



The Heritage of Egypt

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*The history, archaeology,
and legacy of Egypt*

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From The Editor

Rosetta

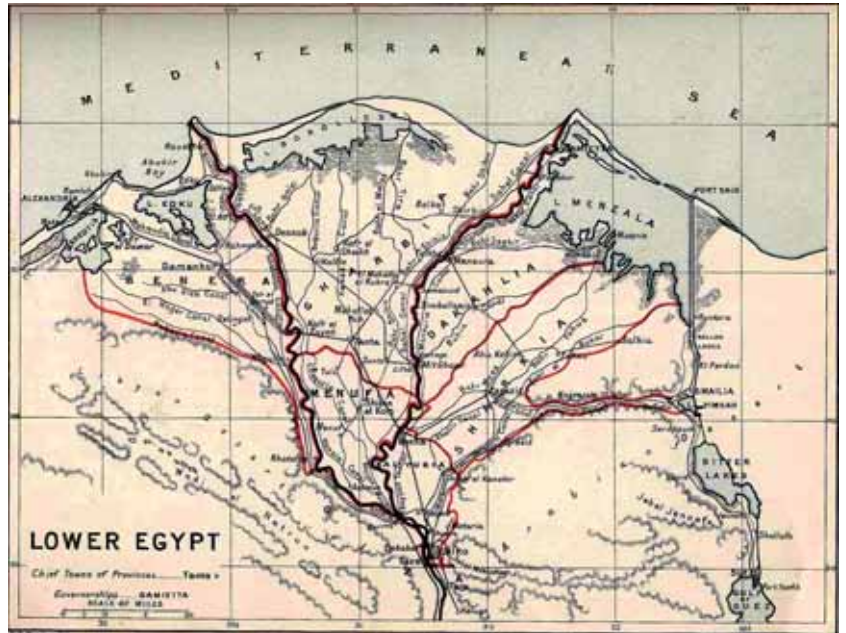
The lost glory and the flourishing future

When you walk in the streets of Rosetta, it is like walking in the 19th century, houses have the fragrant of the past, and mosques call to pray for God.

Rosetta is located on the west of the Rosetta branch of the River Nile, about 70 km northeast of Alexandria.

Rosetta used to be an important port on the Mediterranean in Ancient Egypt, and it believed it has a big temple for Amun dates back to the New Kingdom.

During the Greek period, the Rosetta branch of the Nile was named “Bolobitine Branch” and the city itself was known as “Bolobtine”. When the great Alexandria founded in 332 B.C., and the commercial achievements moved from the Bolobitine Branch to Kanoby Branch, Rosetta decreased in importance, and stayed in shadow for centuries.



position allowing Rosetta port to flourish again, and take back the lost glory.

We cannot ignore the other role that Rosetta played in Mamluk period, as the situation of the city on the Mediterranean helped in making it one of the important fortifications on the north, in 1472 A.D. Sultan Qaitbay built a Citadel surrounded by rampart, and in 1516 A.D. Sultan Al-Ghuri built a wall for the City on the sea shore, and a tower for protecting the Harbor.

We can understand that Rosetta harbor received more care from the rulers who used to come to check the fortifications in the city themselves.

In the 15th Century, the discovery of “The Cape of Good Hope” led to the declination of Rosetta after the commercial routes converted to South Africa.

After 1517 A.D. during the Ottoman period, Rosetta is back again as an important port on the Mediterranean, and was well looked after, as the Ottomans started a great architectural achievements, building mosques, houses, public baths, mills, and citadels.



In 651 A.D. when Arabs conquered Egypt, Alexandria became no longer the Capital of Egypt, later when Cairo was founded in 969 A.D., Alexandria started to lose its commercial

During the French expedition to Egypt 1798–1801 A.D., the harbor of Rosetta gain a great importance, and it was used as a base for a big military unit, and became more important after the discovery of the Rosetta Stone inside one of its Citadels by a French soldier.

But the City started to decline again after the digging of Al-Mahmudia Canal in 1819 A.D., as the commerce returned back again to Alexandria.

The houses in Rosetta from Ottoman Period has a unique style, as they built mainly by molded bricks, some painted by red and black for decorating the facades, each house consists of three or four floors, with multilevel wood corbels.

In the ground floor, we find some architectural features including storehouse “Wekala”, stable, Sabil¹, and the Cistern. The second floor was used by men and known as “Dehliz”², always have separated doors, and the third floor was for women and known as “The Hadir”, the sleeping place, this floor used to have group of rooms, in addition to private bath with marble floor, and a ceiling with shallow dome.

The facades of the houses were decorated by Mashrabia³, and using the Mashrabias of three parts carried on legs was a unique style of Rosetta houses.

In Rosetta, as well has many mosques from the Ottoman Period, mosques used to have more than one door, and the mosque itself includes Riwaqs⁴ and bays supported on marble columns, as well as wooden ceilings, decorating the facades by colored molded bricks, using ceramics for decorating the walls and the minarets.

Rosetta also was a place of great battles; the most famous of all is the invasion of Fraizer in 1807 A.D.



Not just battles, Rosetta hosted once a romantic love story, between the French Commander Mino who fall in love with an Egyptian Girl from Rosetta known as Zbeida, and after marrying her he became a Muslim, even he stayed after the leave of his army in 1801 A.D., this love story inspired a lot of Egyptians novelists, who wrote a lot of novels based on this true love story, till now you still can see the House of Zbeida, and the Mashrabia window where Mino saw Zbeida for the first time⁵.

Since 1985, the SCA* started a project to restore the houses and the historical buildings in Rosetta, the city that is considered as second after Cairo in the number of Islamic monuments.

The city of Rosetta won the prize of the best Arabic city in 1990, and for few years now, the Ministry of Culture with the SCA are preparing Rosetta to be an open air museum⁶ rich of monuments from different periods of time and a witness of an important page of the long Egyptian history.

1 Public drinking

2 Narrow corridor

3 A wooden window divided like a net to allow people inside see outside, but cannot be seen from outside.

4 Portico

5 The marriage document of Mino and Zbeida still can seen in the Rosetta National Museum "The house of Hussein Arab Kuly"

6 This Project is due to open officially in January 2009

** Supreme Council of Antiquities.*

The Hydrology of the Valley of the Kings, Egypt.

Stephen W. Cross

The Valley of the Kings in Upper Egypt (22° 45'N, 25°36' E) (Hereafter the Valley) is a World Heritage site visited by millions of people every year. It was the chosen burial site for the kings of three Egyptian Dynasties, 18th 19th and 20th, and was therefore a royal cemetery for nearly 500 years. The geology of the site has been examined many times.¹ However, the hydrology of the Valley during a flash flood has only been examined twice.² This paper is based on a visual survey carried out in February 2006 and examines the surface water hydrology during a flash flood in some detail and its consequences for the stratigraphy of the site.

Acknowledgements

I should like to thank the following people for their assistance in the research for this paper, Dr. Ali Ebrahim Elaspol, SCA Director of the West Bank, Mostafa Wazery, SCA Director of the Valley and Ali Reda Mohamed, SCA Inspector of the Valley, for their help, assistance and encouragement, Mr. Christopher Naunton, Librarian to the Egypt Exploration Society; Dr. Jaromir Malek, Elizabeth Miles and Sue Hutchinson of the Griffith Institute, The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Dr. Hillary Davies ex of Liverpool University, Department of Geology; Mr. Steve Jebson, Visual Images Manager and Information Officer at the National Meteorological Library, Exeter; Mr. Bill Kent, Climatologist at the UK Met Office; Dr. O. Schaden and Roxanne Wilson of the KV10/KV63 Amenmesse Project, an SCA Mission. I would also like to thank Mrs. J. Bailey and Mr. D Bickerstaff for reading and commenting on this paper, Mrs. Lorraine Wooder for her graphic design skills and Miss Alexandra Cross, author's daughter, for assisting in the survey.

Stratigraphy

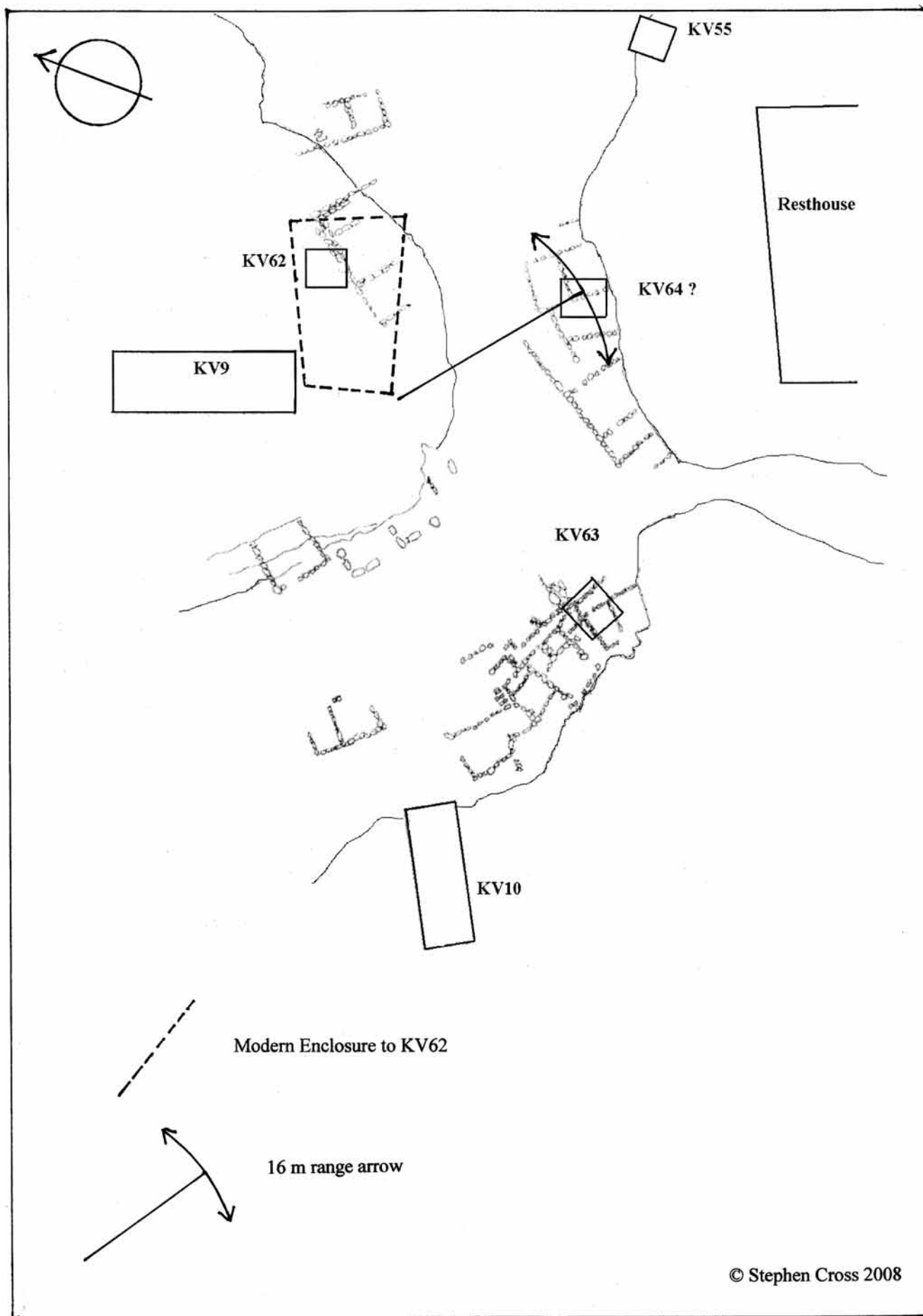
The Valley was mostly cut into Member 1, called the Hamidat Member, of the Serai Formation of the Theban Series of limestones



The entrance to KV55

and is 120 metres thick. The limestone rests conformably on top of 60 metres of Esna shale.³ Although the contact is conformable, it is not clear cut. The alternating layers of shale and marly limestone indicate repeated changes of sea level from shallow lagoonal to marine facies. The shale is extremely thinly bedded and friable. It has the consistency of dry newspaper and crumbles readily in the hand. The shale is a poor foundation for the limestone above. It expands on wetting up to 12% under pressure.⁴

The limestone is studded with many layers of silicacious nodules. These represent repeated changes in sea levels concomitant with the collision of the Pan-African Shield with the European plate. It is thought that the warm open marine facies of the limestone



Map of the Central area showing workmen's hut foundations and the estimated location of a possible KV64.

deposition alternated with shallow lagoonal deposition of the siliceous sediments that produced the flint nodules under diagenesis. The nodules exhibit curious discoid surface features. Fig 1. These features are not spheroidal weathering as they are observed on nodules freshly weathered out of the bedrock. The method of their formation is unclear. One possible method is that because flint nodules commonly form at the site of bioturbation, often circular burrows, these discoid features represent such burrows preservation. The present writer welcomes comments.

The 19th and 20th Century excavators did not prosecute their operations in the current methodical manner and the stratigraphy of most of the site has been irretrievably destroyed. The modern student of the Valley is left with vague statements and inferences with which to unravel the ancient stratigraphy.

Climatology

Here it would be appropriate to explain briefly the cause of flash floods in Upper Egypt. For most of the year Egypt's airflow consists of northerly winds. These north winds are due to a huge Monsoonal Low centred over Northern India. As circulation round a low is anticlockwise in the Northern Hemisphere and Egypt is to the West of India, by the time these winds reach Egypt they are constant northerlies. However, spring and particularly autumn are times of climate change in Egypt. Climate change is due to the southern migration of the Inter Tropical Convergence Zone (ITCZ).⁵ The vagaries of the ITCZ are outside the scope of this paper, but this causes the path of Mediterranean lows to move south also. Fig 2 shows the progression of these lows.⁶ Under normal conditions the lows travel east across the Mediterranean Sea itself. A and B



The entrance of KV63 showing the flood layer (outlined in white).

in Fig. 2. If the ITCZ moves south then the path of these lows also migrate to the south. If such a low moves beyond Upper Egypt to the south then Upper Egypt will be at the top of the anticlockwise circulation and will experience easterly winds. Note the southern position of the Low 1008 mb's, D, autumn, in Fig. 2. Easterly winds drive a moist Air Mass off the Red Sea westwards and by orographic uplift cause rainfall on the Eastern Mountains and flash floods in their wadis. The Air Mass is now dry and stable as it continues west until it meets a new source of

water, the Nile. At the time of year under discussion and this occurs in October/November, the Nile would have been still in full inundation in ancient times. By intense evaporation and convection, the Air Mass, now unstable, forms cumulonimbus clouds, which are blown to the west of the Nile and towards the Valley of the Kings.

Cumulonimbus clouds are thunderstorm clouds and cause torrential rainfall in their path.⁷ One cloud can contain half a million tons of water and this is dropped typically in only the 20 minutes of the mature stage of the cloud. Historical records of the floods that have hit the Valley are: - 1799, 1818, 1820's, 1883, 1898, 1905, 1910, 1914, 1915, October 1916, October 1917, October 1918, 1979, October 1994, October 2001 and 21st January 2008.⁸ No matter how one manipulates these dates no specific predictable frequency can be formed. Carter estimated every 10 years and Weeks every 20 to 30 years.⁹ The present writer discussed the possibility of predicting this phenomenon with International Climatologists at the UK Met Office in 2002 but the consensus was that because it is such a localised event it would be impossible to predict with accuracy, although October and November are the high risk months. The last

two floods gave a periodicity of only 7 years and it must be admitted that, although ostensibly an arid region, the Valley is under risk of flooding at any time.

There is one exception to the aridity rule of the area, Lake Nasser. Since the formation of this lake after the building of the Aswan High Dam in 1969, intense evaporation of the lake waters is causing the local climate to change. Fair weather cumulous form most days and occasionally a gentle rain falls. This occurs with a frequency of approximately every 4 years,¹⁰ but Aswan is 200 km south of Luxor and this does not as yet significantly affect Luxor's weather. This climate change is however a direct threat to the monuments at Aswan. Granite weathers readily in wet climates, the feldspars rotting first, and unless protected in the future monuments such as the unfinished obelisk with vanish forever.

Recommendation; The Egyptian Met Office monitor the path of the ITCZ and the southern migration of Mediterranean Lows and warn the Supreme Council of Antiquities of the threat of flash flooding to Middle Egypt.

Hydrology

The amazing preservative power of the Valley due to extreme aridity is seen as one enters the Wadi. Fig 3. As the last time the Valley suffered from rainfall previous to the 2006 survey was October 2001, the raindrops preserved in the dust on this limestone shard are 5 years old. How long would such ephemera be preserved in a European climate? As raindrops can be preserved for 5 years exposed at the surface, how long could artifacts buried deep within the bedrock be preserved? Excavation has proved it can be thousands of years.

Fig. 4 is a stream flow diagram of the Valley based on the author's observations in February 2006 and with reference to Carter's map of the Valley. (IG52, Griffith Institute) First Order streams have been omitted for clarity. Contours over 200 m have also been omitted for clarity.

Although not irrelevant, the catchment areas above this level do not enter into the stream flow regime within the wadi. The basal contour map is taken from the Survey of Egypt, 1898,¹¹ as being the closest topography to that appertaining in ancient times before the great 20th century excavators moved tons of material round the Valley and before the construction of the modern pathways. It must also be remembered that at the end of the 18th Dynasty the huge mounds of excavation chippings from the later Ramesside tombs would not be present and the side gullies would be steep bare rock.

From the diagram it can be seen that during a flash flood there will be 7 streams active in



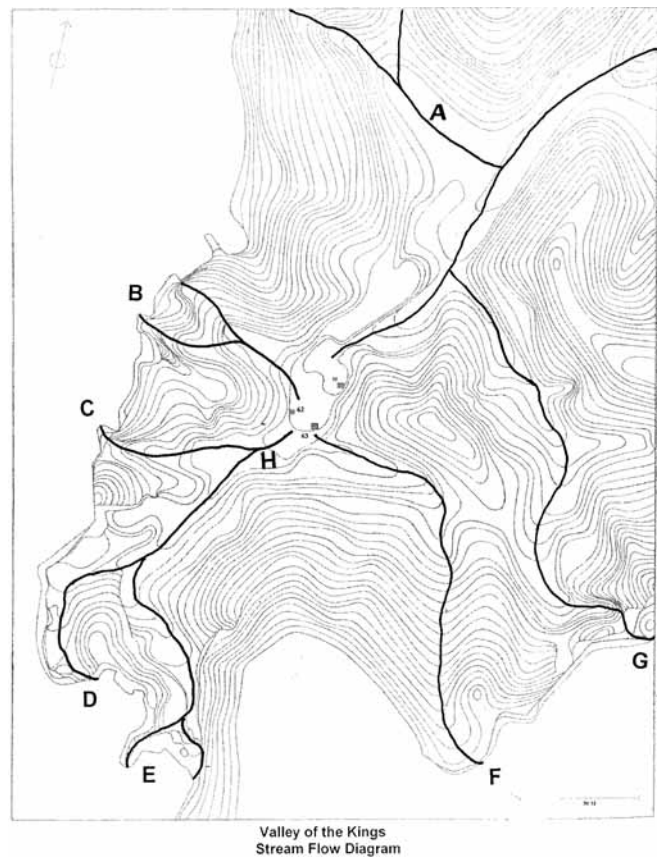
Flint nodule exhibiting curious discoid surface features. Nodule 21cms long.

the Valley. The 7 streams have been arbitrarily labelled A to G anticlockwise from north. Streams A and G enter the valley downstream from the Central Area and do not effect this discussion. It will also be seen that stream C, D and E combine to form a stream labelled H. Stream H is the main conduit for water egress from the Valley and would be the most powerful of all the streams. Streams B, F and H all converge at the Central Area of the Valley during a flash flood. Note streams B and F are horizontally opposed and stream H impinges upon the opposite rock spur. Note also stream B is aimed directly at KV55 and stream F at KV62. During a flash flood there would also be sheetwash off all surfaces that would

increase the violence of the main streams.¹² The stream flow diagram is in general agreement with the two previous diagrams produced.¹³ Pinch-Brock produced a creditable stream flow diagram based on her valuable observation of the 1994 flood. Although El-Didy stated his work was of a preliminary and general study (streams labelled I and D in his Fig. III.1 do not exist in reality, or exists only as sheetwash or weak first order streams. El-Didy's study was however based on a modern day contour map of the Valley which differs in detail from Fig. 4) El-Didy conducted a scholarly quantitative assessment of stream flow and correctly identified the salient criterion of stream flow in the Valley, channel alignment.

From Fig. 4 it can be seen that streams B, F and H collide in the Central Area during a flash flood. The violent mixing of these three streams would make the Central Area a swirling mass of turbulent water and there would be a consequential massive reduction of linear velocity before the water escaped down stream towards the northeast conduit. As Carter excavated down to bedrock in most areas of the Valley his map (IG52) is most informative. For instance, the stream labelled B in Fig. 4 as it enters the Central Area does not as might be expected turn north to follow the main exit conduit, (Carter labelled stream B 'Deep Water Channel') but turns south directly against the main flow direction H and so increasing the violence of the collision event.

A flash flood is a stream like any other stream or river, albeit a short lived one and the main property of stream flow is its 'discharge'. Discharge is a measure of the volume of water carried along by the stream and is expressed in cubic metres per second. (m^3s^{-1}) the unit of measurement being the cumec. So that the reader can gain some idea of scale, 1 cumec is equivalent to just under 19,000,000 gallons of water a day. Discharge is the deciding factor as to how much sediment load a given stream can carry. Sediment load is the amount of material a stream can transport. The loss of velocity during the collision event means that the three streams would lose their ability to transport their load and would therefore dump most of their sediment loads in the Central Area burying and concealing any tombs that were cut there.



Stream Flow Diagram of the Valley.

The premise of the flood theory is that such a flood did indeed hit the Valley at the end of the 18th Dynasty concealing tombs cut into the Central Area. If so an examination of the tombs in this area may be of profit.

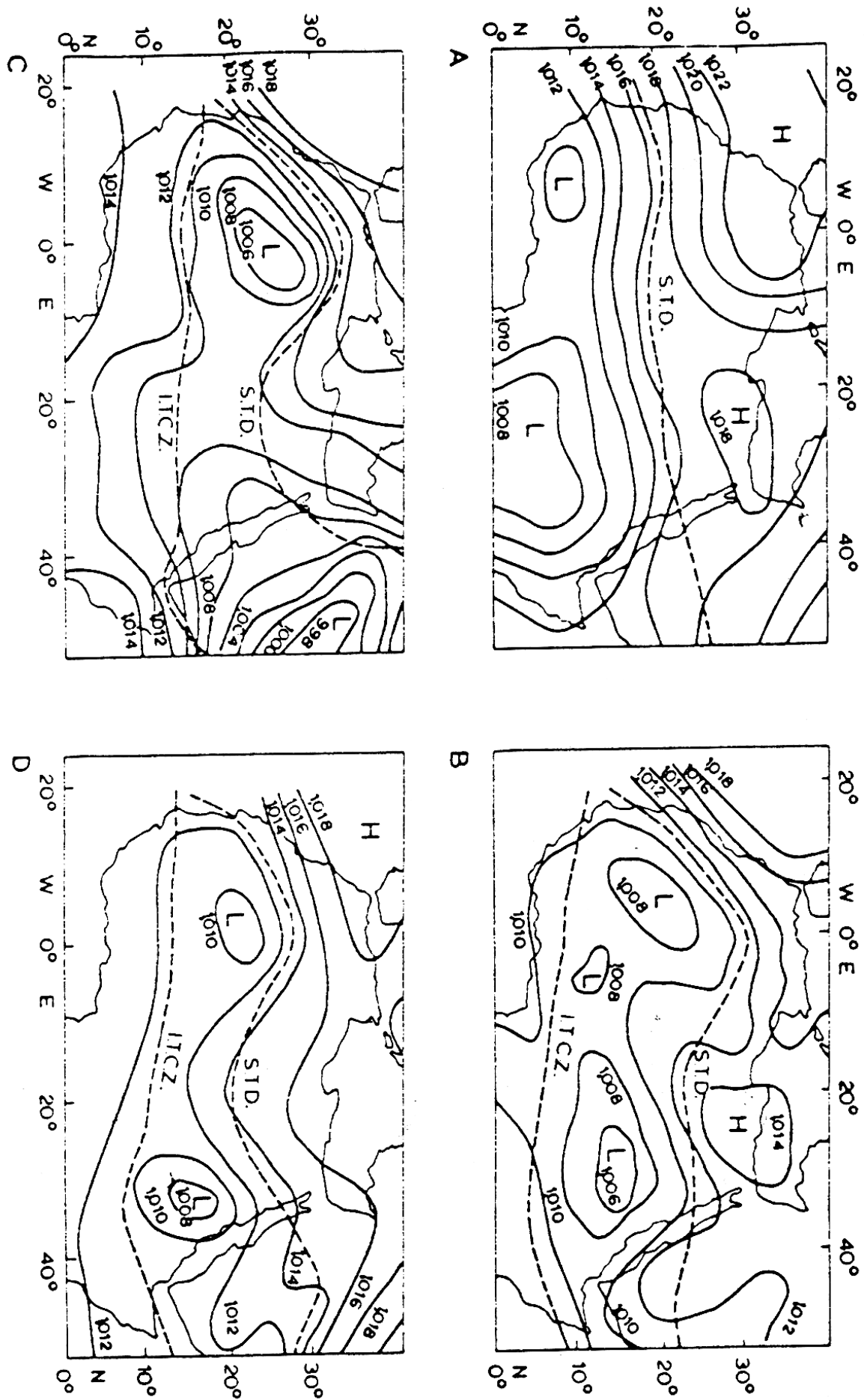
The Tombs

To date three tombs have been discovered in the Central Area cut into the floor of the Valley, KV55, KV62 and KV63. These tombs are all of late 18th Dynasty date and as they were cut into the floor of the Valley, this shows that the wadi floor was bedrock at this time, some 5 metres below the present day footpath.

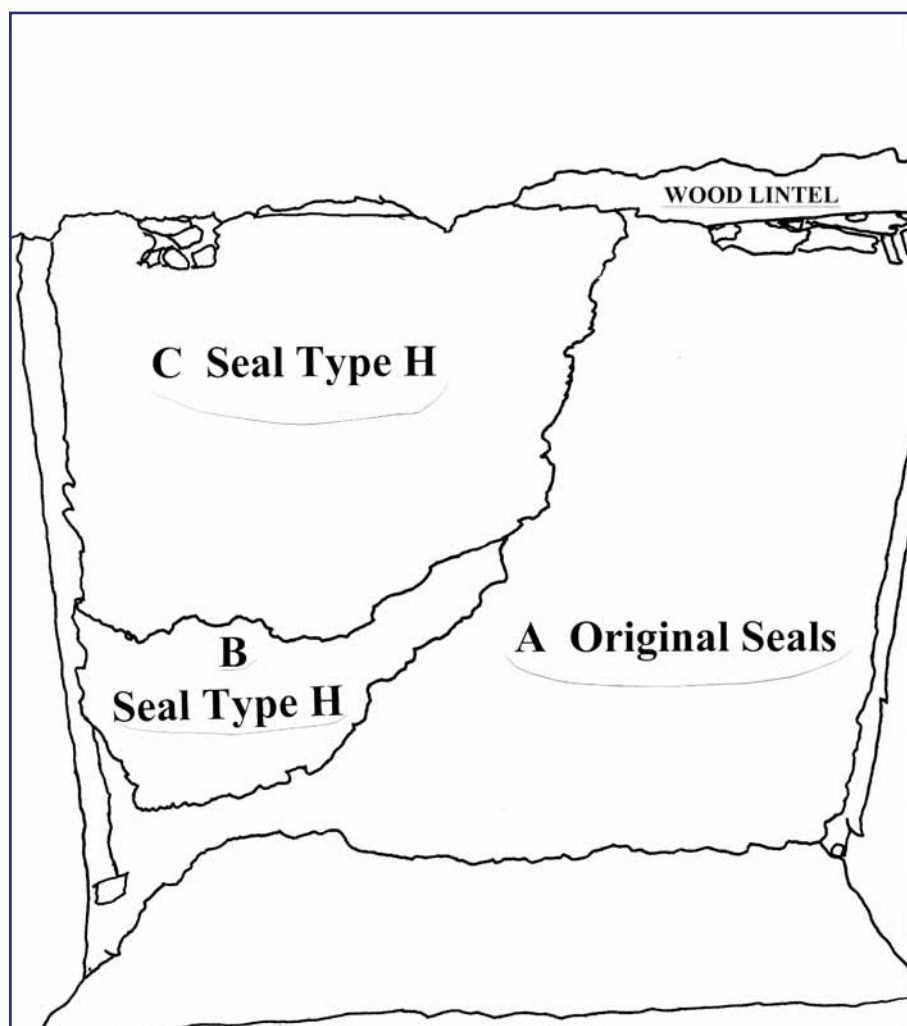
KV55

KV55 was discovered by Ayrton working for Davis in 1907 and the find was published as a book titled *The Tomb of Queen Tiye*.¹⁴ The reportage is however woeful, the stratigraphy of the site is confined to only two sentences. To quote Ayrton;¹⁵

'We then sunk a pit straight down the chippings, which at this depth were cemented together by the action of water, until we came



Mediterranean weather systems map. Note the position of the Low 1008 mbs. In D, autumn.



Tracing of the entrance to KV62 showing the re-sealed areas after the robberies.

to a layer of clean dry limestone fragments which led us to hope that the tomb might have escaped the fate of that of Siphtah which we had found so damaged by the entrance of water. Below this clear rubbish we struck a flight of well-cut stone steps and knew that we had discovered a tomb of the XVIIIth dynasty and no mere burial pit.'

The only way a quantity of water sufficient to 'cement a layer together' in the Valley was through the action of a flash flood. Ayrton did write a full report on the tomb but it was not included in the publication and is now lost.¹⁶ Fig. 5 is an enlargement of the entrance taken from the frontispiece of Davis's book hence the poor quality. Above the tomb entrance can be seen a layer of horizontal stratigraphy that may be a flood layer or possibly simple bedding in the bedrock. So, we have Ayrton's statement of excavating through a flood layer and an inconclusive photograph. No measurements

of the depth of this layer were taken or its relation to the tomb entrance apart from this photograph. If the horizontal layering in the photograph is a flood layer then it approximates to 4 feet. (1.3 metres) thick and lies immediately on top of the tomb entrance.

KV62

KV62 was discovered by Carter and Carnarvon on the 4th November 1922.¹⁷ Any examination of Carter's work must commence at the Griffith Institute, the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, where all his manuscripts are kept. The present writer carried out a thorough search of all notebooks, cardfiles, manuscripts and plans, assisted by Dr. Jaromir Malek and Miss Elizabeth Miles, only to discover that Carter recorded almost absolutely nothing about the 3 foot layer (see below) covering the tomb.

Dr. Malek did say that a day to day record of proceedings was not kept and Miss Miles said his

diaries did not always concur with the rest of his notes.

The day before the discovery of Tutankhamen's tomb Carter said of the workmen's huts¹⁸ 'By the evening of November 3rd we had laid bare a sufficient number of these huts for experimental purposes, so, after we had planned and noted them, they were removed, and we were ready to clear away the three feet of soil that lay beneath them'. Fig. 6 is Carter's photograph of the huts before removal. The northern end of these huts were first uncovered during the autumn 1917 season's dig.¹⁹ Note the two unrecorded layers on the left of the pit Carter dug.

Soil is almost the only description of the 3 foot layer found that Carter made but soil is a very curious term for a professional excavator to use as there is no actual soil present in the valley. There is only solid limestone rock, sand, scree/chipping talus slopes and flood debris.

Soil is a valid term used by geologists to encompass all surface sediments covering bedrock but Carter was not a geologist and would not have used the term in this context.

Carter's diary for the 4th November, 'At about 10 am I discovered beneath almost the first hut attacked the first traces of the entrance of the tomb.... And that it was of the nature of a sunken staircase to a tomb of the type XVIIIth Dynasty, but further than that nothing could be told until the heavy rubbish above was cleared away' Heavy rubbish is more descriptive of hardened and cemented flood debris than soil.

Carter also said of the huts,²⁰ 'Here we came on a series of workmen's huts, built over masses of flint boulders, the latter usually indicating in the Valley the near proximity of a tomb.' How right he was and a mass of boulders is a closer description of a flood layer.

In 'The Discovery of the Tomb of Tutankhamen' Volume 1 (Carter co-authored with Mace) Carter said²¹ 'For some reason his (Tutankhamen's) tomb had been overlooked. It was situated in a very low-lying part of the Valley, and a heavy rainstorm might well have washed away all trace of its existence', the original excavator succinctly stating the flood theory. The previous season Carter had dug in the side gully that contains Merenptah's tomb, KV8, and had uncovered remnants of this flood layer.²² In his map of the Valley (IG52 in the Griffith Institute) he even labelled these side gullies as 'Deep Water Channels'. We must state though that there is a contradiction

In The Tomb of Tutankhamen, Volume 3²³ he makes a statement that on first reading appears to contradict the flood theory. He said, 'Although it is a fact that the eastern side of the trough of the Valley had been considerably affected by water from such a source (flash



The workmen's huts over KV62. Note the two layers on the left of the pit.

flood), in dynastic times, on the western side, where Tutankhamen's tomb is situated, there was not a trace of past water to any harmful extent.'

It is not clear why Carter should contradict himself but possibly the answer lies in timing. The first quote referring to a flash flood was written in 1923 some months after the discovery and while the initial finding was still fresh in his mind. Patently there was something in the discovery that brought to his mind the thought of flash floods. However, the second 'No trace' quote was written in 1932 after he had completed the magnificent 10 year clearance of the tomb. A lot had happened in the intervening years including the sudden death of his friend and mentor, Lord Carnarvon, and being thrown off the excavation by the Egyptian Government not to mention the crushing responsibility of the delicate clearance itself. We must also look at the context in which he wrote this statement. It was contained in a chapter wholly concerned with the reason how water entered the tomb. Clearly it was not through the entrance, a cemented and hardened flood layer is an effective barrier to water ingress, and Carter stated this correctly. Carter based the 'No flood' statement on the Rammeside artifacts discovered in the fill of the workmen's huts seen in Fig. 6.²⁴ These were of course built on top of the flood layer and would not have been

affected by water damage.

Fig. 7 is a previously unpublished photograph²⁵ of the entrance taken on the evening of the 5th November, probably by Carter himself before Burton was enlisted to help photograph the tomb. Note that the 3 foot layer above the entrance that Carter called 'soil' is not soil or sand or solid rock or scree/chipping talus deposits. The entrance to the tomb can be made out through the pit dug into it but notice the boulders, one on the right is very large, over 2 feet (0.75 m) across, suspended in this layer. (The entrance to the tomb is 6 feet across for comparison) The rolling transport of these boulders had been arrested as the streams collided leaving them embedded in a silt/stone conglomerate matrix. Looking at the boulder to the left hand side of the entrance, it can be seen to be lying immediately on top of the solid rock of the tomb cutting. The presence of these boulders suspended in this strata is proof that what we are looking at is a petrified flood layer. The large boulder also proves that this flood must have been a significant event with the power to move material of this size in a relatively early stage of stream flow. To be exact, the correct full geological description of this bed is 'A constitutionally immature, poorly sorted, Fluvial Breccia with clasts from 0.5cms to 0.75 m across, matrix supported, exhibiting no apparent structures'.²⁶ That is rather prolix so



The bedrock exposed in the Central Area.



5 year old raindrops preserved in the dust on a limestone shard found at the entrance to the Valley. Matchbox is 8 cms long.

hereafter we shall refer to it as simply the flood layer.

If we examine the photograph it can be seen that there is no interleaving stratum between the flood alluvium and the solid rock entrance of Tutankhamen's tomb. There is certainly none observably in Fig. 7 or in any of the other photos taken of the entrance by Carter or Burton, the flood resting cleanly on top of the bedrock. Also with the photo of the entrance to KV55, Fig. 5 although not as clear, there is no interleaving layer observable, the assumed horizontal flood alluvium again lying immediately on top of the solid rock.

Was the purported flood over KV55 the same as that over KV62? The workmen's huts, as Carter knew, stretched across the floor of the Central Area and had been built as a unity. He wrote,²⁷ 'It will be remembered that in this area there were a number of roughly constructed workmen's huts, used probably

by the labourers in the tomb of Ramesses. (Presumably Ramesses VI, KV9) These huts, built about three feet above the bed-rock, covered the whole area in front of the Ramesside tomb, and continued in a southerly direction to join up with a similar group of huts on the opposite side of The Valley, discovered by Davis in connection with his work on the Akh-en-Aten cache (KV55).' If the huts were built as a unity and the huts over KV62 definitely overlaid the flood layer, then the horizontal stratigraphy in Fig. 5 must also represent the same layer.

There was just under 3 feet of flood alluvium over KV62 but just over 4 feet covering KV55. Why the almost 2 feet discrepancy? This does at first look like evidence against one flood event but if we look at the cross-section, Fig. 8, it can be seen that the entrances to KV62 and KV55 were cut at different elevations. There is a difference in levels of 0.75 metres or roughly 2 feet, KV62



being the higher. As the surface of the flood layer is laterally horizontal, we would expect a deeper depth of alluvium over the lower tomb and a shallower depth over the higher tomb. The fact that this is exactly what we find (As far as can be ascertained from 90 year old photographs) and the fact that the difference in alluvium depths is exactly the same as the difference in entrance levels of the two tombs is conclusive proof that it was the same flood event that concealed both tombs.

Aeolian deposits, that is, wind blown sand deposits, build up very quickly indeed in Egypt, especially when blown off the Western Desert by the westerly Khamsin winds (Literally 50 from the number of days it lasts). But there are no aeolian deposits visible in either photographs of the entrances. This indicates there was no long time gap between the sealing of the tomb, the robberies, the resealings and then the flood. Geologically

speaking, the flood therefore must have occurred very soon after the final sealing of Tutankhamen's tomb and archaeologically, Carter agreed,²⁸ '... we knew from the sealings on the outer doorway that all the plundering was done within a very few years of the king's burial'.

Fig. 9 is Carter's photograph of the entrance to KV62 showing the original tomb sealing and its subsequent resealing after the robberies. The entrance doorway was carefully sealed with stones, plastered over with a hard gypsum plaster, the plaster then being impressed with various seals while still wet. Carter identified 7 types of seal matrices on the original sealing and labelled them A to G.²⁹ Fig. 11. These 7 seals were all of a funerary nature and would have been made exclusively for Tutankhamen's internment. The seals were wielded by the officiants during the funeral and bear witness to the completeness of the

burial at the time of sealing. All of these seals either held the king's name in a cartouche or as a rebus. What conclusion can we draw from this? Manifestly, up to and including the very last act of his burial, the sealing of the tomb (and even though dead) Tutankhamen was still regarded as being the reigning monarch.

Fig. 10 is a tracing from Fig. 9 showing the sealing history. 'A' is the original sealing of the tomb. 'B' is what was left of the re-sealing of the first robber's hole and 'C' is the re-sealing of the second robber's hole. The tomb was robbed at least twice. After the first robbery all walls were re-sealed. After the second (or possibly third) robbery only the Burial Chamber, Annex and Entrance walls were re-sealed. Carter identified a different type of seal he called type H used on these resealings. On the Entrance wall he counted 6 impressions on what remained of the first resealing, 'B', and 28 impressions on the second resealing, 'C', all seal type H. As both resealings of the tomb were made with exactly the same seal, this indicates that the robberies were very close together in time. Seal type H was also present on the re-sealings of the Annex, Antechamber and Burial chamber walls but Carter did not record their number. Fig 12 is Carter's original cardfile rough drawing of seal type H. Carter did not draft a formal drawing of this seal merely stating it was similar to seal type E. This is also the seal of the necropolis guard, Anubis over the nine bound captives.³⁰ The main glyph is the god Anubis, Divine Embalmer and Lord of the Necropolis, the protector of the dead so his presence on this seal would not be unexpected. The necropolis seal matrix would have been made of a carved wooden block or faience or of steatite, a soft easily worked stone.

Why is seal type H unusual? Because, although similar to seal type E, also a necropolis guard seal, it has no cartouche. Seal type H was not the same seal as type E with the cartouche simply chiselled off, as it was 3/4 of an inch wider. This seal was wholly new, the original seals being made exclusively for Tutankhamen's funeral and once it was over and his seal no longer valid they were discarded or probably destroyed.

Carter stated that seal type H was similar to seals he had found in Tuthmosis IV's tomb (KV43) in 1903.³¹ We know that the restoration

of Tuthmosis IV's tomb occurred in year 8 of Horemheb.³² Did these seals include Horemheb's prenomen in a cartouche or not? The sealing walls were rebuilt and re-plastered and new seal impressions added. Interestingly, the seal matrices were dipped in blue paint before being applied to the plaster and the paint can still be seen to this day.³³ The impressions did bear a cartouche, the cartouche of the reigning king, Horemheb.³⁴ From the above two examples it appears that Royal Tomb seals at the end of the 18th Dynasty included the cartouche of the reigning king.

There is only one other tomb seal extant from this period although not from a royal tomb. In Horemheb's Saqqara commoner's tomb in upper burial chamber F was found a fragmentary seal that bore the then reigning king's cartouche, Ay's.³⁵ Although not royal, the tomb was later revisited once Horemheb gained the throne and had his images altered by the addition of royal insignia.³⁶

It may be asked how can the sealing history within the tomb affect the timing of the flood external to it?

Why is there no cartouche on seal type H? Because when it was used there was no actual king reigning, i.e. it was used in an interregnum period between a king's death and the coronation of his successor.

During which interregnum period was KV62 resealed? Bearing in mind the flood layer rested immediately on top of the entrance, very close in time to the funeral, then obviously in this case the interregnum period must have been between Tutankhamen's death and Ay's coronation. As there was no interleaving aeolian deposit between the entrance and the flood layer, and such deposits form rapidly, then this also indicates the flood occurred during the 4 years of Ay's reign. Examination of the flora found in Tutankhamen's tomb, particularly mandrake and cornflower blooms, showed his funeral was sometime from the middle of March to the end of April.³⁷ As flash floods occur in October/November; it is posited that there was only a 6 to 8 month period when the entrance to KV62 was open to view and the flood happened in October or November of the same year of his death, 1323 BC.³⁸



The entrance to KV62 taken on the evening of the 5th November 1922 showing the flood layer.

Confirmation of this early timing comes from within the tomb itself, among the first items stolen from the tomb as well as precious metals were the costly perfumes, oils and unguents.³⁹ These were based on animal fats and would have gone off very quickly in the constant heat of the tomb, within weeks not months or years. For these to be still in a good enough condition to be stolen confirms the robberies must have been within weeks of the funeral.

As the dating of the flood provides us with a terminus ante quem for the tombs concealed underneath it, then it may have significant consequences for the events that happened in these tombs such as when and what happened in KV55. If Queen Tiye was once interred in KV55 after being transferred from Tel el Amarna after its abandonment, then she was removed from this tomb by King Ay, her putative brother. It also explains why KV62 was discovered intact, indeed why it was not destroyed by Horemheb, the traditional Nemesis of the Amarna Period.⁴⁰

KV63

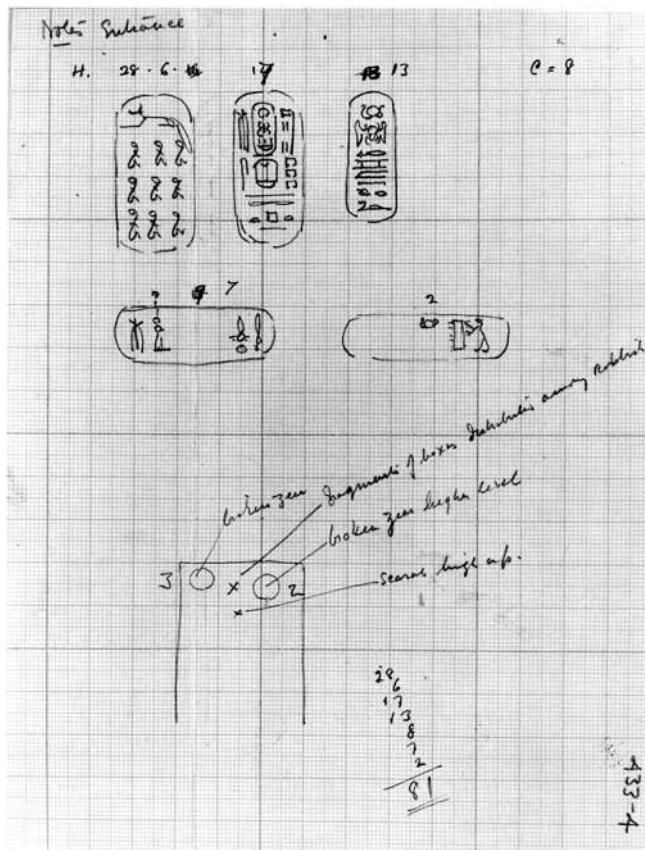
The discovery of KV63 was announced to

the world on 10th February 2006 by Dr. O. Schaden working for the KV10/KV63 Amenmesse Project an SCA Mission. The present writer was fortunate enough to actually be present in the Valley undertaking the above mentioned survey at this time. KV63 can be regarded as a 'test piece' for the flood theory as it was unknown when the theory was first formulated in 1998. KV63 was again found under a horizon of workmen's hut foundations and under these a 2 feet (0.6 metres) thickness of flood debris overlies the entrance. Fig. 13 of its entrance clearly shows this layer displaying differing size clasts as in the flood layer over KV62. It is in fact part of the same flood layer and again there is no interleaving layer between the flood and the tomb entrance.

During the Amarna Period the Eastern Branch of the Valley of the Kings had been temporarily abandoned as a royal cemetery. But this abandonment had actually started in the previous reign. Amunhotep III moved the focus of royal burials to the Western Branch of the Valley having his tomb (WV22) cut there. Actually the foundation deposits said Tuthmosis IV did this for his son.⁴¹ There was also WV23 and WV25 commenced in this branch after him. Conclusion, as the Eastern Branch was abandoned as a royal burial ground it was now available for the burial of commoners or nobles. This would explain the cluster of commoner tombs grouped round the Central Area where, as we now know, at this time the level of the Valley was down to bedrock making cutting tombs much easier. As we also know from KV62, bedrock meant 5 metres below the present day tourist's path.

A number of small clay seals have been discovered in KV63. As well as the necropolis seal, Anubis over nine bound captives, there were two other types of seal, seal type N and P catalogued by Carter as also occurring in KV62.⁴² Seal type N was also found in KV55.⁴³ The fact that seal type N was found in all three tombs proves that they are all connected in time as well as space and all were preserved under the same flood layer

Only four inscriptions have been found so far (Sept. 2006). One inscription on a calcite jar says 'Amun-Re, King of the Gods'.⁴⁴ One very brief text, of yet unknown contents on one of the coffins.⁴⁵ One date has been found,



Carter's card file showing Seal Type H. (top left)

year 5, but no mention of which king's year 5 it belongs to. If the dating of the flood is correct then it must be Tutankhamen's year 5. One other very faint seal has also been found, only the end of which could be read, '...pa-aten.' This has been speculated that this could be the ending of Ankhseamun's first name at Tel el Amarna, Ankhsepaaten, but there is no proof and we must await publication. If the date year 5 is Tutankhamen's it may provide a timing for the transfer of royal dead from Tel el Amarna. As no royal tombs were being cut in the Eastern Branch at this time, then perhaps KV63 represents a clearout of other tombs (KV55 and KV64?) their bodies being robbed in the process, to make room for the royal dead.

Lying on top of the hut horizon above KV63 can be seen the two layers that are also seen above KV62 in Fig. 6. Comparison of Fig. 6 and Fig. 13 show that these two layers are not flood layers. The consistent and even size of clasts in these layers is too regular to be naturally formed by a flash flood. The layers represent what must have been a deliberate man made filling in of the Central Area. The top of the first (bottom) layer in Fig. 6 is also suspiciously

on a level with the tops of the ancient workmen's huts. Also on the right can be seen worked stones, the remains of further huts built on top of this first infill layer. It appears that this was a deliberate attempt to cover these huts and level the Central Area. Subsequently, a further layer was added on top of this to raise the Central Area to a more convenient working height for the construction of tombs. The stratigraphy in this valuable photograph provides us with a history. The first huts were for a low lying Ramesside tomb, perhaps KV7 and KV5. The second huts were for a later higher lying Ramesside tomb, perhaps KV6 and KV9. As Carter found Ramesside ostraka in these deposits,⁴⁶ then these two layers can be firmly dated to this Dynasty.

Edwin Brock while working for ARCA on a dig in front of tombs KV16 and KV17 dug sondages down to bedrock. He found that bedrock here was a steep sided wadi as mentioned previously in this paper. He also discovered that the shale from the excavation of the mysterious tunnel leading off from the burial chamber was used to in-fill the wadi, again providing a more convenient working platform for tomb construction.⁴⁷

The stream flow collision event at the end of the 18th Dynasty was a unique event. The location of the entrances to the above three tombs shows that at this time the floor of the Valley was bedrock. After the flash flood had deposited its 3 feet (1 m) of alluvium in the Central Area and after the Ramesside kings added to this platform, altering the flow regime, so then further floods would deposit their loads further into the exit conduit. This is perhaps why downstream tombs such as KV5 and KV7, also cut onto the floor of the Valley, were extensively flooded. This platform can clearly be seen in the contours of the Central Area in Fig. 4. As for floods post 18th Dynasty, Romer correctly described a flash flood in the Valley that covered the 18th Dynasty tombs.⁴⁸ However, he dated this event to the reign of Ramesses II, but the stratigraphy seen in Fig. 7 precludes this timing. Ramesses II's own tomb, KV7, was flooded at least seven times and probably more.⁴⁹ As for floods previous to this one there is only one record of a flood that may have hit the Valley, during the reign of Ahmose, some 200 years before.⁵⁰

Conclusion

The consequence of the flood layer for archaeology is that because three tombs were concealed underneath it, then it possibly it also conceals another tomb. If so, and it would be titled KV64 when found, it can only be located on the East Side of the Central Area. Visual examination of the Valley shows that the sides of the gullies are very steep, a steepness that is not evident from contour maps or photographs. This steepness is limiting to the extent of the flood layer. The present writer's survey of the Valley showed that the flood layer is very small in extent, in fact just consisting of the triangle of the Central Area itself with a small spur into the gully holding KV8. It is now possible to construct a list:-

KV55 delineates the Northern extent of the flood layer.

KV62 delineates the Western extent.

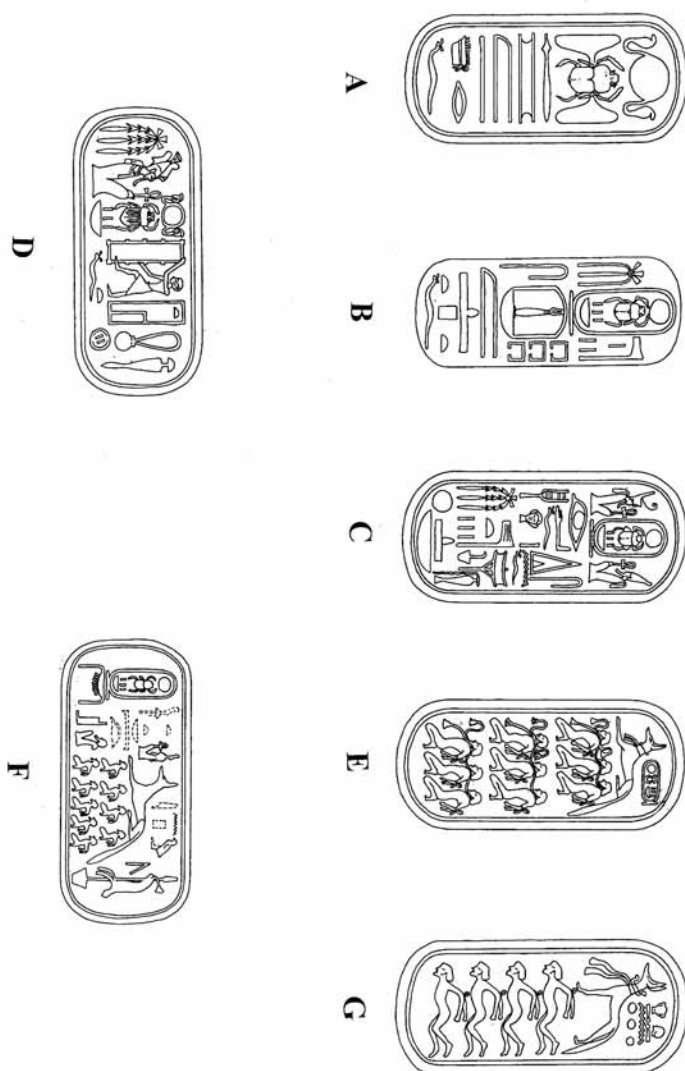
KV63 delineates the Southern extent.

KV64 must (if present) mark the Eastern extent of the flood layer.

On 31st March 2006 the above list was communicated to Dr. C. N. Reeves as co-director of the Amarna Royal Tombs Project, which once held the concession for excavation in the Central Area of the Valley.⁵¹ Dr. C.N. Reeves announced on 3rd August 2006⁵² that the Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) data had been re-analysed in June and that there was indeed an anomaly in the survey data from the 2000 season on the east side of the Central Area.

What the Japanese GPR survey identified was a void in the rock, not the entrance to a tomb. This void may be an antechamber or even a burial chamber but, taking the precedent of KV62 and KV55, an entrance corridor would be filled with chippings and would be invisible to a GPR scan. The position of the anomaly is under the south/east corner of the present day enclosure to KV62. Carter excavated a huge square to facilitate the clearance of KV62, the square encompassed this corner and nothing was sighted but bedrock. The actual entrance therefore can only be located on the East Side of the Central Area.

If, after excavation, this anomaly does prove



Original seal impressions on the Entrance Wall to KV62.

to be a tomb, an estimation of its contents or occupant(s), would here be mere speculation. However, from the dating of the flood, it must hark from the end of the 18th Dynasty.

If there is a tomb in this location it would, as in KV55, KV62 and KV63, also be located under two layers of Ramesside fill, (But removed by Davis's excavations in 1907) under the remnants of workmen's huts and also under the flood layer, here an estimated 0.8 metres in thickness. As the workmen's hut foundations were all assiduously mapped by Carter⁵³ it is possible to construct a map showing its approximate position, Fig 14. As the tomb must be late 18th Dynasty and as KV62 and KV55 both have entrance corridors 16 metres long, then so possibly would KV64. A range arrow has been added to Fig. 14, which narrows down the location of the entrance to

KV64. The entrance has been drawn simply in north/south alignment as its actual alignment cannot be known until excavation.

Examination of the area in February 2008 shows that the bedrock is now visible (It was covered by the tourist's path in Feb. 2006). The bedrock is the top of a small cliff at the bottom of which the workmen's huts were erected. Fig.15. The exposure of the bedrock narrows down the area to be investigated as it delineates the eastern edge of the huts. The SCA have asked the Japanese to conduct a second GPR scan of this part of the Central Area (In part based on this paper) and if the anomaly is confirmed then the area will be excavated in the Autumn of 2008.

When this area is excavated, it is imperative that a sound stratigraphical section be made, the best location for this being immediately above the anomaly on its east side.

Note on the Frequency of Flash Floods at the Valley of the Kings

Following the present writer's description of a flash flood event that hit the Valley at the end of the 18th Dynasty,⁵⁴ a short note on the frequency of such catastrophes may be of profit.

The first records of floods that have hit the Theban Mountains are surprisingly early. There are four ancient graffiti that also record rainfall and therefore floods in the Theban Mountains. The earliest was written in a shelter just below the head of the wadi called the Valley of the Queens and dates to the reign of Merenptah.⁵⁵ It states: -

'Year 4, of the Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt, Baenre, L.P.H., 1 Shomu, day 27. On this day coming down of the water of the Sky'.

Year 4 of Merenptah equates to approximately 1220 BC.⁵⁶ Only 50 cms. To the right of this graffiti is another also recording rainfall.⁵⁷

'Year 2, 4 Shomu, day 23. On this day, coming down by the water of the Sky'.

Although definitely Ramesside in date, no king's name was written.

Two other graffiti seem to record the same

deluge of rain. The first is 140 m west of WN22, the tomb of Amunhotep III in the Western Branch of the Valley of the Kings.⁵⁸

'Year 2, 4 Shomu, day 24. At the water of the Sky. The Scribe Amennakhte son of Ipu; his son Panefemdjed; his son Khaemhedje; his son Pinudjem'.

The Scribe Amennakhte and his sons are well known from the graffiti and ostraka they have left to history.⁵⁹ Scribe Amennakhte places the dates of graffiti two and three to the reigns of either Ramesses IV, V, or VI, approximately 1161 - 1149 BC.

The final graffiti is located at the entrance to a small shelter 900 m from the modern gate to the Valley of the Kings.⁶⁰

'Year 2, 4 Shomu, day (2) 4. Coming down by the water, being the upper (hry) water from the Sky. The Servant in the Place of Truth, Amenpahapy and his brother the Scribe [...].

The four graffiti therefore record two rainfall events over an approximate 70 year period. These graffiti can in no way be described as a complete or comprehensive record and the dates must be excluded from any computation of frequency.

There is only one further recorded event that may have hit the Theban Mountains, a catastrophic flood that occurred some 300 years earlier during year 11 of King Ahmose.⁶¹

Modern historical records of floods that have hit the Valley are: - 1799, 1818, 1820's, 1883, 1898, 1905, 1910, 1914, 1915, October 1916, October 1917, October 1918, 1979, October 1994, October 2001 and 21st January 2008.⁶² No matter how one manipulates these dates no specific predictable frequency can be formed. Carter estimated every 10 years and Weeks every 20 to 30 years. 10 The present writer discussed the possibility of predicting this phenomenon with International Climatologists at the UK Met Office in 2002⁶² but the consensus was that because it is such a localised event it would be impossible to predict with accuracy, although October and November are the high risk months.

The last two floods gave a periodicity of only 7 years and it must be admitted that, although ostensibly an arid region, the Valley is under risk of flooding at any time.

Illustration credits

Figs. 1, 3, 4, 8, 10, 15 Author, Fig. 14 Author after Carter and Schaden.

Figs. 6, 7, 9, 11, Griffith Institute, reproduced by kind permission of Dr. J. Malek.

Fig. 12, Reproduced by kind permission of Dr. O. Schaden.

Fig. 5, Davis, The Tomb of Queen Tiye, frontispiece.

Fig. 11, Mrs. Lorraine Wooder after Carter.

Fig. 2, Griffiths J.F. ed. 'World Survey of Climatology' 1972. Volume 10, 'Climate of the Africa' p. 61, fig. 5.

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25. This image is now available on the Griffith Institute superlative website;

26. Constitutionally immature, the clasts are angular not rounded because they have not been transported a great distance: Poorly sorted, the clasts are not of even size or shape: Fluvial Breccia, fluvial – transported by water, breccia – a conglomerate rock composed of angular instead of rounded clasts: Matrix supported, the clasts are supported by the matrix of silt size clasts, not in contact with each other which would be grain supported: No structures, no sedimentary layering or

banding or stratigraphy present.

27. Carter, *Tomb of Tutankhamen* Vol. I, p. 87.

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31. Carter, *Tomb of Tutankhamen* Vol. III, p 86+107. The seals are now (March 2008) in a very poor state of preservation but vestigial traces of Horemheb's cartouche can still be seen.

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51. On the Archaeology website at Hirokatsu Watanabe carried out the geophysical survey.

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63. I am indebted to Mr. Steve Jebson, Visual Images Manager and Information Officer at the National Meteorological Library, Exeter; and Mr. Bill Kent, International Climatologists, UK Met Office, for their assistance.

Egypt in the Bible

Andrew Fulton

This article explores the portrayal of Egypt in the Bible, both Old and New Testaments. Whilst the Bible should not be seen as necessarily a historical record, nevertheless it does narrate what appear to be details of various historical events in the early history and development of the Israelites as they struggle out of Egypt and endeavour to form a nation, even though many of these “events” could be classed within the realm of mythology. Large sections of the Biblical books, particularly the Old Testament prophets, were compiled in turbulent times, both for the Israelites as well as for surrounding nations, and it is interesting to note the various ways in which Egypt in particular is portrayed at these times and subsequently, although briefly, in the time of Jesus.

Named pharaohs in the Bible

First it is useful to see how often Egypt, its people and its pharaohs are mentioned. Table 1 shows Egyptian references in both Testaments, based on Crudens Concordance¹, an invaluable source for all major biblical references². It can be seen that only five pharaohs are actually mentioned by name although there are 70 unnamed pharaohs mentioned. How much more would we have gained about chronology, both Biblical and Egyptian, if we knew who some of these pharaohs were!

	OLD TESTAMENT	NEW TESTAMENT
EGYPT	571	24
EGYPTIANS	113	15
PHARAOHS	70	0
NAMED PHARAOHS	5	0

Table 1: Egyptian References in the Bible

The five named pharaohs are (i) Shishak (in all probability this is Sheshonq, first king of the 22nd Dynasty), (ii) Necho (II) of the 26th Dynasty, (iii) Apries of the later 26th Dynasty (but, under a corruption of his prenomen Waibre, this comes out as Hophra in the Bible), (iv) Taharqa of the late 25th (Nubian or Kushite) Dynasty whose name is given as “Tiharkah king of Ethiopia” (2 Kings 19:9) but there are chronological problems which may mean that this is a reference to another king of the same dynasty as the reference is to the battle of Eltekeh which took place in 701BCE so the Pharaoh involved is likely to have been Shebitqo³ and (v) a pharaoh called “So” (2 Kings 17:4) who is likely to have been Osorkon IV, a king, in a split Egypt, of the north-eastern Delta. So is said to have rejected advances from Hoshea, king of the northern kingdom of Israel, for help in a conspiracy against his Assyrian overlords, resulting in the sacking of Samaria and the Israelites being sent into exile (c.722BCE).⁴

The reader may wonder why Ramesses is not included in the named pharaohs but the Biblical reference is not to him as pharaoh but to one of the two treasure cities built for Ramesses II in the North eastern Delta and also recorded as the place Joseph gave to his family when they settled in Egypt. It is described as being “in the best of the land” (Genesis 47:11) and since Joseph is likely to have preceded the Ramesses era by several hundred years, the name is probably an interpolation.

Abraham and Egypt

The earliest reference to Egypt in the Bible (Gen 12.10) tells how the first great Old Testament patriarch, Abraham (originally called Abram -“exalted father”, but renamed later as “Father of the nations”) came to Egypt from Canaan as a result of famine. Here he



Figure 1: Scene from the Middle Kingdom tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan showing Absha (centre) leading a goat towards the tomb owner and directly behind two Egyptian officials. Absha is described as a heqa khast(to the right of his bowed head)i.e. “Hyksos”. The Asiatic traders wear long colourful coats and beards and carry spears and bows. The caption above indicates that they are also bringing black eye-paint. (After W Keller “The Bible as History” 1956 p.87)

passed off his wife Sarai as his sister since he feared the Egyptians would kill him for her. The princes of Egypt indeed commended her to Pharaoh and she became part of the royal household. If Abram existed at all, I wonder what he thought of a God that said his seed would inherit Canaan, a land he had to leave because of famine, and ending up in Egypt with his wife in Pharaoh's household. Abram was finally expelled from Egypt because of plagues resulting from Sarai's presence (Gen12:17) and because Pharaoh found out that she was Abram's wife, not his sister.

Abraham's sojourn in Egypt does not appear to have much relevance to the story of God's covenant with Israel but maybe this lends it a degree of historical credibility. Some elements sound real enough and it is possible to see that the context is that of an economically successful Middle Kingdom Egypt – perhaps 12th Dynasty.⁵

Joseph and the Hyksos

It is likely that the successful Middle Kingdom collapsed through famine and drought (hinted at in the story of Abraham if he was indeed in Egypt at this period), leading eventually to the establishment of the so-called Hyksos initially and gradually as settlers and subsequently as rulers in the Delta (c.1786 to 1570BCE). They are called heqa khaswt which can be translated either as ruler(s) of foreign lands or hill country (“Hyksos” being a Greek interpretation of the Egyptian words) and the

names of some of their pharaohs suggest a western Semitic origin. They initially ruled from their north-east Delta capital of Avaris and gradually extended their power over Middle Egypt. The Hyksos kings of the 15th dynasty, of whom there were six, were the only ones to call themselves Heqa Khaswt but a scene from the 12th Dynasty tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan in Middle Egypt shows an Asiatic leader of a trading party called Absha who called himself a heqa khast.(Fig. 1) . Asiatic traders had become settled in Egypt, therefore, by the Middle Kingdom and another example of this is that of Imeny, son of an Asiatic woman, who became Deputy Chief Steward and whose name suggests an Asiatic integration into the higher levels of Egyptian society. We are interested in them because of the next main Biblical story set in Egypt, that of Joseph, which bears many hallmarks of being based during the period of Hyksos rule.

The Genesis story of Joseph really stands alone as a great piece of prose, with good characterisation and a well developed plot. The story seems to bear hardly any relationship to the story of the Patriarchs or of Israel's covenant from God. There are no magical tricks from on high and the whole episode in Egypt bears little or no relation to the subsequent or previous history of the Israelites.

It is, therefore, interesting to examine the story of Joseph during his time in Egypt in terms of the extent to which he had become

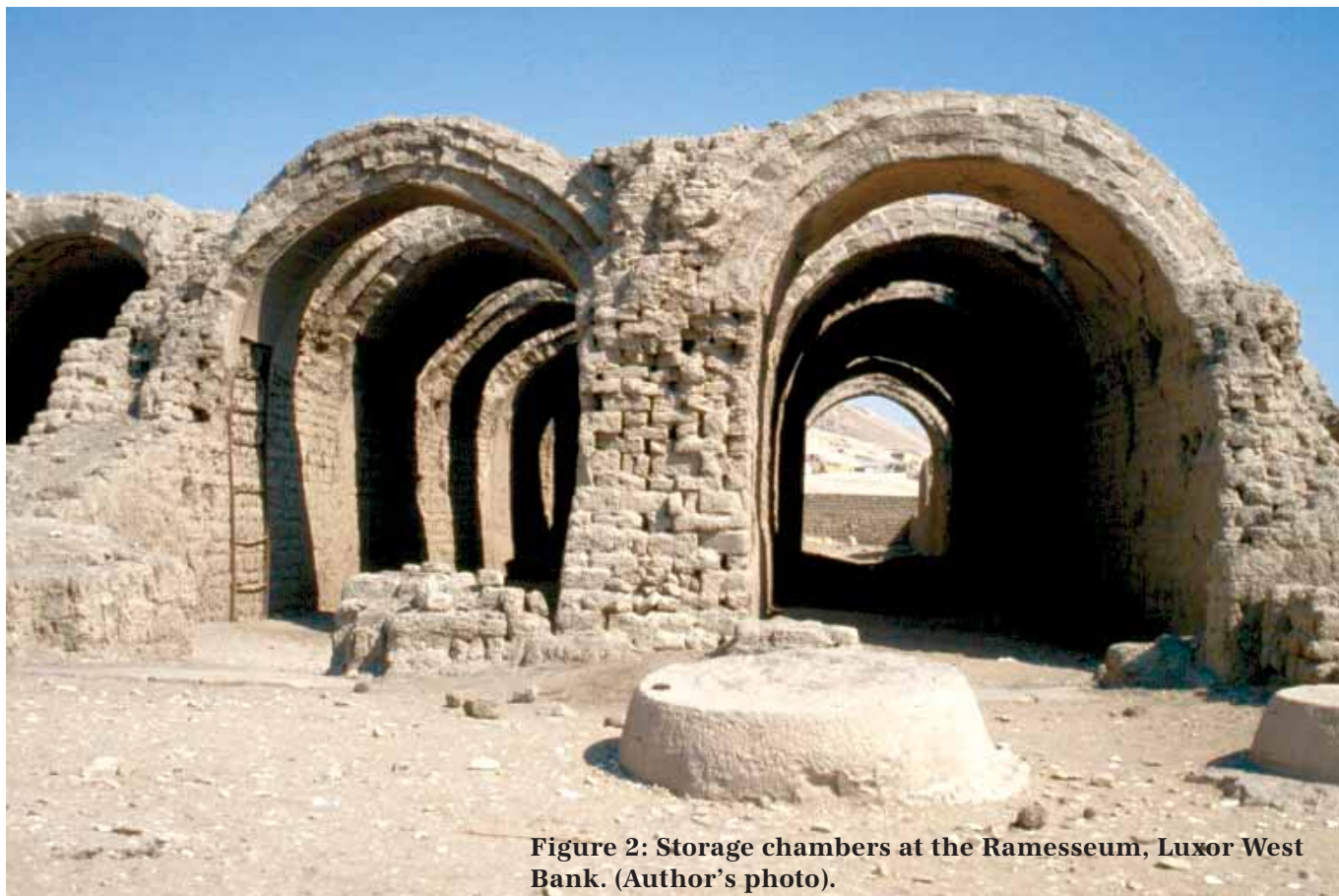


Figure 2: Storage chambers at the Ramesseum, Luxor West Bank. (Author's photo).

egyptianised. Some typical features in the story include: the interpretation of dreams, the wearing of linen robes, chariots, use of embalming and mummification, gold necklaces and rings as rewards and grain storage facilities for use in times of famine⁶. (Figure 2 shows storage facilities in the Ramesseum, the mortuary temple of Ramesses II). That the events portrayed may have taken place during the time of the Hyksos is also evidenced by the fact that Joseph, an immigrant to Egypt, would surely not otherwise have been allowed to marry the daughter of a priest of On (Iunu /Heliopolis, the theological capital of Egypt) despite his high status (Genesis 41:45). The Hyksos are thought to have adopted Egyptian beliefs including Re (which is used in their names) and this ties in with the Joseph story.

As indicated earlier, Joseph's family (Jacob and sons) are said to have been given land in the region of Ramesses (Genesis 47:11) and this as we know is close to the Hyksos capital of Avaris as is the Land of Goshen which was

promised to them by Joseph earlier in Genesis (45:10,46:34).

Moses and the Exodus

A huge amount of references to Egypt in the earlier books of the Old Testament relate to Moses and the Exodus and its aftermath, clearly one of the defining moments in the history of the Israelites, and this is also a feature of some of Stephen's defence against the high priest in the New Testament (Acts Ch.7) where he gives a potted history of the Israelites from Abraham to Moses.

The story is prefaced by a frustrating verse in Exodus 2:8 – “Now there arose up a new king over Egypt, who knew not Joseph”. If only we knew who this was as there are plenty of New Kingdom candidates ranging from Ahmose to Merneptah. Clearly the Hyksos rule had ended and a new, presumably native Egyptian, pharaoh was on the throne. There are a number of theories about the dating of the Exodus. We know that the Israelite people came up against Merneptah's armies in

1207BC – as detailed on the now famous Merneptah Stela which talks about the people of Israel being settled in Palestine. Merneptah was the 13th son and successor to Ramses II and this might fit with the exodus being in Ramesses II's reign as the Israelites were engaged in brickwork for the royal cities of Pi-Ramesses and Pithom. The stela states that "Israel is devastated, her seed is no more, Palestine has become a widow for Egypt." So Ramesses II may well be the pharaoh of the Exodus if it happened in the way described.

It could of course have been earlier – any time really during Egypt's colonial expansion and consequent importation of captives or slaves – e.g. under Thutmose I, and Thutmose III. If we take the Bible literally then it would have been c.1430BCE – the early part of the New Kingdom – as it is stated that the time span from the Exodus to the building of Solomon's temple in Jerusalem is 480 years (1 Kings 6:1). The Temple dates to c.950, hence 1430, but 480 years is exactly 12 generations of 40 years, 40 being the definition of a generation, so a bit unrealistic in chronological terms. If we take a generation as being more like 25 yrs, then we go back to 1250BC i.e. during the time of Ramesses II. Is this more realistic? Is it in any case a real event?

It is a long standing tradition and well documented in the Old Testament that Israel came out from Egypt. Is it myth or fact or is it a mixture? The geography and the topography are right but there is no evidence other than in the Bible that such an event occurred either in other cultures or archaeologically. As a result of the Biblical accounts the Egyptians have received a bad press and continue to do so –

they are described as hard taskmasters, making the Israelites serve with rigour in the making of bricks for the treasure cities (Exodus 1:11-15). The afflictions of the Israelites are well illustrated by Sir Edward Poynter's painting "Israel in Egypt" (Fig.3).

There are of course many well-known theories concerning the Exodus, ranging from those who believe it really happened as described in the Bible, to those who believe it to be a total myth within the context of the political and religious situation in Palestine at the time of composition (7th/6th centuries BCE). There are also beliefs centred around linking the plagues described in Exodus with the eruption of the Greek island of Thera (now called Santorini), the dating of which has been a constant debate since the 1950s but which, on the basis of strong scientific evidence⁷, is likely to have occurred during the later stages of the Hyksos rule in Egypt, i.e. c. 1625 / 1600 BCE.

In my view the most direct effect on Egypt would have been a tsunami hitting the coastline of the Delta together with some fall out of ash, possibly as far as Middle Egypt (Fig.4). The weather change resulting from this huge eruption will have had a major effect on agriculture throughout the Northern Hemisphere, including Egypt. Comparable records (The Bamboo Annals) from China around the same time (c.1618BCE) support the idea of a massive seven year famine⁸. A similar sized eruption of Mt Tambora in Indonesia in 1815 CE resulted in the Year Without Summer (as 1815 has been described) with consequent famine and starvation throughout Europe.

Thus I come tentatively to the conclusion



Figure 3: "Israel in Egypt" by Sir Edward Poynter, painted in 1867 and depicting the traditional view of the Israelites under their Egyptian taskmasters, dragging a sculptured lion to a temple, with the pyramids in the background. (Victorian Web:Private Collection).

that, if the Joseph story has any basis in fact, then the Thera eruption is more likely to bear testimony to the dream interpretations by him (the seven thin cattle) and subsequent salvation of the country through long term grain storage facilities.

The most common interpretation, however, of the plagues that descended upon Egypt (Exodus 2ff) is that they were as a result of a major volcanic eruption such as Thera⁹ and the resultant tsunami is linked to the crossing of the Red (or Reed) Sea whereby the waters parted for the Israelites but came back down on the Egyptian armed forces¹⁰. The story does indeed seem to describe the effects of a tsunami (as we saw tragically in the 2004 Boxing Day tsunami in the Indian Ocean) but it seems to be stretching our credulity to suggest that the Israelites could be so lucky and so timely and the Egyptians so unlucky.

The fact that the eruption, as indicated, is now almost certain to have occurred during the time of the Hyksos adds further substance to the Joseph story of seven lean years being set in this period.

Shishak's Palestinian campaign

We move on much further now to a period when Israel has already been established as a nation, well beyond the New Kingdom into the so-called Third Intermediate Period.

As indicated Shishak (Sheshonq- 22nd Dynasty) is one of the very few Pharaohs to be named in the Bible and he is certainly one of the most successful and powerful of the post-New Kingdom period. His Bubastic Gate at Karnak illustrates in detail his Palestinian campaign in c.925/24BCE and shows the names of the cities captured by him, their name rings attached to a rope held by Amun (Fig. 5). It is recorded in 1 Kings 14:25/26 that "Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem and ...took away the treasures of the house of the Lord... and all the shields of gold that Solomon had made." His army is said to have included Libyans and Nubians as well as 1200 chariots. His aim clearly was to re-establish Egyptian influence in Palestine after a period of decline.

This is the first real and indeed rare link in the Bible between the histories of Egypt and Israel and is an important in illustrating the power politics prevalent after the death of Solomon and the subsequent division between the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah whose kings were both defeated by Sheshonq at Megiddo. The campaign of Sheshonq is well chronicled by Professor Kitchen so needs no further comment here¹¹.

The Prophets of doom

The rise to power in the region of the Assyrians during the 8th century inevitably led to a decline in the fortunes of both Palestine and Egypt. They wiped out the northern kingdom of Israel with its capital at Samaria and transported the inhabitants back to Assyria. They invaded Judah in c.701BCE. Egypt, now under the Nubians of the 25th Dynasty, was in alliance with Hezekiah, king of Judah. Sennacherib, king of Assyria, famously compares Egypt to a "broken reed" (Isaiah 36:6) and after a series of confrontations the Assyrians capture Memphis and Thebes, under its mayor Mentuemhet, surrenders to them (c.663). The city is sacked and Egypt becomes a vassal of Assyria. But, writing some 50 years later, the prophet Nahum says to the Assyrians: "Are you better than No-Amun (Thebes) that sat by the Nile...? Ethiopia was her strength, Egypt too, and that without limit... yet she was carried away, led into captivity." (3:8-10). He predicts therefore that Nineveh, the Assyrian capital, will fall as Thebes did and indeed it does (612BCE) with the rise of the Babylonians.

The prophets of this period (notably Isaiah, Micah, Hosea and Amos) constantly refer to the woes of Israel under the Assyrians as being caused by the apostasy of the people in turning away from the god (Yahweh) who led them out of Egypt. Isaiah (who mentions Egypt forty times) foretells the downfall also of Egypt- "the Egyptians will I give over into the hands of a cruel lord: and a fierce king will rule over them, says the lord..." (Isaiah 19:4). And in Chapter 20:4 he warns that the Ethiopians (i.e. the Nubian pharaohs of the 25th Dynasty) will be led away as "...captives, young and old,



Figure 4: The Aegean Island of Santorini (Thera) showing general view of caldera. The light coloured material on the cliffs to the centre right of the picture is pumice and ash from the so called Minoan eruption (c.1625-1600BCE) which extends in parts to a depth of 60 meters. The eruption is now thought to have been one of the largest ever. The island in the background is Nea Kameni which came into being in 1707CE and is still growing. (Author's photo).

naked and barefoot, even with their buttocks uncovered, to the shame of Egypt.”

Empires fall

Nevertheless, despite these warnings, the first ruler of the 26th Dynasty, Psamtik I, one of Egypt's great kings, after an initial period of subjugation to Assyria, transformed Egypt back into a major international influence and Assyrian rule began to decline with the rise of the Babylonians. Egypt supported Assyria against the rising threat and this support continued under Psamtik's successor, Necho II (c.610-595BCE) but it was to be of no avail. Nineveh fell in 612 and Haran, the new Assyrian capital, fell in 610.

Josiah, king of Judah, took advantage of Assyrian decline with a dream of a united monarchy - a large and powerful state uniting all Israelites under one God, one Temple and one capital - Jerusalem. Egypt and Judah were thus in direct conflict, both seeking to establish

rule over the now defunct Israelite territory to the north.

The history of these turbulent times is detailed in the second book of Kings and in 2 Chronicles. It is recounted (2 Kings 23:29ff) that Necho II came up to the Euphrates against (or to help) Assyria - it is not clear whether as an ally or as an enemy. The Babylonian Chronicle, however, is clear that it was as an ally¹². For some reason, Josiah “went up against him (i.e. against Necho); and he slew him at Megiddo...” (2 Kings 23:29). An extended version in 2 Chronicles 35 indicates that Necho was only interested in getting to Carchemish and wanted nothing to do with Josiah, “nevertheless Josiah would not turn his face from him, but disguised himself, that he might fight with him, and hearkened not unto the words of Necho from the mouth of God, and came to fight in the valley of Megiddo.”

Josiah's fate was sealed and he was shot by

archers at Megiddo and carried back to Jerusalem (609BCE).

It's not clear why Josiah went north or why he met such a tragic end to a great and successful reign. He must in some way have upset the Egyptians. The end was drawing close for the kingdom of Judah over which he ruled.

Necho is then said to have installed successors to Josiah in Jerusalem who, according to Chronicles 36:5, "did... evil in the sight of the Lord." The Biblical records clearly describe the enormous struggles that now took place between the rival powers, following Josiah's death. The events are described by the prophet Jeremiah. In Chapter 46 he describes in detail the defeat of the Egyptians at Carchemish in 605BC. After this the Babylonians sought complete control of the west – the former area of Egyptian influence. They destroyed the Philistine cities of the Mediterranean coastal plain. The Judeans appealed to Egypt for help but their cities fell one by one culminating, after a further revolt, in a two year siege, fall and destruction of Jerusalem in 587/86BC. The Temple was looted and the people taken back to Babylon as slaves, ending 400 years of Judah's history.

Egypt too is invaded in 568BC but this was defeated by the armies of Ahmose II. Then the Babylonians faced growing problems in other parts of their empire culminating in the rise of the Persians and the rest is history as they say. The decline of Egyptian influence is vividly portrayed by Ezekiel who devotes chapters 29 to 32 to the subject, foretelling Egypt's desolation. He writes after the fall of Judah to the Babylonians – "And the land of Egypt shall be desolate and waste and they shall know that I am the Lord: because he hath said, The river (i.e. The Nile) is mine..." (Ezekiel 29:9).

Jesus in Egypt

In the New Testament Gospel of Matthew, an angel appears to Jesus' father Joseph telling him to flee to Egypt "for Herod will seek the young child to destroy him" (2:13). The next two verses indicate that Jesus remained in Egypt with his family until the death of Herod:

"that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, Out of Egypt have I called my son."

Clearly the gospel writer is thinking of a verse from the Old Testament book of Hosea – "When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt" (Hosea 11:1). Hosea was a prophet of the northern kingdom of Israel in the 8th century at the time of the reign of Israel's last powerful king Jeroboam II, a time when the country went rapidly downhill ending with the fall of Samaria to the Assyrians. The people had turned once again to pagan gods and the country was politically unstable. This verse links Jesus to the rescue of Israel from Egypt at the Exodus although it is clear that Jesus went there for safety from assassination by Herod, a slightly different scenario to that of the Israelites. The link is that, once out of Egypt, Jesus became the messiah longed for by the Israelites, who maybe would release them from a newer bondage, whether from sin or whether from political oppression.

In Egypt, the tradition is maintained by the Coptic Church and a fine fresco in the new Archangel Michael Orthodox Coptic Cathedral at Aswan (Fig.6) illustrates the flight into Egypt and the cave in which his family rested is said to be in the crypt of the church of Abu Serga (St Sergius) in Cairo.



Figure 5: Amun holds name rings of prisoner cities from Palestine on the end of a rope. Sheshonq is out of the picture to the right. The prisoners sit in small groups behind Amun. Temple of Karnak.(Author's photo)

Summary

Egypt fulfils, therefore, a number of widely varying and contrasting roles in the Biblical accounts. It is a land of plenty at times of famine, it is a hard taskmaster, it is a broken reed, it is sometimes an ally against invasion from the north or east, and it is security from oppression and persecution. Its importance to the stories of the Israelites cannot be doubted continuing into the New Testament traditions of Jesus' coming being a fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy.

Andrew Fulton hold a degree in Theology from Cambridge University and a Certificate in Egyptology from Manchester University. Carry out private research and lecture about aspects of Ancient Egypt which tend to be neglected but which have an important contribution to make. These include the 26th dynasty pharaohs, nomes and nomarchs, links with Minoan culture and Libyan influence in Egyptian history.

References

1. Cruden's Concordance by Alexander Cruden (2002 edition) Lutterworth Press
2. The Authorised King James Bible is used in this article for quotations.
3. The issue is discussed fully in The Black Pharaohs by Robert Morkot (2000) The

Rubicon Press: pp.210-211.

4. See, for example, The Bible Unearthed by Israel Finkelstein and Neil Asher Silberman (2001) The Free Press, Chapters 1 and 2, for a detailed discussion on dating the Biblical accounts of the patriarchs and the Exodus and their context.
5. Genesis Chapters 40 to 43.
6. The dating of the eruption has been a long standing issue particularly since the publication of Sturt Manning's book A Test of Time (1999) and ongoing website. The most recent evidence comes from a "living" olive tree branch buried in the ash and pumice and recently analysed by radiocarbon dating to have been buried in the period 1627 to 1600 (98% chance) and 1621/05 (68%): Science Journal (312-April 2006). Other scientific evidence has come from tree ring circles, Greenland ice core samples, Irish bog oak rings, and pine forest rings. See also the Thera Foundation website.
7. Walter Friedrich's book Fire in the Sea (2000 English edition) CUP, gives a full geological and archaeological survey of the evidence from the Mediterranean as well as from Chinese records.
8. See, for example, Graham Phillips' Book The Moses Legacy (2002), Sedgwick and Jackson, for a detailed discussion on the dating of the Exodus and links to the Thera eruption.
9. Graham Phillips (The Moses Legacy pp.96-99) poses the possibility of a tsunami affecting the coastline at Lake Manzala allowing the Israelites through by means of the withdrawal of the sea and drowning the Egyptian forces on its return.
10. The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt by K A Kitchen (1986) Aris & Phillips; pp.297ff give details of Shoshenq's campaign with map.
11. 2 Chronicles 35:20 states vaguely that Necho went to fight "against Carchemish by Euphrates" (presumably to help the Assyrians against the Babylonians). The Babylonian version is preferred.



Figure 6: The Archangel Michael Orthodox Coptic Cathedral at Aswan – the flight of Jesus into Egypt. (Author's photo)

Tutankhamun the Warrior King

Charlotte Booth MA

The name Tutankhamun is one that is known throughout the world because of the spectacular discovery of his tomb by Howard Carter in 1922. The numerous goods discovered in his tomb make it possible for archaeologists to understand many aspects of the life of Tutankhamun although the majority of research about the tomb focuses on the funerary objects such as the golden mask and coffins. It is essential to remember that before he died, Tutankhamun lived for eighteen years and ruled for ten of them as king of Upper and Lower Egypt, and it is these eighteen years

which should be the focus of studies on the boy king. From the available evidence it is possible to look at many different aspects of the young king's personality and life; the child, the husband and father, the restorer of the faith, the puppet king, the diplomat and the warrior. It is this latter aspect of Tutankhamun's reign which will be discussed here.

Evidence from the tomb indicates Tutankhamun underwent a traditional royal education which included the art of warfare, hunting and charioteering. His tomb contained

لقطات تاريخية لمقبرة ٦٢ - KV 62 Historical Views

The Entrance Corridor, Antechamber, and Annexe

It took Howard Carter and his patron, Lord Carnarvon (6), five years to find the tomb of Tutankhamun, then ten more years to record and remove its contents. Photographer Harry Burton, lent by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, produced a complete, detailed photographic record of the work.

The tomb entrance lay 4 meters below that of KV 9 (1). These views show the tomb chambers at the time of discovery and at different stages of their clearance. After piercing the blocking at the end of the rubble-filled corridor the excavators had their first glimpse of the treasures of the Antechamber.

chariots, furniture, food offerings, oil vessels, weapons and chests of clothes and ornaments (2, 3, 4). On either side of the sealed doorway to the Burial Chamber stood a pair of life-sized guardian images of the king (5, 6).

In the southeast corner of the Antechamber, a low door opened into the Annexe (7), filled with furniture, stone and pottery vessels, boat models and chests, tossed about by the robbers.





Howard Carter discovers Tutankhamun's tomb

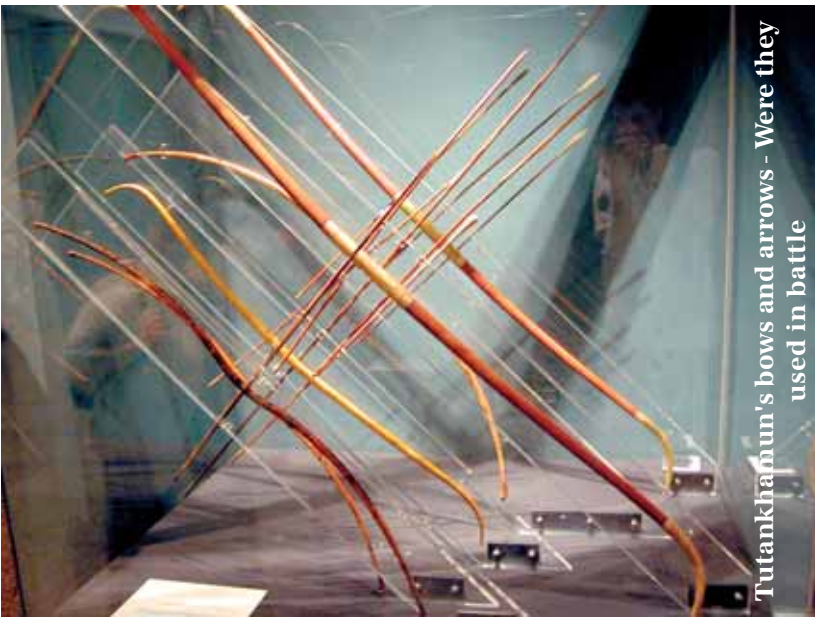
four hunting chariots; traditional light Egyptian chariots with six-spoke wheels made of bent wood and leather, all showing signs of use. Other charioteering accessories include a fly-whisk, three whip stocks, and a number of gauntlets and gloves used primarily for chariot riding. The gloves are formed of five fingers and the gauntlets are formed of two fingers with the thumb left free and were for more ceremonial displays of skill. They were discovered in the tomb in varying sizes, including some small pairs used when he was a young child undergoing his training. As part of this military training, Tutankhamun was also taught hunting skills which were transferable to the battle field. These included the use of sling shots, bows and arrows, scimitar swords and throw sticks, some examples being scaled down so they could be manipulated by his young child-sized hands.

Although these skills in hand-to-hand combat were invaluable and an essential part of royal military training he also acquired basic survival skills as attested by the presence in his tomb of a small fire drill probably used by him to light fires in the desert whilst out hunting. Although his servants were no doubt responsible for maintaining the fire whilst on excursion it seems very unlikely that the young boy-king did not watch and learn this skill and even try his hand at it. The funerary assemblage also contained a reed walking stick, set into a golden handle inscribed with Åga reed which his majesty cut with his own handÅh, indicating that in his childhood years he learnt how to manipulate wood and a sharp tool, which would be invaluable should he need to repair or fashion make-shift weapons in battle or out hunting. To master these skills would have taken Tutankhamun a few years, but by the time he came of age at fourteen or fifteen he would have been well prepared to fight on the battle field as was required of him in his role as king of Upper and Lower Egypt.

It is well known that Tutankhamun came to the throne at only seven or eight years old, a mere child thrown into the adult cut-throat world of politics at the death of his

father Akhenaten and his co-ruler Smenkhkare. He was surrounded by advisors, including his uncle and vizier Ay, the army general and deputy king, Horemheb and the treasurer Maya. Many scholars over the decades since the discovery of his tomb have stated that one or all of these advisors were corrupt, using Tutankhamun to achieve their own political agenda, although it is quite possible that by the time Tutankhamun came of age, at about fifteen years old, he voiced his own opinions and kept his own counsel. Whether his input was considered valuable or a nuisance will never be known, although prior to the CT scan in 2005, carried out by Zahi Hawass and an international team, which debunked all murder theories, his coming of age was often considered a motive for his murder.

In his early years as king, Tutankhamun made a number of major changes in order to return Egypt to the glory-days of his grandfather Amenhotep III. The first change was to move the capital city away from Tell el Amarna, back to the traditional capital cities of Memphis and Thebes. This relocation of the capital city was accompanied by the beginnings of the restoration of the traditional religion of Egypt and the beginning of a campaign to destroy the monuments of Akhenaten. The city of Tell el Amarna, was not abandoned totally, but was no longer the royal residence or religious centre. The revenue from the Aten temples at Tell el Amarna was diverted back to the numerous temples



Tutankhamun's bows and arrows - Were they used in battle

throughout Egypt which were dedicated to the traditional pantheon of gods. There can be little doubt that this act was one he was advised to take, as he was a small child who had only known Tell el Amarna and the religion of the Aten; the pantheon of gods would no doubt have seemed strange and somewhat blasphemous to him. However as a true king of Upper and Lower Egypt he really had no choice but to reinstate these gods and their traditions.

Another important act in the early years was to re-establish the international relationships which had lapsed during the reign of Akhenaten. His success in this is supported by a number of artefacts within his tomb which may have been diplomatic gifts, including a Syrian red trimmed kilt, foreign sandals and a pair of socks, as well as imported jewellery probably from Mitanni. The re-establishment of Egypt's power in the Near East was one way of achieving this and in the tomb of Tutankhamun's army general, Horemheb, a scene of great diplomatic value shows a group of Asiatics begging Tutankhamun for help after their encounter with what may be the Hittite invasion of their land. These Asiatics were possibly vassal rulers for Egypt, and turned to the Egyptian king for help. Whereas during the reign of Akhenaten any such pleas were ignored, as this image was recorded for posterity in the tomb of the army general, it can be assumed that Tutankhamun responded favourably. However due to the damage in the tomb what he did to aid the Asiatics is unknown.

It would seem that Tutankhamun was laying the ground-works to rule as a traditional king, re-instating and following the traditional religion, re-establishing Egyptian control over lost Near Eastern territories and maintaining international relationships. In order for Tutankhamun to be a traditional king in every sense of the word required him to defend the boundaries; or in other words lead his army into battle against the enemies of Egypt. Any military endeavours of Tutankhamun are often dismissed out of hand, simply because he was young, and there are no irrefutable records of major conflicts from this period of history. However Dr. Raymond Johnson from the Epigraphic Survey, Chicago discovered



some important scenes from the talatat blocks from Karnak and Luxor temples that indicate Tutankhamun did in fact participate in at least two military campaigns. These talatat blocks were reused from the Akhenaten monuments and both the original and the re-carved scenes are visible. It is thought that these military scenes originated from his mortuary temple on the west bank at Thebes and were moved when the temple was dismantled. The images were thought to have originally flanked a doorway with the Nubian battle on the southern wing and the Asiatic battle on the northern wing. The collected talatat blocks record four episodes of these two battles, albeit in a very fragmentary state; the battle, the booty parade, offering to Amun, and the victory parade. Although both battles had similar scenes the Asiatic scenes have survived marginally better in the archaeological record.

If, as many people assume, Tutankhamun did not lead the battle himself, his army commander Horemheb led it, although the evidence of his military training indicates there is no reason why he could not lead his army as was traditional. Unfortunately the dates of battles have not survived which may

be the key to this question; but if it was from year six onwards the teenage Tutankhamun was considered of a suitable age to front the army.

Both of Tutankhamun's battles are presented in a similar fashion, although the Asiatic narrative is fuller, beginning with the battle itself; a land battle between chariot corps. The Egyptian chariots are easily identifiable from the Asiatic vehicles, with the former carrying two men, an archer or spear-bearer and a shield bearer, and the Asiatic chariots holding three, a driver, shield bearer and an archer. The king is in the centre of the battle riding his war-chariot, surrounded by elite charioteers, with the rest of the Egyptian chariot corps behind, followed by the infantry all charging towards the enemy. The clash of Egyptians and Asiatics is quite graphic, showing the enemy falling from their chariots, pierced with Egyptian arrows and spears, or being dragged under the wheels of the Egyptian chariots. One Asiatic charioteer has fallen from his chariot becoming tangled in his own reins, helplessly being dragged behind the moving chariot; perhaps a snapshot of a real episode from the battlefield. To prevent further slaughter, the Asiatics fled to a walled citadel, but were quickly pursued by the Egyptian chariots. As the Asiatics barricaded themselves inside, the Egyptians placed scaling ladders against the walls killing many of those inside in the process of climbing the walls. Asiatic bodies can be seen falling from the ramparts and woman and children have their arms raised in mourning. The end of the battle clearly shows the Egyptian victory, with a pile of dead or near dead Asiatics, having their hands cut off by the Egyptian soldiers as a means of tallying the dead. These were later threaded onto the Egyptians' spears as trophies.

The next scene on Tutankhamun's talatat show the presentation of booty from the battle to the king. In both narratives (Nubian and Asiatic) the booty included a number of bound captives, as well as portable artefacts which were paraded before the king, before being piled at his feet. The procession was watched by the king, who stood at a portable Window of Appearances with his empty chariot just behind him showing he had just dismounted.

The Window of Appearances was an aspect of his childhood at Amarna which was no doubt associated with addressing the people within his mind. He stood at this Window as piles of booty were placed in front of him and the prisoners, bound together, were marched before him. This scene is supported by a similar scene in the tomb of Horemheb which shows Asiatic and Nubian prisoners paraded in triumph before the king who is generally accepted as being Tutankhamun.

The third event in the battle narrative is the riverine victory procession back to Thebes. This was an important part of any battle, and consisted of rows of chariots and infantry processing in full view of all the people of Egypt. The Nubian soldiers are depicted wearing the tasselled helmets of the Asiatics defeated in the previous Asiatic battle, and the soldiers from the Asiatic battle have their spears threaded with enemy hands. The royal barge in full sail with numerous rowers, accompanied by four towboats led the riverine procession, although the king does not appear to be visible at the helm. A large cage is depicted hanging from the royal barge, with a Syrian prisoner within; a new innovation in Egyptian art. This Syrian was clearly an important prisoner, a chieftain, whose capture reinforced the importance of Tutankhamun putting fear into the hearts of all who witnessed it, as well as reasserting the importance of the king. The barge was accompanied on both sides of the Nile by rows of running infantry. Once this victory procession arrived in Thebes the fourth scene shows the booty and prisoners offered by Tutankhamun to Amun at Karnak temple. Amun, possibly accompanied by Mut and Khonsu, is seated on a throne to receive the offerings from Tutankhamun who is standing on a raised dais.

As the scenes are very fragmentary, it is possible there were further elaborations on these battle narratives, but the scenes in themselves indicate that Tutankhamun was in fact a king in every sense of the word, participating in battles as well as the more mundane political changes. There are a number of gaps within these narratives, including the dates, as mentioned above, the booty offered to the king, the place of war and

the reason for the war. As there are no other records of a large scale invasion or Egyptian defensive at this time, it can be assumed that these were small skirmishes perhaps as the result of uprisings in the vassal states as was normal in the early years of a new king and these types of offensive were standard practice for Egyptian kings. There are however other pieces of circumstantial evidence to indicate that Tutankhamun actually went to war, which can be found in his tomb in the form of the chariots (although there were no war chariots), bows and arrows, throw-sticks, scimitars, slings and a number of shields. Tutankhamun also owned military furniture, including a folding or travelling bed, which folded into a Z-shape on copper hinges, and folding stools which were transportable. He also owned a full set of body armour, devised from Asiatic scale armour which may have been a diplomatic gift or it may have been in his possession for a more practical use. However, whether these military items were actually used on campaign we will probably never know but ownership could indicate that if not active in battle, then he was at least prepared for it. He had been trained as a professional king, skilled in charioteering and hunting, raised on the stories of the empire under Thutmosis III, and his own grandfather Amenhotep III, whom he associated himself with in many ways including naming him as his father on the Soleb lions and emulating him by being deified within his own lifetime. Had Tutankhamun lived longer he would no doubt have been a true warrior king, maintaining foreign relations and protecting the borders of Egypt. History may have been different if the accident which caused his death had not happened, and the name of Tutankhamun may be associated now with military prowess, and empire rather than an untimely death and a golden death-mask. All the seeds had been sown for a military king, but he was sadly cut down before he had a chance to bloom.

Charlotte Booth is a freelance Egyptologist with a BA and MA from UCL in Egyptian Archaeology. She has written numerous books and articles including "The Boy behind the Mask" and "Ancient Egyptians for Dummies". She spent time working for the EAIS project for the SCA as an archaeological researcher

and now teaches in the UK and runs correspondence courses in Egyptology and Hieroglyphics

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A Record in Stone

Lithic Prehistory in Ancient Egypt

Jan Summers Duffy

Lithics, defined as "relating to, or characteristic of a specified stage in the use of stone by humans", describes the material evidence of our human prehistoric past. This evidence of the past in ancient Egypt has been found in stone construction of buildings, incised (engraved or carved) texts, manufacturing of stone tools and lithic artifacts, all expertly crafted by early man. The use of lithics in prehistory is called tool usage and the discovered lithics substantiate "the archaeological record", providing for humanity's early technological industry. The science of archaeology, the scientific discovery and study of physical remains left by humans is evident in no other place more than ancient Egypt. The first inhabitants in ancient Egypt used stone to record everything about their world. Not only a building legacy of it's past, Egypt also used stone to make the instruments themselves, recording names, titles, history vignettes,



prayers, religious texts, triumphs in war, and death. Nowhere is this more evident than in ancient Egypt.

Stone has been the dominant material throughout the ages. From crude, rough simplistic stone implements and tools, to accurately stylized projectile points, used as tools and/or weapons, a simple slate tablet, stele, or slate cosmetic palettes to the great pyramids of Egypt, all substantiate the stone record. A crucial factor necessary to understand its importance in prehistory is to look at excavations in all parts of the world. Development of stylized stone tools did not necessarily coincide at the same time. Cultures differed greatly in their development over time. Some lithic development of tools and objects was only a representation. An example of this is the famous Narmer Palette. This "story on stone" dates to about 3,200 BC and is carved on both sides recounting the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt. It is similar in design to other cosmetic palettes of ancient Egypt, but most likely ceremonial rather than utilitarian. Discovered in the late 1800's, and carved from a single piece of



greenish schist, the hieroglyphics carved on both sides of it are some of the oldest known. This ceremonial piece, though in the shape of a cosmetic palette, was used for communication of a great event, rather than its original shape use. It resides in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.

Throughout the ages, many eras of lithic development took place. Beginning with the **Paleolithic** period, (the scientific name), sometimes referred to as the Old

Stone Age, (the common term name), refers to the cultural period of the earliest chipped stone tools, about 750,000 years ago, until the beginning of the Mesolithic Period. During this time, flaked instruments transitioned into blade production and led the way for further advances working with stone. Bladelets, stone grinding implements,

hoe blades, flint axes, chipped and flaked knives and later, limestone mace-heads appeared. Bladelets were used in sickles and hoes and a variety of other tools developed for cultivation of land. Some of these food industry tools look like the typical Native American stone axes. Stone Age tools have been found fashioned in materials such as flint, quartzite, jasper and chalcedony. Consumers of the available stone material, which they found everywhere, were used for hunting, fishing, and butchering and everyday use. Towards the end of this era, cave art paintings came into existence and more specialized tools were required, and bone and antler were mostly used for incising and engraving.

Mesolithic or the Middle Stone Age lasted from 11,000-9,000 BC with apparently no major technological changes. With climate conditions changing, animals and humans were forced to adapt to new environments. Animals



became smaller and faster, requiring man the hunter to develop his stone tools in a lighter, more practical form. In comparison with the Paleolithic age, more stone tools became tools of bone and wood.

The **Neolithic**, or New Stone Age, 8,000-5,500 BC, saw plants being cultivated, animals domesticated and the real beginnings of civilization and advancement in the manufacture and use of tools.

In ancient Egypt, the first evidence of lithic industry and/or tool development predates the First Dynasty. Respectively, cultures of Tarifian, (8,000-5,200 BC) , Nabta Playa, Fayum Neolithic, Merimde, el Omari, Badarian, Maadi, Naqada I, II, III, including early Dynastic Egypt cultures, (3,100-2,686 BC), all exhibited examples of lithic development into tools. The Naqada I, II & III culture stone tools consist of finely worked tools evidenced by projectile points with a unique serrated fishtail design, flint blades with color tips, elongated stylized blades & pointed warrior mace heads. Though very few pre-dynastic sites in ancient Egypt have been excavated to date, one of the earliest Neolithic settlements, located in the Nile Delta, is "Merimda Beni Salama". Discovered in the 1920s, the site dates between 5,000-4,800 BC. The earliest inhabitants hunted, fished and cultivated the land, much in the way of all ancient civilizations. Settlements were composed of random placed reed hut shelters, some subterranean. "Grain rubbers", or pestles were excavated. These grain rubbers are similar to the aboriginal Native American Indian pestle (mano and metate). Mano being Spanish for "hand" (tool) and metate, the larger surface for grinding the corn.

The Fayum is the first true Neolithic culture in Egypt evidenced by abundant pottery, stone

tools and bone implements. Later on, the Tarifian culture, dating at 4,800 BC, and mostly a hunting/gathering society, left a large number of stone flint artifacts, all of local material. Re-touched flakes, blades and scrapers were found.

Chalcolithic, or the Copper Stone Age (5,500-3,000 B.C.) sees the discovery of metal from trade between local and other civilizations. Mesopotamia and Egypt by then, had invented writing and reached a high level of civilization. Up to the present time, man has strived to record in stone the events of the world and had successfully done just that in monuments, buildings, steles and implements of stone. However, now an era emerged where metal replaced some lithic tools, though some remained in use.

Egyptian graves of Abydos' 1st Dynasty rulers revealed plentiful flint stone tools, chert handled knives, flakes and projectile points.

The Badarian culture, of which many beautiful stone tool artifacts are found, some exhibited in the Egyptian wing of The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, flourished between 4,400 and 4,000 BC. This culture, named after the village it was located in, is one of the earliest civilizations using farming and agriculture in Upper Egypt. It also has revealed an abundance of stone tools and weapons. Excavations in the early 1920s uncovered Badarian tombs containing flint knives, bone tools, blades, axes, blade knife, glazed beads, arrowheads, and pottery.

The great pyramids of Giza and the many temples erected in ancient Egypt throughout its civilization, attest to the grandeur and mystery of the construction of these beautiful structures in stone. Over 100 pyramids of quarried limestone were built during the Old and Middle Kingdoms of Egypt. Their mysteries, including their construction, is still being investigated and most likely always will.

The Abu Simbel temple structures, two massive temples south of Aswan are a magnificent testament to Pharaoh Ramses II and Nefertari. Commemorating the Battle of Kadesh, the structures were carved out of the mountainside, but then relocated in the 1960s to avoid being submerged by Lake Nasser.

The elegantly inscribed Pyramid funerary texts that were found in Saqqara in the burial chamber of the 5th Dynasty Pyramid of King Unas (2,375-2,345 BC) are a testament in themselves. These written walls are the oldest religious text in the world. Unas erected his pyramid at Saqqara, directly adjacent to the great Step Pyramid complex of Djoser, but decorated his chambers in a new way with these texts. They are utterances, spells and rituals taken from sacred knowledge, some old and others new. The spells are written to protect the dead king from snakes and insects, and others speak of the food, drink and clothing necessary in the afterlife.

The Book of the Dead, also ancient funerary text, though not in stone, were usually written on papyrus scrolls and put into the tomb or sarcophagus to serve the same purpose, to allow the deceased to pass into the afterlife.

A record in stone story, however, cannot be written without mentioning the discovery of one of the greatest tools that helped modern mankind link himself to the ancient world, to communicate effectively and further record his history. The Rosetta Stone, created in 196 BC, is a magnificent engraved stone tablet of granite or basalt-like material in shades of blue/gray/pink. Multi-lingual, three (3) translations of a single passage are inscribed on it, in Demotic, classical Greek and Hieroglyphic script. This stone artifact was the first useful tool for decipherment of hieroglyphic writing. The text of the Rosetta



Stone is a decree from the Ptolemaic era repealing taxes and building of statues in temples. This is just another example of the many monumental works of art fashioned in stone, written or incised upon, carved or sculpted in stone, that symbolized the civilization of ancient Egypt.

The Palermo Stone, a history book of sorts, and no less important, was a written text of the early kings of Egypt, along with information prior to the dynastic era. It is called Egypt's oldest history book, a basalt stele, inscribed on both sides. Now only fragments remain. Smaller fragments are currently in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo and The Petrie Museum, London.

These are just a few of the achievements of this lithic stone culture, inscribed texts on stone, temples, buildings, pyramids, and useful stone tools that survived from early the Egyptian civilizations. From everyday chores to wars, worship and death, Egypt's history has been recorded on stone.

Jan Summers Duffy, Archaeologist and Curator, is associated with The College of Idaho Natural History Museum. She has worked in Egypt's Nile Delta site as supervisor with Prof.

D. Redford's team, part of the Penn State Graduate Study Program. Having excavated in both Egypt and the USA, she is the discoverer of a large obsidian funerary cache in the USA that is currently researched with connections to prehistoric peoples, called The Warm Springs Site.

A member of the International Assoc. of Egyptologists, Jan's research includes New Kingdom (18-20th Dynasties) lithics, stone tools and vessels of the ancient Egyptians

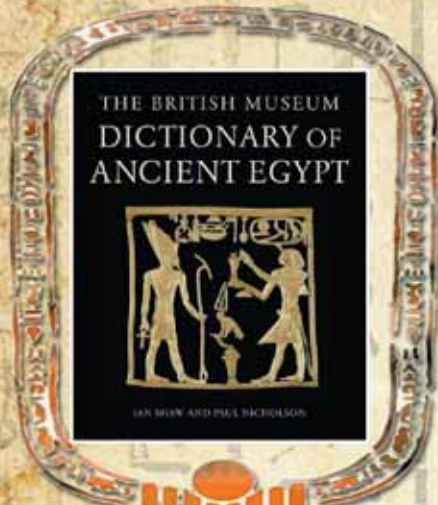
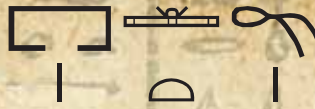
She has published several papers on projectile point typology, ceramics and researches stone tools of Biban el Maluk.

Jan hopes to further her work and research on stone tools and vessels in Egypt.

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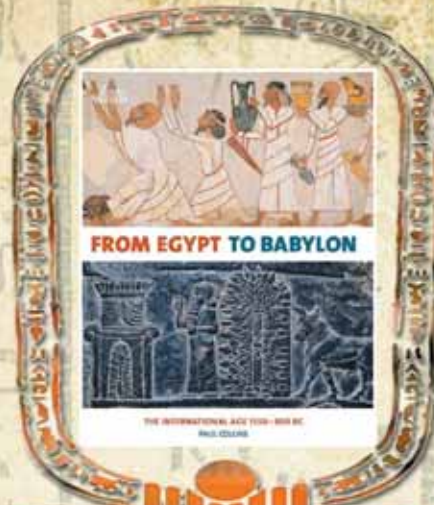
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Dr Ian Shaw is Senior Lecturer in Egyptian Archaeology at the University of Liverpool.

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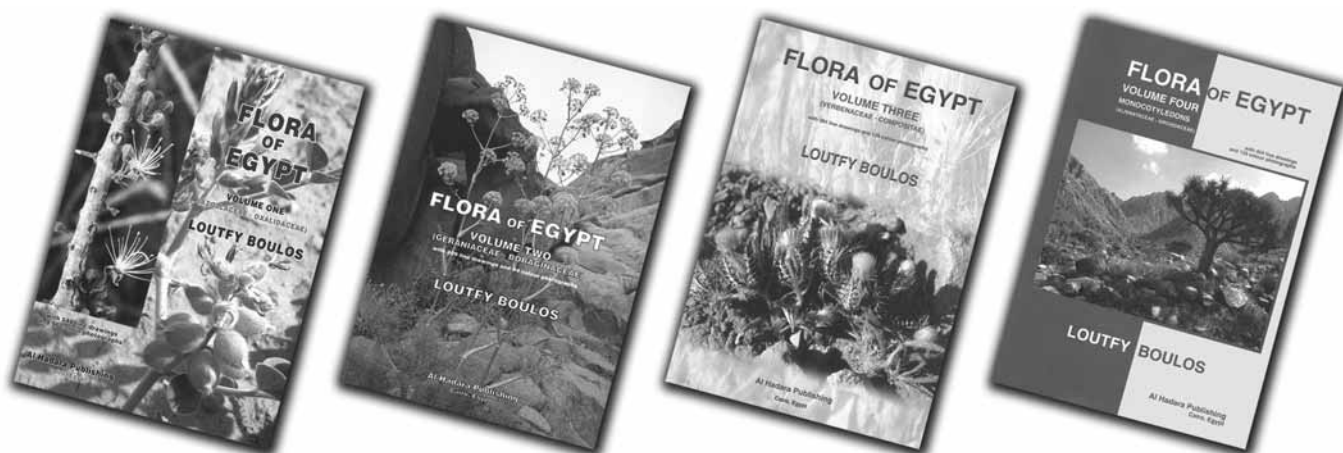
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Dr Paul Collins is curator of Later Mesopotamian antiquities at the British Museum. For five years he was Assistant Curator in the Dept of Ancient Near Eastern Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. He is the author of numerous publications on ancient Mesopotamia, including Assyrian Palace Sculptures.

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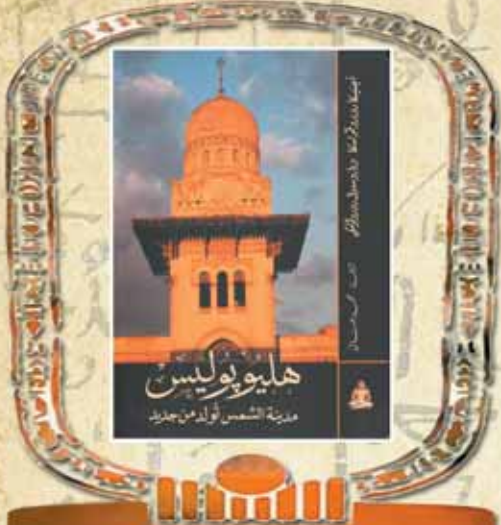
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مواقع ومتاحف الآثار المصرية

المؤلف: ا. د. عبد الحليم نور الدين

دعا البارون امبان ذات يوم ارنست جاسبر، المهندس المعماري البلجيكي، وكان ما زال شابا إلى رحلة على ظهور الخيل إلى صحراء طريق السويس، وأشار رجل الصناعة إلى هضبة شاسعة خاوية وقال: أريد أن أبني مدينة هنا، سوف تسمى هليوبوليس .. مدينة الشمس، وأريد أن تكون باهرة خلابة، وأود أن يتفق طرازها المعماري مع تقاليد هذا البلد، وبحث الآن عن متخصص في الفن الاسلامي، وأنت تحب المساجد، ومهندس معماري، فهل تقدم لي تصميمًا يوضح تصورك لهذه المدينة ؟

وبعد مرور مائة عام، لا تزال العمارة الفريدة تحفظ لروح المكان الخاصة التي لا تحاكي حياتها. لقد تحقق حلم البارون، وتحولت الهضبة الصحراوية الخاوية إلى واحة، تعرف الآن باسم مصر الجديدة . هكذا قدمت الجامعة الأمريكية بالقاهرة كتاب هليوبوليس عندما نشرته عام ٢٠٠٦، وكذا قدمته الهيئة المصرية العامة للكتاب عندما ترجمه لها القدير محمد عناني ليقدم لقارئ العربية كتابا مهما لموضوع قلما تناولته الأقلام.

يسرد الكتاب بأسلوب شيق تاريخ هليوبوليس المدينة الفرعونية، ثم تاريخ المدينة الجديدة والتي اتخذت نفس الاسم حين أسسها البارون امبان. اهتم الكاتبان كثيرا بالطرز المعمارية بمصر الجديدة محاولين مقارنتها بمثيلاتها من المدن الأوروبية بهذا الوقت. الكتاب غنى بالخرائط والرسوم التوضيحية ذات الطابع المعماري مع كثير من الصور الملونة التي أضافت للموضوع الكثير مع الطباعة الفاخرة للكتاب.

اجنيسكا دوبروفولسكا مهندسة معمارية متخصصة في الحفاظ على الآثار، عملت في الكثير من المواقع الأثرية بمصر. **ياروسلاف دوبروفولسكى** مهندس معماري متخصص في الحفاظ على الآثار، عمل في عدة مواقع في مصر والسودان. منذ عام ١٩٩٦ وهو يشغل منصب المدير الفني لبرنامج الحفاظ على الآثار التابع لمركز البحوث الأمريكي بالقاهرة.

وكلاهما من سكان مصر الجديدة لخمس عشرة عاما.

د. محمد عناني أستاذ اللغة الانجليزية وآدابها بجامعة القاهرة. حاصل على جائزة الدولة التقديرية في الآداب عام ٢٠٠٢ .

نشر هذا الكتاب للمرة الأولى عام ١٩٩٨ وكان لا يتعدى ال ٢٥٠ صفحة حينها. وها قد عاد إلينا مجددا الدكتور عبد الحليم نور الدين بعد عشرة سنوات بعمل موسوعي ضخم من ثلاثة أجزاء في ٢٠٠٠ صفحة.

الجزء الأول: مواقع الآثار المصرية القديمة - مواقع مصر السفلى
الجزء الثاني: مواقع الآثار المصرية القديمة - مواقع مصر العليا
الجزء الثالث: متاحف الآثار في مصر والوطن العربي

الكتاب باجزائه الثلاثة هو مرجع اساسى لدارسي الآثار والمهتمين بها من قارئى العربية. حيث انه مؤلف فريد من نوعه، يعتبر أطلسا تفصيليا للمواقع الأثرية بمصر.

قسم الكتاب بأسلوب مرتب من حيث تقسيم المواقع من خلال المحافظات التابعة لها، و مع نهاية كل فصل زود بملحق يضم خرائط تفصيلية لاماكن المواقع، كما زود متن الكتاب بعدد من المخططات والصور.

الجزء الثالث هو دراسة لعلم المتاحف، ادرج به وصف للمتاحف الموجودة بمصر والوطن العربي، ولعله المؤلف الوحيد الذي تناول متاحف مصر مقسما إياها لمتاحف رئيسية، ثم إقليمية، متاولا متاحف العصر الحديث، ومتاحف المواقع، ثم المتاحف ذات الطبيعة الخاصة، مدرجا في النهاية جدولا لجميع متاحف مصر.

ا. د. عبد الحليم نور الدين: أستاذ بكلية الآثار جامعة القاهرة - مستشار مدير مكتبة الإسكندرية - رئيس هيئة الآثار المصرية - أمين عام المجلس الأعلى للآثار "سابقا"



عهد به إلى ابنه شنوده، فكان يعطى طعامه للرعاة، ويقضى يومه صائماً مصلياً. ولما اكتشف والده ميوله المقدسة وأراد تتميتها، أرسله إلى خاله الأب بيجول الذى كان رئيساً للدير الأبيض بمدينة سوهاج، ففرح به خاله لما رأى فيه من روح التقوى، وتنبأ له بمستقبل ذا شأن فى تاريخ المسيحية، وهكذا نشأ شنوده منذ طفولته وسط الرهبان وتعلم منهم الكثير من الفضائل، واستمر فى الدير زماناً عاكفاً على الصوم والصلاة ودراسة الكتاب المقدس حتى حفظ الكثير من أسفاره.

ولما تنحى الأب بيجول، خلفه القديس شنوده فى رئاسة الدير، وكان ذلك عام ٣٨٣م. وشهدت الرهبنة فى عهده نهضة عظيمة، فزاد عدد الرهبان جداً حتى بلغ بضعة آلاف، وشيد أديرة أخرى فرعية بجوار الدير الرئيسى. وكان لكل دير فرعى مشرف مسئول عن تنظيم العمل فيه، أما القيادة الروحية فكانت للرئيس الأعلى وكان يسمى الأرشمندريت (أى رئيس الرؤساء) وفى المنطقة غرب سوهاج يوجد الديران الأبيض والأحمر^٢، والدير الأبيض يسمى بدير الأنبا شنوده، والدير الأحمر يسمى بدير الأنبا بيشوى (صاحب الدير الشهير بوادى النطرون).

وقد وضع القديس شنوده قوانين صارمة لرهبانه، الذين كانوا كلهم من الأقباط بخلاف الأديرة الباخومية التى كانت تضم جميع الجنسيات، وقد جمع نظام أديرته بين نظام الشركة داخل الدير والتوحد خارجه.

كان القديس شنوده عظيماً فى تقواه، فصيحاً فى عظاته، قوياً فى دفاعه عن الإيمان المسيحى، حتى أن البابا كيرلس الكبير اصطحبه معه إلى مجمع أفسس عام ٤٣١م لدحض بدعة نسطور.

ولما أراد البابا ديسقوروس أن يصحبه معه إلى مجمع أفسس الثانى عام ٤٥١م لم يستطع تلبية الدعوة لأن المرض كان قد اشتد به، فاستدعى أولاده وأوصاهم أن يسمعهوا لتلميذه ويصا لأنهم سيكونون أبا لهم من بعده، وأسلم روحه الطاهرة فى يد الرب بعد أن بلغ من العمر ١١٨ عاماً.

وقد جاهد القديس شنوده كثيراً فى محاربة الوثنية فى مصر، وعمل على تقوية الروح القومية الوطنية بين أبناء الشعب المصرى ضد الاستعمار الأخرى فى ذلك الوقت، كما حافظ بشدة على اللغة القبطية، فكانت كل كتاباته باللغة القبطية الصعيدية. سلاماً لروح الطاهرة أيها القديس العظيم شنوده.. وتحية لك يا رئيس المتوحدين.

المرض حتى خارت قواه وعرف بقرب رحيله من هذا العالم. فجمع أبناءه حوله وأوصاهم أن يتمسكوا بالنظام الذى وضعه، فلا يفترؤا فى الصلاة أو العمل، ولهم أن يختاروا من يخلفه فى الرئاسة من بعده. وتنيح القديس باخوميوس عن سبعة وخمسين عاماً حافله بالجهاد والتعب.

سلاماً لروح الطاهرة أيها القديس باخوميوس.. وتحية لك يا أب الشركة.

القديس شنوده رئيس المتوحدين

ولد هذا القديس فى قرية قرب مدينة أخميم بالوجة القبلى عام ٢٣٣م من أبوين مسيحيين تقيين، وكان أبوه مزارعاً وله قطيع كبير



^٢ الدير الأبيض لأن مبانيه من الحجر الأبيض. والدير الأحمر لأن مبانيه من الطوب الأحمر.



وقد مكث معه سبع سنوات.

بعد ذلك دخل إلى البرية حتى وصل إلى بقعة قرب قنا في مواجهة دندرة تسمى (تبانيس)، وبعد مدة من الزمان في هذا المكان أراد أن يُشيد ديراً يجتمع فيه كل راغبي النسك والتقشف، ولما تكاثرت أعدادهم، وضع لهم قوانين الحياة داخل الدير، ورتب لهم أعمالهم وأوقات صلواتهم وأصوامهم، ولم يثقل على أحد في العمل أكثر من طاقته وإمكاناته، فمنهم من عمل في النساخة وإدارة المكتبة، ومنهم من عمل في الزراعة، وآخر في الحدادة وآخر في البناء وآخر في المخبز وآخر في طهي الطعام وآخر في النسيج، هكذا كانت حياة الشركة في الأديرة الباخومية.

وقام بتشييد أديرة كثيرة للرهبان، وعمل أيضاً للراهبيات، حيث كانت أخته رئيسة أول دير للعداري في صعيد مصر. وكان لكل دير رئيس ومساعد له، وتخضع الأديرة كلها للرئيس العام. وأهتم القديس باخوميوس بالتعليم في الأديرة، وجعل تعلم القراءة والكتابة شرطاً أساسياً من شروط الدخول في الدير، ونظم دروساً في تفسير الكتب المقدسة، والآداب المسيحية، وكان حضورها إجبارياً على كل الأخوة الراغبين في الانضمام إلى الدير. ولما كثر عدد الرهبان في الأديرة الباخومية، قام بتقسيمهم إلى أسر، وكل أسرة تضم أمة معينة، فكان منهم السريان واليونان والأرمن والأحباش وغيرهم. وكان لكل أسرة معلم من جنسهم يمكنه التفاهم معهم وإرشادهم.

رحيل القديس باخوميوس

عندما ظهر الطاعون في أرض مصر عام ٣٤٨، وانتشر هذا الوباء حتى امتد إلى أديرة الرهبان، وكان يحصد الكثير منهم، كان باخوميوس يتنقل بين تلاميذه المصابين في كل مكان ويقوم بتمريضهم وتقوية إيمانهم وتشجيعهم، وكان يقوم بدفن موتاهم غير مكترث بما يحفه من المخاطر حتى جاء صيف تلك السنة وبدأ هو أيضاً يشعر بأعراض



خافت قائلاً "يا سيدي يسوع المسيح حبيب نفسي أقبل روحي إليك". وأسلم الروح. ولم يكن في هذه اللحظة معه أحد إلا تلميذه، فلما سمع الأخوة خبر نياحته، اجتمعوا من أطراف الجبل من الأربعة أديرة، باكين من أجل شعورهم باليتم، لأنه كان أباً لكل واحد منهم، وحملوا الجسد إلى الكنيسة، والتفوا حوله يتباركون منه، ويقبلونه. وصلوا جميعاً عليه، وقدموا القديس ثم حملوا الجسد إلى المغارة التي بجوار البيعة، ووضعوه هناك وانصرفوا إلى قلالهم بحزن عظيم. سلاماً لروحك الطاهرة أيها الطوباوي مقاريوس.. وتحية لك أيها الرجل المضى اللابس الروح.

القديس باخوميوس اب الشركة

ولد هذا القديس في حوالي سنة

٢٩٠م في مقاطعة طيبة جنوب بلدة أسنا

من أبوين وثنيين، فقضى سنى حياته

الأولى حسب الطقوس الوثنية في العبادة،

ولما بلغ سن العشرين انخرط في سلك

الجندي، واشترك في المعارك التي

نشبت بين قسطنطين ومكسيمانوس عام

٣١٠م والتي انتهت بانتصار الأول وقتل

الثاني. وحدث أن وصل باخوميوس مع

بعض رفاقه من الجنود إلى مدينة أسنا،

وهناك مروا على القرى القبطية،

فاستقبلهم المسيحيون وأكرمهم وقضوا

لهم حاجاتهم، فتعجب باخوميوس من

هؤلاء القوم الذين أكرمهم دون سابق معرفة بهم، وسأل عنهم، ف قيل

له أنهم النصراني وأنهم يفعلون ذلك طاعة لوصايا إنجيلهم.

ولما أطلق سراح الجند بعد انتهاء الحرب ورجعوا إلى وطنهم،

عكف باخوميوس على دراسة المسيحية، وتعهد عام ٣١٤م. وحدث

بعد هذا أن زهد باخوميوس في الحياة الدنيا، وقرر أن يترك العالم

ويخرج إلى البرية، وتقابل مع شيخ وقور اسمه بلامون كان يعيش على

مسافة قريبة من القرية، فتتلمذ على يديه وعلمه حياة النسك والتقشف

وممارسة الصلاة والصوم، ثم البسه الاسكيم المقدس الذي للرهبنة،



فى نفسه أقوم واذهب إلى الأب أنطونيوس - إذ كان قد سمع عنه وهو بعد فى مصر - فلما اجتمع بالقدّيس أنطونيوس قبله وفرح وكشف له أفكاره كأبن لأبيه، فقام القدّيس أنطونيوس بوعظه بكلام كثير وكشف له حروب العدو، ولما طلب مقاره أن يمكث مع الأب أنطونيوس، لم يسمح له بذلك وقال له "كل واحد منا يلزم الموضوع الذى دعاه الرب إليه"، وبعد أيام قليلة رجع مقاره إلى قلايته.

وتكاثر عدد التلاميذ حول القدّيس مقاريوس، وكانوا يذهبون إلى نتريا والقلالى لتناول القربان المقدس إذ لم تكن لهم كنيسة فى شيهيث. وبعد ١٠ سنوات من الزيارة الأولى، قام القدّيس مقاريوس بزيارة ثانية للقدّيس أنطونيوس يطلب فيها المشورة بخصوص قيادة النفوس الكثيرة التى تكاثرت حوله وكذلك طلب بناء كنيسة لهم فى شيهيث.

ويقول التاريخ أن فى هذه المرة (حوالى سنة ٣٥٢م) أعطى القدّيس أنطونيوس عصاه (عكازه) للقدّيس مقاريوس تعبيرا عن تسلمه أمانة التدبير

الرهبانى من بعده.

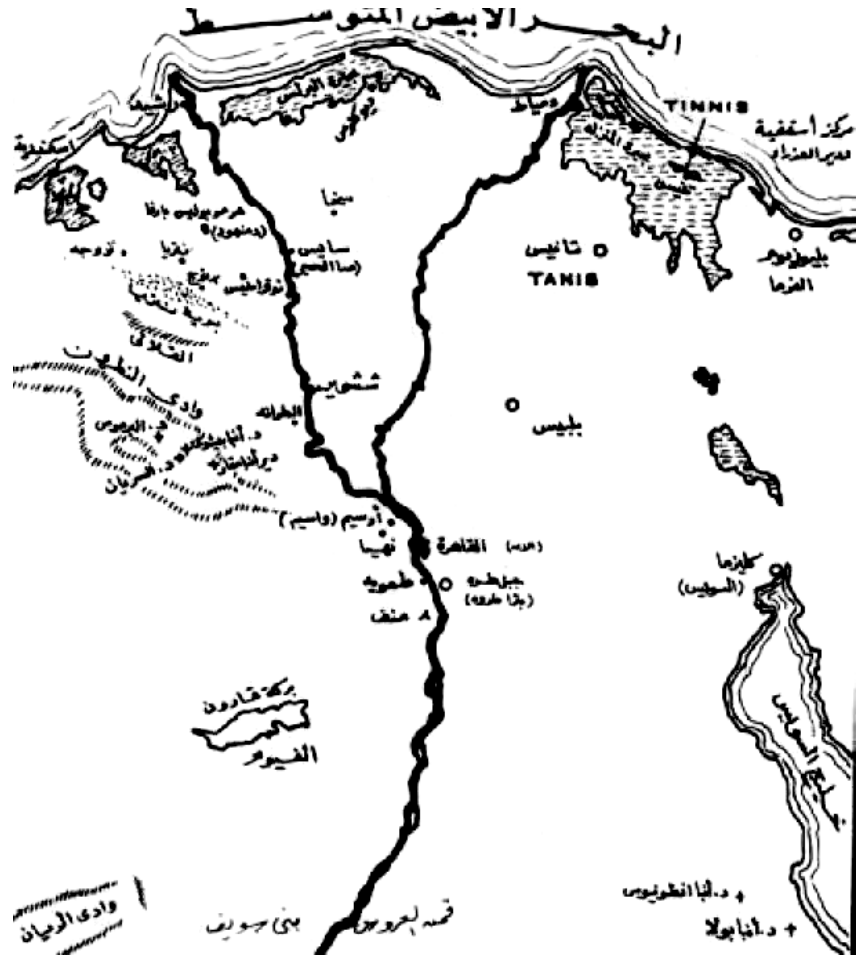
وفضائل ومعجزات هذا القدّيس التى صنعها فى حياته انما لهى كثيرة جداً، لا يسع المجال هنا لسردها، ولكن نكتفى بشهادة أولاده الرهبان الذين شهدوا بأنهم كانوا يرون قلايته مضيئة بنور أكثر لمعانا من نور الشمس وقت الظهيرة، وآخرون شهدوا بأنهم كانوا يرون وجهه مضيئا فى الليل.

وتقدم مقاره فى الأيام حتى بلغ التسعين عاماً، وما كف عن صراع الشياطين وما كفت الشياطين عن الصراع معه.

ولما ضعف جسده من طول السنين، وانحل لحمه من الآتعب وأعمال النسل التى كان يمارسها طوال حياته، بدأ يرقد على الأرض من كثرة ضعفه، وفى أحد الأيام وهو راقد على الأرض داخل مغارته، ظهر له شخصان مضيئان وعليهما مجد وجلال إلهيين، وكل منهما يبتسم للآخر، وتكلم واحد منهما معه قائلاً: "أما تعرف هذا الآخر؟". أما مقاره فسكت كعادته، لأنه ما كان يجاوب أحد بسرعة، فقال له "أنه الأب باخوم أب الشركة، وقد أرسلنا الرب إليك لندعوك، فأنتك بعد تسعة أيام ستخلع هذا الجسد وتأتى لتسكن معنا"، ثم غابا عنه. وظل الأب مقاره مطروحاً على الحصير، لا يستطيع أن يقوم من الوجع الصعب، لأنه كان ملتهبا بالحمى كالنار. وفى اليوم السابع والعشرين من شهر برمهاث ظهر له الشاروبيم، الذى كان معه من الابتداء، ومعه جمع كثير من الروحانيين، وقال له "أسرع وتعال فإن هؤلاء كلهم ينتظرونك". فصاح الأب مقاره بصوت

ظهر الشاروبيم مرة أخرى لمقاره ليقويه، ثم سار معه لمدة يومين كاملين حتى أتى به إلى جبل النطرون وأخذ يدور معه فى كل موضع فيه، وعندما سأل مقاره الشاروبيم أين يسكن؟ إجابته الشاروبيم: ليكن سكنك بإرادتك وحدك فالجبل كله لك ولأولادك الروحانيين. وسكن مقاره أولاً فى الموضوع بقرب دير البراموس الحالى، فكان هذا أول دير فى الأسقيط.

ومكث مقاره ثلاث سنين (٣٤٠-٣٤٣) مُحارباً بأفكار كثيرة، فقال



بأفكاره أنه يريد أن يعيش منفرداً متعبداً لله، ووافقته الراهب الشيخ على هذا قائلاً له: "أن دعوتك هي من الله"، ومنذ ذلك الوقت، حوالى سنة ٣٣٠م، انفرد مقاره فى قلاية بعيداً عن القرية مواظباً على الصلاة والصوم لمدة ١٠ سنوات، ولما رأى أهل قريته أعماله الحسنة وتواضعه الكثير، تشاوروا فيما بينهم أن يرسموه قساً، وبالفعل ذهبوا إلى قلايته وأخذوه غصباً ومضوا به إلى أسقفهم الذى رسمه لهم قساً وهو فى سن الأربعين، سنة ٣٤٠م.

وقد تعرض القديس مقاريوس إلى تجربة قاسية بعد رسامته قساً، ويحكى هو بنفسه قائلاً: "لما كنت شاباً عائشاً فى قلايتى بريف مصر، كان يتردد على رجل بار يأخذ منى شغل يدي ويسد احتياجاتى. وفى يوم من الأيام حدث أن بتولاً فى ذلك المكان سقطت فى الخطية وحملت فى بطنها. فلما أشهرت، سئلت عمن فعل معها هذا الفعل، فقالت المتوحد! وسرعان ما خرجوا على وأخذوني باستهزاء مريع إلى الضيعة، وجماعة الصبيان يجرون خلفى وهم يضربونى قائلين: "إن هذا الراهب أفسد عفة ابنتنا البتول وفضحها، أخزوه". وهكذا ضربونى ضرباً موجعاً، قريب بسببه من الموت، إلى أن جاءنى أحد الشيوخ وقال لهم: "إلى متى هذه الأهانة؟ أما يكفيه هذا خزيًا؟"، ولكن دون جدوى. أما الرجل البار الذى كان يخدمنى، فكان يتبعهم من بعيد وهو خازى الوجه، وكانوا يستهزئون به قائلين: "انظر ماذا فعل ذلك المتوحد الذى كنت تحدثنا عنه وتشهد له بالفضل"، وكانوا يواصلون ضربى قائلين أنهم لن يكفوا عن ذلك حتى يأتهم بضامن يتكفل بالقيام باطعامها وتربية ولدها. فقال الشيخ لخادمى: "أضمنه"، فضمننى. ومضيت إلى قلايتى ودفعت إليه الزنايبيل التى كانت عندى قائلاً: "بعها وأدفع ثمنها لـ "امرأتى" لتأكل بها" وخاطبت نفسى قائلاً: "كد يا مقاره، ها قد صارت لك امرأة" وكنت اشتغل ليلاً ونهاراً وأتعب لها لأقوم باطعامها.

ولما حان وقت ولادة الشقية، مكثت أياماً كثيرة وهى معذبة وما استطاعت أن تلد. فقالوا لها "ما هذا؟" فقالت: "أن كل ما أصابنى كان بسبب أنى ظلمت المتوحد واتهمته وهو برئ، لأنه ما فعل بى شيئاً قط، ولكن فلان الشاب هو الذى فعل بى هذا". فجاء خادمى إلى مسروراً وقال "إن تلك الشقية ما استطاعت أن تلد، حتى اعترفت قائلة "إن المتوحد لا ذنب له فى هذا الأمر مطلقاً، وقد كنت كاذبة فى اتهامى له، وها هم أهل القرية كلهم عازمون على الحضور إليك، يريدون أن يتوبوا إليك ويسألونك الصفح والغفران" فلما سمعت أنا هذا الكلام من خادمى، أسرع هارباً إلى الأسقيط. وهذا هو السبب الذى لأجله جئت إلى جبل النطرون". وهذا ما يحققه التاريخ، إذ بعد هذه التجربة،



القديس مقاريوس الكبير

ويدعى أيضا مقاريوس المصرى نسبة إلى موطن والديه الأصلي فى منف، وقد نزلت الأسرة إلى قرية شبشير - منوفية - قبل ولادة الطفل مقاره بحوالى ٣ سنوات.

كان أبوه كاهنا على كنيسة فى إقليم منف ويدعى إبراهيم، وأمه تدعى سارة وكانت عاقراً، وبعد نزوحهما إلى شبشير بسنتين، ظهر ملاك الله فى رؤيا لأبيه إبراهيم وبشره بميلاد ابن مبارك له، وفى الميعاد حسب بشارة الملاك له، ولد هذا الطفل ودعاه مقاره، كان ذلك فى عام ٣٠٠م.

وكان الطفل يتربى وينمو فى مخافة الله على يد أبويه الصالحين، ولما شب الطفل مقاره بدأ يذهب مع أبيه ليساعده فى فلاحه الأرض، ووسع الرب رزقهم جداً حتى صار لهم مواشى وجمال وأملاك كثيرة، وبدأت نعمة الله تظهر على الشاب مقاره، فكانوا يقبونه بالشباب الحكيم، ومن فرط حب كهنة القرية له أخذوه إلى أسقفهم ورسموه شماساً. ولما كبر مقاره وبلغ الثلاثين من عمره، أراد ابواه أن يزوجه ويرسمه كاهناً، أما هو فكان لا يريد الزواج، ولكن تحت الحاحهما والحاح كهنة القرية، رضخ لهم بدون نية منه، واتفق مع الفتاة التى اختاروها له أن يحفظا بتوليتهما. ولكى يبتعد عن الفتاة أطول فترة ممكنة كان يذهب مع الجمالين الذين يعملون عند أبيه إلى وادى النطرون لجلب النطرون من هناك، وهكذا دعى مقاره الجمال.

وحدث فى إحدى رحلاته مع الجمالين إلى وادى النطرون وبينما الكل نيام من التعب، ومقاره أيضا نائم أن ظهر له الشاروبيم فى صورة إنسان نورانى متشعاً باسطوانة كالبرق الساطع وهذه الاسطوانة مكلله بالجواهر وكلمه قائلاً: "إن الله أعطاك هذا الجبل ميراثاً لك ولأولادك، يتفرغون فيه للصلاة". ومن ذلك اليوم صار الشاروبيم رفيقاً لمقاره طوال أيام حياته وحتى نياحته.

وعندما رجع مقاره إلى بلدته، وجد أن فتاته البتول مريضة بحمى شديدة وبعد أيام قلائل فارقت الحياة، وكانت هذه علامة من الله حتى يتفرغ مقاره للعبادة والصلاة كما أراد فى قلبه. وظل مقاره يخدم أباه الشيخ حتى تتيح، وبعدها بستة أشهر تتيحت أمه أيضا.

اعتزاله العالم

بعد نياحة والده، وزع كل ممتلكاته التى ورثها عنه، وكان هناك راهباً متوحداً يسكن منفرداً بعيداً عن القرية، فذهب إليه مقاره وعرفه

ورماد، وكان يلقى بذاته على الأرض ويصرخ إلى الله ويقول "يارب أغنى، وقو ضعفى، ارحمنى يارب فأنى التجأت إليك، يارب لا تخلى عنى"، وكان الشياطين متى سمعوا هذه الصلاة المملوءة حياةً واتضاعاً يهربون منه. ومرة جمع الشيطان كل آلات اللهو والطرب واللذات والتعم، أما هو فكان يغمض عينيه ويقول "عجباً منكم، كيف تجعلون لى مقدراً وتحتالون على سقوطى أنا الضعيف المسكين، ابعدوا عنى" فكانت الأفكار تسقط عنه بمعونة الرب، والشياطين تحترق من كثرة اتضاعه. وفضائل هذا القديس كثيرة جداً، لا يسعنا المجال هنا لذكرها كلها، ولكن نكتفى بواحدة تكشف عن حياته وتقواه وشفافية روحه الطاهرة: فقد حدث مرة بينما كان أنطونيوس جالساً على الجبل، أنه تطلع إلى فوق فرأى فى الهواء روح المبارك أمون راهب نتريا محمولة إلى السماء بأيدي الملائكة. وكانت المسافة من نتريا إلى الجبل الذى فيه أنطونيوس نحو سفر ثلاثة عشر يوماً، ولما رأى رفقاء أنطونيوس أنه منذهل هكذا سألوه ليعرفوا السبب، فأعلمهم أن أمون مات توأ، فسجلوا يوم الوفاة، ولما وصل الأخوة من نتريا بعد ثلاثين يوماً ليعلموا أنطونيوس بخبر النياحة، سألوهم رفقاء أنطونيوس، فعلموا أن أمون رقد فى اليوم والساعة التى رأى فيها الشيخ أنطونيوس روحه محموله إلى فوق، فتهجّبوا من طهارة نفس أنطونيوس، وأنه علم فى الحال ما حدث على مسافة سفر ثلاثة عشر يوماً وأنه رأى الروح صاعدة إلى السماء!

ويذكر لنا التاريخ أن القديس أنطونيوس زار القديس آمون في نتريا (جنوب بحيرة مريوط)، وهو الذي أشار على آمون بأن الأخوة العائشون في الكينوبيون بنتريا (حياة مشتركة)، والمحبين للوحدة، عليهم أن ينحدروا جنوباً مقدار سفر ٣ ساعات ليعيشوا متوحدين. وهكذا يعتبر القديس أنطونيوس أحد مؤسسي منطقة القلاي، أي نظام الوحدة الكاملة، بالإضافة إلى نظام الكينوبيون، أي المعيشة المشتركة.

عاش القديس أنطونيوس أباً ومرشدًا، قائدًا ورائدًا لجماعات كثيرة من النساك والمتوحدين حتى بلغ من العمر مئة وخمس سنين، ولما علم بقرب انتقاله من هذا العالم، أوصى تلميذه أن لا يُعلم أحدًا بمكان جسده بعد دفنه كي لا يكرمه الناس. وأسلم روحه الطاهرة في يد الرب في عام ٣٥٦م.

سلاماً لروحك الطاهرة أيها العظيم أنطونيوس.. وتحية لذلك الروح الناري الذي سكن في قلبك.

ولما ازدحمت بهم المنطقة، قرر أنطونيوس أن يدخل إلى البرية الداخلية، وكان ذلك في عام ٣١٢م.



(1) كلمة كينوبوس Kolvóβlos، تتكون من مقطعين = Kolvós مشترك، Bcov مشتقه من βλός أى حياة، وتنطق كينوتيبوس أو كينوبيون، وترادفه فى المعنى كلمة موناستير Μοναστήριον، وتعنى مكان يعيش فيه الناس حياة منفردة.

سنه.. إذا كان قد بلغ من العمر ٩٠ عاماً ليحضر حلة البابا أثناسيوس، وفى طريق عودته إلى مغارة بولا إذ به يرى نورا فى السماء وروح بولا تحملها الملائكة، وفى الحال سقط على وجهه باكياً نائحاً، ولما وصل المغارة وجده ساجداً ويدها مبسوطتان كالصليب، فسجد مثله بجانبه ظاناً أنه حى، ولما مضى وقت ولم يسمع له صوت ولا تنهد، علم أن هذا هو الجسد فقط، فأخذ الجسد وكفنه بحلة البابا أثناسيوس وهو يرتل التساييح والمزامير، وبينما هو متفكر كيف يدفنه، إذا بأسدين قد دخلا المغارة، فخاف أنطونيوس أولاً من منظرهما، ولكنه رفع أفكاره إلى السماء وصلى فزال عنه الخوف وحضر الأسدان حفرة فى الأرض تسع لجسد القديس بولا وانصرفا، فوضعه أنطونيوس فى الحفرة وغطاه بالرمال، وقبل أن ينصرف أخذ معه ثوب الليف الذى كان يلبسه القديس بولا، وأهداه للبابا أثناسيوس فكان يلبسه فى الأعياد الكبرى.

هكذا رحل القديس بولا شيخاً شعبان أياما، إذ بلغ من العمر حوالى المائة وعشر سنين.

سلاماً لروحك الطاهرة يا بولا.. وتحية لك أيها الناسك العظيم.

القديس أنطونيوس الكبير:

ولد القديس أنطونيوس فى سنة ٢٥١م فى بلدة قمن العروس بمحافظة بنى سويف وكان والده غنياً ذا أطياف كثيرة، ولم يكن لأنطونيوس سوى أخت واحدة أصغر منه. وبعد وفاة والديه بحوالى ستة أشهر، أخذ أنطونيوس يفكر فى زوال هذا العالم بكل غناه وملذاته ومسرته، ودوام الحياة الأبدية بكل أمجادها وأفراحها، فأشتاقت روحه لحياة العزلة والتعبد لله، وكان عمره



أنداك حوالى ٢٠ عاماً.

وذات يوم دخل الكنيسة كعادته للصلاة، فسمع الشمس يقرأ فصل الإنجيل، وكان موضوعه عن الشاب الغنى الذى سأل السيد المسيح ماذا أعمل لأرث الحياة الأبدية، فكان رد المسيح له "إن أردت أن تكون كاملاً فأذهب وبع املاكك وأعط الفقراء فيكون لك كنز فى السماء وتعال اتبعنى"، فأحس أنطونيوس أن هذا الكلام موجه له خصيصاً. وللحال بعد خروجه من الكنيسة، ذهب وباع كل ممتلكاته التى ورثها عن أبيه وكانت ٣٠٠ فدان من أجود الأراضى ووزع ثمنها على الفقراء والمحتاجين، ثم أودع أخته بيتاً للعدارى، وأنطلق خارج المدينة حتى وصل إلى شاطئ النهر، ووجد جميزة كبيرة فسكن هناك ولازم النسك



القديس بولا أول المتوحدين:

ولد هذا القديس فى الإسكندرية حوالى سنة ٢٣٠م من أسرة غنية، وكان له أخ أكبر يدعى بطرس، وكان بولا متعلماً يتقن اللغتين القبطية واليونانية. وكان قد ورثا عن أبيهما ثروة طائلة، فأراد الأخ الأكبر أن يأخذ ثلثي الميراث ويترك لبولا الثلث، وإذ لم يرضى بولا بهذا الأمر قررا أن يذهبا معاً إلى القاضى ليحكم بينهما وفيما هما فى الطريق إلى القاضى، وجدا جنازة عظيمة والناس يبيكون وينوحون، فسأل من هذا الإنسان؟ فقالوا له أنه فلان الرجل الغنى



فى المدينة، وها هم يخرجونه من الدنيا تاركاً كل ممتلكاته! فما أن سمع بولا هذا الكلام حتى أدرك فى نفسه حقيقة هذا العالم الزائل، والتفت إلى أخيه وقال له: "أرجع بنا يا أخى"، فتعجب أخوه من هذا الكلام، وبينما هما فى طريق عودتهما إلى البيت، توارى بولا عن أخيه وأختفى، وبحث عنه أخوه لمدة ثلاثة أيام ولم يجده، فحزن عليه حزناً شديداً. أما بولا، الذى كان عمره وقتئذ لم يتجاوز السادسة عشر، فقد وجد مقبرة، فأقام بها ثلاثة أيام يصلى ويتضرع إلى الله لى يرشده، وفى اليوم الرابع أرسل الله له ملاكاً مضى معه بعيداً فى الصحراء حتى وصل إلى سفح أحد جبال العربة على البحر الأحمر (موضع دير الأنبا بولا الحالى) وهناك وجد عين ماء وبقرىها نخلة، ووجد مغارة فى الجبل عاش فيها إلى يوم وفاته. وكان بولا يعتمد فى غذائه على شجرة النخيل وصنع لنفسه ثوباً من الليف يستر به جسده.

وظل بولا فى وحدته المطلقة مخفياً عن العالم حتى عام ٣٤١م، عندما أعلن للقديس أنطونيوس (الذى كان يسكن فى نفس الجبل) فى رؤيا إلهية عن مكان هذا المتوحد المجاهد ليزوره الزيارة الأخيرة، إذ لم تشأ العناية الإلهية أن يرحل هذا العملاق القبطى دون أن يعلن نوره للعالم، فأرسلت أنطونيوس كسفير عن الكنيسة القبطية ليعلن قداسة وتقوى هذا الإنسان للعالم أجمع!

ولما بلغ أنطونيوس مغارة بولا، فرح به كثيراً، كما فرح بولا بأنطونيوس أيضاً، إذ كان كل منهما يشأت أن يرى الآخر (رفيق الجهاد). وبينما هما يتحدثان معاً إذا بغراب قد جاء وفى فمه خبزة ووضعها على باب المغارة!، فقال بولا: "الآن علمت أنك رجل الله، لأن لى فى هذا المكان أكثر من ثمانين سنة وفى كل يوم يأتى الغراب بنصف خبزة، وها هو اليوم يأتينا بخبزة كاملة لى ولك".

فقاما وصليا معاً ثم جلسا لياكلا، وشربا من ماء الينبوع، وظلا يسبحان الله حتى مطلع الفجر. ثم قال بولا لأنطونيوس أن وقت رحلى قد صار وشيكاً وقد أرسلك الرب لى لكى توارى جسدى التراب، فأسرع وأحضر الحلة التى أعطاها لك البابا أثناسيوس لتكفن بها جسدى: فتعجب أنطونيوس من كلامه عن حلة البطريك وكيف علم بها، فأمن أنه يتكلم بروح النبوة، وأسرع فى خطاه عائداً إلى مغارته، رغم تقدم



العظام، الذين وضعوا للرهبنة قوانينها وأسسها، التي نعيش بها حتى يومنا هذا.

هؤلاء الآباء الذين بلغت شهرتهم أقطار المسكونة، فأتى وتعلمذ على أيديهم أناس من بلدان أخرى، ومنهم من نقل الرهبنة بقوانينها ونظمها من مصر إلى بلادهم في الغرب.

إن مصر هي مهد الرهبنة في العالم أجمع.

إن الرهبنة في نشأتها الأولى، لا تزيد عن كونها استجابة حرة لعمل الروح القدس الناري في قلب الإنسان.

ذلك الروح الذي ألهب قلوب التلاميذ حتى تركوا كل شيء وتبعوا المسيح... وهو نفسه الذي ألهب قلوب المؤمنين في الكنيسة الأولى حتى باعوا ممتلكاتهم ليعيشوا فقراء بمحض إرادتهم حباً في الله خالقهم...

وهو نفسه الذي ألهب قلوب الشهداء، فسفكوا دماءهم ثمناً لإيمانهم... وهو نفسه الذي ألهب قلوب الشباب المسيحي حتى زهدوا في كل شيء وتركوا العالم وراءهم وخرجوا إلى البراري وسكنوا الجبال والمغائر وشقوا الأرض من أجل عظم محبتهم في الملك المسيح، فكانت حياتهم شهادة على صدق الإنجيل.

إن الحياة الرهبانية هي نموذج للحياة المسيحية الصادقة حسب الإنجيل تماماً.

الرهبنة هي حب صادق لله، وإيمان واثق بالحياة الأبدية، وزهد تام في العالم وشهواته.

الرهبنة في كلمة واحدة هي **الإنجيل**.

ومن مشاهير آباء الرهبنة الذين سطعت نجومهم في سماء الكنيسة:

للتجمعات الرهبانية المنحدرة من نتريا والقلالي لتستقر في هذا الوادي المقدس.

وفي نفس الوقت كانت هناك تجمعات أخرى في الصحراء الشرقية عند جبال البحر الأحمر بقيادة الأب أنطونيوس الكبير.

وجماعات أخرى في صعيد مصر بقيادة الأب باخوميوس. وهكذا نستطيع أن نقول أن القرن الرابع كان عصرًا ذهبيًا للرهبنة في مصر، انتشرت فيه الرهبنة بسرعة مذهلة، فبلغ عدد الرهبان عدة آلاف، ملأوا أرض مصر شمالاً وجنوباً وشرقاً وغرباً، وظهر فيه آباء الرهبنة



الرهينة القبطية فى مصر

الأب إيرينيئوس

دير القديس مقاريوس



القلالى وهى متاخمة لنتريا من جهة الجنوب الغربى وكامتداد لها بعد أن ازدحمت نتريا بالنساك. وجماعات أخرى فى الأسقيط (وادي النطرون) بقيادة الأب مقاريوس الكبير، حتى صار الأسقيط مركزاً

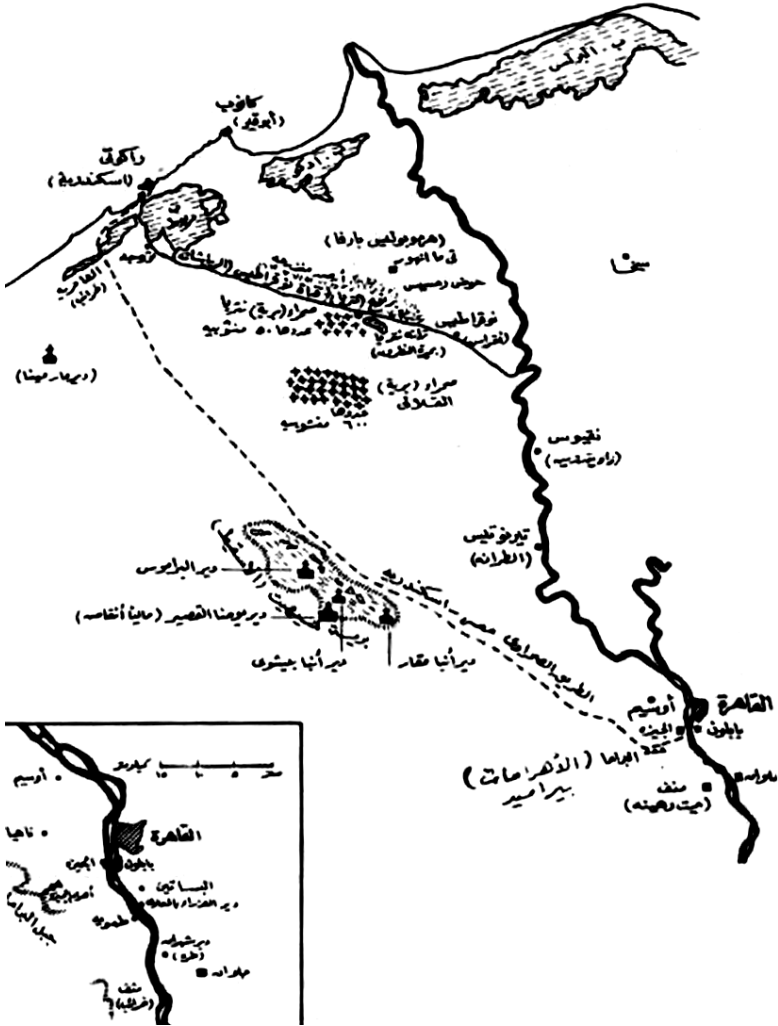
عندما نتحدث عن الرهينة فى مصر، فإننا نتحدث عن تاريخ يرجع إلى القرن الثالث الميلادى. فمنذ العصر المسيحى الأول، نشأ فى وسط المؤمنين إحساس قوى بقرب ظهور ملكوت الله، فراحوا يبيعون ممتلكاتهم ويسلمون أثمانها لرسل المسيح، ويقوم الرسل بدورهم بتوزيعها عليهم حسب احتياجاتهم الخاصة من القوت والكسوة، مكتفين بهما.

ظهرت بعدها حالات استشهاد رائعة، قدم فيها المؤمنون أفراداً وجماعات شهادة حية للإيمان بالملكوت غير المنظور، تحملوا فيها شتى صنوف العذابات المروعة، بفرح وصبر واحتمال أذهل معذبيهم! فروت دماؤهم شجرة الإيمان المسيحى فى العالم أجمع.

وما كادت تنتهى حالات الاستشهاد فى عهد الملك قسطنطين فى أوائل القرن الرابع الميلادى، حتى ظهرت الرهينة فى صورتها البسيطة الأولى، أناس قرويون تركوا العالم بكل ما فيه، تركوا الأهل والأقرباء والأصدقاء تركوا المال والمقتنيات، ضحوا بالزوجة والأولاد وكل متع الجسد، وخرجوا إلى الصحارى ليُشبعوا حبهم فى الله!

كانت البداية، خروج حالات فردية للتعبد خارج المدن والقرى بعيداً عن الناس، يمارسون حياة الصوم والصلاة فى نسك شديد، مكتفين بالقليل من الخبز والملح وبعض الخضروات، لكن دون أن يكون لهم منهج خاص أو نظام معين يجمعهم.

ومع بداية القرن الرابع بدأت تظهر جماعات تعيش معا تحت قيادة أب مدبر لحياتهم الروحية والجسدية. فنسمع عن جماعات فى صحراء "نتريا" قرب مريوط بالصحراء الغربية بقيادة الأب آمون، وجماعات فى منطقة



كما أشرت سابقاً أن وادي الحمامات ليس فقط وادياً لجلب أحجار يخن ولكنه يضم أشهر مناجم الذهب بالصحراء الشرقية وهو أم الفواخير.

كانت مناجم الذهب في مصر كثيرة تزيد على المائة منجم مقسمة بين وادي الحمامات ووادي عباد ، كذا "واوات" حول وادي العلاقي ووادي جبجبة وكذا مناجم كوش أو النوبة العليا . يتضح بالدراسة أن مناجم الحمامات وووات كانا يستخدمان بكثرة في عصر الدولة القديمة إلا أن ذهب كوش لم يستخدم بنشاط إلا من بداية الدولة الوسطى.

استخرج القدماء الذهب من عروق الكوارتز .. ولقد بلغ عمق التشغيل لعروق الكوارتز في بعض المناجم تحت سطح الأرض إلى ٩٠ متر أو يزيد .

ولعل من مميزات الذهب في الصحراء الشرقية أنه في معظم الحالات خشن الحبيبات ويوجد على صورة حرة أي غير مستتر داخل حبيبات كبريتورات الحديد أو الزنك أو الرصاص . لذا لم تكن هناك أدنى صعوبة في تحديد أماكن وجود الذهب . فكانت تؤخذ عينات من التربة المحيطة بالكوارتز وعن طريق الغربلة والتقليب اليدوي في صحون مفلطحة مع قليل من الماء أمكن معرفة إذا كان هناك ذهب ما بين الحبيبات من عدمه . فالتبر هو أول ما استخرجه المصريين القدماء من الذهب .. وعثر على قطع من هذا التبر في إحدى مقابر الكاب ، كان وزن إحداها تزيد عن ٢٨ جرام .

وكما أدركنا أن منطقة وادي الحمامات كانت مطروقة ومأهولة أكثر من أي مكان آخر بالصحراء الشرقية منذ عصر ما قبل الأسرات .. فلا عجب أن تكون مصادر الذهب الأولى قد أتت من هذه المنطقة .. حيث تم استغلال مناجم الفواخير وأم عش وزيدون وغيرها . ولعل الدليل الأكبر على غناء المنطقة بالذهب أنه على الجانب الغربي للنيل قبالة قفط .. تقع هذه المدينة المسماة "أمبوس" أي الذهب .

وكان الآلهة "مين" معبود "قفط" الآلهة الرئيسي لمنطقة وادي الحمامات - أنه الإله العظيم - القائم على الصحراء وحامي القوافل.



وجدت هذه الخريطة في إحدى منازل دير المدينة^٢ بواسطة القنصل الفرنسي بالقاهرة "دروفيتي" .. وقد باعها بعد ذلك إلى ملك سردينيا عام ١٨٢٤ وانتهى بها الأمر الآن بمتحف تورين بإيطاليا . أثارت البردية اهتمام كثير من الباحثين والذي أخطأ معظمهم فهمها حيث ظن "ليسيوس" أنها مخطط لمقبرة سيتي الأول، وأقرب "بيرش" من الحقيقة عندما اعتقد أنها خريطة لمناجم الذهب بالعلاقي حيث وجد ختم الذهب عليها .. وأيده في ذلك "بروغش" عام ١٨٥٧ .

وعندما فتحت البردية تكسرت إلى ٧ قطع سليمة .. رسم بها ستة طرق - أربعة ملونة باللون الوردي واثنان بلون البردي نفسه وبالوسط يوجد اسم سيتي الأول وبالجانب الجنوبي الغربي للخريطة يوجد جبل مرسوم باللون الأحمر كتب عليه جبل الفضة والذهب.

أول من خمن أن البردية تكون لوادي الحمامات هو "جاردينى" الذي وجد صلة ما بين هذه البردية وأوراق بردي أخرى قام بدراستها "ليبلى" عام ١٩٦٨ حيث تبين أن هذه البرديات لموضوع واحد . حيث كانت البرديات الأخرى تحوى رسم لجبل حجر البخن . حيث وضحت الخريطة مكان جبل الحمامات ومنطقة ذهب أم الفواخير وبئر الحمامات .. حيث تفرع من البئر ثلاثة أودية .. أحدهم يؤدي إلى البحر مباشرة وطريق آخر كتب عليه أنه يؤدي أيضا إلى البحر ربما عن طريق غير مباشر ربما ينتهى عند جبل جاسوس على البحر الأحمر . ورسم منطقة بياضوية في الوسط ملونة باللون الأخضر قد تدل على وجود بقعة ماء .. ورسم لمعبد صغير . ما هو الآن إلا خرائب ولا يجب الخلط بينه وبين معبد صغير بطلمي لا تزال أطلاله قائمة حتى الآن .





تدل على استخدامهم لمحجر وادي الحمامات. فأقدم النصوص الموجود بكثرة من الدولة القديمة في وادي الحمامات ترجع لزمن الأسرة السادسة ولعل النص الوحيد الذي يرجع لزمن ما قبل الأسرة السادسة هو نص يحمل أسم الملك خوفو من الأسرة الرابعة. ورغم وجود عدد كبير من التماثيل للملك منكاورع من الأسرة الرابعة مصنوعة من هذا الحجر إلا أنه لا يوجد نص يحمل اسمه هناك.. كذلك الملك أوسركاف من الأسرة الخامسة الذي وجد في معبد بآبو صير تمثال من حجر البخن لم يوجد له أي نص هناك.

ازدهرت منطقة وادي الحمامات ازدهاراً كبيراً مع بداية الدولة الوسطى والأسرة الحادية عشر، إذ نجد أن كثير من الحملات أرسلت من ملوك الدولة الوسطى لإحضار هذا الحجر المهيّب. وتعد النصوص الخاصة بالدولة الوسطى من أمتع النصوص الموجودة بالوادي حيث أشارت إحداها تمويل قافلة إلى وادي الحمامات قوامها ثلاثة آلاف رجل. ويعطينا "هنو" المرافق للرحلة عن تفاصيل أدق إذ أنه كان نصيب كل شخص يومياً ٣٠ رغيفاً يقوم الخبازين بصنعها أي حوالي ٦٠,٠٠ رغيف يومياً.

وقصة أخرى من عصر الملك منتوحتب الرابع عن عشرة آلاف رجل في حملة لجلب الأحجار اللازمة لصنع تابوت وغطاء له. وجدير بالذكر أن تلك الحملات كانت لا تضم فقط العمال أو الخبازين ولكنها كانت تحت حماية رجال مسلحين.. وذلك لحماية القافلة من مخاطر الطريق وهجمات البدو وكذلك حراسة الأحجار المقطعة.. ولا مانع من مساعدة العمال في بعض الأعمال إذا استدعى الأمر ذلك..

ففي عهد سنوسرت الأول أرسل ٦٠٠ جندي لحماية قافلة ذهب من أم الفواخير لنقلها إلى وادي النيل.

وفي عصور ما بعد الدولة الوسطى لا يزال حجر بخن واسع الاستخدام في أيام الدولة الحديثة.. ولعل أشهر النصوص التي تعود إلى عصر الأسرة العشرون، تلك التي تتحدث عن الزيارة الشخصية التي قام بها رمسيس الرابع وبعدها بإحدى وعشرين شهراً أرسل حملة تعد من أضخم البعثات التي أرسلت إلى وادي الحمامات. كان قوام هذه الحملة ٩٢٦٢ ولكنها فقدت أكثر من ٩٠٠ شخص بين أخطار الطريق ومتاعب وأعباء التحجير. حيث عاد من الحملة ٨٣٦٨ شخصاً فقط وسجل على أحجار الوادي العائدين وهم كالتالي :

على راسها:	
• خادم آمون	"رمسيس ناخت"
• الساقي وكبير الخدم	"أوسر مارع"
• الساقي	"نخت آمون"
• نائب الجيش	"خع ميترع"
• سيد البيت الأبيض	"خع مانير"
• القائم بأعمال التحجير	"آمون مس"
• رئيس العمال	"بكن خوفو"
• سيد العربات الحربية	"نخت آمون"
• الكاتب العسكري	"سونر"
• الكاتب الملكي	"رمسيس ناخت"
• الكهنة	٢٠
• رجال الأصطبل	٢٠
• قائد الأركان	"خع مع نر"
• المشاة العسكريين	٥٠٠
• قادة المشاة	٢٠
• جنود العجلات	٢٠
• مندوبي الصيادين	٢٠٠
• رجال الحاشية	٢٠٠٠
• الخدمات الخارجية	٨٠٠
• المندوب الأسمى	١
• شرطي الدرك	٥٠
• رئيس العمال	"ناخت آمون"
• رؤساء أعمال التحجير	٣
• نحاتون	٤
• مسئولو الترفيه	٢
• عمال المحجر وقاطعي الأحجار	١٣٠
• استثنى من العدد ٩٠٠ لم يعودوا	
• الاجمالي	٨٣٦٨



ولعل من دلالات اهتمام المصريين القدماء بالمحاجر والمناجم الموجودة بوادي الحمامات أنه قد وجدت الخريطة التي كانت معدة لحملة الملك رمسيس الرابع مابين بها أماكن الحجر والمناجم وكذا الآبار والمعابد ومساكن العمال والتي تسمى بـ"بردية تورين".

١- ليس في الأمر من مبالغة. ولا يدعو أيضاً للدهشة حيث كان الخبز قطعاً صغيرة مسطحة.
٢- كتبت هذه الخريطة بواسطة كاتب المقبرة المعروف للملك "آمون نختي" ابن "بوي"



كلمة رئيس التحرير

وادي الحمامات طريق الذهب .. والأحجار*



"ارسلنى سيدي إلى الحمامات، لكي احضر هذا الحجر الجليل، جحر لم يحضر مثيله منذ زمن الآلهة. لقد أمضيت ثمانية أيام ابحث في الجبال، لم أكن أعرف تحديداً أين يقع هذا المكان.. لقد قدمت نفسي إلى "مين"، "موت"، إلى كل آلهة الجبال.. قدمت لهم البخور فوق النار.. الأرض قد أضاعت لي في الصباح الباكر.. دلتني إلى طريق جبل الحمامات.. انطلق الرجال إلى الجبال، باحثين الصحراء كلها.. والآن قد وجدتتها.. كان يجب أن احتفل.. الجنود كانوا يهللون.. صليت إلى "موننتو" شاكرًا فضلته" من نص لـ "انتف" حامل الأختام الملكية والخادم الأكبر لـ "مين" في عهد الملك أمنمحات الأول.

وادي الحمامات، هو ذلك الوادي الممتد من "قفط" على الجانب الشرقي للنيل والقصير على البحر الأحمر.. ودون العديد من الطرق الموصلة بين النيل والبحر الأحمر كان طريق وادي الحمامات هو الأكثر شهرة وأهمية، حيث أنه يعتبر أقصر الطرق من النيل إلى البحر الأحمر حيث تستغرق القوافل خمسة أيام للوصول من قفط إلى القصير.

تأتى أهمية وادي الحمامات أيضاً من أنه هذا المكان الذي كان يحتوى على واحد من أهم مناجم الذهب في العصور القديمة وهو منجم "أم الفواخير".. كما أنه يحتوى على الحجر المسمى "بخن". حجر البخن أو "الجراى واكى" والذي اصطلح بين علماء الآثار تسميته "الشست" هو من الأحجار التي استخدمها قدماء المصريين على نطاق واسع وكان له مركز مرموق بين الصخور حيث أنه دأكن اللون، دقيق الحبيبات يقبل الصقل والتلميع في لمساته النهائية للتماثيل المصنوعة منه. كما استخدمه قدماء المصريين في عمل التوابيت، لكنهم لم يستخدموه في البناء.

هناك العديد من القطع المصنوعة من حجر البخن من عصر الأسرات الأولى الذي يُعتقد أن هذا الحجر قد بدء في استخدامه خلالها.. واستمر في الاستخدام حتى نهاية الأسرات الفرعونية. ومع أن لدينا الكثير من القطع والتماثيل المصنوعة من حجر البخن في عهد الدولة القديمة إلا أن ليس كل الملوك الذين تم استخدام المحجر في عهدهم من قبل الأسرة الرابعة تركوا نقوشا

*الصور من محجر وادي الحمامات - إهداء من Colin Reader



The Heritage of Egypt

العدد الرابع - يناير ٢٠٠٩

تاريخ وآثار وتراث مصر

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- الآراء الواردة فى هذه المطبوعة لا تعبر بالضرورة عن توجه الناشر أو رئيس التحرير بل تعبر عن توجه ورأى كاتبها .

الغلاف: Colin Reader

رقم الإيداع بدار الكتب 18063/2008

وادي الحمامات

طريق الذهب .. والأحجار

كلمة رئيس التحرير

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تصويب

نشر بالعدد السابق مقال "الحمامات العامة فى مصر" باسم د. محمد الدين إسماعيل والصواب د. محمد حسام الدين إسماعيل، ونعتذر عن هذا الخطأ غير المقصود

فى هذا العدد :

الرهينة القبطية فى مصر

الأب إيرينيئوس

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إصدارات جديدة



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السنة الثانية - العدد الرابع
يناير ٢٠٠٩