 1977, 179, types 347 - E349) that were made to cover them and which are also found in the context 1 of the tower. These types can be dated to the period from the fifth to the tenth century.

## *Context 2* Tower: Layers under floor level

Context 2 includes finds from the lowest floor level of the tower.

WARE	MNI
Tableware	11
Cooking ware	2
Utilitarian	1
Amphorae	6
Miscellanea	1

 Table 3.6A. Context 2: amounts of functional categories (sampling)

CLASS/TYPE	MNI
Imported RSW	4
Aswan RSW	2
LRA4	2

Table 3.6B. Context 2: amounts of significant classes / types (sampling)

*Cat. Nos.:* Late Roman 'D' ware: 27, 32, 34. Phocaean red slip ware: 38, 39. Aswān red slip ware: 46, 82. Nile fabric red slip ware: 138. Painted ware: 163, 204, 174, 192, 215. Cooking ware: 276, 277. Utilitarian ware: 387. Amphorae: 425-426, 431, 447-448. Miscellanea: 560, 580.

Here also the table wares are first in the list, followed by the amphorae and then the cooking wares. However, the majority of red slip wares and amphorae are non Egyptian. Two red slip dishes were produced in Phocaea and date to the sixth century, while two other dishes came from Cyprus and date to the late sixth to the seventh century. Two Palestinian torpedo shaped amphorae Late Roman 4 also date to the seventh century. Finally the stepped base of a painted jug (No. 216) that is similar to the Egloff (1977, 128) type 216 dates to the same period. Therefore, it seems that the floor Tb, underneath the floors Ba / Ga, must have been laid at a certain moment in the late sixth to seventh century. It should not be related to the foundation date of the tower, which must be estimated around the late fourth or early fifth century, as indicated by the earliest finds to be observed among the mixed debris of context 1.

# Contexts 3 / 4

# Outside tower: removal of layers

Contexts 3 and 4, although representing an area at the south-eastern corner of the tower, they are undisputedly related to it, as it was attested that some of the sherds found can be glued to sherds that were discovered in the tower during much earlier excavation seasons. On their turn, contexts 3 and 4 are related to each other and seem rather 'clear'. For that reason they are presented as one, despite the fact that context 4 appeared somehow more 'contaminated'. Sherds from contexts 1 to 4 are not yet counted our weighted, as the area of the tower remains under investigation. In addition, a lot of sherds were discarded during excavation seasons that preceded my participation to the project.

WARE	MNI
Tableware	20
Cooking ware	9
Utilitarian	10
Amphorae	16
Miscellanea	4

 Table 3.7A. Contexts 3 / 4: amounts of functional categories (sampling)

CLASS/TYPE	MNI
Imported RSW	8
Aswan RSW	2
LRA1	5
LRA4	2

Table 3.7B. Contexts 3 / 4: amounts of significant classes / types (sampling)

*Cat. Nos.:* African red slip ware: 1, 8, 9, 13-17. Aswān Red Slip Ware: 92. Nile fabric red slip ware: 140, 144. Painted ware: 155, 158, 182, 188. Plain tableware: 230, 250. Cooking ware: 264, 297, 300-302, 305-307, 327. Utilitarian ware: 376, 378, 379, 389, 393, 396, 400-402, 406. Amphorae: 409, 413-415, 439, 454, 457-459, 480, 488, 554. Miscellanea: 600, 608, 615. The situation in the tower does not show any change, when examining the twin contexts 3 / 4. The table wares still constitute the majority of finds, followed by the amphorae and the cooking wares. The non-Egyptianred slip wares and amphorae outclass their Egyptian equivalents, while the cooking wares are exclusively of Egyptian origin.

What is important to note here is that we seem to be dealing with to layers that relate to the foundation date of the tower. All the non-Egyptianred slip dishes (eight in total) were made in the African workshops and date to the period from the late fourth until the second half of the fifth century. The upper part of a painted jug (No. 159), which is made of Nile fabric and belongs to the Egloff (1977, 126) type 205 could be dated to the same period (390-420). Respectively, the mouth of a jug (No. 242) that is made of calcareous fabric and has been identified as Egloff (1977, 124) type 199 might be dated to the first half of the fifth century. Finally, the Late Roman Amphorae 1 that are found are mostly fifth century variants.

#### Context 5

Church (phase 2): Eastern part of northern wall

The row of amphorae that constitute this context is not fully excavated. It is up to future fieldwork to reveal their exact arrangement and function.

WARE	MNI
Cooking ware	2
Amphorae	7

Table 3.8. Context 5: number of finds (until 2007)

*Cat. Nos.:* Cooking ware: 296, 321. Amphorae: 462-466, 468, 471.

All amphorae of this context are Egyptian and belong to the type known as Late Roman 7. They are all likely to date to the second half of the seventh century. Three more amphorae were located, but they were not unearthed. Among them, one was registered as belonging to a different type. However, I am unable to confirm this information given that I have not seen the amphora in question myself. At any rate, the table took into account exclusively the amphorae removed during excavation.

> *Context 6* Southern Pastoforion: filling of the underground bin

Context 6 is a significant closed context.

WARE	MNI
Tableware	11
Cooking ware	18
Utilitarian	10
Amphorae	30
Miscellanea	2

Table 3.9A. Context 6: amounts of functional categories

WARE	MNI
Imported RSW	0
Aswan RSW/	3
WSW	
E114-116	8
E347-349	5
LRA 1	2
LRA 4	1
Egyptian bag-	17
shaped amphorae	
EA 7	6

Table 3.9B. Context 6: amounts of significant classes / types

Cat. Nos.:

Aswān red slip ware: 43, 95. Aswān white slip ware: 105. Plain tableware: 237. Early glazed ware: 263. Cooking ware: 285, 290, 291, 293, 318, 334-336, 339-342, 347-349, 353. Utilitarian ware: 371, 392, 398, 404, 405. Amphorae: 434-435,485, 502, 503, 511, 512. Miscellanea: 607, 610.

The vast majority of the sherds thrown into the underground bin that was uncovered in the *southern pastoforion* of the church belong to amphora types of Egyptian manufacture. It was possible to reconstruct two Egyptian *oval-shaped* amphorae that were produced in the kiln site of Terenuthis (Kūm Abū Billū) (Ballet 1994; Ballet and Dixneuf 2004, 70; Ballet 2007) and do not date before the ninth or even tenth century. These two amphorae, along with the sherds of a small glazed so-called 'Fayyūmi' bowl (No. 265) lead to the dating of the context in the second half or even the end of the ninth century. It was also possible to reconstruct two unique large cooking jars with painted linear decoration (Nos. 336, 337). It seems that many sherds of cooking wares were also thrown, many of them belonging to E114 – E116 casseroles that survived until the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid periods. Only a few sherds of table wares are found, all of them made of the Aswān kaolinitic fabric. The very scarce presence of sherds belonging to non-Egyptianamphorae should not be related to the time of the underground bin's filling. They probably slipped in, during an earlier phase, while the bin was still open.

# *Context 7* Cells: pottery dump

Context 7 includes sherds thrown in a room (cell?) on the south-western part of the church.

WARE	MNI
Tableware	24
Cooking ware	4
Utilitarian	2
Amphorae	41
Miscellanea	2

 Table 3.10A. Context 7: amounts of functional categories (sampling)

CLASS/TYPE	MNI
Imported RSW	3
Aswan RSW	5
E114-116	3
E347-349	1
LRA1	1
Egyptian bag-	26
shaped amphorae	
EA7	1

Table 3.10B. Context 7: amounts of significant classes / types (sampling)

*Cat. Nos.:* Late Roman 'D' ware: 28. Aswān red slip ware: 53, 54, 75, 94. Nile fabric red slip ware: 134. Painted ware: 156, 177, 178, 214, 225. Plain tableware: 241, 254, 255. Cooking ware: 271, 281, 284, 287, 298, 354. Amphorae: 461, 477, 497, 484, 486, 498, 499, 503, 510, 513, 514, 517, 515, 516, 523, 524, 527, 532, 539, 540, 542, 544, 559.

The pottery dump found in the abandoned cell (?) that was originally built attached to the western wall of the church included mainly Egyptian wares. The vast majority of finds are amphorae, followed by table wares and cooking wares. The very few rim-sherds of non-Egyptianred slip wares belong to dishes made in Cyprus that date to the late sixth to the seventh century (530 / 540 - 670 / 680). These, along with a number of Late Roman Amphora 1 sherds constitute the only imported wares located in this sector. In general, the discarded material is found underneath the ninth century destruction level and its main bulk dates to the late sixth to the seventh century, the most representative examples being the base of a painted jug Egloff (1977, 128) type 214 (No. 215) and the Egyptian *bag-shaped* amphora No. 477 made of calcareous fabric.

## *Context 8* Outside Church: in plaster floor T

Context 8 is the actual floor level of context 7 and includes only one object embedded in the floor itself.

WARE	QUANTITY Individuals
Cooking ware	1

Table 3.11. Context 8: number of finds

Cat. No.: 299.

The cooking pot found embedded in the plaster floor at the corner of a construction (niche) located in the western face of the church's western wall is similar to the Egloff (1977, 102) type 130, which is dated to the period from the fifth to the seventh century. A dating of the floor and the cooking pot in the late sixth or seventh century is more likely, as the floor's elevation more or less corresponds to the floor level of the church's seventh century third phase.

## Context 9

Cell at the NE corner: surface layer

The sherds come from a mixed layer, right below the surface, and they are selected among a bulk of sherds dated to the Mamlūk period.

WARE	QUANTITY
	Individuals
Tableware	4
Cooking ware	2
Amphora	1

Table 3.12. Context 9: amounts of significant classes / types (sampling)

*Cat. Nos.:* Cypriot red slip ware: 30. Aswān red slip ware: 51. Painted ware: 168. Early glazed ware: 262. Cooking ware: 265, 342. Amphora: 474.

Context 9 is not meaningful. Only the sherds mentioned above have been selected so as to enrich the repertory of forms found in the site of the Old Baramūs.

## *Context 10* Outside cell at the NE corner: pottery dump

The material here is quite homogeneous. Most sherds were glued to form entire or almost entire objects. It was probably a deposit relating to the adjacent cell.

WARE	MNI
Tableware	6
Cooking ware	9
Utilitarian	4
Amphorae	31
Miscellanea	2

Table 3.13A. Context 10: amounts of functional categories

CLASS/TYPE	MNI
Aswan RSW/ WSW	3
E114-116	5
E347-349	3
Egyptian <i>bag-</i> <i>shaped</i> amphorae	25
EA7	2

Table 3.13B. Context 10: amounts of significant classes / types (sampling)

*Cat. Nos.:*Aswān red slip ware: 69, 72.
Aswān white slip ware: 113.
Painted ware: 219.
Plain tableware: 247.
Early glazed ware: 257.
Cooking ware: 270, 280, 282, 283, 311, 332, 333, 338, 346.
Utilitarian ware: 372, 394, 395, 399.
Amphorae: 515, 516, 530, 531, 548, 551, 552, 556-558.

Miscellanea: 613. The pottery dump of context 10 released exclusively ceramics made in Egypt, most of them being amphorae. The type that occurs more frequently is still the Egyptian *bag-shaped* amphora made of Nile or calcareous fabric, the Nile fabric variants being predominant. Six more amphorae (Nos. 548, 551, 552, 556, 557, 558) belong to the newly distinguished *Egyptian Early Arab* types that started being manufactured in Egypt after the cease of the standard Mediterranean Late Roman amphora types' production and circulation.

Amphorae are followed by the cooking wares, which are chiefly represented by the E144 - E116 casseroles and their E347 - E349 lids. The table wares found are all Egyptian, four of them being made of the Aswān kaolinitic fabric. Three of them are slipped and one polychrome glazed. A number of finds, among which the base of a Nile fabric probably painted jug Egloff (1977, 127-128) type 212 (No. 220) gives a date to the context in the late seventh to early eighth century, which explains the

complete absence of non-Egyptianwares and the presence of unknown Egyptian amphora types.

# **3.2 SUMMARY – INTERPRETATIONS**

The amount and percentage of each ware, as presented in the tables cited above, could lead to some initial interpretations concerning the character and nature of each building discovered in the site of the Old Monastery of Baramūs.



Contexts one to four correspond to the large square edifice at the south-eastern corner of the site, which has been interpreted as the tower of the Monastery - a place of refuge during barbaric incursions and other periods of suffering. It is interesting to observe though that most of the fine red slip table wares, imported or of Egyptian manufacture, along with the majority of the Egyptian painted and early glazed wares are found there. The table wares are followed by the amphorae and the various objects, such as lamps and bases in second use as lamps or censers. The presence of such wares might indicate the use of this building as a sort of treasury and warehouse. Many 'luxurious' objects were probably kept there in safety in order to be used during the gatherings of the congregation, such as the common meals and other festal activities. At the same time the basic stock of the Monastery might have been stored in a number of amphorae. As most of the non-Egyptian amphorae were found in the tower, it would be appropriate to assume that most of the products, which arrived from regions other than Egypt, were stored in this building to be distributed to the members of the monastic community.

Contexts seven and ten correspond to the domestic sectors of the site, as they appear to be dumps related to adjacent cells. In this case the majority of the finds are amphorae, followed either by table wares (context 7), or by cooking wares (context 10). Bonnet (1986, 61) reported that in Kellia it is extremely rare to find tableware in the private sector of a monk's apartment. Apart from a single jug, a dish or a lamp, most of the ceramics, which are accumulated in the kitchen area, are amphorae, storage jars or cooking ware. This should not seem unusual taking into account the ideals of the anchoretic monastic life. To a certain extent each monk would organise his life independently, one of his basic needs being the storage of goods and provisions to be consumed in amphorae and storage jars. Then he would certainly need to have his own cooking pots and plates for the preparation of his individual meals. As for the slight difference in percentage of cooking and table wares between contexts seven and ten, this could be due to pure coincidence. Otherwise, it would be reasonable to suppose that the monks living in the rather remote north-east cell 99V (context 10) would be more autonomous in that they prepared their own food, without often participating in the common meals. At any rate, this is nothing more than an



assumption that would be impossible to verify.

Finally, the filling of the underground bin (context 6), discovered in the southern pastoforion of the church included mainly amphorae and cooking wares. Already broken vessels were probably thrown to fill up this cavity. Amphorae break in many big and relatively thick fragments, while cooking pots are generally fragile due to their use and constant contact with fire. Therefore, it should not seem surprising the fact that mainly sherds of these two wares were found there.

# 4 – SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

# 4.1 Types in time





Late fourth and fifth century

Most of the finds that date to the late fourth and fifth century (Fig. 3.84A) are discovered in the area of the tower, especially in the square excavated at its southeastern corner (07I). The idea that apart from a refuge, the tower must have served as a sort of treasury, is supported by the preponderance of table wares. Amphorae, as the transport and storage vessels par excellence, come second. I need to stress here that this image does not represent the entire site. It is related to the tower and the activities carried out inside that building or within its immediate surrounds. One should be rather reserved and avoid drawing any general conclusions, since so far, fieldwork in the site has not yet revealed any other late fourth to fifth century context.

During this period a strong presence of non-Egyptianvessels is manifested. For instance, non-Egyptianred slip wares are almost four times more than those made in Egypt (Fig. 3.84B). More precisely (Fig. 3.84C), it is the African products that predominate, followed by the 'Cypriot' / southern Asia Minor Late Roman 'D' wares. Aswān and Nile fabric red slip wares are only a few. As for the other groups of table wares, one may now note the

occurrence of Egyptian painted wares, mostly jugs, along with some undecorated objects.

Likewise, non-Egyptian amphorae outclass the Egyptian ones (Fig. 3.84D). In the Old Monastery of Baramūs, the most popular type of the period seems to be the Late Roman amphora 1. Some Egyptian types come next, but in considerably smaller





#### Sixth century



Almost all of the finds, which date to the sixth century (Fig. 3.85A), were found in the area of the tower, especially in context 2. Table wares continue to prevail, surpassing here the 50% of the wares in their totality. Like in the previous period table wares are followed by amphorae, while cooking wares and other objects are found in considerably lower quantity.

Non-Egyptianred slip wares are still by far more than those made in Egypt (Fig. 3.85B). However, one may note the gradual decrease of foreign products and the rise of Egyptian

ones (at a rate of 13%). Red slip vessels produced in the African workshops are now just a few, constituting the minority, on the contrary to their preponderance in the fifth century (Fig. 3.85C). Late Roman 'D' wares occupy the first place in the list of imports, followed by some Phocaean red slip dishes, which now make their appearance, but only for the short term.



Fig. 3.85D. Rates of amphorae in the  $6^{\rm th}$  c.



The significance of Egyptian red slip wares, especially that of the Aswan red and white slip vessels is more pronounced in the sixth century. Aswān red and white slip wares come second in range, after the Late Roman 'D' wares, and they are followed by the Nile fabric red slip products. The Egyptian painted and the Egyptian plain undecorated vessels are much more than the African and the Phocaean red slip wares. Hence, even though in terms of red slip wares non-Egyptianvessels, mainly Late Roman 'D', constitute the majority of finds, an overview of table wares in their totality shows that already since the sixth century it is the Egyptian table wares that prevail. On the contrary, most of the

amphorae (Fig. 3.85D) unearthed have arrived from the great centres of the Eastern Mediterranean. Late Roman amphora 1 remains as the most popular type, being followed by two Egyptian types: the Egyptian *bag-shaped* and the bitroncoconical amphorae. The majority among the sixth century Egyptian *bag-shaped* amphorae is made of calcareous fabric. In this period the Aegean amphora types Late Roman 2 and 3 occur, along with the Levantine Late Roman 4, however none of them in significant quantity.





Unlike the previous periods, the seventh century has left its traces in all sectors of the excavation site. The vast majority (Fig. 3.86A) are now amphorae, being almost twice as much as the table wares, which come next. Strangely, cooking wares are not so many, compared to that of the two aforementioned categories. Maybe this is due to the fact that finds from the tower and the church area, where one would logically not expect a strong presence of cooking wares, are counted together with the finds from the living quarters.





A further major change in ratios (Fig. 3.86B) concern red slip wares, with the Egyptian products greatly surpassing those imported from overseas. Aswān red and white slip wares are now the majority (Fig. 3.86C), while Nile fabric red slip wares are overshadowed by the 'Cypriot' / southern Asia Minor imports. African products still arrive, but so scarcely that one may refer to the seventh century as the twilight of their presence in the Old Monastery of Baramūs. Meanwhile, Egyptian painted wares occur in considerable number – they are fourth in order. Apart from the plain undecorated table wares, the group of table wares bearing gouged decoration occurs in seventh century contexts, both of these categories including Egyptian products.



Seventh century is marked by the domination of Egyptian amphorae (Fig. 3.86D), especially the bag-shaped jars. Nile fabric bag-shaped containers are slightly calcareous more than their equivalents. There is notable difference in rate between the leading jars and those, which come second, namely the non-EgyptianLate Roman amphorae 4. These are not the only imported amphorae in the period, but they are certainly the prevailing ones, superseding the Late Roman amphorae 1, which predominated in the preceding centuries. In fact now the later type is found scarcely, so that it constitutes a

minority, following a restricted number of African imports. At any rate, African amphorae and Late Roman 1 are much less than the other Egyptian amphorae, namely the *Late Egyptian 3* and the *Egyptian 7*.



## Eighth century

The changes that came dimly into sight in the seventh century seem to crystallise in the eighth century (Fig. 3.87A). Amphorae continue to constitute the overwhelming majority, but they are no more followed by table wares; the second place is now occupied by cooking wares, which, in turn, are followed by utilitarian and miscellaneous wares. Table wares come last in line. however it should be noted that the rates of the last three groups do not differ greatly.

Eighth century is characterised by the total absence of non-Egyptianred slip wares (Fig. 3.87B). Among the table wares (Fig. 3.87C), Aswān red and white slip wares are

the prevailing class. Some glazed wares come next, followed by a very restricted number of painted and plain undecorated vessels.



## Ninth century

The picture does not change in the ninth century (Fig. 3.88A), when amphorae are still the most frequently occurring vessels, followed by cooking wares. The only difference between this century and the previous two is that in fact the rate of amphorae clearly falls, while the other categories appear in more significant numbers.

The total absence of non-Egyptianred slip wares, which was manifested in the eighth century, is an unalterable fact (Fig. 3.88B). Aswān red and white slip wares are still way ahead of the other table wares (Fig. 3.88C), but they are not found in such great quantities, as in the previous century. In the ninth century one may note the gradual rise of glazed wares, which are to become the fine wares *par excellence* of the periods to follow.

Finally, Nile fabric *bag-shaped* amphorae incontestably continue to be the majority, followed by the Egyptian Early Arab types. A slight upsurge of the *Egyptian* 7 jars is now attested, while the only imports of the period are still a few Palestinian *bag-shaped* containers.



#### Summary

Let us now try to pull all this information together by summarising the main changes over time in our assemblage. The very first centuries of the site's occupation are marked by the remarkable presence of non-Egyptian wares, which in fact seem to outclass those produced in Egypt. In the late fourth and fifth century, most of the red slip wares arrived from Africa, the dishes with two-part flaring rim (Hayes 1972, 112-116, Fig. 19, form 67) being the most commonly occurring form. However, such a strong presence of African amphorae is not a fact. It is a container produced in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Late Roman amphora 1, and its content that was actually preferred.



In the sixth century, the Egyptian products gain ground, although there are still some Mediterranean types that are found in larger quantities. The prevalence of African red slip wares is now replaced by that of the 'Cypriot' / sourthern Asia Minor Late Roman 'D' wares.<sup>67</sup> As for amphorae, the Late Roman 1 jars are still the majority, while now for the first time the significant existence of Egyptian *bagshaped* vessels is a fact that forebodes their future boost. The sixth century is interestingly marked by the scarce presence of classes and types that did not exist previously, and they do not appear again in the future. In this respect, now it is the only period, when one notes the occasional occurrence of Phocaean red slip dishes, along with some Aegean amphora types, such as the Late Roman 2 and 3.



 $<sup>^{67}</sup>$  Especially the series of dishes that Hayes (1972, 373-376, Fig. 80) generally classified as form 2 – and Meyza (2007) further elaborated in his study.

Profound changes are manifested in the seventh century, with the eventual preponderance of Egyptian ceramics against those imported from overseas. Aswān red and white slip wares, especially knobbed-rim bowls and dishes, and the Egyptian *bag-shaped* amphorae surpass the once prevailing non-Egyptiantypes. Further alterations concern the ratios of non-Egyptianwares, especially amphorae. Until now Late Roman 1 used to be the leading type, which is finally overshadowed by the Late Roman 4. In addition, some African amphorae are present, their number surpassing that of the African red slip wares.

The changes that came about in the seventh century were completed and crystallised in the eighth and ninth centuries. Apart from a very restricted number of amphorae from Palestine, all the ceramics are of Egyptian manufacture. Most of the table wares are red and white slip wares made of Aswān fabric. At the same time, some early glazed bowls appear, many of them also made of Aswān fabric. The Nile fabric *bag-shaped* amphorae are way more than any other type found in these centuries. Finally, among the cooking wares that now appear more numerous, the frying pans E90-91 (Egloff 1977, 95-96), the hemispherical casseroles with horizontal handles E114-116 (Egloff 1977, 100-101) and their lids E347-E349 (Egloff 1977, 179) are the most common types.

# 4.2 COMPARISONS: THE PLACE OF THE OLD MONASTERY OF BARAMŪS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD $(4^{th} - 9^{th}c.)$

The presence of certain classes and types in the Old Monastery of Baramūs is meaningful, determining the settlement's actual place not only in Egypt, but in the Mediterranean world as well. At the same time it may add further evidence as for the impact of the major production centres and their popularity in certain regions. It is therefore useful to briefly compare the situation in the Old Baramūs, as sketched in the previous unit, with that in other sites of the Mediterranean and Egypt, in order to understand its orientation and actual place in the world of Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages.

During the late fourth and fifth century the site received many products from overseas. Among the red slip wares, those made in the North African workshops predominate, while the Late Roman 'D' wares follow. Indeed, the fourth and fifth centuries marked the apex of the red slip ware production in Zeugitania, as well as in Africa Byzacena (Sodini 2000, 181). African products were very prestigious, and their export did not concern exclusively the western Mediterranean, but also the Balkans, the Aegean and the Levant (Sodini 2000, 187; Haldon 2000, 247; Wickham 2005, 709-711).

In the Aegean, the peak of the African red slip wares' distribution was reached in the second half of the fourth century; however, since the first half of the fifth century – according to Haldon (2000, 248) before c425– and until the end of the same century, their distribution in the area was restricted, to be reinforced in the sixth century. What replaced the African products in the fifth century Aegean were the Phocaean red slip wares (Hayes 1972, 368-369), the proportion of which increased in time, as that of African red slip wares decreased (Haldon 2000, 248). The North African production centres recovered partly in 530 with the Byzantine reconquest of the area and its integration into an East Mediterranean-centred exchange network (Haldon 2000, 247).<sup>68</sup>

The situation in the Aegean is clearly different from that in the Old Baramūs, where the number of African products do not seem to have diminished before the last quarter of the fifth century, as a result of the transformations in long-distance trade that the Vandal conquest of North Africa brought about (Schwarz 2004; Haldon 2000, 247; Wickham 2005, 711-712). The redirection of surpluses and associated fine ware exports that the Vandal conquest provoked would be definitely manifested by the last quarter of the fifth century (Reynolds 2010a, 99). As for the Phocaean red slip wares that were so strongly present in the fifth century Aegean, in the Old Baramūs they do not appear before the sixth century and only very scarcely. One logically recalls the observation of Hayes (1972, 368) that despite the wide distribution of Phocaean products throughout the Mediterranean they never actually penetrated Egypt beyond the Delta.

It is more difficult to compare the situation in the Old Monastery of Baramūs with that in Cyprus and the Levant as a whole, due to a number of regional variations that are manifested in different sites. Sodini (2000, 189-190) summarises information from significant sites in the regions: in Cyprus, African red slip wares were never significant; in Antioch African vessels "compete" with those made in Phocaea; in Resafa there is no interruption as for the imports of African red slip wares in the fifth century; in Caesarea African products outclass thei 'Cypriot'/ southern Asia Minor Late Roman 'D' wares; on the contrary, in Beirut they are scarce – if not absent (Reynolds 2010a, 99) – since the second half of the fifth century.

In Egypt, African red slip wares, the basic models of Egyptian fine wares, constitute one of the principal groups of wares imported from overseas (Rodziewicz 1976, 32-33; Egloff 1977, 65-76; Ballet and Picon 1987, 28-29; Bailey 1998, 1-7; Sodini, 2000, 190; Ballet 2003a, 71). They are distributed in Alexandria and in the Delta in significant quantities from the fifth century. In Kellia, they are less frequent than the Late Roman 'D' wares. They are also attested in Middle and Upper Egypt, but in limited number (Wickham 2005, 760).

The prevalence of African red slip wares in the late fourth and fifth century Baramūs is against the absence of African amphorae. Although surprising at first glance, this contradiction marks a well-known phenomenon: the heavy domination of the eastern provinces in commerce. As a result, in the *Pars Orientalis* African amphorae – save the slender cylindrical amphorae falsely known as *spatheia* (Riley 1979: Berenice Late Roman amphora 8; Keay 1984: type 26; Peacock and Williams 1986: type 51; Bonifay 2004: type 31) – do not appear as popular as the red slip wares (Sodini 2000, 191; Wickham 2005, 710).

In the Old Monastery of Baramūs, significant quantities of oil (Wickham 2005, 760) would arrive in the Late Roman 1 container from Cilicia, Cyrpus and the region around the Gulf of Alexandretta. Majcherek (2004, 231) took the strong presence of these jars in Alexandria, as a result of the diminished import of oil from the West, which had to be compensated for by supplies from the above regions. Alongside with other oriental types, Late Roman amphorae 1 were by far the most common imports in sites of the Aegean, Cyprus and the Levant, including Egypt; however ratios between types may differ according to microeconomic environments.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> This fact may explain the re-apparition of the African red slip wares in the sixth century Aegean. However, the question concerning their somehow early 'withdrawal' from the markets of the region remains unanswered.

It is generally attested that an important number of Late Roman 1 jars would be imported in Egypt from Cyprus (Ballet and Picon 1987, 24; Wickham 2005, 760) and their trade is often related to that of the red slip wares attributed to the same island (Sodini 2000, 102). This view is not against the picture that the Old Baramūs gives; even if the Late Roman 'D' wares are not as numerous as the African, they occur in considerable quantities, simultaneously with the Late Roman 1 amphorae. Nevertheless, as long as no petrological analysis is effectuated there is no way to ascertain that our amphorae are also made in Cyprus.

In the Old Monastery of Baramūs, the sixth century witnessed the precipitous drop of imports from Africa, African red slip wares being only a few, with the Late Roman 'D' wares standing as the preponderant class. At the same time some Phocaean products emerged. The above pattern is similarly manifested in various other Egyptian sites, such as Kellia (Egloff 1977, 65-89) and Pelusium (Vogt 1997b, 4-5). Late Roman 'D' wares are generally widely distributed in the northern part of the Delta (Hayes 1972, 385; Rodziewicz 1976, 42-47; Ballet 2003a, 74; Wickham 2005, 760), while they occur rarely in Upper Egypt (Gempeler 1992, 41). In Alexandria, African red slip wares arrive continuously during the period from the fourth until the seventh century, and for a period co-exist with the Late Roman 'D' wares, produced in a wide zone including presumably the island of Cyprus and the southern Asia Minor.

The import of Late Roman 'D' wares in sixth century Egypt has been attributed to the personal role of John the Almoner as Patriarch of Alexandria and the economic ties that were developed between Cyprus and Alexandria that he fostered (Rodziewicz 1976, 55). Sodini (2000, 190, note 87) considered as more important factors the economic development of the island and its strategic role since the mid-sixth century. Let us not forget, however, that the identification of the ware's source is not yet utterly confirmed, so that practically both the above explanations remain mere hypotheses.

At any rate Late Roman 'D' wares are found in large quantities in Cyprus, *where it is consistently the commonest fine ware in all Roman layers* (Hayes 1972, 385). It is reported as the most frequent fine ware in Beirut as well (Reynolds 2003a, 536), and it is generally (Uscatescu 2003, 551) present in the Levant until the end of the seventh century, especially to coastal sites and Galilee.

From the amphorae point of view, it is in the sixth century only that the Old Baramūs seems to develop some relations with other regions than Cilicia, Cyprus, the Gulf of Alexandretta and the coast of Palestine. This is attested by the presence of the globular Late Roman amphorae 2 and the spindle-shaped Late Roman 3. These two types never gained the popularity of the Late Roman 1 and 4 jars in Egypt, although they were widely distributed throughout the Mediterranean. The same phenomenon is to be observed on several sites in the Levant (Sodini 2000, 192), such as Beirut (Reynolds 2010a, 96-97), Caesarea (Riley 1975; Blakely 1988) and Jerusalem (Magness 1993).

In sixth century Alexandria, Late Roman amphorae 2 and 3 almost disappear. Majcherek (2004, 234) saw a correlation between the end of amphora production in Asia Minor and a crisis in the manufacture and distribution of Phocaean red slip wares, which is observed from the middle of the sixth century in the Mediterranean (Hayes 1972, maps 15 and 16). Majcherek's observation is one step beyond what we have in the Old Baramūs, which more likely corresponds to the first half of the sixth century.

It seems that in the sixth century the major modifications of the century to come have their roots.<sup>69</sup> For it is during this time that the rise of Egyptian products is gradually manifested. In fact, the Egyptian table wares in their totality already surpass those arrived from overseas, while the difference in ratio between Egyptian and non-Egyptianamphorae is not as significant as in the previous period.

And eventually in the seventh century the Egyptian red slip wares and amphorae, especially the *bag-shaped* jars, greatly outclass their Mediterranean equivalents. This does not mean that the non-Egyptian products are already absent in the Old Monastery of Baramūs. Late Roman 'D' wares still arrive in much more significant numbers than the African red slip wares, which are also present. Indeed, products of the great centres still circulate in the Mediterranean world, until their ultimate decline, which is manifested around the year 700 (Wickham 2005, 717). Mainly African and Phocaean wares are present in various sites of the Greek territory (Sodini 2000, 188; Hayes 2003, 533), Late Roman 'D' wares are abundant in Cyprus and the Levant (Sodini 2000, 188-190; Reynolds 2003a, 536; Uscatescu 2003, 551; Wickham 2005, 770-771; Meyza 2007), and stand as the commonest non-Egyptianfine wares in the Old Baramūs.

In general, any comparison between the situation in Baramūs and other sites of the seventh century Mediterranean world is a rather perplexed task. The new conditions that affected various parts of the empire were not brought about simultaneously, while their character was different in many respects, so that each region 'reacted' in a different way. However, a common characteristic is the spontaneous turn to the local resources and production, which would become even more profound in the eighth century.

In Egypt, the regional production patterns that existed since the late fourth and fifth century did not stop, but continued without changes until 700. From now on, the end of imports is utterly substituted by the Aswān products, which continued to be dominant in the eighth century and onwards (Wickham 2005, 762). Similarily in the Levant, the local red slip imitations gradually increased in numbers, as the imported prototypes decreased (Wickham 2005, 772-773). But in the Aegean, a number of non-red slip and semi-fine wares produced in the sixth and seventh century move away from the red slip tradition showing a definite change in taste (Wickham 2005, 782). This change in taste is to be observed according to Wickham (2005, 717) *everywhere except in Egypt*.

The finds in the Old Monastery of Baramūs support this view: Aswān red slip, white slip, and white painted wares survive until the tenth century and later, reaching even the twelfth century (No. 132); Nile fabric red slip wares until the ninth century; cooking wares, such as the carinated frying pans, as well as the hemispherical casseroles and their lids until the ninth / tenth century, or even later; certain troughs or medium-sized bowls until the ninth / tenth century; the *sāqiya-pots* until the modern period; the *Egyptian Amphorae* 7 until the tenth / eleventh century; the Egyptian *bag-shaped amphorae* until the twelfth century (Mouny 2007); wheel-made bowl-lamps until at least the eighth century.

At first sight, a further manifestation of the persistence in *old* types is the group of *Egyptian Early Arab Amphorae*, namely the Egyptian Early Medieval versions of specific Late Roman amphora types. As soon as the Late Roman amphorae series started to relent, the Egyptian potters created a group of jars, which followed certain Late Roman prototypes. They were inspired from two widespread Mediterranean

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> This very observation concerns a ceramic assemblage from Pella as well (Watson 1992, 246).

types, the Late Roman amphorae 1 and 2, and from two indigenous types, which were fused to create a new one. The last case proves that already since the late seventh century, next to the continuation or the copy of *old* types, an effort to compose new forms that spontaneously incorporated numerous *old* elements was made. I believe that the *Egyptian Early Amphorae 3* of our division do stand as important witnesses of these early morphological experimentations.

It would worth citing here that the eighth and ninth century amphorae, found in various sites, which were under the Byzantine rule (suggestive list in: Bakirtzis 1989, 74-78), were also survivals of the Late Roman types. According to the classification of Bakirtzis (1989, 75-78) the first type of Byzantine amphorae, described as ribbed, oval-shaped, seems to derive from the Late Roman amphorae 1; the second type, described as pear-shaped, from the Late Roman amphorae 2; the third type is inspired from the amphorae with pointed spike and is spindle-shaped. Concordance of the above three types with their Egyptian equivalents is obvious.

Nevertheless, this is may be the only thing in common between Egypt and the Byzantine tradition. It is already emphasised that the sites remaining under the control of the Byzantine State, especially the Aegean, were more sensitive to changes that the new conditions brought about. One of them was the creation of new glazed wares, or better to say the re-apparition of lead glazing on domestic pottery. The Roman tradition of lead-glazed ceramics seems to have survived, somehow, in Pannonia and northern Italy, where production centres, in the fourth and fifth centuries, are related to the Late Roman Army in the Danube border (Arthur 2007, 176). But the dynamic re-apparition of glazed wares in the Aegean is not dated before the seventh century.

About 600 the so-called Glazed White Ware was produced in Constantinople, deriving from the Roman monochrome glazed traditions. Unlike red slip wares, glazed wares mainly included closed forms, such as jars and jugs; open forms appeared in the eighth century. Constantinopolitan Glazed White Wares were distributed in various sites of the Aegean (full list of sites in: Wickham 2005, 783; Yangaki 2005, 295) and it seems that along with other production centres of glazed wares, such as Rome (Saguí *et al.* 1997, 46), they inspired local potters, who were ready to copy and elaborate the 'new' technique. Hayes (2003, 533) observed that Athenian potters attempted to create glazed wares in the eighth century, in Eleutherna (Crete), locally-made glazed ceramics occur since the seventh century (Yangaki 2005, 295). These early Byzantine glazes are applied directly on the clay body. The colours preferred are yellow, honey-yellow, or green.

Glazed fine wares were introduced in Egypt and the Levant around or shortly after 800. In these regions, the potters did not turn back to the Roman traditions, but they were inspired from new and exotic styles of pottery (Walmsley 2000, 329; Wickham 2005, 762; Arthur 2007, 175). In Egypt the changes in taste were gradually expressed, as the first glazed wares were made by the same workshops, which produced red slip wares (*e.g.* Fustāt) and the glazes were applied on forms that existed in the red slip tradition as well (*e.g.* Nos. 41-43, 106, 108-117). But, by the end of the ninth century, both Egypt and the Levant were proven pioneers in the adoption and diffusion of new ideas and manufacture techniques, many of them arriving from the Far East.

From the fourth until the ninth century, the Old Monastery of Baramūs laid witness of all the major changes, which affected the Mediterranean world. At the same time, all the particularities that characterise the Egyptian territory are clearly reflected on the ceramic assemblage presented above.

# **CHAPTER 4 – THE TEXTUAL EVIDENCE**

As presented and discussed in chapter 3, ceramic objects seem to witness more about their manufacturing process, their production and distribution than they do about themselves as functional entities in relation to their owners. Of course they do shed light on the history of the Old Monastery of Baramūs, as every ceramic assemblage does on any excavated settlement, but there are still some issues remaining intact. These issues concern on the one hand the objects (*the pots*), on the other hand the people related to them after their production and prime distribution (in our case *the monks*).

In order to answer the subsequent questions, one should turn to the fascinating, vet often tricky and ambiguous, world of the literary sources. Attention is focused on texts that refer to the Lower Egyptian semi-anchoretic settlements in Sketis, Nitria and Kellia, which share common characteristics. Key sources are the alphabetical (Migne) and systematic (Guy) collections of the Apophthegmata Patrum, Palladius' Historia Lausiaca (Migne), the Historia Monachorum in Aegypto (Migne), the Instituta and Conlationes of John Cassian (Petschenig) as well as certain Vitae of famous monks. These texts, rich in information, are written to exalt the golden age of Egyptian monasticism, namely the late fourth and the fifth century. An account of what was going on in the sixth century is given by the Patrum Spirituale of John Moschus (Migne), while information about the situation in Sketis is to be found in the Life of Abba Daniel (Clugnet). Another source is the Arabic History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria (Evetts) (DenHeijer 1996; Idem 2009). The unreliability of these sources, due to their edifying character and/or the long-process of re-writing before obtaining their final form is discussed in chapter 2. However, when it comes for secondary, more insignificant details, such as naming a pot and referring to its use, I find no reason to mistrust them. Furthermore, next to the ideal models, there is still indirect information included, which should not be far from reality.

There is no doubt that in terms of authenticity, literary texts cannot be compared with real life documents, such as documentary papyri, ostraca and so on.<sup>70</sup> Unfortunately the Lower Egyptian *semi-anchoretic* sites have not released as much documentation as the Middle or Upper Egyptian hermitages and monasteries. Despite of the fact that they refer to other 'monastic' environments, often of different organisation, the papyrological evidence is taken into account, especially when confronting with the exaggerations of the literary texts. It must be noted, though, that this chapter should not be considered as an outcome of the thorough and elaborate study of documentary papyri.

The discussion that opens in the following chapters has been the subject of many scholars (such as Goehring, Layton, Wipszycka and others) who mainly study the textual evidence. Thanks to their acute and critical attitude towards the sources new questions and interpretations are suggested, which take into account, or are simply confirmed by archaeological research. It is therefore important to stress once again that archaeology needs texts as much as texts need archaeology, which is in position to confirm or overrule testimonies from the past and bold theoretical approaches.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> During the last years, databases gathering and giving easily access to papyrological documentation appeared on the internet (http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/projects/digital/apis/)

# **1 THE POTS**

Understanding objects may well help in understanding the people associated to them. If one is allowed to slightly modify the view of Tringham (1995, 98) one can claim that *each object has to be considered as a dynamic entity whose every month of life is significant for the men and women who act with and around it.* Gosden and Marshall (1999, 170) add about objects that apart from changing through their existence, they are often capable of accumulating histories. Consequently, *the present significance of an object derives from the persons and events to which it is connected.* In the effort to analyse and understand objects, several points in their existence, such as the processes and cycles of production, exchange and consumption should be examined as a whole (Kopytoff, 1986). Although, all the above processes are more or less discussed in the presentation of the ceramic assemblage discovered in the Old Monastery of Baramūs (chapter 3), it is still possible to elaborate our initial observations and attempt to reinstate our objects in their afore time vital role.

One does not need to browse a lot of books about ceramics to realise the diversity of types and variants according to functional category. While each type is mostly used as a time and provenance indicator, there is still a lot to learn about its proper identification, that is its name and exact function, which relate it to its owner. Suggestions about use are general and based on technical features, while they often encompass more than a single form. However, ethno-archaeology proves that a high level of specialisation for every object and a multiplicity of functions must have been a fact. Furthermore, it is quite possible that the variety of words designating pots mentioned in the literary sources<sup>71</sup> is in favour of the above assumption. Still nowadays in Egypt, especially in villages where people follow a more traditional way of life, various different pots with distinct features and names are used to serve, prepare, contain or transport specific victuals and other substances. Between stories in texts about the use of mundane vessels by monks withdrawn in the wilderness of the desert to excel in spirituality and life in Egyptian villages of today, numerous pots await re-integration into their functional milieu.

In the frame of the present study it was not possible – not even intended – to search all names and references to pots in literary sources and papyri dating from the late fourth to the ninth century. The stories narrated in the *Apophthegmata Patrum* were a starting point, and it turned out that an almost complete list of vessels ( $\dot{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\tilde{i}\alpha$ ) could be composed that is elaborated by further references.

The monastic table was equipped with various open and closed table wares, in which food and drinks were presented and served. They may be divided into vessels that contained a larger portion of food or drink to be shared by all messmates, and vessels that would contain the ration for each individual. As a result, vessels belonging to the first group must be larger than those belonging to the second. Such a distinction may be indicated even by one and the same word and its diminutive, when its termination is slightly altered.

A characteristic example is the case of the dish mentioned in the sources as (*pinax*),  $\pi i \nu \alpha \kappa i \sigma \kappa o \varsigma$  (*pinakiskos*), the object *par excellence* for the presentation and serving of the meals. John Chrysostom (*PG* 59, 763), in his recitation of Saint John the Baptist's decapitation, mentions that this vessel normally contained food, but it came to signify a horrible crime. Koukoules (1952, 150-151)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> It should be added here that the Coptic dictionary of Crum (1939) includes almost seventy different names of ceramic vessels.

through his assiduous study of numerous Byzantine sources concluded that  $\pi i \nu \alpha \xi$ refers to a large and probably deep dish containing food shared by all tablecompanions, while  $\pi i \nu \alpha \kappa i o \kappa o \zeta$  would be a smaller plate containing the individual meals. These objects were wooden, clay, or metallic – often silver or golden. Focusing on the ceramic dishes and plates under discussion, it is very probable that they were slipped and / or decorated with several animal, vegetable or geometric motifs, impressed, incised or painted. The Coptic word **TINA**, identical to its Greek equivalent, is defined by Crum (1939) as a good-quality plate, probably red slip ware. In the *Apophthegmata Patrum* (Achilles, 3; Daniel 2; Guy 1993, 4.10.3, 188) the word  $\pi i \nu \alpha \kappa i \nu$  (*pinakin*) was also used to designate such dishes. In a story Abba Isaiah is presented having put salt and water in his  $\pi i \nu \alpha \kappa i \nu$  to macerate his bread (*AP*, Achilles, 3). It is possible that these dishes would also contain water for drinking (Koukoules 1952, 151).

The commonest drinking vessel – what we would call a cup – was the  $\pi \sigma \tau \dot{\eta} \rho i \sigma v$  (*poterion*) (*AP*, Eulogius; Isaiah, 4; Theodore of Pherme, 6; Isaak the Theban, 2; Romaeus; Sisoes, 2, 8; Guy 1993, 4.29.3, 200; 4.44.3, 208; 4.45.6, 208; 4.63.2, 216; 4.64.2, 216; 4.91.2, 230). Water or wine would be served in this object; the *Apophthegmata Patrum* (*e.g* Romaeus) often refer to a  $\pi \sigma \tau \dot{\eta} \rho i \sigma v$  of wine ( $\pi \sigma \tau \dot{\eta} \rho i \sigma v$   $\tau \sigma \tilde{\sigma} \sigma \tilde{\sigma} v \sigma v$ ) as if it was a vessel destined to contain especially wine. This assumption is not so absurd taking into account that even nowadays wine-glasses are distinguishable by their particular morphological features. The word  $\pi \sigma \tau \dot{\eta} \rho i \sigma v$  and next to it the Coptic word  $\lambda \Pi \sigma \tau$  are also used to designate a liturgical vessel: the *holy chalice* (Schmelz 2002, 102). At this early stage *holy chalices* were gold, silver or bronze.<sup>72</sup> In an *Apopthegm* (Epiphanius of Cyprus, 16) one reads about a cup that would keep its content cool ( $\psi \nu \chi \rho \dot{\sigma} \pi \sigma \tau \dot{\eta} \rho i \sigma v$ ) (*psychron poterion*), probably an allusion to the cup known as  $\psi \nu \kappa \tau \eta \rho$  (Koukoules 1952, 157).

Another drinking vessel, similar in form and closely bonded to the  $\pi o \tau \eta \rho i o v$ , is considered to be the  $\kappa a v \kappa a \lambda i o v$  (kaukalion) or  $\beta a v \kappa a \lambda i o v$  (baukalion) (AP, Eulogius; John the Little, 7, 8; Isaak priest of Kellia, 2; Macarius Aegyptius, 33; Poemen, 183; Guy 1993, 4.82.2, 226). Linchpin between a  $\pi o \tau \eta \rho i o v$  and a  $\kappa a v \kappa a \lambda i o v$  is thought to be a hemispherical ceramic drinking vessel mostly for wine known as  $\kappa a v \kappa o v \kappa o v \kappa a v$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> I did not manage to find any example of ceramic *holy chalice* from the Egyptian territory. Examples, however, come from the twelfth century byzantine glazed pottery. In Corinth (Morgan 1942, 121, Pl. XLI, j, No. 1047), the region of Pylia in Messenia (unpublished), Thessaloniki (Bakirtzis and Papanikola – Bakirtzis 1981, 422, Fig. 1) and Thrace (Asdracha and Bakirtzis 1980, 250, No. 8) sherds of glazed open vessels that bear incised inscriptions (*'Take, eat.*. or *'Drink from it, all of you'*) (Matthew 26: 26-28) are found and identified as *holy chalices*. They may date to a much later period and come from a different *milieu*, they stand however as indications that after a certain moment holy chalices were not necessarily made of very expensive materials.

 $<sup>^{73}</sup>$  K $\omega\theta\dot{\omega}viov$  is described as an open vessel, a sort of drinking pot used by soldiers and sailors; it also used to designate water pumping vessels and open bowls containing holy water. It is also mentioned that in this vessel blood and small pieces of veal was put and was left there for days (*Geoponica* 20.10). K $\omega\theta\dot{\omega}viov$  was made of copper, or silver, clay, wood or even crystal (Bakirtzis 1989, 106-109).

argues that a closed form cannot be utterly accepted and provides enough evidence to prove that an open form is more likely.

But Leroy-Molighen (1965), who was the first to associate  $\beta \alpha \nu \kappa \alpha \lambda i \rho \nu$  to  $\kappa\omega\theta\omega\nu\nu\nu$ , already thought that it was probably a closed vessel. The same information one gets from the definition of the Coptic word **BAYKAXION**, which is interpreted as a vessel - probably a sort of bottle - with narrow neck (Crum 1939). Torallas Tovar (2004, 182) refers to  $\beta \alpha \nu \kappa \alpha \lambda i o \nu$  as a bottle for olive oil. It is generally very tempting to associate the word to the Italian bochale (boccale, bocchale bocchali), which is defined as a trefoil-mouthed bottle with one handle (Berti 1997, 302-303) or even the Arabic *būkla* ( ), a water-jar with two handles (Henein 1992, 47, No. 62). No doubt the case of  $\beta \alpha \nu \kappa \alpha \lambda i o \nu / \kappa \alpha \nu \kappa \alpha \lambda i o \nu$  appears rather complicated. Is it possible that the whole confusion derives from its connection (wrongly?) to other vessels (such as καῦκος / καυκίον and κωθώνιον), most likely open? At any rate, in its Egyptian context it looks more probable that it was a closed vessel that each monk would keep in his cell standing or hung as implied by an Apophthegm<sup>74</sup> (Poemen, 183). It is present in numerous meals of monks, as narrated in the Apophthegmata Patrum. Whether  $\beta \alpha \nu \kappa \dot{\alpha} \lambda i \rho \nu$  should be identified with the beautifully decorated painted jugs (Nos. 158-224, 226) is difficult to say, given the perplexity of the entire discussion about this vessel.

The term  $\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\tilde{\eta}\rho$  (*crater*) is used in one *Apophthegm* (Theodore of Pherme, 22) to designate an open bowl containing onions. One may therefore deduce that it is a sort of utilitarian ware in which certain provisions would be kept. However, in other fourth and fifth century sources (Basil the Great, 31.456; John Chrysostom, 52.471; 55.239; 58.566; Gregory of Nyssa, 46.468) craters are mentioned among the table wares and Koukoules (1952, 157) supposes that they had more or less the same shape and use with their ancestors. Later they came to signify the large drinking cups (Koukoules 1952, 157). The same word exists in Coptic as well (KPATHP).

Another rather *archaic* form is attested in an interesting *Apophthegm* (Macarius Aegyptius, 3): when Abba Macarius dwelt in the great desert, he was the only one living as an anchorite, but lower down there was another desert where several brothers dwelt. The old man was surveying the road when he saw Satan drawing near in the likeness of a man and he passed by his dwelling. He seemed to be wearing some kind of cotton garment, full of holes, and a small vessel hung at each hole (Ward 1984, 126-127). The word that designates these vessels is  $\lambda \eta \kappa \delta \nu \theta i \omega r$  (lekynthion), obviously something like the ancient lekythus, but apart from the fact that it probably refers to a closed vessel no further comment can be made on the basis of our Apophthegm.

The story continues with Abba Macarius asking Satan where he was going and what was the purpose of all those pots he was carrying. He answered that he wanted to disturb the brothers by offering them different kinds of food that he kept in the pots and he departed. This is interesting information about the variety of foodstuffs put in a single vessel type; but what kind of foodstuffs would they be? It is a pity that no example is mentioned so as to infer if the  $\lambda\eta\kappa \acute{v}\theta\iota ov$  would indeed be a closed vessel. It is difficult, however, for me to imagine a narrow-necked vase, in the model of the ancient *lekythus*, if it was to carry delicious cooked non-liquid food...

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> The nature of water is soft, that of stone is hard; but if a baukalion is hung above the stone, allowing the water to fall drop by drop, it wears away the stone (Ward 1984, 192).



 Fig. 4.1. Woman selling κωθώνια.
 Detail from the procession of the icon of the Virgin Hodhegetria, late 13<sup>th</sup> c.
 Arta, Vlacherna Monastery, narthex (after Acheimastou-Potamianou 2009, Fig. 52)

When reading this recitation I cannot help recalling – although seemingly irrelevant - a scene represented in a wallpainting in the narthex of the Vlacherna Monastery near Arta (Greece): the procession of the miraculous icon of the Virgin Hodhegetria in Constantinople (Acheimastou-Potamianou 2009, 71-73, fig. 52). The wall-painting, which dates to the late thirteenth century, includes everyday life scenes. Among them is depicted an old woman carrying eight pots that appear hanging from a chain around her neck. It looks like a common practice for wandering sellers to attach their merchandise on themselves in one way or another and it is interesting to see it reflected different in two and chronologically divergent cases.

Several references to frying (*e.g. AP*, Gelasius, 3) and cooking (*e.g. AP*, Isaiah, 6) are to be found in the literary sources so that one gets an idea about what kind of vessels were used in these processes.

A pan known as  $\tau \eta \gamma \alpha v ov$  (teganon),  $\tau \eta \gamma \alpha v ov$  (teganion) or  $\tau \eta \gamma \alpha v ov$  (teganos) was used for frying food with the help of oil or fat, as well as for parching pulses or dried fruits (Bakirtzis 1989a, 49). In an Apophthegm (AP, Gelasius, 3) the act of frying a fish is narrated. In Coptic the THKANON (tekanon) – etymologically similar ) designate more or less the to its Greek equivalent – and in Arabic the  $t\bar{a}gan$  ( same vessel, which probably has multiple applications. A  $\tau \eta \gamma \alpha v o v$  used to be a shallow vessel of various sizes, usually with sloping walls and rounded base; a panhandle or two small horizontal handles often occur attached below the rim (e.g. No. 269). The most characteristic form of  $\tau \eta \gamma \alpha v o v$  in the Old Baramūs assemblage is the type with carinated body and no handles attached (Nos. 274-279). It is worth noting that the *tāğan* was used by Egyptians not only as a frying pan (Henein 1992, 26, No. 31; 40, No. 49; 41, 52,), but also as a pan to cook food in the oven (Wissa Wassef 1971, 402). One can deduce how it was used according to the shape of its base:  $^{75}$  a rounded base implies cooking on a brazier<sup>76</sup>, while a flat base was proper for cooking in the oven.

The principal cooking pot was the  $\chi \dot{\nu} \tau \rho \alpha$  (*chytra*) (Bakirtzis 1989a, 31-35; *Idem* 2005), differing from the pans described above by being deep and generally closed in shape. I suspect that the hemispherical casserole (Nos. 281-295), which was made at the same time with its lid (Nos. 338-360) may also be called  $\chi \dot{\nu} \tau \rho \alpha$ ; since it can be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Analogous discussion about the bases of certain cooking-pots in: Bakirtzis 1989a, 33-34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> In Arabic the brazier is known as  $k\bar{a}n\bar{u}n$  ( ) (Henein 1992, 25: No. 28; 48: No. 63). The same word is applied for an improvised structure of three simple bricks with a flat upper face. Two of them are put in parallel juxtaposition and this is where the vessel stands. The third brick is put perpendicularly to the other two, constraining the fire which is put on, so as to cook the meal.

fully covered by its lid that is equipped with one or more steam holes, it does not differ from any of the closed cooking wares. It is possible that each vessel, identified as necked cooking-pot and cooking-jar (Nos. 322-337) can be identified as  $\chi \dot{\nu} \tau \rho a$ . All these pots are appropriate to hold any liquid substance (water, oil or fat) in which the food would boil. In an *Apophthegm (AP*, Isaiah, 6) a monk threw a handful of lentils in a  $\chi \dot{\nu} \tau \rho a$  and boiled them – most likely in water only.

It is noteworthy that apart from preparing food,  $\chi \dot{\upsilon} \tau \rho \alpha i$  might have been used for other purposes. Water to be used for daily hygiene was heated in these objects. Medicines, poisons and other chemical preparations were concocted in such cookingpots (Bakirtzis 1989a, 42).<sup>77</sup> Nowadays, in the Monastery of Virgin Mary of Baramūs (Dayr al-Baramūs), water is boiled in a cooking-pot, so as to clean the censors or to melt the candles for recycling wax. This act takes place in the *doksar*, a place in the south entrance of the church of the Virgin.

An odd use of the  $\chi \dot{v}\tau\rho a$  is illustrated in an *Apophthegm* concerning the early life of Abba Macarius. When he was held up to public ridicule, the mob hung around his neck sooted cooking-pots ( $\dot{\eta}\sigma\beta o\lambda\omega\mu\dot{e}va\zeta \chi\dot{v}\tau\rho\alpha\zeta$ ) and amphora handles ( $\dot{\omega}\tau ia$  $\kappa o\dot{v}\phi\omega v$ ) in order to humiliate him (*AP*, Macarius Aegyptius, 1) (Von Lemm 1972, 55). This expression of moral and social disgrace is found in Old Testament (Joel 2:6:  $\dot{\alpha}\pi \delta \pi\rho \sigma \sigma \dot{\omega}\pi o v a\dot{v}\tau o \tilde{v} \sigma \sigma v \tau \rho i \beta \eta \sigma \sigma v \tau a \lambda a \sigma i \pi a v \pi \rho \delta \sigma \omega \pi o v \dot{\omega} \zeta \pi \rho \delta \sigma \kappa a v \mu a \chi \dot{v}\tau \rho a \zeta$ ; Nah 2:11:  $\kappa a \iota \tau \sigma \pi \rho \delta \sigma \omega \pi \sigma \pi \dot{\alpha} \tau \sigma v \dot{\omega} \zeta \pi \rho \delta \sigma \kappa a v \mu a \chi \dot{v}\tau \rho a \zeta$ ; Nah 2:13:  $\kappa a \iota \tau \sigma \pi \rho \delta \sigma \omega \pi \sigma \pi \dot{\alpha} \tau \sigma v \dot{\omega} \zeta \pi \rho \delta \sigma \kappa a v \mu a \chi \dot{v}\tau \rho a \zeta$ ; Nah 2:14:  $\kappa a \iota \tau \sigma \pi \rho \delta \sigma \omega \pi \sigma \tau \delta v \tau \omega v \dot{\omega} \zeta \pi \rho \delta \sigma \kappa a v \mu a \chi \dot{v}\tau \rho a \zeta$ ; Nah 2:15:  $\kappa a \iota \tau \sigma \pi \rho \delta \sigma \omega \pi \sigma \tau \delta v \tau \omega v \dot{\omega} \zeta \pi \rho \delta \sigma \kappa a v \mu a \chi \dot{v}\tau \rho a \zeta$ ; Nah 2:16:  $\kappa a \iota \tau \sigma \pi \rho \delta \sigma \omega \pi \sigma \tau \delta v \tau \omega v \dot{\omega} \zeta \pi \rho \delta \sigma \kappa a v \mu a \chi \dot{v}\tau \rho a \zeta$ ; Nah 2:17:  $\kappa a \iota \tau \sigma \pi \rho \delta \sigma \omega \pi \sigma \tau \delta v \tau \omega v \dot{\omega} \zeta \pi \rho \delta \sigma \kappa a v \mu a \chi \dot{v}\tau \rho a \zeta$ ; Nah 2:18:  $\kappa a \iota \tau \sigma \pi \rho \delta \sigma \omega \pi \sigma \tau \delta v \tau \omega v \dot{\omega} \zeta \pi \rho \delta \sigma \kappa a v \mu a \chi \dot{v}\tau \rho a \zeta$ ; Nah 2:19:  $\kappa a \iota \tau \sigma \pi \rho \delta \sigma \omega \pi \sigma \tau \delta v \tau \omega v \dot{\omega} \zeta \pi \rho \delta \sigma \kappa a v \mu a \chi \dot{v}\tau \rho a \zeta$ ; Nah 2:19:  $\kappa a \iota \tau \sigma \pi \rho \delta \sigma \omega \pi \sigma \tau \delta v \tau \omega v \dot{\omega} \zeta \pi \rho \delta \sigma \omega \tau \omega \omega \omega \zeta \tau \alpha \zeta$ ; Nah 2:11:  $\kappa a \iota \tau \sigma \pi \rho \delta \sigma \omega \pi \sigma \tau \delta v \tau \omega v \dot{\omega} \zeta \pi \rho \delta \sigma \omega \tau \omega \omega \omega \omega \zeta \tau \alpha \zeta \tau$ 

Finishing with the cooking wares, in an *Apophthegm* (*AP*, Poemen, 111) the word  $\lambda \epsilon \beta \eta \varsigma$  (*lebes*) occurs, as being an object exposed to fire, and therefore used in a cooking process. This is right, but a  $\lambda \epsilon \beta \eta \varsigma$  used to be a resistant metallic vessel, often appearing in proverbs as a contrast to friable clay cooking vessels (Bakirtzis 1989a, 31-32).

A multitude of other utilitarian wares, used for storing provisions and for various other purposes, supplemented the household of the monks.

The storage vessel par excellence was the  $\pi i \theta o \varsigma$  (pithos) (Bakirtzis 1989a, 110-121). Such storage containers were made in various shapes and sizes. The large versions were not moved once they had been placed in position, while the smaller could be moved and transported. One gets an idea of the actual size that a large  $\pi i \theta o \varsigma$ could reach from the Apophthegmata Patrum (AP, Ammonas, 10; John the Little, 15), where it is mentioned that a woman could be hidden in such a jar!<sup>79</sup> Transferrable  $\pi i \theta o \iota$  would be probably large enough, as one may deduce from a story narrated in the Historia Monachorum (HM 22). Abba Amoun asked two men to bring him such a jar,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Bakirtzis (1989, 41-43) cites a multitude of different usages for a *chytra*. Nevertheless, they are not mentioned, as they refer to a different *milieu* and distant chronological periods.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> I owe these remarks to Prof. Dr. Jacques Van der Vliet, who additionally urged me to broaden my perspectives looking for the 'symbolic meaning' of pots. Unfortunately, I did not find the time to carry out thorough research in this respect, but I keep his advice for a future study, which would definitely give significant results.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Episodes with people hiding in large storage jars are very widespread in folk stories and fairy-tales. More recently, a funny example is illustrated in the movie *Kaos* of Paolo and Vittorio Taviani (1984), where one watches how a craftsman is trapped in a storage jar after repairing it.

where he would store the water to offer his visitors. One of them refused to transport it for fear that his camel would die on the way, due to the heaviness of this jar. But the other managed to carry the jar on his donkey, overcoming his weariness.

From the early years of human civilisation until the present the necessities of life impose the use of this long-lasting container, which could have been made of clay or stone. Large quantities of provisions, such as wine, oil, cereals, flour, salted fish and meat, dried fruits and so on were stored in such storage jars. Large  $\pi i \theta oi$  were illustrated in a sixth century wall-painting representing the miracle at Cana, in the sanctuary of the Abū Hinnis Monastery (Clédat 1902, 52-53, Pl. 3; Zibawi 2003, 64, fig. 63). This is the only such representation known in a wall-painting from the Egyptian territory of that period.



Fig. 4.2. *Zal'a* (photo: Imke Fleuren)

In the Monasteries of Wādī al-Națrūn a large oval-shaped vessel with two handles and flat base, known as zal'a ( ) (Wissa-Wassef 1971, 402), appears to be the most typical storage jar, where provisions were stored until some seventy years ago. Its outer surface is often covered with a special mat, while various types of stoppers block its mouth. It is generally characterised by a light-coloured very hard and dense fabric, which contains considerable amount of calcite. This successor of ancient  $\pi i \theta o \zeta$  must have appeared somewhere during the tenth century, as the excavations in the Old Baramūs show (No. 407), and evolved ever since. It shares common morphological characteristics with certain vessels identified as 'Arabic' amphorae, due to the Arabic inscriptions that are written on their handles (Michaelides and Bakirtzis 2003). while technologically resemble jars produced in

Nebi Samwil (Gascoigne and Pyke 2011, 420-423).

Abūna Manşūr al-Baramūsi – and Abūna Makary al-Baramūsi, who acted as translator – patiently explained an interesting process related to this vessel. Wissa Wassef (1971, 108-109) referred to this very process, mentioning that it was followed for the preparation of the Eucharistic Wine. Dry raisins, imported from Cyprus, Palestine or Izmir, after very thorough washing they were put in the large *zal'a*. Then water was added, in a proportion of two thirds of raisins for one third of water. After three days they were pressed in a wine-mill and the liquid produced was again put in large storage vessels, where it was kept for forty to sixty days. The wine to be produced should be pure, not pressed with the feet, and acid free. This preparation of the Wine for the Holy Communion was tolerated rather than recommended by the Church (Wissa Wassef 1971, 109; Ishaq 1991, 1066). Its history goes back to times of persecutions. In 852, the last Arab governor of Egypt 'Anbasa Ibn Ishāq al-Dayyi (Lane – Poole 1901, 41-42, 57; Kennedy 1998, 84) banned the wine commerce and the viniculture so as to keep Christians from celebrating the Liturgy. Raisins were secretly imported and arrived dry so that they had to be pressed in water.

In the discussion about the utilitarian vessels it is not possible to ignore the bowls with sloping walls and flat base that are found in considerable quantity in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 375-393). In this case, our only starting point is the shape, being impossible to trace in the sources any word, corresponding to it. About some of these vessels one could suggest a possible interpretation, although with reservation. One may note that they are rather similar to the *māğūr* ) (Wissa Wassef, 1971, 401; Henein 1992, 59, No. 79), a kneading trough, which is still used in the



Fig. 10.3. Modern day glazed *māğūr* (photo: abūna Makary al-Baramūsi)

preparation of the dough. Nowadays, such troughs may often be glazed.

In an Apophthegm (AP, Poemen, 181),  $\gamma \alpha \sigma \tau \rho i ov$  (gastrion), a clay vessel (Koukoules 1952, 34), where cheese would be kept is mentioned. It could have been in the shape of a jar with two handles and a flat base, judging by modern clay vessels, where cheese or other provisions are stored (Henein 1992, 12, No. 3; 14, No. 7).

A water jar called  $\dot{v}\delta\rho i\alpha$  (hydria) is also mentioned in the sources (Palladius, *HL*, 19.8), unfortunately without any further notion that would help us understanding its shape. In Coptic the word remains the same ( $2\Upsilon\Delta PI\lambda$ ) and it also refers to a vessel wherein water would be stored (Crum 1939). In antiquity, the  $\dot{v}\delta\rho i\alpha$  was a large, closed vessel, characterised by its three handles, a vertical one attached to the neck and two horizontal attached to the upper body. In the period of our study, closed vessels with such three handles do not occur. As a result, the term probably describes a jar with one or two handles, the form of which would facilitate its transportation to the well, wherefrom the water would be pumped, and back to the Monastery. To what extent the Arabic word *qadra* () has anything to do with the  $\dot{v}\delta\rho i\alpha$  is difficult to ascertain, although a similarity between words is obvious. *Qadra* is a closed vessel with two handles, narrow neck, ovoid body and a flat base used to store various provisions, such as white cheese, pickled or salted food, melted butter, the molasses and so on (Wissa Wassef 1971, 400; Henein 1992, 82).

One more vessel mostly connected to water is the  $\lambda a \gamma b v i o v$  (lagynion) (AP, John the Little, 1; Moses, 13; Paul the Great, 3; Chaeremon; Guy 1993, 4.41.2, 206). This vessel is known as a water, wine or olive-oil container, smaller in size than an amphora (Koukoules 1950, 97-98; Bakirtzis 1989a, 89). A  $\lambda a \gamma b v i o v$  was a closed vessel with narrow neck and generally two handles that would facilitate its transportation. Medieval Byzantine sources (P. Pr., IV, 129c-e) often compare its shape with that of the plum (Koukoules 1952, 108; Bakirtzis 1989a). Consequently, one may infer that it was a spherical or oval-shaped vessel. It is considered that its base was not flat, but rounded or turned (see Nos. 394-395), so that it was necessary to use a sort of wooden, ceramic or metallic stand (Bakirtzis 1989a, 94). Such stands do exist in Byzantine Egypt (Badawy 1967; Van Lohuizen – Mulder 1991; Rutschowscaya 1991) and apart from supporting the vessel they were destined to keep the stored water cool.

Studies of this type concern examples dating from the eighth century on, found in Rome (Mazzucato 1977; Whitehouse 1980) and in South Greece – mainly in Athens (Robinson 1959, 120, M388-M389), Corinth (Stillwell – MacKay 1967, 272-

274, 279-288, Pls. 64, 67, 68; Williams and Zervos 1992, 146-149, Fig. 5, Pls. 34-36; 1995, 28-33, Fig. 5, Pls. 9, 13) and Argos (Piérart and Thalmann 1980, 466-470 (group B), Figs. 5-6). Until some decades ago, on the island of Rhodes  $\lambda \alpha \gamma \eta \nu \alpha$  was identified with a water jar, known as  $\kappa ov\mu \alpha \rho i$ , a sort of bottle characterised by a narrow neck and equipped with a pierced filter (Koukoules 1952, 162-163 and note 6). One would drink directly from this vessel (Koukoules 1952, 163) that had no handles – like the seventh century jugs found in Kellia (Egloff 1977, 216-217, types 212-214). Despite the above information, it is still unclear, which exactly is the Egyptian type that could be identified as a  $\lambda \alpha \gamma \delta \nu i ov$ . Taking into consideration the description of its shape – even if it comes from later sources – it is only the fifth century variants of the Egyptian *bag-shaped* amphora that seem to correspond!

Similar to the  $\lambda a \gamma b \nu i o \nu$  was probably the  $\sigma \tau \dot{a} \mu \nu o \varsigma$  (stamnos) (Bakirtzis 1989a, 95-99), whose name implies the fact that it could stand on its own,<sup>80</sup> without the use of a support being necessary. The word is still used in Modern Greek to designate a closed vessel with two handles and a flat base, containing mostly water or wine. It is often associated with amphorae due to its function as a transport and storage vessel. Although there is much information about its actual shape in Byzantine sources, while many such jars are found in various sites in Greece, the Balkans and Italy (Bakirtzis 1989a, 95-98), the sources referring to early monasticism are not instructive at all. In two different cases in the *Historia Monachorum*  $\sigma \tau a \mu \nu i o \nu / \sigma \tau a \mu \nu o \varsigma$  is mentioned as a container for milk (*HM*, 8), or honey (*HM*, 24).

In *Historia Lausiaca* (Palladius, *HL*, 2.4) the word  $\kappa \dot{\alpha} \delta o \varsigma$  (*kados*) is mentioned as a vessel that one would use to pump water from the well and then bring it, filled up, back to his cell. In the specific case I am not sure if it represents the jar lashed to the  $s \bar{a} q i y a$  or a sort of bucket with handle, easy to transfer and appropriate to draft water. I even suspect that the particular object is not a clay one.

Various words are used to designate amphorae, namely the jars primarily destined to serve as package containers of goods to be traded. These very jars were often re-used after their prime distribution, so that it is not always possible to draw safe conclusions in an attempt to associate the rich textual evidence to specific vessels found in archaeological sites. The word  $\kappa o \tilde{v} \varphi o v$  (*koufon*) – in Coptic  $K O Y \varphi \omega N$  – which occurs in an *Apophthegm* (*AP*, Macarius Aegyptius, 1) appears very often in Greek papyri from Egypt (Youtie 1977; Cockle 1981; Mayerson 1997; Morelli and Schmelz 2002; Mayerson 2000b) and it is generally translated as *jar* or *vessel*, while the word *empty* is also suggested (discussion in Mayerson 1997, 47). Mayerson (1997) argued that in fact the term *koufon* is to be taken as an empty jar, observing that the word is not found as a jar filled with wine or another substance. He also noted that when the word is used as a substantive it does not signify a vessel of standardised size, shape, or quality, except when explicitly stated in the document.

In a number of documents, such as contracts dealing with vineyard and pottery (leases for potters, wine sale, petitions, cargos of pottery, etc.)  $\kappa o \tilde{v} \phi o v$ , as empty jar, is clearly contrasted with  $\kappa \epsilon \rho \dot{a} \mu o v$  (keramion), which designates the filled jar.<sup>81</sup> Such a distinction is apparently not found in the documents of the Ptolemaic period, but in documents of later periods (Mayerson 1997, 48, 51). The term  $\kappa \epsilon \rho \dot{a} \mu o v$  does not only occur in numerous papyri (Mayerson 1997; Kruit and Worp 1999 etc.), but also in an *Apophthegm* (*AP*, Poemen, 181). In the last case it is mentioned in connection with its

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Deriving from the ancient Greek verb  $i\sigma\tau\eta\mu$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> *Κεράμιον* was also the predominant measure for wine, certainly during the first century AD; its size can vary (Kruit and Worp 1999, 118).

content, which is identified as pickles ( $\kappa\epsilon\rho\dot{\alpha}\mu\omega\nu$   $\tau\alpha\rho\dot{\chi}\omega\nu$ ). Furthermore, it seems that a  $\kappa\epsilon\rho\dot{\alpha}\mu\omega\nu$   $\mu\nu\dot{\alpha}\dot{\chi}\omega\rho\nu\nu$  (keramion monochoron) or  $\delta\dot{\chi}\omega\rho\nu\nu$  (dichoron) designates a particular type of Egyptian wine amphora. Bailey (1998, 126) investigated if it actually refers to the most characteristic Egyptian amphorae of the Roman times, the bitroncoconical Egyptian A or Egyptian amphorae 3.<sup>82</sup> Interesting information is given by Łukaszewicz (2010, 941), who referred to a number of ostraca mentioning the number of donkeys that would carry  $\kappa\epsilon\rho\dot{\alpha}\mu\alpha$ , as well as the name of their drivers. It is also mentioned that each donkey would carry five  $\kappa\epsilon\rho\dot{\alpha}\mu\alpha$ .

In the discussion of words referring to amphorae one should not ignore the use of geographical jar names (Kruit and Worp 1999, 118: note 30; Kruit and Worp 2000) to designate certain vessels.<sup>83</sup> Among them, it is the  $\kappa v i \delta i o v$  (knidion) (Casson 1939, 6-8; Rathbone 1983, 83-84; Bailey 1998, 129-130; Kruit and Worp 2000, 72-73, 82-83; Mayerson 2000b), which chiefly appears in the sources that describe the life of the monks (*AP*, Sisoes, 8; Guy 1993, 4.44.2, 208). This vessel is *by far the most prominent among jars bearing names from Aegean and Palestinian ports that have made their way into Egypt* (Mayerson 2000b, 165). Initially, it was taken for granted that it represented the vessels manufactured in Cnidus in Asia Minor. However, further investigation in the documents showed that Egyptians adopted it as one of their own, supplanting the common  $\kappa \epsilon \rho \dot{\alpha} \mu i o v$  as a container for wine (Kruit and Worp 1999, 118; Mayerson 2000b, 165).

According to papyrological evidence, the  $\kappa v i \delta i o v$  emerged during the Ptolemaic period in numbers that cannot be compared with those that occur in the Byzantine and early Arab periods (from the fourth to the eighth century). Probably these late  $\kappa v i \delta i a$ were not the genuine, made in Cnidus vessels, but Egyptian versions of a popular type of Cnidian wine jar (Bailey 1998, 130; Mayerson 2000b, 165-166). Important production centre in Egypt must have been the Hermopolite Nome as indicated by respective documents (cited in: Bailey 1998, 129). This is the area where chiefly the *Egyptian Amphorae* 7 were produced and Bailey (1998, 129-130) gathered enough evidence to prove that they most likely correspond to the  $\kappa v i \delta i a$  jars. Only a few observations could be made taking into consideration some more recent studies:

To draw his conclusions, Bailey (1998, 129) was based on capacity measures of his amphorae from al-Ašmūnayn. Determining the capacity of  $\kappa v i \delta i a$  is a composite issue. So many  $\kappa v i \delta i a$  are noted in the documents, without any indication of their capacity. In general, documents often provide only scattered references of the specific capacity for jars of a certain type (Mayerson 2000b, 166). In an effort to solve the mystery various different capacities are suggested (discussion in Casson 1939, 6-8). It seems however more probable that the  $\kappa v i \delta i o v$  contained 3, 4, or 5 sextarii of wine (Kruit and Worp 1999, 116; Mayerson 2000b, 166-167), not seven or eight, as Bailey took into account. Even so, Bailey's measurements correspond in most cases to the  $\kappa v i \delta i o v$ , if calculated in *sextarii castrenses* of 0.81 litres, which were more common in the Late Empire, and not in *sextarii italici* of 0.541 litres. The variation manifested in the case of an eighth-ninth century vessel may be explained by differentiations that possibly occurred in the 'Abbāsid period.

In texts the  $\kappa v i \delta i o v$  appears as a wine container, but also as package (after prime use?) of various dry, liquid and semi-dry / liquid goods, such as grapes, oil, cheap wine, vinegar, honey / wine drink, honey / water drink, garum, fish sauce, sweet

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> This type was eventually identified with the *spatheion* (discussion in chapter 3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> New jar names with a geographical background were (re-)introduced during the second century AD (Kruit and Worp 1999, 118, note 30).

olives, olives, honey, pickles, cheese and maybe pickled calf meat. Coins are also mentioned (Kruit and Worp 2000, 107-110).

An interesting notion is given in the *Historia Lausiaca* (Palladius, *HL*, 27.1), where the term  $\kappa\epsilon\rho\dot{\alpha}\mu\omega\nu$   $\kappa\iota\lambda\iota\kappa\dot{\sigma}\omega\nu$  (*keramion kilikision*), meaning *Cilician jar*, is mentioned. Given that the assumption of Kruit and Worp (2000, 74), who regard most foreign geographical jar names are related to import, is right, one may relate this jar to the Cilician Late Roman amphora 1.

Finally, the 'plastered' oil-jar ( $\dot{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\tilde{i}ov\ \dot{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha iov\ \dot{\epsilon}\epsilon\sigma\tau ov\ \gamma\epsilon\gamma\upsilon\psi\omega\mu\dot{\epsilon}vov$ ) mentioned in an *Apophthegm* (*AP*, Benjamin, 1) evokes a process described in the *Geoponica* (9.19.10-11), according to which clay vessels that would store oil should be coated with plaster or dregs on their interior to maintain a cool temperature, which was ideal for the oil.

Other objects, such as the  $\lambda \dot{\nu} \chi \nu \rho \varsigma$  (*lychnos*), the lamp (*AP*, John the Little, 18; Jacob, 3; Orsisius, 2), and the  $\theta \nu \mu \alpha \tau \dot{\eta} \rho \rho \nu$  (*thymiaterion*) (Wigand 1912, 2-16), the censer (*AP*, Isaak priest of Kellia, 6), are also mentioned in the texts. Such vessels were not always made of clay; metal or glass was used, in the manufacture of somewhat more 'luxurious' objects.

# 2 THE MONKS

Mossakowska-Gaubert (2004, 1452), in her study of the glass objects from the hermitage No. 44 in Naqlūn, has raised a point, which may definitely refer to any object that accompanied the life of an individual. Her question was: what were the needs of the monks once lived there, and under which circumstances did they make use of their glass vessels? This very question, which concerns the relation between people and things, reflects a *crucial area of thought in all the social sciences* (Gosden and Marshall 1999, 169). It can be transcribed in various versions, according to the social environment of an investigated site and the material of the objects examined. In the present study, there is no need to modify it significantly. I would only add: *who* were the monks once lived in the Old Monastery of Baramūs? What were their needs and how did they cover them using the ceramic objects, some of which we achieved to unearth and identify? Furthermore, *how* did all these vessels arrive in the site? And what was the actual relation of the monks with the wider world?

#### WHO?

According to the literary texts, which present the ascetics as ideal figures and exceptional paradigms, most of them belonged to the lower orders before their initiation to the community (Evelyn-White 1932, 189); in most cases they appear to have been mere shepherds (*e.g AP*, Apollo, 2; Macarius the Homicide, Palladius, *HL*, 15) and peasants (*e.g.* Paul the Simple, Palladius, *HL*, 22) or slaves (*AP*, Mius, 2; Moses the Black, Palladius, *HL*, 19), even criminals (Palladius, *HL*, 19; *AP*, Apollo, 2; Budge 1907, 270), who have received little or no education (Evelyn-White 1932, 189). Allusions to brothers coming from the middle class are scarce (Palladius, *HL*, 13, 14); well-educated brothers, who came from the upper class, are even less (*e.g. AP*, Arsenius, 29).

In spite of the above references, the reality must have been different. The tendency to imagine monks coming from the lowest social stratum derived from a simplistic aspect of Byzantine Egypt's social reality (Wipszycka 1986, 132; 2009, 493). This reality was initially sketched as if the non-Egyptian element was the only

to represent the rich and well-educated elite, while the Egyptian element was almost equal to *rustic* (see also: Wilfong 1998, 177; Wipszycka 2009, 356-357). Even in a saying of Arsenius (*AP*, Arsenius, 5) *rustics* and Egyptians are treated as synonymous (Evelyn-White 1932, 189). Socrates, in his *Ecclesiastic History* (*HE* 4.7) mentions that most monks were simple-minded and illiterate (discussion in: Wipszycka 2009, 356). However, in Egypt Coptic elite, whose importance grew in time, did exist and developed its own culture, even if its status was inferior to that of the Greek (Wipszycka 1986, 132; Bagnall 1993, 230-260; Wipszycka 2009, 357). It would be hence risky to accept that the majority of monks were illiterate peasants.

Van der Vliet (2009, 285-286) explains how the *rustic* element and the lack of civilisation were used as positive characteristics. Thanks to them, Egyptian ascetics resisted imported philosophies and remained attached to *a pure and unspoiled faith*. Most brothers appear as shepherds to denote their quality as metaphoric spiritual shepherds. Shenoute of Atripe (*c.* 348-*c.*464) (Harmless 2004, 445-448; Wipszycka 2009, 61-65), for example, may be seen as a sort of *peasant leader*, but it is well-shown that he was an educated bilingual author and preacher, *much appreciated by the rich and mighty of his time* (Van der Vliet 2009, 285-286); likewise, Pesynthios of Koptos (569-632) (Wipszycka 2007, 340-345; *Eadem* 2009, 30-34), although springing from a wealthy family, he is presented as shepherd in his youth. Poverty and illiteracy are part of the *ideology* of early monasticism (Van der Vliet: comments) and are hence highlighted.

As for the actual education level of the Egyptian monks, it is certain that most of them could read and write, without of course denying that there existed illiterate monks too (Wipszycka 1984; *Eadem* 2009, 361-365). The poor opinion of the cultural level of Egyptian clergy and ascetics does not seem to correspond to reality. The myth of illiterate monks is furthermore disconfirmed by the Greek or/and Coptic literature that monastic centres produced or read. The need to enrich the ascetic experiences, through hagiographic texts was probably introduced by educated brothers. For a number of monks their education took place in a monastic centre. Cases of monks writing texts are not rare (Wipszycka 2009, 359-360). Wipszycka (2009, 361-365) maintains that after all illiterate monks were only a minority, base on the great deal of everyday life texts written on *ostraca* and papyri; texts, such as private letters, contracts, bills and so on (*e.g.* in: Clackson 2008; Delattre 2007; *Idem* 2008; Boud'hors and Heurtel 2010).

The status to which monks would come after their initiation is discussed in two different Sayings that probably reproduce the same event. The first refers to Abba Arsenius (*AP*, Arsenius, 36) and the second to Abba Romaeus or a Roman father ( $\mu ov\alpha\chi \delta \zeta \tau i \zeta P \omega \mu a \tilde{i} o \zeta$ ) (*AP*, Romaeus, 1), who is most likely Arsenius himself (Evelyn-White 1932, 101, 124). This story – especially the second, more elaborate version – speaks of how a peasant and a noble would have lived before and after initiating the ascetic life: the first actually found ease, while the second abandoned a life of luxury for a life of hardship, poverty and humility.

Is it true that living as a monk would somehow be like living as a peasant in better circumstances? To what extent such a generalised view corresponds to the reality of monastic life? It seems that the literary sources, if examined solely, may in fact be in favour of this idea. However, there is papyrological evidence that upholds the opposite, indicating a special economic vitality of the monastic units (Barison 1938, 32; Wipszycka 1986; *Eadem* 2009). Furthermore, it is obvious that there used to exist both 'wealthy' and poor brothers, mainly as a result of their status before initiation. Archaeological investigation has in fact revealed *lauras* with beautiful wall-

paintings and more or less 'luxurious' objects, against primitive and poor *lauras*, which have barely left their traces (Wipszycka 2009, 359).

Wipszycka (1986, 132; *Eadem* 2009, 358) also pointed to a text, usually ignored in the discussion about the social origin and economic status of monks: a constitution of Valentinian and Valens issued in 370 or 373 (*C. Th.*, XII, 1, 63), which authorised the dignitaries to force monks to return to their secular duties; those who refused to abandon monastic life would have their belongings confiscated. This edict refers especially to Egyptian monks, and it may serve as indication that people of at least moderate wealth were certainly among them. And if the emperors considered necessary to promulgate this document that means that these wealthy people are more that we usually assume.

At any rate it is almost impossible to draw certain conclusions about the social origin and the cultural level of ascetics. Only the ratio between rich, middle-class and poor, educated and illiterate brothers would give an idea of the reality, but there is no way to reach this information (Wipszycka 2009, 355).

#### WHAT?

Let us now examine what were the everyday tasks of the monks. According to the sources, the anchorites of Sketis and Kellia should spend their life withdrawn in their cells for five days in the week, gathering together only on the *Sabbath* (Saturday) and on the *Lord's Day* (Palladius, *HL*, 7). Each monk should work hard and carefully, so as to earn by his own labour a daily supply of food for himself and for those in need (John Cassian, *De institutis*, 2.3; *AP*, Poemen, 69), such as ill and old brothers (Delattre 2008, 58).

The standard handicraft (έργόχειρον) practised in the monasteries of Lower Egypt is the making of baskets ( $\sigma \pi v \rho i \delta \epsilon \varsigma$ ) (gathered information on basket making in: Evelyn-White 1932, 198; Regnault 1990, 112-114), mats (ψίαθοι, ψιάθια) (Wipszycka 1986, 119-121; Regnault 1990, 114), ropes ( $\sigma o \lambda \dot{\alpha} \kappa \iota v$ ), and sandals  $(\sigma\alpha\nu\delta\dot{\alpha}\lambda\iota\alpha)$  from palm-blades and rushes. Textual references to these works are numerous. Other forms of manual labour were: weaving (HM, 18; Nau 1907, 189, Nos. 58, 59; Wipszycka 1986, 121-122), harvesting ( $\theta \epsilon \rho \rho \varsigma$ ,  $\theta \epsilon \rho \iota \sigma \mu \delta \varsigma$ ) (AP, Macarius, 7; John the Little, 6, 35; Isaak priest of Kellia, 4, 7; Poemen, 22; Pior, 1; Serinus, 1; Nau 1909, 376, No. 291; Wipszycka 1986, 128-129), copying (καλλιγραφία) (AP, Marcus the disciple of Abba Silvanus, 1; John Cassian, De institutis, 5.39; Wipszycka 1986, 122-124; Regnault 1990, 114-115), gardening (AP, Arsenius, 22), manufacture of sieves or necklaces (AP, Silvanus) ( $\kappa \delta \sigma \kappa i \nu \alpha$ ) and flax weaving ( $\lambda i \nu \nu \varphi i \kappa \delta \nu$ ) (Nau 1913, 141, No. 375; Regnault 1990, 114-115). It seems that the brothers Paul and Timotheus, who were barbers, worked hard throughout the day, since Timotheus complained that the other monks would not let them live in peace (AP, Paul the Barber, 2). Wipszycka (1986, 125-126) wondered if the two barbers would render chirurgical or other therapeutic services, given that it is not so logic to be so busy when monks are not supposed to cut their hair or shave their beard. To all the above occupations Wipszycka (1986, 124) added those who probably created leather and wooden artefacts.

Possessions were not forbidden to ascetics living in *semi-anchoretic* congregations. Papyrological evidence confirms the sources' statement that each ascetic should work in order to earn the living. A list of activities that the ascetics practiced comes from the Monastery of Bawīț (Delattre 2007, 80-93), where agriculture seems to be the main occupation next to pasturage, fishing, bee-keeping,
wine production, basketry, wood-carving, metallurgy, and pottery production. Congregations owning land or workshops often rented them to individuals, as the various leasing contracts reveal (Delattre 2007, 62-63). Many monks exercised certain professions; carpenters, masons, smiths, potters, weavers, bakers, camel-drivers, painters, notaries, male nurses, physicians, even grave diggers and other specialties lived and worked in the Monastery of Bawīt (Delattre 2008, 57-58).

Monks had to earn their living and the best way to do so was through disposing their finished articles. In many cases the monks themselves carried their wares to the market in the adjacent city, somewhere in the Delta, or merchants came to the monasteries to transact with the monks (Evelyn-White 1932, 184; Delattre 2008, 51). It is a pity that the archaeological investigations in the Lower Egyptian semianchoretic settlements have released no documentary evidence so as to learn more than what the literary sources mention about such transactions. Interesting information comes from the correspondence of anchoret Frange, who lived in the eighth century. He established himself in the tomb of Amenemope (or Amenemipet), vizier of Amenophis II (18th dynasty), near Dayr al-Baharī. Frange and worked mainly as weaver, but also as copyist and bookbinder. Thanks to his occupations he was able to cover his needs. He sold or exchanged his artefacts in order to get food and other supplies (Delattre 2008, 54; Boud'hors and Heurtel 2010). Monastic settlements, such as Bawīt owned land, which was often situated in great distance from the monastery. In order to obtain the products after harvesting, camel-drivers, who were often monks of the monastery, had to travel. They held an osracon, on which it was written their destination, the product and the quantity that they had to receive. For really long journeys boats were used (Delattre 2008, 57).

It is now time to raise the question of the monks' dietary practices. Food consumption in a monastic context (Devos 1986; Regnault 1990, 75-94; Layton 2002, 25) should be dealt with caution, due to the perplexity and density of its significance in ascetic practices. The constant effort to overcome sin through the absolute repression of any desire (Rom. 8) evoked the model of scrawny monks, whose achievements in fasting and abstinence were often supernatural. But are those models indeed followed by the majority of monks? Let us now try to answer this question.

Bread appears as the main nourishment of the monks. In fact bread was the principal food of the Egyptians since Pharaonic times<sup>84</sup> (Wissa Wassef 1971, 392; Regnault 1990, 79; Delattre 1007, 85), as well as that of the Byzantines – who were in rule at the time when the texts describing life in the Egyptian deserts were written (Koukoules 1952, 12). A  $\pi\alpha\xi\alpha\mu\dot{\alpha}\tau i\sigma\nu$  (*paxamation*) (*AP*, Agathon, 20; Isaak the Theban, 2; Serinus, 1) was rather a hard biscuit usually made of barley (Koukoules 1952, 29) and belonged to the group of breads known as  $\deltai\pi\nu\rho i\tau\alpha i$  (*dipyritai*) (Koukoules 1952, 24-30), which were possible to store for long periods. For that reason they were especially consumed by the army (Koukoules 1952, 29). Such bread is prepared in Egypt and in Coptic Monasteries until today (Regnault 1990, 79).

References to monks eating their bread – ( $\psi \omega \mu \partial v$ ,  $\psi \omega \mu i ov$ : Battaglia 1989, 74-87) (*AP*, Bessarion, 12; Macarius Aegyptius, 33; Xoius, 1; Pambo, 2), ( $\ddot{\alpha}\rho\tau\sigma\varsigma$ : Battaglia 1989, 97-99) (*AP*, Arsenius, 34; Epiphanius of Cyprus, 16; Theodore of Pherme, 7; Theodore of Ennaton, 1; Theodore of Eleutheropolis, 2; Megethios, 2; Poemen, 51; Serapion, 1; Syncletica, 4; Phocas, 2; Philagrius; *HM* 1, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 20, 24) – are numerous, showing its fundamental role in the daily diet. Generally bread was divided into two main groups (Koukoules 1952, 28): the soft and the dry

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Even nowadays in Egypt the alimentation of lower classes is based on bread.

bread ( $\mathring{a}\rho\tau\sigma\imath$   $\mathring{\zeta}\eta\rho\sigma\imath$ ) (HM 8), also known as  $\delta\imath\pi\nu\rho\imath\tau\alpha\imath$  (dipyritai). There were several bread-types of various qualities; among them, bread of barley and lentils ( $\mathring{a}\rho\tau\sigma\varsigma$  $\kappa\rho\imath\vartheta\imath\sigma\varsigma$   $\kappa\alpha\imath$   $\mathring{a}\pi\delta$   $\varphi\alpha\kappa\sigma\imath$ ) (AP, Dioscorus, 1) and bread made of flour ( $\mathring{a}\lambda\epsilon\nu\rho\sigma\nu$ ) from grinded chick-peas ( $\mathring{e}\rho\epsilon\beta\imath\nu\vartheta\imath\alpha$ ) (AP, Theodore of Pherme, 7) are mentioned in the sources. These varieties were generally shoddy. Against them stood the  $\sigma\imath\lambda\imath\gamma\nu\imath\sigma\nu$ (silignion), high-quality bread, which was made of brayed wheaten white flour, clean from any kind of bran<sup>85</sup> (Koukoules 1952, 15-16; Battaglia 1989, 68, 93-95). It was not prepared in the monasteries, but was brought from the city along with the supplies that would be offered to the sick monks (HL, 13.2).

During their meals monks are often mentioned combining bread with salt ( $\[alpha]\rho \tau \alpha \[alpha] \alpha$ 

Although bread appears as the ordinary food of the monks, there were some who rarely ate it and others who did not eat it at all (*e.g.* AP, Abraham, 3; HM 1, 2, 8). These monks usually preferred simple uncooked vegetarian meals that can be found in nature and eaten as they are.

The main cereal consumed was wheat  $(\sigma \tilde{\iota} \tau \sigma \varsigma)$  (*AP*, Arsenius, 17; Isaak priest of Kellia, 4). Eating grains of barley ( $\kappa \sigma \kappa \kappa i \alpha \kappa \rho \iota \theta \tilde{\omega} v$ ) in a rather unorthodox way is reported in an *Apophthegm* concerning Abba Sisoes (*AP*, Sisoes, 31): After being robbed, Abba Sisoes and his brother were separately wandering in the desert searching of something to eat. The old man found some camel dung and, having broken it up, he found some grains of barley in it. He started eating, but he put aside half of the grains for his brother.

From a saying of Abba Gelasius (*AP*, Gelasius, 6) we are informed that the one who walks in the desert does not eat bread, but herbs, ( $\beta \sigma \tau \dot{\alpha} v \alpha \varsigma$ ) (*HM* 12), ( $\chi \dot{\alpha} \rho \tau \alpha$ ) (*AP*, Euprepius, 4). While walking in the desert, a disciple of Abba Agathon is presented wanting to collect a small green pea ( $\mu \kappa \rho \dot{\delta} v \dot{\alpha} \rho \dot{\alpha} \kappa i \circ v \chi \lambda \omega \rho \dot{\delta} v$ ) (*AP*, Agathon, 11); even if he finally didn't take it, his intention shows that peas would be eaten by the monks. Herbs, wild herbs ( $\beta \sigma \tau \dot{\alpha} v \alpha i \dot{\alpha} \gamma \rho i \alpha i$ ) (*HM* 10), ( $\dot{\alpha} \gamma \rho i \alpha \dot{\alpha} \chi \alpha \alpha$ ) (*HL*, 26.2) and a variety of bitter herbs, called  $\pi \kappa \rho i \delta \alpha i$  (*pikridai*) (*HM* 20) were consumed along with sweet roots ( $\dot{\rho} i \zeta \alpha \varsigma \gamma \lambda \nu \kappa \epsilon i \alpha \varsigma$ ) (*HM* 2) and vegetables ( $\lambda \dot{\alpha} \chi \alpha \alpha$ ) (*AP*, Gelasius, 6; *AP*, Dioscorus, 1; Theophilus the archbishop, 3; Poemen, 109; Poemen, 186; Romaeus; *HM* 10, 8, 12) (Koukoules 1952, 88-96). Texts also refer to pickled vegetables ( $\sigma \dot{\nu} \nu \theta \epsilon \tau \alpha \lambda \dot{\alpha} \chi \alpha \alpha$ ) (*HM* 2), which are eaten even nowadays in Egypt (Wissa Wassef 1971, 352-354) and other areas of the Eastern Mediterranean. Wissa Wassef (1971, 352) cites that especially people from unprivileged classes use to combine their bread with vegetables conserved in salt and vinegar. The vegetables that are most

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> In the Roman times, such flour was known as *siligo* (Plini, *Nat. Hist.*, 18: 86-88) and was cultivated in Campania, Etruria and the Gaul (André 1961, 54).

frequently pickled are cucumbers, turnips, black egg-plants, small lemons, olives and onions. Finally, bulbs (Koukoules 1952, 99-102) that would be eaten row were the beets ( $\sigma \varepsilon v \tau \lambda i \alpha$ ) (Guy 1993, 4.84.4, 228) and the onions ( $\kappa \rho \delta \mu \mu v \alpha$ ) (*AP*, Theodore of Pherme, 22).

Next to bread, pulses ( $\delta\sigma\pi\rho\iota\alpha$ ) (HM 8) (Koukoules 1952, 96-99), especially lentils ( $\varphi\alpha\kappaoi$ ) (AP, Isaiah, 6; Moses, 13; Paul the Great, 3) and chick-peas ( $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\beta i\nu\theta\iota\alpha$ ), used to be the commonest nourishment of the Egyptians (Regnault 1990, 82). Egyptian lentils were considered fine quality products by the Byzantines. Two varieties were known, the yellow and the black lentils. They are mainly cultivated in Upper Egypt, in the area around Ena and Isnā (Wissa Wassef 1971, 349). Green branches with the seeds of chick-pea on them are sold in spring in the roads of Cairo. The seeds are dried, slightly baked in the oven and salted to eventually obtain their yellow colour (Wissa Wassef 1971, 358). Pulses were usually boiled by the monks or simply macerated (AP, Isaiah, 6).

Apart from pulses, several other cooked meals (Koukoules 1952, 38-40) were prepared by the monks. These were mainly gruels, broths ( $\zeta \omega \mu oi$ ) (*HM* 3) and soups, which like pulses, were often prepared for the visitors.  $\dot{A}\theta\dot{\eta}\rho\alpha$  (*athera*) (Battaglia 1989, 103-104) (*AP*, Isaak priest of Kellia, 10; Sisoes, 15) was a simple pulpy broth made of flour diluted in hot water; semolina may be used instead of flour and some oil can be added. This broth used to be a typical children's meal (Koukoules 1952, 39). *"Eψημα* (*epsema*), which is also mentioned in the sources (*AP*, Macarius Aegyptius, 33; Moses, 5), is usually translated as cooked meal or gruel, without referring to its composition. This was a very sweet gruel made of boiled must, also known as *σίραιον* (*siraion*) (*Geoponica*, 4.15.8).

Although in most of the sources the consumption of fish  $(\partial \psi \alpha \rho i o v)$  (AP, Gelasius, 3; Pistus) is not pronounced, it was and still is the only meat that one is allowed to eat in periods of abstinence, some days exempted (Wissa Wassef 1971, 338).<sup>86</sup> In Egypt, fish, which is found in abundance in the Nile, the big lakes of the Delta and the Fayum, in the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, is considered to be the *meat of the poor.* In the Byzantine times fish was one of the common plates, preferred especially by monks and bishops. Byzantine doctors considered fish, in majority and most of the other aquatic animals as food of high nutritional value providing substantial benefits to human health (Chrone - Vakalopoulos and Vakalopoulos 2008, 125). There are various ways to cook fish (Koukoules 1952, 79-86; Wissa Wassef 1971, 338-345); in the period of our study salted fish products (John Cassian, De institutis, 4.22), such as garum (Curtis 1991) were extremely widespread. In the Monastery of Apa Apollo in Bāwīt salted fish products are found inside amphorae that date to the seventh century (Van Neer et al. 2007), proving that they were not so rarely consumed after all. Documentary papyri from the same monastery serve as further evidence for the wide consumption of salted fish products (Delattre 2007, 88).

Meat ( $\kappa\rho\epsilon\alpha$ ) (47-62, 68-75; Wissa Wassef 1971, 381-384) was not completely absent from the monastic diet, despite the fact that literary sources do their best to show that this happened only very rare. An example showing the rare or no consumption of meat is the following: during a meal that Theophilus the Archbishop organised, some fathers ate some veal that was served without realising what it was. *The Bishop, taking a piece of meat, offered it to the monk sitting beside him, saying, 'Here is a nice piece of meat, Abba; eat it.' But he replied, 'Until this moment, we* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> In Coptic Monasteries the consumption of fish is forbidden on Wednesdays and Fridays, except for the feast days between Easter and Pentecost.

believed we were eating vegetables, but if it is meat, we do not eat it.' None of them tasted any more of the meat which was brought (Ward 1984, 81). Literary sources refer to the consumption of meat in special occasions, such as when a sick monk needed to regain his strength, or in order to honour a visitor. Nevertheless, at the end of this unit it will be shown that bones are indeed found in various monastic settlements.

Fruits (*ἀπῶραι*) (*AP*, Arsenius, 19; Dioscorus, 1; *HM* 8, 12) (*καρποί*) (*AP*, John the Little, 1) (Koukoules 1952, 102-110) appear as rare luxuries given to the monks by visitors and often distributed by the presiding priest or steward to the sick (Evelyn-White 1932, 203). Apples (μῆλα) (*AP*, Achilles, 2) were really precious, so that outside a monastic context they were often served in glass or even metallic dishes (Koukoules 1952, 103-104). Other fruits that the monks occasionally consumed were: pomegranates (ρόα) (*HL*, 13.2); grapes (σταφυλα) (*HM* 8); dry raisins (σταφίδες) (*HL*, 13.2); dates (φοινίκια) (*AP*, Aio); plums (μυξάρια) (*AP*, Isaak priest of Kellia, 10); mulberries (συκάμινα) (*AP*, Joseph of Panephysis, 5); figs (σῦκα) (*HM* 8) and dry figs (ἰσχάδια) (*AP*, Arsenius 16), which were often combined with nuts (κάρυα) (*HM* 8).

There were some more foodstuffs referred to as luxuries, which like fruits were given to the monks by visitors or they were usually provided to the sick. Apart from the  $\sigma\iota\lambda i\gamma v\iota ov$  (silignion) and some fruits that are already cited above, eggs ( $\dot{\phi}\dot{\alpha}$ ) (Koukoules 1952, 66-68; Wissa Wassef 1971, 379) are mentioned among the supplies for the sick (*HL*, 13.2). Although eggs were really common, monks do not appear eating them. The Byzantines used to eat chicken-, duck-, grouse-, and pheasant-eggs. They were usually boiled or fried, but they could be eaten raw for therapeutic reasons (Koukoules 1952, 66-68).

A sort of pastry, known as  $\pi \dot{\alpha} \sigma \tau i \lambda o \varsigma$  (*pastilos*) (Battaglia 1989, 119), is what a sick monk asked Abba Macarius to bring him from Alexandria (*AP*, Macarius Aegyptius, 8). This should not be confused with the modern  $\pi \alpha \sigma \tau \dot{\epsilon} \lambda i$  (*pastel*), the sweetmeat made of honey and sesame, which is still produced and consumed in Greece and elsewhere.  $\Pi \dot{\alpha} \sigma \tau i \lambda o \varsigma$  was actually made of must mixed either just with flour either with flour and semolina. The ingredients were boiled together and then left to create a cake (Koukoules 1952, 113-115).

Milk  $(\gamma \dot{\alpha} \lambda \alpha)$  (*HM* 8) and honey  $(\mu \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \iota)$  (Guy 1993, 4.72.5, 220; *HM* 8, 12, 24) also occur in the sources. It happened once that Abba Apollo with five disciples had run out of supplies, right when they were about to celebrate Easter. So they decided to pray, and immediately after finishing their prayer, some unknown men came from a faraway region to offer them all kind of fruits (grapes, pomegranates, figs and nuts), warm fine-quality bread, as well as fresh milk in a jar and some honeycombs (*HM*, 8).

Finally, according to an *Apophthegm* of Abba Poemen (*AP*, Poemen, 181) eating preserved / salted meat ( $\tau \alpha \rho i \chi \eta$ ) (Koukoules 1952, 62-66) and / or cheese ( $\tau \nu \rho o \varsigma$ ) (Guy 1993, 8.23.6, 416) (Regnault 1990, 89) was a sign of decline. However, the fact that it is noted, as a not acceptable attitude, may serve as implication that both foods were indeed consumed.

Olives are attested in the diet of the monks (John Cassian, *De institutis*, 4.22), but the references are scarce. The best quality Egyptian olives are those cultivated in the Fayum (Wissa Wassef 1971, 354).

Oil ( $\ddot{\epsilon}\lambda \alpha i ov$ ) is one of the nourishments, whose consumption is underestimated by literary sources. According to them, it was *used sparingly* (Evelyn-White 1932, 203; Regnault 1990, 87-89). Against this attestation stand several contracts and bills concerning oil trade, such as those found in the Monastery of Bawīț (Delattre 2007, 87), as well as oil presses discovered in monasteries, such as Saint Symeon in Aswān (Walters 1974, 217) and Apa Jeremiah in Saqqāra (Quibel 1912, 29-30). Various types of oils were probably in use (Wissa Wassef 1971, 335-337). An *Apophthegm* (*AP*, Benjamin, 3) refers to oil of horse-radish ( $\dot{\rho}a\phi\alpha\nu\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\iota\sigma\nu$ ) (Mayerson 2001). This variety was appreciated and largely used in ancient Egypt; however it is not prepared nowadays, despite the fact that horse-radish is abundantly cultivated (Wissa Wassef 191, 337). Sesame oil was also common (Bagnall 2000). Not only oil for cooking, but also oil for the lamp would be kept by each monk in his cell (Mossakowska 1994). It is noteworthy that often the same oil would be used both for cooking and putting in the lamp (Regnault 1990, 87-88).

Evelyn-White (1932, 203) noted that the attitude of the monks regarding wine  $(oivo_{\zeta})$  was variable (AP, Abraham, 1; Ephrem, Eulogius the Priest; Elias, 4; Isidore the Priest, 1; Isaak the Theban, 2; Macarius Aegyptius, 10; Matoes, 11; Xoius, 1; Xanthias, 2; Poemen, 4, 19; Peter the Pionite, 1; Paphnutius, 2; Romaeus; Sisoes, 8; Syncletica, 4; Hyperechius, 4; Phocas, 2). In earlier days drinking wine was regarded as perfectly lawful (Evelyn-White 1932, 203). At any rate, its axiomatic rejection, as expressed by Abba Poemen (AP, Poemen, 19), did not represent the general rule. It is possible that monks kept some wine in their cell to offer their visitors and drank with them; probably the main occasion, when wine would be drunk, was in the meals during the monks' weekly assemblies. No matter what the literary texts say, textual evidence from Bawīț indicates that wine production played an important role in the economy of the monastery. Wine was produced in monastic sectors and the monastery itself used to be an important centre of production and distribution. It administered an elaborate transport and control system, in order to obtain the wine produced in the vineyards situated in far distance (Delattre 2007, 85-86). Once more it is a pity that no such evidence comes from any of the Lower Egyptian monastic sites, where wine distribution and consumption is implied by the considerable quantities of wine amphorae. In general, it would be interesting to investigate if an amount of wine brought in monasteries was fermented or not. Let us not forget that unfermented wine is used in the Mass.

Water  $(\[vdot]\delta\omega\rho)$ , appears as the ordinary drink of the monks. Literary sources mention that even water was to be drunk in small portions for it may provoke *movements of the flesh and night fantasies* (John Cassian, *Conlationes*, 12.11). It is hard to believe that such an austerity was indeed followed, taking into consideration how the attitude of monks towards wine and oil is described by the sources and what the documentary papyri and the archaeological fieldwork have revealed. The use of water is related with one more practice, which took place during entertaining visitors. It was boiled to be used for washing the visitors' feet before eating (Eucharistus the Secular; Isaiah, 6; John the Persian, 3), or for washing hands after the meal (*AP*, Basil).

In conclusion, the following points concerning the life standards of the monks, through their diet may be suggested. The variety of bread consumed by monks was the one that mostly the poor could afford to have. Likewise herbs, vegetables, bulbs, pulses and broths, but also olives, cheese and eggs were simple foods usually connected with the lower classes (Koukoules 1952, 46; André 1961, 49). Hence, according to the foodstuffs mentioned in the texts, the diet of the monks who settled in the great communities of Lower Egypt can be compared with that of the peasants (Wipszycka 1986, 130), generally the Egyptians – and the Byzantines – of lower classes; only exception the more luxurious species, such as  $\sigma \iota \lambda i \gamma \iota \iota o \nu$ , which were usually given to sick monks. Furthermore, biscuits ( $\pi a \xi a \mu \dot{\alpha} \tau \iota a$ ), which stand among the basic nourishments of the monks, were largely consumed by the

army (Koukoules 1952, 29; André 1961, 73: *bucellatum*). In isolated places, where the supplies were not easily renewed, biscuits would definitely not go bad. In general it seems that there is still way to go in the investigation of the monks' dietary practices, since next to the textual evidence, archaeological research has probably a lot more to reveal.

Archaeological research in several Egyptian monastic sites has brought to light remains of various foodstuffs, some of which are not mentioned in the literary sources, while others are presented as forbidden, or against monastic ideals. In Isnā kernels of dates, skins of acacia and doum fruit (hyphaene thebaica) are discovered (Sauneron 1972, 33). Kernels of dates are unearthed in the hermitages of Naglūn as well, next to other seeds, remains of pomegranates and onions (Mossakowska -Gaubert 2004, 1454). Kernels of dates (Bonnet 1986, 55) and fish-bones (Egloff 1977, 111) are found in Kellia. Unfortunately, so far the excavations in the Old Monastery of Baramūs have not brought to light many seeds and other food remains, except for some melon seeds, samples of fish products and numerous animal bones that await identification. Likewise, in the monastic site of Kūm al-Na'na', near Tall al-Amarna, along with a variety of seeds (Harlow and Smith 2001; Pyke 2005, 215), many products that in the literary sources are mentioned as not so appropriate for the diet of a monk are found: beef, pork, ovicaprid flesh, fish, shellfish, chicken, eggs, quail and pigeons (Luff 2007). In Kūm al-Na'na', fish seems to have been one of the basic nourishments. Fish products have been also found in seventh century amphorae in the Monastery of Apa Apollo in Bāwīt (Van Neer et al. 2007).

Even if the strong presence of fish products is already against the vision of undernourished *vegetarian* monks, who appointed themselves rules of extreme abstinence, the discovery of other animal bones utterly corrupts it... It seems that monks ate fish and meat more frequently than the sources mention. At the same time, one should keep in mind that many seculars would probably visit or even work for the monasteries, without being obliged to undergo any alimentary restriction. Nowadays, in the Monasteries of Wādī al-Naṭrūn, olive-plantations, henneries, dovecots, farms with cows and buffalos and other facilities are in function, certainly not only to cover the individual needs of the monks. Therefore, it is anyway impossible to verify in which case *forbidden* foodstuffs were consumed by monks or seculars. At any rate, there is a lot to learn about the interesting and particular issue of monastic diet.

#### HOW? MONKS AND THE WIDER WORLD: ROUTES

Monasticism infers life in seclusion; seclusion being monasticism's most significant aspect that all primary sources persistently highlight. Separation from the *inhabited world* ( $oi\kappa ov\mu \epsilon v\eta$ ) through *withdrawal* ( $dva\chi \phi \rho\eta \sigma i\varsigma$ ) into the *desert* ( $\check{\epsilon}\rho\eta\mu o\varsigma$ ) or behind the monastery wall represents a central unifying theme. In this respect, the necessity for each monk to stay in his cell, avoiding going out and meeting people, is stressed (Wipszycka 2009, 391). That is understandable, taking into account that sources were designed for edification and therefore present the life of the monks in idealised form. Economic and social interactions, as facts of daily subsistence, concern sources only marginally, but that does not mean that such interactions were not real; on the contrary they were inevitable (Goehring 1999, 41).

Although subsidiary, evidence for regular contacts with the outer world is present in the sources and it is necessary that one gathers *the few sherds of non-monastic evidence that is accruing* (Goehring 1999, 43). The desert in Egypt, while sharply distinct from the inhabited land, was not remote. At the same time, the

necessities of life required contact with the external world, often in the form of trade. These contacts were carried out with the migration of monks *from* a monastic settlement, and the arrival of individuals (other monks or clergymen, as well as laymen, mostly pilgrims or merchants) *to* it. The last interchange, taking place in the opposite direction, namely the secular visitors who went to the cells and monasteries to meet the monks, is more frequently stressed in the literature, as it corresponds more closely with the edificatory theme of withdrawal expressed in terms of movement of individuals from the world to the spiritual realm (Goehring 1999, 46: note 32).

At the same time, the international character of a monastic settlement is expressed through the presence of foreign monks and communities in its environment. This is the factor that should be examined first, as being a spontaneous influence of the foreign element in a settlement. Once more, difficult to approach reality, taking into account that many of the literary sources were written by or for strangers; hence they emphasise the foreign presence in  $W\bar{a}d\bar{i}$  al-Natr $\bar{u}$ n. Even so, I believe that it would worth citing the national groups that inhabited the monasteries.

In the Coptic Life of Macarius the Egyptian (Amélineau 1894, 99) one reads that not only Egyptians inhabited the desert of Sketis, but also monks who arrived from various other countries of the world, such as 'Romania', Spain, Libya, Pentapolis, Cappadocia, Byzantium, Italy, Macedonia, Asia, Syria, Palestine and Galatia. Apart from the *Young Strangers* and Arsenius, other prominent non-Egyptian monks were Palladius from Galatia, Evagrius from Ibora in Pontus (Palladius, *HL*, 38), Porphyry of Gaza native of Thessalonica (Marcus Diaconus, *Vita Porphyrii*), Eunapius and Andrew, Syrians and natives of Lydda (*Synax.* in Basset 1904, 292-293), Moses the Black from Ethiopia (*AP*, Moses, 3), and other (Brune 2009, 15).

The presence of many foreign monks coming from the same region would have led to the formation of an entire community. Such is the case of the Syrian monks, who settled in Sketis and even came to officially possess a monastery of their own, the famous Monastery of the Syrians (full discussion in Evelyn-White 1932, 309-321; Wilfong 1998, 193-194; Brune 2009, 20-21). Similarly, somewhere in the eleventh century the groups of Armenian and Abyssinian monks founded their own monasteries (Evelyn-White 1932, 365-370) somewhere in the surrounding of the Monastery of Saint John the Little (*al-Maqrīzī* in Wüstenfeld 1845, 111). This indicates that the international character of Sketis would have remained for centuries. No doubt, the presence of these foreign communities made Sketis an intellectual and cultural centre of great importance to the patriarchate of Alexandria and beyond.

Even if ideally a monk was urged to remain in his abode, spending his day in meditation, the sources are full of notions about monks who moved from their monastic compounds in order to: a) live in another place (Regnault 1990, 174-175; Wipszycka 2009, 392); b) visit other (famous) monks and ask for their advice (Wipszycka 2009, 394-395); c) acquire all necessary supplies for their community; d) sell their artefacts in the neighbouring village or city (Regnault 1990, 166-167; Wipszycka 2009, 392).

Although there was a certain time, when visits were allowed, guests, who had to cover a long distance in their journey, could not be so punctual. Hence one may infer that there probably existed established *routes* connecting monasteries inside and outside Egypt; *routes* that were also followed by pilgrims and traders, who dealt with the monasteries. The *Apophthegmata Patrum* allows one to map only some of them.

Monks departed from Sketis following various directions. Many of them wanted to visit Abba Antony (*AP*, Macarius Aegyptius, 4, 26; Sisoes, 28) and it is attested that they travelled by boat (*AP*, Antony, 18) in order to reach him. Abba Carion

travelled with his son Zacharias in the Thebaid and from there back to Sketis (AP, Carion, 2). At a certain moment Abba Marcus is presented leaving Sketis in order to go to Sinai and live there (AP, Marcus the disciple of Abba Silvanus, 4). Close relations would have been developed between the monks of Sketis and those settled in Terenuthis (AP, Anoub, 1; Macarius Aegyptius, 13, 14; Xanthias, 2), Pherme (AP, Theodore of Pherme, 26) and Nitria (AP, Amoun, 3; Macarius Aegyptius, 2; Pambo, 3), while journeys to Alexandria were also frequent (AP, Macarius Aegyptius, 8; Mius, 2) (Regnault 1990, 169-170).

Although this study mainly refers to the desert of Sketis, it would be interesting at this point to cite some more of the directions that monks would have followed, according to the *Apophthegmata Patrum*.

Some brothers travelled from Alexandria to the Thebaid to find flax, and they dropped by at Sketis so as to meet Abba Arsenius (*AP*, Arsenius, 26). Likewise, some other monks, who wanted to meet the same Abba, went from Alexandria to Petra of Troe, where he lived at that time. These monks, eventually met Abba Arsenius in Lower Egypt, where he had found refuge after a barbaric invasion (*AP*, Arsenius, 34). Also Abba Lot went from Arsinoe to Abba Arsenius (*AP*, Lot, 1). And Abba Amoun of Rhaitho came to Clysma one day to meet Abba Sisoes (*AP*, Sisoes, 26).

Interesting details concerning the way that monks would travel are given in the narration of a journey that Abba Arsenius made (*AP*, Arsenius, 32): In the days when Abba Arsenius was living in Lower Egypt he was continually interrupted there and so he judged it right to leave his cell. Without taking anything away with him, he went to his disciples at Pharan, Alexander and Zoilus. He said to Alexander, 'Get up, and get into the boat,' which he did. And he said to Zoilus, 'Come with me as far as the river and find me a boat which will take me to Alexandria; then embark, so as to rejoin your brother' (Ward 1984, 15). It seems that monks would often travel by boat, even when they needed to cover shorter distances. Abba Ammonas for instance got into the ferry-boat when he wanted to cross the river (*AP*, Ammonas, 6).

Travelling outside the confines of Egypt was also a fact, although the notions are rarer. According to a story that Abba Joseph of Pelusium narrated to Abba Cronius, the monks of a Monastery in Sinai had to send ten brothers to the emperor about a matter that rests undefined (AP, Cronius, 5).

Probably in a regular basis, monks had to move from their abodes in order to sell their artefacts, so as to earn their living. In most cases they head to the market place (*AP*, Daniel, 3; Isidore, 7; Philagrius) of the neighbouring town (*AP*, Agathon, 27; 30). An ideal example of the monks' behaviour in the market is described in an *Apophthegm* as follows: *it was said of him* (Abba Agathon) *and of Abba Amoun that, when they had anything to sell, they would name the price just once and silently accept what was given them in peace. Just as, when they wished to buy something, they gave the price they were asked in silence and took the object adding no further word (<i>AP*, Agathon, 16).

At times monks went to the market, whenever they needed to exchange their handiwork, but often merchants came to the monks to deal with them. The disciple of Abba Theodore exchanged a basin of wheat for a basin of onions, when a merchant came to him (*AP*, Theodore of Pherme, 22). In another case, a merchant came with his donkey to exchange the bread he carried with the necklaces that Abba Silvanus made in his cell using dried peas as beads (*AP*, Silvanus). A merchant cameleer pretended that he needed ropes and bought the artefacts from Abba Poemen (*AP*, Poemen, 10). Finally, again a camel-driver is presented arriving one day to *pick up some goods and take them elsewhere* (*AP*, John the Little, 31).

Contacts with the outer world were not achieved exclusively through the mobility of monks themselves. Each monastic settlement attracted and received many visitors, more or less eminent (from simple people to aristocrats; from other monks to patriarchs) (Regnault 1990, 159-161). Archibishop Theophilus often visited Sketis, alone (*AP*, Theophilus the archbishop, 2) or with a *magistrate AP*, Arsenius, 7). Some priests came – probably from Alexandria – to the monasteries where Abba Poemen was (*AP*, Poemen, 3). Many monks visited Sketis from various other Egyptian regions, such as the Thebaid (*AP*, Achillas, 7), Nitria (*AP*, Achillas, 2), and Kellia (*AP*, Achillas, 5). So did the seculars, such as the magistrate, who came to Sketis to visit Abba Moses (*AP*, Moses, 8). Finally Sketis was often a place, where thieves would arrive looking for swag (Regnault 1990, 161-162). When Abba Macarius found such a thief looting his cell, he helped him load the spoils on his camel (*AP*, Macarius Aegyptius, 40). The presence of *Saracens robbers* is also attested on the mountain of Abba Antony, where they robbed Abba Sisoes and his brother (*AP*, Sisoes, 31).

Sketis was not the only destination of pilgrims and other visitors. Abba Hilarion travelled from Palestine to the mountain of Abba Antony (*AP*, Hilarion). A very rich and God-fearing woman of senatorial rank made a journey from Rome to Canopus, through the maritime route in order to see Abba Arsenius (*AP*, Arsenius, 28). Magistrates, pious seculars (*AP*, Poemen, 109; Sisoes, 21), relatives of the monks (*AP*, Poemen, 5, 76) and other people (*AP*, Poemen, 9) approached renowned monks, such as Abba Arsenius, Abba Poemen (*AP*, Poemen, 5, 9, 109), Abba Sisoes (*AP*, Sisoes, 18; 21) and others (*AP*, Ammonas, 9; Felix; Simon, 1, 2) asking for their advice.

This was merely an example of (hypothetic?) routes that specialists should replenish, on the basis of papyrological evidence. Drawing a map of routes in time would be a useful contribution to the better understanding of monastic history.

## CONCLUSIONS

The present research aimed to investigate to what extent the ceramic assemblage unearthed in the Old Monastery of Baramūs could contribute towards a better understanding of the activities taken place in its environment. After an introduction to the history of the Wādī al-Naṭrūn from the antiquity until the early Arab period, followed by the history of the Old Baramūs and the archaeological investigation carried out in the site, the ceramic types are presented in detail. It is noteworthy that even some of the well-known classes (*e.g.* what we called the *Nile fabric red slip wares*) might seem rather complicated in their identification, when found at a distance from their alleged production place. Whenever possible, new evidence was added with further notes on known types, or even with descriptions of unknown wares (*e.g.* the wares containing holy substances from the Monastery of Saint Macarius). In terms of pottery studies, what I would suggest is to gather and synthesise all the known information, in order to establish a consistent and precise terminology that would concern the Egyptian ceramics of the Byzantine and the Early Arab times, taking into account the regional variations.

Presenting and discussing the ceramic types is not enough to clearly see how a site evolved and what kind of activities were taking place in the structures discovered. Hence, an effort to view every functional ware in its context was also made, resulting in interesting remarks. The function of the tower as refuge and treasury is implied by the fact that most of the fine wares were found there. It must have been part of the site's nucleus, since the first years of the Monastery's formation, when groups of scattered hermits would dwell in free individual cells around the centre of the *laura*. For that reason, most of the wares dating to the late fourth, fifth and sixth century are found in this building. It seems that many of the scattered hermits must have gathered close to the centre of the monastic complex somewhere in the seventh century. This is implied by the fact that most of the excavated cells, enclosed in the defensive wall, which was built at a certain moment to protect the centre of the *laure*, did not release any ceramic type dating before the seventh century. The situation in these cells is different from that in the tower, with the storage jars and the cooking wares predominating, as the most appropriate wares to cover each monk's daily needs.

Continuity and change in types and ceramic tastes within the confines of the Old Baramūs is what was inquired next. The percentages of functional wares and types per century were cited so as to follow which were the types that survived and which were those that disappeared as time went by. During the period of our study some major modifications<sup>87</sup> affected Egypt and the Mediterranean world and it was interesting to see whether and how the Old Baramūs was subjected to them.

So far, the ceramics provided information about dating, pottery production and distribution, contacts of the monks with the outer world and some hints about their organisation and activities in the Monastery. The texts, on their behalf, enriched this information with notions about ceramic objects, and details about the identity, habits and daily life of the monks.

An effort to cite and compare the ceramic with the textual evidence has numerous weak points. In our case, the yet unfinished fieldwork,<sup>88</sup> and the necessity to be restricted in a limited number of contexts and pottery finds, meets the lack of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> I mean here the Arab invasions in the seventh century and the change from the Umayyad 'Arab Kingdom' to the 'Abbāsid 'Islamic Empire' in the mid-eighth.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> The total set of samples represent around 50% of the entire site.

papyrological evidence from the Delta region. It was therefore inevitable to focus on sources that do not cover the whole period of our study, but mainy the *golden era* of the Egyptian monasticism. Nevertheless, important information can in fact be extracted, proving that the simultaneous study of both archaeological and textual evidence could result in rather round conclusions.

The ceramic objects unearthed in the Old Monastery of Baramūs included more or less recognisable forms, many of which arrived from the renowned pottery production centres of the Mediterranean: Africa, the Aegean, Asia Minor, Cyprus, Syria and Palestine. It is thanks to these items that we were able to trace the contacts that the Monastery once had with the Mediterranean world, some of which are confirmed by the texts.<sup>89</sup> Apart from the requirement to cover the basic needs, some of which would arrive from places outside Egypt, a world of monks originating from various places of the Mediterranean, as well as of pilgrims seeking to meet a holy man is evoked, and this world is well described in the literary sources.

Judging by the character and identity of the non-Egyptian wares that occur in our site, one would observe that they are mostly found in other settlements of the Egyptian Delta as well.<sup>90</sup> Hence, their presence in one of the Monasteries of the Wādī al-Naṭrūn appears perfectly logic. Furthermore, in the effort to gather the information concerning the Egyptian links with the Mediterranean milieu, one more settlement and the evidence that it bears is now added.

Let us keep in mind that the majority of wares found in the Old Baramūs were made in Egypt, so that one would easier understand the actual place of the Monastery in the Egyptian environment. Connections with all parts of the Egyptian territory, apart from the oases, are attested, especially after the seventh century. But a definite orientation towards relatively nearby regions, such as the Mareotis, the Delta and Fustāt is more evident. To the well-known Egyptian pottery production sites, one more is located in the environs of the Monastery of Saint Macarius, although not yet fully investigated. Hence, the Wādī al-Naṭrūn may now stand next to sites, such as Kūm Abū Billū, rendering the need for a more intensive research in the Delta crucial.

The contribution of the literature in the above issues is not significant. Texts describing the life of the monks, or the history of the Coptic Patriarchate would not care to portray any aspect of pottery production, while their notions about trade contacts are rather scarce, although not inexistent. What one could draw from the sources concerning the ceramic objects is a list of their names and information about their function. From our brief research it was possible to identify ten out of sixteen objects, mentioned in the texts and relate them to specific wares. The analogy is already not bad, but a lacuna does exist, especially as far as specialised objects are concerned.

On the other hand, the literary sources vividly illustrate, issues concerning the identity of the monks next to aspects of their everyday life. One of them is strongly related to the ceramic objects, that is the daily diet. In this case, the texts are full of information, about the nature, the time of the meals and the frequency of their consumption. But still, a mutual dialectic is possible here. The content of a vessel can be defined through chemical analyses, while the contribution of archaeobotany, archaeozoology and physical anthropology may by proven substantial; so that only such an interdisciplinary approach may confirm or put into doubt the testimony of the texts. In this respect, fieldwork in the Old Monastery of Baramūs has a lot to offer

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Especially the links with the Gaza region (on this topic see also: Ballet 2005).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> See the list of parallels in the respective catalogue entries (especially Nos. 1-39).

after the outcome of the physical anthropologist's<sup>91</sup> report and the study of the grains and bones found in the site – only some of which mentioned in chapter five.

Combining the information that the ceramics and the texts provide, we may maintain that life in the Old Monastery of Baramūs, from its foundation until the ninth century, went through three momentous phases. The first phase extends from the fourth to the seventh century; the second almost covers the eighth century; and the third the ninth century to about 905.<sup>92</sup>

During the first phase, Egypt must have been to a certain extent orientated towards the Mediterranean, still being a part of the Byzantine Empire. Provisions and wares from the major centres of the Mediterranean reached even the Old Monastery of Baramūs, either via Alexandria's maritime trade, or through terrestrial routes. Alexandria is not far from the Wādī al-Naţrūn, while it is often mentioned in the literary sources that the monks were travelling to Alexandria 'by boat through the river'. At the same time the desert of Sketis was at the crossroad of the caravan routes that travelled from the Western Desert to the Nile Delta and the Red Sea. Through settlements of the Western Desert, such as the oasis of Bahariya, many African products must have reached the Old Monastery of Baramūs. In the early Arab period (as well as during the medieval times) caravans departing from Fustat were heading towards Alexandria or the north-western part of Egypt. Their route included several stations among which were the monastic communities of the Wādī al-Națrūn, al-Mūnā (Kellia) and so on. The transactions of the monks with merchants - cameleers are confirmed by the literary sources. The monks were exchanging their artefacts (mainly baskets and ropes) or agricultural products, such as wheat, to cover their daily needs.

In the seventh century, a period of gradual but significant changes was about to begin. These changes came dimly into sight since the sixth century. Various parts of the Byzantine Empire were affected by new conditions at different times, and Egypt was one of them. After the Arab conquest Egypt's trade and foreign exchanges were progressively being replaced by a self-sufficient system based mainly on local resources and production. This process is clearly reflected in pottery, by the gradual predominance of the Egyptian pottery types.

The second phase in the history of the Old Monastery of Baramūs was opened with the Arab conquest and lasted until approximately the end of the Umayyad dynasty's rule and slightly later. The most striking phenomenon in material culture is the survival of Late Roman types and structures. As a result of the fiscal decentralisation of the caliphate, Egypt could consume the great part of its surplus inside the region. The Arabic Umayyad dynasty had guaranteed technological continuity and development from Late Antiquity in the Levant and in Egypt (Arthur 2007, 173).

Since the early ninth century, new forms and techniques gradually emerged. It seems that the so-called Abbāsid revolution coincides with the beginning of a process that would eventually give its fruits in the tenth century. It is the process of 'Arabisation' and the definite 'orientalisation' of Egypt, its people and its culture. It is interesting to observe that during this slow and rather time-consuming process several 'Late Antique' and 'Mediterranean' elements were skilfully incorporated in the norms

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Ms. Ilse Timpermann.

 $<sup>^{92}</sup>$  It is here cited a part of the article: Konstantinidou A., Potsherds Narrate History. The Old Monastery of the Romans (Baramūs) in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn from its Foundation until the Early Arab Period (4<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> c), submitted for publication in the *Acts of the 9<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Coptic Studies* (Cairo, September 14-20, 2008).

'under-construction'. Hence, this phase might be seen in a sandglass as the passing of the last sand-drops from the bulb of the Mediterranean Late Roman/ Byzantine tradition to that of the Oriental Medieval Arab standards.

To what extent the above observations and draft could be applied to the region of the Wādī al-Naṭrūn as a whole is difficult to say. So far, the Old Monastery of Baramūs stands as a unique case study, but the excavation carried out in the environs of the Monastery of Saint John the Little by the American team of Yale University and the survey in the surrounds of the Monastery of Saint Macarius undertaken by the team of Leiden University will soon give answers to many questions.

Despite its indisputable importance in the understanding of the history of monasticism, the area of the Wādī al-Naṭrūn is at risk. Many sites, which lie around the Monastery of the Virgin of Baramūs, the Monastery of the Syrians and the Monastery of Saint Macarius are threatened (Innemée 2002), due to illegal excavations by treasure hunters, or levelling by farmers, who want to cultivate their land themselves or sell it for cultivation. To use the words of Karel Innemée (2002, 35) the deterioration of the Wādī al-Naṭrūn *will prevent us from learning more about the early phase of monasticism in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn [...]. Urgent action in needed.* 

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## **ENGLISH SUMMARY**<sup>93</sup>

From 1994 until the present, a team from Leiden University under the direction of Dr. Karel Innemée has been conducting archaeological fieldwork at a site located north of the present Monastery of the Virgin Mary of Baramūs in the Wādī al-Natrūn. The site was known as Deir Anba Mussa al Aswad (Monastery of Saint Moses the Black). Peter Grossmann and Gawdat Gabra argued that it must be identified with the Old Monastery of Baramūs. The argumentation of the two scholars is quite convincing. Therefore, it seems that we are dealing with one of the oldest monastic settlements in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn, founded around the year 384.

The nucleus of the excavated monastic site is the church, which has been remodelled in five different phases. At the south-eastern corner of the site a squareshaped building was uncovered; it has been considered to have been a defence tower, dating back to the fourth century, namely the earlier period of the settlement. Then in the western part of the complex, as well as at the north-eastern corner, parts of the living quarters or cells of the monks have been discovered. The pottery finds suggest that these cells were not inhabited before the late sixth to seventh centuries. Throughout the site a destruction level is evident. It has been related to the fifth sack of Sketis by the Berbers in 817. This monastic complex was in existence until the sixteenth century.

The present volume deals with the main ceramic types that occur in layers dating from the fourth to the ninth century, with the aim of a better understanding of the monastic community's early history. The pottery discussed was found in ten significant contexts, which represent all parts of the excavated site.

The monks would have served their meals in various table wares; the earlier in date being made in the renowned pottery production centres of the Mediterranean. A number of red slipped bowls and dishes reached the Old Monastery of Baramūs from Africa Byzacene, Cyprus and the region of Phocaea in Asia Minor. Wares from Africa and Cyprus were imported for a long period, from the fourth to the seventh century, while only scarce sixth-century examples represent the production of Phocaea.

From the sixth century, red and white slipped bowls and dishes, as well as closed vessels of Egyptian manufacture gradually replaced the respective imported wares. Two are the known chief and general categories of Egyptian slipped wares are present and are distinguishable by their fabrics, which indicate certain production zones. The commonest and finer category was made of the characteristic Aswān pink kaolinitic fabric, while a second category that presents several variations was made of the fabric known as Nile silt, extracted from the Nile valley and the Delta. Both categories include a wide range of forms. They date from around the late fifth century and are mainly inspired by African products. Many of these ceramics continue in existence until the Abbasid period.

Apart from the aforementioned wares, a small number of bowls and dishes that have been excavated bear painted decoration, while even less dishes bear a distinctive gouged decoration. Several open vessels bear no decoration at all.

The meals would be accompanied by liquids served in jugs bearing painted decoration. Unfortunately, only mouth-, body- and base-sherds have been found in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> It is here cited, as summary of our study, part of the article: Konstantinidou A., Potsherds Narrate History. The Old Monastery of the Romans (Baramūs) in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn from its Foundation until the Early Arab Period  $(4^{th} - 9^{th} c)$ , submitted for publication in the *Acts of the 9<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Coptic Studies* (Cairo, September 14-20, 2008).

the excavation site. These beautifully decorated closed vessels are made in Egypt and it is the Nile silt fabric that was used for their manufacture. The painted decoration, in black and red colours, is applied on a layer of yellowish or pinkish slip, more or less dense. Various motifs, mainly geometric (concentric lines and bands, wavy lines, dots, cross-hatching, etc.), floral (leafs) and less often animal (birds, fishes), are represented. Examples of such vessels present in the site of the Old Monastery of Baramūs date from the late fourth century to the eighth century.

Undecorated jugs, the majority of which are made of calcareous fabrics also occur. They can be divided into two major categories according to the shape of their upper part: cup-mouthed, or trefoil-mouthed jugs.

Food would be heated in a variety of cooking wares. Most of the types found in the excavation site are made of Nile silt fabric. They date as early as the fifth century and continued to be in use at least until the eighth – often until the tenth century – without any significant morphological changes. The most frequently occurring type is a hemispherical casserole with horizontal handles. Frying pans with flaring walls, knobbed rim and low-placed carination are also rather often attested. Other cookingpots found in the site of the Old Monastery of Baramūs present a striking morphological variety, from plain-rimmed spherical pots with horizontal handles to necked pots with concave or plain rims and vertical handles. A number of cooking jars are also present; the most striking examples are two almost identical recipients that date to the ninth / early tenth century and bear a sketchy painted decoration consisting of yellowish strokes forming successive arches.

A wide range of other utilitarian wares were employed for the preparation, storage or containment of provisions and various other substances. Large and medium-sized jars with painted, gouged, or even relief decoration, medium-sized jugs, only a few *sāqiya-pots*, and a diversity of medium-sized bowls are some examples of such wares.

Provisions were distributed and stored within transport amphorae. From the fourth to the seventh century most of the amphorae that reached the Old Monastery of Baramūs would have carried commodities produced in the main centres of the Mediterranean Sea. Oil or wine would come from Cilicia, the Gulf of Alexandretta and Cyprus in the so-called *Late Roman Amphorae 1*, as well as in the *Late Roman Amphorae 2* from the Aegean. Wine would arrive from Syria and Palestine in the torpedo-shaped *Late Roman Amphora 4* and the bag-shaped *Late Roman Amphora 5*. Other still unidentified supplies would be imported from the Aegean in the *Late Roman Amphorae 3*. The Monastery of Baramūs would also turn westwards, to Africa, for extra oil and wine, as attested by a number of African amphorae that date to the period between the sixth and the seventh century.

After a certain moment in the seventh century, the majority of the supplies which reached the Old Monastery of Baramūs, were produced in Egypt as manifested by the almost exclusive presence of Egyptian amphorae. The *Egyptian amphorae* 7, which are considered to have been carried wine, were produced by a multitude of workshops in the Nile valley. Wine would be also contained in the so-called *bitroncoconical amphorae*. However, in the excavation site, it is the type of *Egyptian bag-shaped amphora* that predominates. Such amphorae would be produced since the fifth century either in the workshops of Abu Mena and the Mareotic region or in the Delta. In the Delta region at a site in Kūm Abū Billū (ancient Terenuthis) a workshop producing ovoid-shaped amphorae was functioning until the tenth or even the eleventh century.

The excavations in the Old Monastery of Baramūs have brought to light three very interesting amphora-types (*Egyptian Early Arab Amphorae 1, 2, 3*) that date between the Umayyad (658-750) and the Tulūnid (868-905) periods. They are all made of Nile silt fabric and manifestly derive from specific Late Roman types. Complete examples of the above described Egyptian types are found in the Monastery of Saint Macarius, also in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn.

Apart from the wares that served for the transportation, storage, preparation, cooking and serving of the foodstuffs, various other wares were found in the site of the Old Monastery of Baramūs. A number of seventh century flagons from the pilgrimage centre of Saint Mena (Abū Mīnā), made of calcareous fabric would probably contain sacred water or oil from the lamp that burnt before the tomb of the Saint. Another case of wares possibly containing a holy substance is related to the Monastery of Saint Macarius in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn. Three unknown types of flagons made of calcareous fabrics were found in the Old Monastery of Baramūs chiefly in ninth-century layers. During a survey in the environs of the Monastery of Saint Macarius, it was discovered that these types would have been manufactured there, maybe so as to be used in the preparation and the Consecration of the Holy Oils that used to take place in that Monastery.

Finally, most of the lamps found in the Old Monastery of Baramūs are wheelmade. Re-worked objects were found in considerable quantities, providing additional information about the re-using and re-cycling of certain wares. Mainly amphoraspikes and jug-bases would have been used as lids or stoppers, in some cases as incense burners or lamps. Detached amphora-tops were also found and were presumably used as funnels.

All the above ceramic types are examined inside their functional context so as to better understand the purpose and character of each structure of the excavation site. They are then viewed in their chronological context, so that a first draft of the site's history is automatically sketched in. In an effort to understand the orientation of the Old Monastery of Baramūs and its actual place in the Mediterranean world, some brief comparisons between the situation of our site and that of other regions in the Mediterranean, are attempted.

After the presentation and discussion of the ceramic evidence, the textual evidence is examined. Stories where *pots* are mentioned are quested in the sources, so as to conduct a list of pot-names and learn about their function. Furthermore, stories about the *monks*, those who actually once used these pots, are collected. Aspects of their lives, such as their origin and identity, their dietary practices and their contacts with the outer world are emphasised.

In the brief conclusions of this study, ceramics and texts are confronted in an effort to understand the weaknesses of each in the information that they bear. Finally, the future prospects in the region of the Wādī al-Naṭrūn are described and the necessity to take action against the deterioration of sites at risk is highlighted.

## SAMENVATTING<sup>94</sup>

Sinds 1994 doet een team van de Universiteit Leiden, onder leiding van Karel Innemée, archeologisch onderzoek op een site ten noorden van het huidige klooster van de Heilige Maagd van Baramus in de Wadi al-Natrun (Sketis). De site was bekend onder de naam Deir Anba Mussa al-Aswad (klooster van Mozes de Zwarte). Peter Grossmann en Gawdat Gabra hebben echter betoogd dat deze site overeenkomt met die van het oude klooster Deir al-Baramus, volgens de traditie het oudste klooster in het gebied. De argumentatie van beide auteurs is vrij overtuigend. Het lijkt er daarom op dat we hier te maken hebben met één van de oudste monastieke nederzettingen van de Wadi al-Natrun, gesticht omstreeks het jaar 384.

De kern van de opgegraven monastieke site bestaat uit een kerk die in vijf fasen is gebouwd en herbouwd. In de zuidoostelijke hoek van de site zijn de resten van een vierkant gebouw ontdekt; het wordt verondersteld een verdedigingstoren te zijn geweest, daterend uit het eind van de vierde eeuw, de vroegste periode van de nederzetting. In het westelijk deel van het complex, alsook in de noordoostelijke hoek, zijn resten van cellen en woongebouwen gevonden. Aardewerkvondsten doen vermoeden dat deze woonvertrekken niet eerder dan in de zesde of zevende eeuw zijn gebruikt. Over de gehele site is een verwoestingslaag waarneembaar. Deze wordt gerelateerd aan de verwoesting van Sketis door Berber-nomaden rond 817. Het complex lijkt in gebruik te zijn geweest tot in de zestiende eeuw.

De onderhavige studie richt zich op de belangrijkste aardewerktypen die voorkomen in de lagen van de vierde tot de negende eeuw, met het doel een beeld te schetsen van de vroege geschiedenis van het klooster. De behandelde voorbeelden van aardewerk zijn afkomstig uit tien representatieve contexten, uit verschillende delen van de site.

De monniken hebben hun dagelijkse maaltijden genuttigd van verschillende soorten serviesgoed; de vroegere typen zijn afkomstig van gerenommeerde productiecentra in het Middellandse Zeegebied. Een aantal schalen en kommen met rode slipversiering is naar Deir al-Baramus gebracht uit Africa Byzacena (het huidige Tunesië), Cyprus en het gebied van Phocaea in Klein-Azië. Aardewerksoorten uit Africa en Cyprus zijn gedurende een lange tijd geïmporteerd, van de vierde tot en met de zevende eeuw, terwijl slechts schaarse voorbeelden uit de zesde eeuw wijzen op import uit Phocaea.

Vanaf de zesde eeuw verdringen schalen en kommen met rode en witte slip decoratie alsook gesloten typen van Egyptische makelij geleidelijk de geïmporteerde soorten. Er zijn twee algemene, brede categorieën van Egyptische *slipped wares*, herkenbaar aan hun scherf, die in verband worden gebracht met bepaalde productiegebieden. De meest voorkomende en fijnere soort is gemaakt van de rond Aswan voorkomende roze bakkende kaolin klei, terwijl de tweede categorie gemaakt is van klei uit het Nijldal en de -delta. Beide categorieën omvatten een groot scala aan vormen. Ze komen ruwweg voor vanaf de late vijfde eeuw en zijn in het algemeen gebaseerd op Africaanse voorbeelden. De productie van veel typen van dit aardewerk gaat door tot in de Abbasidische tijd.

Afgezien van de bovengenoemde types is een aantal schalen en kommen gevonden met decoratie in geschilderde ceramiekkleuren, terwijl een nog kleiner

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Deze tekst is een vertaling van het artikel Konstantinidou A., Potsherds Narrate History. The Old Monastery of the Romans (Baramūs) in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn from its Foundation until the Early Arab Period  $(4^{th} - 9^{th} c)$ , aangeboden voor publicatie in de *Acts of the 9<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Coptic Studies* (Cairo, September 14-20, 2008).

aantal een ingegrifte decoratie heeft. Sommige soorten open vaatwerk heeft in het geheel geen decoratie.

Dranken werden geserveerd in kruiken met geschilderde decoratie. Ongelukkigerwijze zijn alleen scherven en fragmenten van randen, bases en buiken van kruiken gevonden. Dit prachtige gesloten vaatwerk is in Egypte gemaakt en het gebruikte materiaal is Nijlklei. De geschilderde decoratie in zwart en rode kleuren is aangebracht op een laag van geel-achtige of roze, vrij dikke engobe. Verscheidene motieven, voornamelijk geometrisch (concentrische lijnen en banden, golvende lijnen, stippen, arcering etc.), florale decoratie (bladeren) en, minder vaak, dierfiguren (vogels, vissen) worden gebruikt. Voorbeelden van dit soort vaatwerk uit Deir al-Baramus dateren uit de late vierde tot de achtste eeuw.

Ook ongedecoreerde kruiken, vaak gemaakt van kalkhoudende soorten klei, komen voor. Ze kunnen globaal worden verdeeld in twee typen op basis van hun vorm, nl. die met een ronde halsopening en die met een driepas-vormige halsopening.

Voedsel werd verhit in kookpotten met een variëteit aan vormen. De meeste die in de opgraving zijn gevonden zijn gemaakt van Nijlklei. De vroegste dateren uit de vijfde eeuw en dezelfde modellen worden zonder veel verandering in vorm tot in de achtste - en soms zelfs tot in de tiende - eeuw gebruikt. Het meest voorkomende type is een halve-bol-vormige kookpot met twee horizontale handgrepen. Koekenpannen met uitstaande randen, een rand met knobbels en een lage knik in het profiel zijn ook veel voorkomend. Andere typen kookpotten uit Deir al-Baramus vertonen een opvallende morfologische variëteit, van ronde potten met een gladde rand en horizontale handgrepen tot potten met een hals, concave rand en verticale handgrepen. Ook kruiken om te koken zijn gevonden: de meest opvallende voorbeelden zijn twee vrijwel identieke kruiken uit de negende/vroege tiende eeuw met een schetsmatige decoratie, bestaande uit gele lijnen die een reeks bogen vormen.

Een grote verscheidenheid aan utilitair vaatwerk werd gebruikt voor de bereiding en opslag van voorraden en andere zaken. Voorbeelden hiervan zijn grote en middelgrote potten met beschilderde, ingekraste of zelfs in reliëf uitgevoerde decoratie, middelgrote kruiken, slechts een klein aantal *saqiya*-potten, en een grote verscheidenheid aan middelgrote kommen.

Voedselvoorraden werden vervoerd en opgeslagen in transportamforen. De meeste amforen die het klooster tussen de vierde en de zevende eeuw bereikten bevatten basisproducten uit de belangrijkste centra van het Middellandse Zeegebied. Olie en wijn kwamen uit Cilicie, de Golf van Alexandretta en Cyprus in de zg. *Late Roman Amphorae 1*, alsook *in Late Roman Amphorae 2* uit het Aegaeische gebied. Wijn werd aangevoerd uit Syrie en Palestina in torpedovormige *Late Roman Amphorae 4* en de zakvormige *Late Roman Amphorae 5*. Andere, vooralsnog onbekende substanties werden geïmporteerd uit het Aegaeische gebied *in Late Roman Amphorae 3*. Het klooster van Baramus richtte ook de blik op het westen, naar Africa, als het ging om de aanvoer van aanvullende hoeveelheden olie en wijn, zoals aangetoond wordt door een aantal Afrikaanse amforen uit de periode tussen de zesde en zevende eeuw.

Na een bepaald moment in de zevende eeuw waren de meeste aangevoerde producten in het oude Deir al-Baramus van Egyptische origine, iets dat we kunnen opmaken uit de vrijwel uitsluitende aanwezigheid van Egyptische amforen. De zg. *carrot-shaped Egyptian amphorae*, die naar wordt aangenomen wijn bevatten, werden gemaakt door een groot aantal werkplaatsen in het Nijldal. Ook der zg. *bitroncoconial amphorae* hebben waarschijnlijk wijn bevat. Het zijn evenwel de zg. *Egyptian bagshaped amphorae* die in de opgraving het meest gevonden zijn. Zulke amforen werden sinds de vijfde eeuw geproduceerd in de werkplaatsen van Abu Mena en het Mariout gebied of in de Delta. In Kom Abu Billu, het oude Terenouthis, is een werkplaats geweest die tot in de tiende of zelfs de elfde eeuw ei-vormige amforen heeft geproduceerd.

De opgraving van het oude Deir al-Baramus heeft drie zeer interessante typen amforae aan het licht gebracht (*Egyptian Early Arab Amphorae 1, 2, 3*) die dateren uit de Umayyadische (658-750 AD) tot de Tulunidische (868-905 AD) periode. Ze zijn alle gemaakt van Nijlklei en zijn duidelijk afgeleid in vorm van specifieke *Late Roman* types. Gehele exemplaren van zulke Egyptische amforen zijn aangetroffen in het Mascariusklooster, eveneens in de Wadi al-Natrun.

Afgezien van aardewerktypes die bedoeld waren voor transport, opslag, voorbereiding, koken en consumpties van voedsel, zijn er diverse andere soorten aardewerk gevonden op de site van het oude Deir al-Baramus. Een aantal zevendeeeuwse ampullen uit het pelgrimscentrum van de Heilige Menas (Abu Mena), gemaakt van kalkhoudende klei, heeft ongetwijfeld heilig water of heilige olie uit de lampen die brandden voor het graf van de heilige, bevat. Een ander soort aardewerk, ook bedoeld om een heilige vloeistof te bevatten, is waarschijnlijk in verband te brengen met het Macariusklooster in de Wadi al-Natrun. Drie tot dusver onbekende typen van flacons, gemaakt van kalkhoudende klei, werden gevonden in Deir al-Baramus in voornamelijk negende-eeuwse lagen. Tijdens een survey rond het Macariusklooster werd ontdekt dat deze typen waarschijnlijk daar zijn gemaakt en mogelijk bedoeld om de heilige olie die in dat klooster werd gemaakt en gewijd, te bevatten.

De meeste lampen die in Deir al-Baramus zijn gevonden, zijn gedraaid. Herbewerkte objecten zijn in aanzienlijke hoeveelheden gevonden, hetgeen aanvullende informatie geeft over het hergebruik van bepaalde soorten aardewerk. Voornamelijk punten van amforen en bases van potten zijn gebruikt als deksels en *stoppers*, in sommige gevallen als wierookbranders of lampen. Bovenkanten van amforen zijn ook gevonden, mogelijk hergebruikt als trechters.

Al de bovengenoemde typen aardewerk zijn bekeken in hun functionele context, om daarmee een beter inzicht te krijgen in functie en karakter van de structuren op de opgraving. Vervolgens zijn ze bekeken in hun chronologische context, zodat een eerste schets ontstaat van de geschiedenis van de site ontstaat. In een poging om de positie van Deir al-Baramus in de Mediterrane wereld te bepalen is geprobeerd om een vergelijking te maken tussen de situatie op onze site en die van andere regio's in het Mediterrane gebied.

Na een presentatie en bespreking van het ceramische materiaal wordt tekstueel materiaal bekeken. Passages waar potten ter sprake komen in teksten zijn verzameld, om daarmee een lijst van namen van aardewerk te maken en meer aan de weet te komen omtrent hun functie. Verder zijn verhalen verzameld over monniken die ooit deze potten gebruikten. Aspecten van hun dagelijks leven, zoals hun herkomst en identiteit, hun dieet en hun contacten met de buitenwereld, worden uitgelicht.

In de korte conclusies van deze studie worden aardewerk en teksten tegenover elkaar gesteld in een poging om de beperkingen van de informatie die ze dragen te begrijpen. Uiteindelijk worden de toekomstperspectieven voor projecten in de Wadi al-Natrun beschreven en de noodzaak om actie te ondernemen tegen het verval van sites wordt aangestipt.
## LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 1.1: Principles of transliteration of the Arabic words used in the present study (IFAO\_études Arabes\_Recommandations).

Fig. 2.1: Map of Egypt (after Sampsell 2003, Fig. 13.1)

Fig. 2.2: Wādī al-Națrūn: the lakes.

Fig. 2.3: Wādī al-Naṭrūn: concentration of natron in the lakes (photo by the author)

Fig. 2.4: Dayr al-Baramūs: plan of the excavation site (until the 2006 season).

Fig. 2.5: Dayr al-Baramūs, plan of the excavation site: selected contexts.

Fig. 3.1: Map of the Mediterranean.

Fig. 3.2: Map of Egypt.

Fig. 3.3: Production zones of Nile silt vessels.

Fig. 3.4: Baramūs Nile fabric variants.

Fig. 3.5: Production zones of calcareous fabric vessels.

Fig. 3.6: Baramūs calcareous fabric variants.

Fig. 3.7: Production zones of Aswān kaolinitic fabric vessels.

Fig. 3.8: Map of Tunisia: production zones of African red slip wares marked by an asterisk (after Bonifay 2003, Fig. 1).

Fig. 3.9: African red slip vessels found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 1-12).

Fig. 3.10: Stamped sherds of African red slip vessels found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 13-17).

Fig. 3.11: Late Roman 'D' vessels found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 18-36).

Fig. 3.12: Phocaean red slip vessels found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 37-39).

Fig. 3.13: Aswān red slip vessels found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 40-44).

Fig. 3.14: Aswān red slip vessels found in the Old Baramūs: knobbed-rim bowls groups 1-2 (Nos. 45-57).

Fig. 3.15: Aswān red slip vessels found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 58-73).

Fig. 3.16: Aswān red slip vessels found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 74-81).

Fig. 3.17: Aswān red slip dishes found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 82-83).

Fig. 3.18: Aswān red slip vessels found in the Old Baramūs: dishes with everted stepped rim (Nos. 84-87).

Fig. 3.19: Aswān red slip dishes found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 88-91).

Fig. 3.20: Aswān red slip vessels found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 92-95).

Fig. 3.21: Aswān white slip vessels found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 96-106).

Fig. 3.22: Aswān white slip vessels found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 106-118).

Fig. 3.23: Aswān white slip base-sherds (Nos. 119-125) and painted vessels (Nos. 126-132) found in the Old Baramūs.

Fig. 3.24: Nile fabric red slip vessels found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 133-143).

Fig. 3.25: Nile fabric red slip vessels found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 144-153).

Fig. 3.26: Open painted table wares found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 154-156).

Fig. 3.27: Mouths of closed painted table wares found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 157-178).

Fig. 3.28: Bodysherds of closed painted table wares found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 179-210).

Fig. 3.29: Bases of closed painted table wares found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 211-224); jug (No. 225).

Fig. 3.30: Gouged table wares found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 226-229).

Fig. 3.31: Open plain table wares found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 230-239).

Fig. 3.32: Closed plain table wares found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 240-256).

Fig. 3.33: Early glazed table wares found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 257-263).

Fig. 3.34: Cooking wares found in the Old Baramūs: frying pans and casseroles (Nos. 264-279).

Fig. 3.35: Cooking wares found in the Old Baramūs: casseroles *E114-E116* (Nos. 280-289).

Fig. 3.36: Cooking wares found in the Old Baramūs: casseroles *E114-E116* (Nos. 290-294).

Fig. 3.37: Cooking wares found in the Old Baramūs: cooking-pots (Nos. 295-307).

Fig. 3.38: Cooking wares found in the Old Baramūs: cooking-pots (Nos. 308-320).

Fig. 3.39: Cooking wares found in the Old Baramūs: cooking-pots and jars (Nos. 321-334).

Fig. 3.40: Cooking wares found in the Old Baramūs: cooking- jars (Nos. 335-336).

Fig. 3.41: Casserole lids (E347-E349) found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 337-359).

Fig. 3.42: Painted troughs found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 360-362).

Fig. 3.43: Painted jars found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 363-372).

Fig. 3.44: Painted jar found in the Old Baramūs (No. 367).

Fig. 3.45: Gouged jars found in the Old Baramūs (No. 373-374).

Fig. 3.46: Anthropomorphic jar found in the Old Baramūs (No. 375).

Fig. 3.47: Undecorated medium-sized bowls found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 376-389).

Fig. 3.48: Large bowls / basins found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 390-393).

Fig. 3.49: Closed utilitarian wares found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 394-407).

Fig. 3.50: Main Late Roman amphora types.

Fig. 3.51: LRA1 found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 408-410).

Fig. 3.52: *LRA*1 found in the Old Baramūs (No. 411).

Fig. 3.53: *LRA*1 found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 412).

Fig. 3.54: LRA1 found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 413-420).

Fig. 3.55: LRA4 found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 421-431).

Fig. 3.56: LRA4 found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 432-437).

Fig. 3.57: LRA3 found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 438-439).

Fig. 3.58: Palestinian *bag-shaped* amphorae (*LRA5*) found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 440-441).

Fig. 3.59: African amphorae found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 442-446).

Fig. 3.60: Late *bitroncoconical* amphorae found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 447-459).

Fig. 3.61: Egyptian Amphorae 7 found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 460-464).

Fig. 3.62: Egyptian Amphorae 7 found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 465-470).

Fig. 3.63: *Egyptian Amphorae* 7 found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 471-476).

Fig. 3.64: *Bag-shaped* amphorae: the Kellia typology (after Egloff 1977).

Fig. 3.65: *Egyptian Bag-shaped* amphorae. Calcareous. Types: 1, 2A, 2C, 2D (Nos. 477-495).

Fig. 3.66: *Egyptian Bag-shaped* amphorae. Calcareous. Types: 3B, 3D, 5 (Nos. 487-496).

Fig. 3.67: *Egyptian Bag-shaped* amphorae. Nile fabric. Types: 1, 2B, 2C, 2D (Nos. 497-506)

Fig. 3.68: *Egyptian Bag-shaped* amphorae. Nile fabric. Types: 3A, 3B, 3C, 3D (Nos. 507-516

Fig. 3.69: *Egyptian Bag-shaped* amphorae. Nile fabric. Types: 4A, 4B, atypical, 5 (Nos. 517-533)

Fig. 3.70: *Egyptian Bag-shaped* amphorae. Nile fabric. Types: 6, 7, 8 (Nos. 534-542)

Fig. 3.71: Egyptian Early Arab Amphorae 1A and 1B from Saint Macarius Monastery.

Fig. 3.72: Egyptian Early Arab Amphorae 1A and 1B found in the Old Baramūs.

Fig. 3.73: *Egyptian Early Arab Amphora 2* from Saint Macarius Monastery and the Old Baramūs (Nos. 548-555).

Fig. 3.74: *Egyptian Early Arab Amphorae 3A and 3B* from Saint Macarius Monastery. Fig. 3.75: *Egyptian Early Arab Amphorae 3A and 3B* found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 556-559).

Fig. 3.76: Wares containing Holy substances from Abū Mīnā found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 561-564).

Fig. 3.77: Flagons from the Saint Macarius Monastery and the Old Baramūs (Nos. 565-575).

Fig. 3.78: Lamps found in the Old Baramūs (Nos. 576-606).

Fig. 3.79: Censers (Nos. 607-610) and lids (Nos. 611-620) found in the Old Baramūs.

Fig. 3.80: Lion-handle (No. 621) and re-worked objects (Nos. 622-639) found in the Old Baramūs.

Fig. 3.81: Rates of functional categories in the tower (contexts 1, 2, 3, 4).

Fig. 3.82: Rates of functional categories in the cells (contexts 7, 9, 10).

Fig. 3.83: Rates of functional categories in the filling of the underground bin (context 6).

Fig. 3.84A: Rates of functional categories in the late  $4^{th} - 5^{th} c$ .

- Fig. 3.84B:Rates of red slip wares in the late  $4^{th} 5^{th} c$ .
- Fig. 3.84C: Rates of table wares in the late  $4^{th} 5^{th} c$ .
- Fig. 3.84D: Rates of amphorae in the late  $4^{th} 5^{th} c$ .

Fig. 3.85A: Rates of functional categories in the  $6^{th}$  c.

- Fig. 3.85B: Rates of red slip wares in the  $6^{th}$  c.
- Fig. 3.85C: Rates of table wares in the  $6^{th}$  c.
- Fig. 3.85D: Rates of amphorae in the  $6^{th}$  c.
- Fig. 3.86A: Rates of functional categories in the 7<sup>th</sup> c.
- Fig. 3.86B: Rates of red slip wares in the 7<sup>th</sup> c.
- Fig. 3.86C: Rates of table wares in the  $7^{th}$  c.
- Fig. 3.86D: Rates of amphorae in the  $7^{\text{th}}$  c.
- Fig. 3.87A: Rates of functional categories in the  $8^{th}$  c.
- Fig. 3.87B: Rates of red slip wares in the  $8^{th} 9^{th} c$ .
- Fig. 3.87C: Rates of table wares in the  $8^{th}$  c.
- Fig. 3.87D: Rates of amphorae in the  $8^{th}$  c.
- Fig. 3.88A: Rates of functional categories in the 9<sup>th</sup> c.
- Fig. 3.88B: Rates of table wares in the  $9^{th}$  c.
- Fig. 3.88C: Rates of amphorae in the  $9^{th}$  c.

Fig. 3.89: Comparative percentages of red slip wares in time.

Fig. 3.90: Comparative percentages of amphorae in time.

Fig. 4.1: Woman selling  $\kappa\omega\theta\omega\nu\alpha$ . Detail from the procession of the icon of the Virgin Hodhegetria, late 13<sup>th</sup> c. Arta, Vlacherna Monastery, narthex (after Acheimastou-Potamianou 2009, Fig. 52).

Fig. 4.2: Zal'a (photo: Imke Fleuren).

Fig. 4.3: Modern day glazed *māğūr* (photo: abūna Makary al-Baramūsi).

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1: Selected contexts.

Table 3.1: Size of inclusions.

Table 3.2: *Egyptian bag-shaped* amphorae: the Nile fabric groups.

Table 3.3: Concordances between Egloff 1977 and Pieri 2005 *bag-shaped* amphora types.

Table 3.4 The lamps found in the Old Baramūs.

Table 3.5A: Context 1: amounts of functional categories (sampling).

Table 3.5B: Context 1: amounts of significant classes / types (sampling).

Table 3.6A: Context 2: amounts of functional categories (sampling).

Table 3.6B: Context 2: amounts of significant classes / types (sampling).

Table 3.7A: Contexts 3 / 4: amounts of functional categories (sampling).

Table 3.7B: Contexts 3 / 4: amounts of significant classes / types (sampling).

Table 3.8: Context 5: number of finds (until 2007).

Table 3.9A: Context 6: amounts of functional categories.

Table 3.9B: Context 6: amounts of significant classes / types.

Table 3.10A: Context 7: amounts of functional categories.

Table 3.10B: Context 7: amounts of classes / types.

Table 3.11: Context 8: number of finds.

Table 3.12: Context 9: amounts of significant classes / types (sampling).

Table 3.13A: Context 10: amounts of functional categories.

Table. 3.13B: Context 10: amounts of significant classes / types.

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economic crisis. For letting me follow my heart, despite the worries that my 'alternative' choices might have caused them...

## CURRICULUM VITAE

Alexandra Konstantinidou was born in Athens on June  $3^{rd}$ , 1977. In 2000, she graduated from the Faculty of History and Archaeology (School of Philosophy in Athens University) with a major in Archaeology and History of Art (four-year studies). In 2003 she studied in the University of Paris I Panthéon / Sorbonne (program Erasmus Mundus) under the supervision of J.-P. Sodini and followed a professional stage in the Louvre Museum (Department of Egyptian Antiquities – Coptic Section) directed by C. Lyon-Caen. In 2004 she obtained a Master's Degree in Byzantine Archaeology at Athens University, during which she delved in issues of Byzantine and Frankish art and archaeology; her thesis entitled *Pottery Production in Egypt* ( $4^{th} - 7^{th} c$ .) was supervised by professors M. Panayotidi and P. Petridis.

Alexandra has worked as field archaeologist or pottery expert in several excavations and survey projects in Greece and Egypt. In 2005 she worked for the Greek Archaeological Service (5<sup>th</sup> Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, Patras). The main projects she is currently engaged are: the excavation in the Old Monastery of Baramūs and the survey in the environs of the Monastery of Saint Macarius in the Wādī al-Naṭrūn (Egypt) (Leiden university; field director K. C. Innemée); the excavation in the site of the Monastery of Abba Apollo in Bāwīţ (IFAO and the Louvre; field director G. Hadjiminaglou); the excavation in the area north of Artemision in Limenas (Thasos) (EFA, the University of Lille and Athens University) and the project 'THALLIS' for the publication of the recent fieldwork and finds in Ancient Alasarna (Kardamaina) (Kos) (Athens University). At the moment she works under contract for the 26<sup>th</sup> Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities (Kalamata).

Her chief academic interests concern: a) aspects of Byzantine, 'Coptic', 'Islamic' and Frankish art and archaeology, mostly minor arts with a focus on ceramics; b) Eastern Mediterranean monasticism (life and material culture); c) the transitional period from the seventh to the tenth century in the Mediterranean; d) the Mediterranean *koine*, its origins and development since the late Roman until the late Byzantine period.