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Les recherches archéologiques dont le développement on observe récemment dans les sites prédynastiques et archaïques, les découvertes de nouveaux villages et des cimetières de cette période forcent à revenir aux endroits et aux monuments connus depuis longtemps. Les matériaux provenant des fouilles faites à la fin du XIXᵉ siècle et au début du XXᵉ étaient rarement publiés ou seulement notés dans des rapports préparatoires. Les analyses récentes des matériaux de Maadi ou les fouilles reprises dans les sites déjà examinés tels que Meriméé, Umm el Qaab ou Hiérakonpolis permettent de procéder à une comparaison détaillée et d’en tirer des conclusions plus justes que celles d’auparavant. C’est seulement l’enchaînement propre des résultats anciens et nouveaux qui peut mener à une reconstruction relativement complète des processus politiques, sociaux et économiques de la fin du IVᵉ millénaire, aboutissant à la création du royaume et d’une nouvelle société qui vécut dans le secteur égyptien du Nil.

Parmi les matériaux connus depuis longtemps les monuments décorés de scènes figurées occupent une place spécifique. Les manches de couteaux, les palettes en schiste ou les têtes de massues ornées de scènes avec des hommes et des animaux ont soulevé des discussions dès le moment de leur apparition pendant des fouilles ou dans des collections de musées. La plupart de ces objets ont été achetés aux antiquaires. Leur origine, leur datation et même leur authenticité ont été la cause des disputes et des opinions controversées1. Les


L’interprétation des scènes et des monuments entiers dont ils sont ornés cause aujourd’hui d’assez grandes difficultés. Les problèmes de bien comprendre le message prédynastique tardif sont amplifiés non seulement par le caractère fragmentaire des données possédées et par la publication d’une petite partie de matériaux découverts, mais aussi par l’absence d’une bonne chronologie relative embrassant l’Égypte et les civilisations de l’Asie du Sud-Ouest.

Une autre raison des difficultés consiste à la surestimation du degré du développement culturel et social des Égyptiens à l’époque de la formation de l’état. Le progrès qui s’est fait dès le début de la civilisation nagadienne était sans doute considérable, mais en même temps un gouffre séparait ces gens des réussites éclatantes du Nouvel Empire, un gouffre qu’on pourrait comparer à la distance séparant l’homme de notre époque de l’Européen du moyen âge. Cependant de nombreux chercheurs essaient d’interpréter les messages de l’époque prédynastique tardive ainsi que le prisme des réussites, surtout dans la sphère de religion et d’esprit, des époques postérieures bien épanouies de la civilisation égyptienne. Cela rappelle un peu la discussion entre les partisans d’une chronologie abrégée et prolongée, surtout s’il s’agit de la date de l’introduction du calendrier en Égypte.

Il semble donc qu’il faudrait plutôt chercher à simplifier au maximum les scènes interprétées, à en tirer les plus importants éléments déchiffrables pour l’homme contemporain. Il est évident que certains symboles ne sont pas pour nous clairs au même degré. Néanmoins c’est en voie de simplification ou même de schématisation qu’on pourra aboutir aux résultats plus satisfaisants que par la recherche de plusieurs sens d’une scène et par la façon de voir tout dans la perspective de religion et de magie. Il faut à la fois nettement souligner que
l'art égyptien montre un certain schématisme et une imitation de tous les moyens universellement connus de la reconstitution de la réalité. Pour arriver à ce but-ci les auteurs égyptiens se servaient d'une projection des objets si caractéristique pour leur art; à cause de cela leurs œuvres étaient anonymes.

Leur caractère conventionnel et leur schématisme se voient dès l'origine de l'art égyptien, de cet art conçu non pas comme l'expression des réussites artistiques, mais comme l'un des moyens de communication et de transmission des idées typiques de l'état et du pouvoir central en train de se former.

L'absence permanente des données matérielles rend évidemment difficile ou parfois même impossible le déchiffrement des images prédynastiques tardives conformément aux intentions de leurs auteurs ou plutôt des personnes ou des groupes qui les ont commandées.

Le palmier flanqué d'animaux est l'un des éléments de la décoration de l'époque qui nous intéresse. Ce motif est incomparable pour de multiples raisons. On le voit non seulement sur les monuments relativement nombreux, mais aussi il se montre proportionnellement le plus souvent dans le riche répertoire des scènes typiques de la fin de la période prédynastique. En même temps ce motif ou ses fragments les plus caractéristiques ne sont pas liés à une seule catégorie de monuments. Ils apparaissent sur les palettes en schiste, sur la céramique, les cylindres, et sous une forme plutôt dissimulée sur la tête de massue ou sur les manches de couteaux. Il ne faut donc pas s'étourdir que le rôle de ce motif et son importance ont depuis longtemps attiré l'attention des chercheurs, surtout qu'il fait penser à l'adoration de l'arbre saint, connue de la Mésopotamie et de l'Elam.

Le motif étudié a été représenté de la plus complète manière sur le revers du fragment de Berlin, de l'ancienne collection Spiegelberg2 (fig. 1). La partie supérieure du palmier, placée au centre, est flanquée de deux girafes antithétiques aux cous sinueux. Derrière la girafe de gauche un oiseau à long cou et bec est debout presque à la base du cou de celle-ci. C'est peut-être un flamant3, bien qu'il semble plus probable que c'est un jabiru du Sénégal. L'oiseau ressemble beaucoup aux représentants de cette espèce, identifiés par Houlihan sur les monuments prédynastiques4. De l'autre côté de l'arbre, presque sur la tête de la girafe on a montré un petit

1. Fragment de Spiegelberg
D'après, A. Scheer, *Die Altägyptischen der Vor- und Frühzeit Ägyptiens II*, Berlin 1929, fig. 53


3 Asselberghs, *Chaos…*, p. 289, figs. 155–156.

oiseau, probablement une pintade. Derrière la girafe un crocodile est couché parallèlement au bord de la palette. Bien que la scène abonde en détails, on remarque la manière réaliste de représenter les animaux. Le jabiru du Sénégal fléchit le cou parallèlement au cou de la girafe, comme il le fait en réalité, tandis que le crocodile se tient droit, ce qui est aussi conforme à la nature de ce reptile. Le réalisme est donc gardé, bien que la composition de la scène y perde.

Les revers des trois autres palettes sont décorés de scènes pareilles mais moins développées. L'une des plus connues est la palette du Louvre\(^5\), où des deux côtés du haut palmier aux racines dédoublées il y a deux girafes (fig. 2).

Comme Bénédite l'a déjà à juste titre souligné\(^6\), la célèbre Palette aux Vautours (fig. 3) est sans doute au point de vue artistique la meilleure œuvre qui représente la scène étudiée. Sur le revers de ce monument, conservé en partie, on voit un palmier et des girafes touchant son sommet. Au-dessus des animaux il y a deux petits oiseaux. La détermination de leur espèce a soulevé une vive controverse. Il semble pourtant qu'il faut se ranger à l'opinion de L. Keimer, confirmée par Houlihan, qui y voient les pintades\(^7\). Aussi bien l'arbre que les ongulés sont placés sur la même ligne désignée par le bord de la palette. Le fragment de Berlin\(^8\) (fig. 4) est le dernier monument où l'on trouve la scène examinée. Seule la partie inférieure est conservée; on y trouve un palmier avec racines dédoublées et les pattes des girafes. Tout cela est placé sur une ligne de base nettement marquée.

Ce n'est pas par hasard que sur toutes les quatre palettes on a montré des scènes ayant la même symbolique bien qu'elles diffèrent assez l'une de l'autre par les détails et par la façon de leur exécution. L'idée générale des représentations doit donc être identique et relativement facile à déchiffrer par le destinataire. Afin d'essayer de comprendre et d'interpréter cette scène il est important d'examiner d'autres monuments où tantôt elle-même tantôt des

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\(^6\) G. Bénédite, *Une nouvelle palette en schiste*, MonPiot 10, 1903, pp. 119—120.
\(^8\) Ciałowicz, *Les palettes...*, ibid. la littérature antérieure.
figures symboliques apparaissent dans configurations diverses. Notons surtout les fragments de la décoration des deux vases de Qustul, la girafe de l'une des scènes ornant la Petite Palette de Hiérapakopolis, le palmier de la tête de massue de Scorpion, certains cylindres (cf. ci-dessous) ou les girafes parmi les rangées d'oiseaux sur les manches de couteaux.

La décoration du vase L 23 – 38 de Qustul (fig. 5), la plus évolution, attire surtout notre attention. Au centre de la composition se trouve un arbre branchu avec en bas un dédoublement nettement marqué suggérant les racines. Un oiseau est perché sur une branche. Il est dessiné schématiquement, mais ses "oreilles" caractéristiques permettent, avec une certaine dose de probabilité, de l'identifier à une pintade. Sous l'arbre il y a un herbivore cornu, et derrière lui un crocodile. A gauche de la représentation centrale trois oiseaux rapaces (vautours?) déchirent les serpents. Sur les manches de couteaux se trouvent aussi des analogies à ce fragment-ci. Il y a pourtant des chercheurs qui n'acceptent pas cette interprétation de la première rangée placée sur la face...
5. Décoration du vase L 23–38 de Qustul
D’après: B. B. Williams, *Decorated Pottery and the Art of Naqada III*, MÄS 45, Berlin 1988, fig. 1
à bosse du manche Pitt-Rivers ou de Brooklyn¹². Mais la définition de ces oiseaux comme ibis semble être erronée. Leurs becs sont trop longs, gros et monstrueusement courbés, comme si l’artiste a voulu représenter un oiseau qui tient quelque chose dans son bec.

Tous les éléments les plus importants de la décoration du vase de Qustul se retrouvent sur les revers des palettes mentionnées ci-dessus. Le fragment Spiegelberg est le plus complet: à côté du palmier, des herbivores et des oiseaux il y a également un crocodile.

La décoration du vase de Qustul L 19–21 (fig. 6) est plus symétrique. Parmi les fragments conservés il y a deux paires de girafes antithétiques, entre les animaux à droite probablement un palmier avec des racines dédoublées, au sommet duquel un oiseau rapace déchire l’home dont on ne voit que la partie inférieure du corps et les jambes.

6. Décoration du vase L 19–21 de Qustul
D’après: B. B. Williams, *Decorated Pottery and the Art of Naqada III*, MÄS 45, Berlin 1988, fig. 2
Sur la tête de massue du roi Scorpion le palmier se trouve dans le registre inférieur. L’arbre est dans une enceinte. Dans son voisinage il y a le fragment d’une barque avec la poupe et la proue hautes; deux personnages, au bord d’une rivière ou d’un canal, exercent quelque travail. L’un d’eux tient dans sa main une pioche. Au-dessous à gauche les fragments des deux chapelles per-nou sont séparés par le canal.

La girafe, un autre élément du motif examiné qu’on trouve sur les palettes, apparaît sur la Petite Palette de Hiérakonpolis et parmi les rangées d’oiseaux décorant les manches de couteaux de Brooklyn, de Carnarvon et le peigne Davis.

Dans la partie inférieure du revers du premier des monuments cités on a représenté une girafe. Elle est debout à côté d’un personnage dressé, pourvu de la tête et de la queue d’animal; il porte un étui phallique et joue de la flûte. Ce personnage dit, selon S. Schott, représenter un chacal, selon J. Vandier un renard, et selon E. J. Baumgartel un animal divin13. Il est probable qu’on y a montré l’homme au masque d’animal, pareil à celui de la palette de Manchester qui attire les animaux au piège14. Il est étonnant donc de voir à côté de lui la girafe qui est représentée en opposition avec les autres animaux. Cette impression est en plus augmentée par la façon même de montrer l’animal ainsi que par le contraste distinct entre la paix majestueuse émanant du personnage et les scènes vives et dramatiques de la fuite des animaux menacés par le danger.

Sur les manches de couteaux et sur le peigne, mentionnés ci-dessus, la girafe placée entre les rangées d’écassiers est toujours au second plan. Sur le couteau de Brooklyn et le peigne Davis l’oiseau qui la précède tient dans son bec un serpent. Le manche Pitt-Rivers est trop abîmé, mais certainement la girafe y était aussi représentée.

Cette revue, bien que fort abrégée, nous fait poser la question sur la symbolique et le sens du motif du palmier, des girafes et de tous les éléments qui y sont plus ou moins liés. La constatation que ce n’était pas un élément uniquement décoratif, est indubitable.

Avant d’essayer de procéder à une analyse des relations mutuelles de différents fragments du motif examiné, rappelons les plus importantes opinions formulées jusqu’à nos jours. Selon J. Vandier c’est un motif asiatique des animaux antithétiques qui flanquent l’arbre saint15. Pour S. Schott et aussi pour H. Asselberghs le palmier symbolise de longues années de paix et d’amitié prévues par les girafes qui en ancien égyptien sont appelées “voyantes” et

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13 S. Schott, Hieerglyphen. Untersuchungen zur Ursprung der Schrift, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse 24, Wiesbaden 1950, pp. 15-16; Vandier, Manuel... p. 582; Baumgartel, The Cultures..., p. 94.
15 Vandier, Manuel... p. 585.
"prophétiques" (Seher, Künder)\textsuperscript{16}. W. Westendorf, en se basant sur l’analyse de quelques dessins prédynastiques, trouve que le palmier placé entre les girafes symbolise l’arbre céleste et le siège du soleil, tandis que les girafes supportent le ciel\textsuperscript{17}. On se pose donc la question quel était le rôle de ces animaux sur les manches de couteaux ou sur la Petite Palette de Hiéronopolis? Selon lui, à un certain moment, le rôle des girafes est repris par les serpopards dont les cous entourent le godet sur de nombreux monuments. Cette transition se voit, paraît-il, sur le fragment Spiegelberg, où d’un côté on voit le palmier et les girafes, et de l’autre les serpopards entourant le godet. La dernière constatation, concernant l’identité des girafes et des serpopards basée sur “la parenté” de leur pelage tacheté, doit être tout de suite rejetée. Le fragment Spiegelberg prouve plutôt que les deux motifs avaient un sens entièrement différent. Il est peu probable qu’un artiste prédynastique ait représenté la même idée sur les deux faces en se servant des symboles variés. Tous les exemples connus semblent prouver que les auteurs ont assayé d’exploiter au maximum la place et de créer soit les scènes de caractère distinct, soit les scènes qui s’unissaient en un tout formaient les étapes successives d’un processus ou d’un événement. Pour B. B. Williams\textsuperscript{18} sur certains monuments le palmier se transforme en une rosette qui reste en relation si étroite avec le pharaon qu’en Nagada IIIa elle pouvait constituer le substitut de sa figure comme le sérekh. Selon son opinion la palette du Louvre est contemporaine à la tombe L 19 de Qustul et date de Nagada IIIa\textsuperscript{19}.

Aucune théorie parmi celles citées ci-dessus ne semble être juste. Les monuments que nous avons mentionnés sont à peu près contemporains les uns des autres. Leur provenance se rattache non seulement au territoire de l’Égypte entier (la Paute du Louvre passe pour être originaire du Delta), mais aussi à la Nubie. Cette constatation et le fait que la girafe est un animal typiquement africain semblent prouver que le motif du palmier flanqué de deux girafes antithétiques fut introduit et développé dans le secteur égyptien-nubien du Nil. La présence des scènes dans lesquelles ce motif est enrichi d’éléments supplémentaires ou est limité aux symboles isolés qui le représentent ou le signalent, en est une confirmation supplémentaire. Le motif emprunté à un autre centre culturel serait copié fidèlement et montré d’une manière affectée. Dans notre cas, ce qui se voit surtout sur les palettes, aussi bien les animaux que l’arbre étaient sans doute observés par les artistes, ainsi ils sont montrés avec beaucoup de réalisme basé sur des observations perspicaces.

L’opinion de Schott, citée ci-dessus, semble s’appuyer sur une théorie, universellement alors admise, que la création de l’État au bord du Nil était


\textsuperscript{17} W. Westendorf, \textit{Uräus und Sonnenscheibe}, SAK 6, 1978, p. 207 et suiv.

\textsuperscript{18} Williams, \textit{Decorated Pottery…}, pp. 34-35.

\textsuperscript{19} Ibidem, p. 11.
l'effet de campagnes de courte durée dirigées par Menes. La conquête de la Basse Égypte par Narmer identifié à Menes était le résultat final de ces actions, commémorées par la célèbre palette en schiste de ce souverain. Il semble donc tout à fait compréhensible et en plus adéquate à la mentalité des Égyptiens que le palmier était traité comme instrument de propagande des années heureuses et tranquilles, et la girafe comme prophétesse qui les a prédites. L'image actuelle de ces événements basée surtout sur les résultats de nouvelles recherches dans le Delta, dans la Haute Égypte et en Nubie, ainsi que sur une nouvelle analyse des matériaux antérieurs, est tout à fait différente. L'unification de l'Égypte et la création de l'état ont duré longtemps et dépendaient de la lente infiltration de la culture de Nagada dans l'Égypte du Nord, et des contacts de caractère économique, surtout commercial; on ne peut évidemment pas exclure des conflits et des opérations militaires.

L'hypothèse de W. Westendorf est fondée, semble-t-il, sur la conception, mentionnée d'ailleurs au début, selon laquelle on observe le même degré du développement des cultes et de la religion égyptienne à l'époque prédynastique et dans le Nouvel Empire. Il en résulte donc que tous les symboles et les scènes difficiles à déchiffrer doivent être liés au culte ou à la religion. La conclusion de W. Westendorf en est l'exemple typique: les animaux hérédiques représentés sur les palettes sont la version primitive du motif postérieur or Isis et Nephys sont placées de deux côtés d'Osiris ou du soleil. En partant des représentations relativement tardives on ne peut pas comparer les périodes aussi éloignées, d'autant plus que les représentants de l'espèce montrés en tant qu'animaux hérédiques prennent aussi part à l'action qui se passe sur la face décorée des palettes (cf. p. ex. la Petite Palette de Hiéronopolis). Les théories, selon lesquelles les figures des animaux se trouvant sur les plus anciens monuments égyptiens, connus des sources postérieures comme dieux et leurs symboles, s'appuient plutôt sur des hypothèses que sur des conclusions certaines. La manière sélective de traiter les matériaux et de les analyser sous l'angle de leur utilité aux thèses admises d'avance en est l'une des raisons.

Le culte du soleil existait sans doute sous quelque forme à l'époque prédynastique, bien qu'il ne soit peinement documenté qu'à partir de la Vre dynastie, au moment où le culte d'Osiris se développait. A l'époque prédynastique tardive on peut identifier avant tout les dieux de fécondité (p. ex. Min) et de belliqueux patrons de différents chefs de tribus, ensuite de premiers souverains comme par exemple Horus, Set, Nekhebet ou Ouadjet. Le développement social et politique des anciens Égyptiens a duré très longtemps, et ses débuts, fondements des processus et des idées postérieures ne se font voir qu'à la fin de la période prédynastique. De nombreuses formes, connues plus tard, apparaissent dans doute pour la première fois à la période qui nous intéresse, mais personne n'en déduit la conclusion que tous les problèmes liés au pharaon et à l'état furent alors définitivement formés. La vie religieuse s'épanouit de

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20 Westendorf, Uuden, p. 216.
manière identique. Si nous comparons les sociétés installées au bord du Nil et en Mésopotamie, nous retrouvons l'une des raisons principales pour laquelle le développement et la formation des États furent tout à fait différents. En Mésopotamie de la fin du IVe et du début du IIIe millénaire régna le régime théocratique qui fut l'une des causes de la création du système des villes-États en non pas d'une vaste monarchie; tandis qu'en Égypte, dans la même période, on observe une prédominance du pouvoir laïque sur le pouvoir sacré. Un chef de tribu ou un ancien souverain est mis au premier plan, et le dieu joue le rôle d'un protecteur un peu écarté. Il semble que c'est plutôt le dieu qui est le souverain du cosmos, que le souverain qui est le dieu de la terre. Cette tendance se développait incessamment pour atteindre son apogée pendant le règne des monarques de la IVe dynastie. La transformation qui apporta au pharaon le titre de dieu et le repoussa un peu à l'ombre, se fit au tournant de la IVe/Ve dynastie. A partir de ce moment, presque sans cesse jusqu'à la fin de la civilisation égyptienne, le dieu occupe une position dominante.

Il n'existe aucun document écrit concernant les relations mutuelles entre le dieu et le souverain, daté de la période qui nous intéresse. Les documents postérieurs, écrits en vue de la situation dominante du dieu, ne sont pas vérifiables. La seule source qui reste est l'art. Il fut sans doute créé à la commande du roi, exprimant et propageant l'idée d'un seul état et la puissance de son souverain. Le pharaon invincible est le plus important motif; ilunit différentes régions du pays, et la plus importante fête est le jubilé du règne du roi et non pas la cérémonie en l'honneur du dieu.

Quel est donc, d'après ce qu'on a dit, le sens du motif étudié dans notre article? Le palmier semble être un symbole laïque et non pas religieux. Ses relations étroites avec le symbole de la victoire c'est-à-dire les oiseaux qui déchirent leur victime sur le vase de Qustul, le prouvent. Rappelons l'une des interprétations possibles, mentionnée plus haut, des premières rangées de la face à bossette du manche Pitt-Rivers et de celui de Brooklyn. Il semble qu'on y a représenté les oiseaux qui déchirent les serpents. Dans les deux cas, à la fin de la rangée, on a montré un poisson. Bien que la façon dont ils sont figurés soit différente, il faut y voir l'image d'un silure. D'après B. Williams[2] sur le second des manches cités il y a un scorpion. Nous trouvons que la ressemblance aux représentations du silure dans le nom de Narmer est trop grande pour qu'elle soit fortuite et que les deux animaux divers sont dessinés de la même manière.

Ainsi le palmier est un symbole de l'état et du pouvoir. Mais, e est-il, comme le veut B. Williams[2], un substitut de la figure du pharaon? Le roi est montré sur les monuments connus sous la forme d'un homme ou d'un animal qui traditionnellement personnifient la force et la puissance, les traits alors les plus importants. Le Sefekh, même sans nom, semble être lié plutôt à la fonction qu'au personnage. La palmer pourrait donc représenter l'état aussi bien au sens du territoire que de l'idée d'une seule monarchie unissant les

terrains situés dans le secteur égyptien-nubien du Nil. Cette interprétation peut être confirmée par trois autres monuments. Le premier est le cylindre de Hélonan, une feuille de palmier, flanquée de deux girafes, y constitue le groupe central. Entre les girafes et la feuille il y a deux figures dont uniquement celle de gauche est déchiffrable. Elle ressemble au symbole de Min, placé verticalement. Derrière la girafe de droite se trouve le serekh surmonté d’un faucon, mais sans nom du souverain. Derrière la girafe de gauche on voit un homme aux bras levés et un quadrupède indéterminé. Sur le cachet de Tarkhan il y a un rectangle avec le nom de Narmer. Le silure se trouve en haut et à côté du ciseau il y a un palmier entre deux ronds. Le troisième objet est un cachet de Siala (en Nubie). Au centre, un faucon est perché sur un arbre, les longues branches duquel touchent la base. À gauche un arc, plus loin le fragment d’une figure d’homme, à droite deux animaux sauvages (chiens, lions ?). Toutes les figures sont tournées à droite. Au-dessus de cette image rangée d’oiseaux (?).

Le premier des monuments examinés prouve que le palmier et le serekh sont deux choses différentes, le second confirme que le palmier en tant que symbole de la plus grande importance put être lié au nom du souverain. Le cachet de Siala peut suggérer la conquête (le faucon) du pays (l’arbre) déterminé par un arc. Ce dernier signe symbolise les ennemis étrangers de l’Egypte, dans ce cas-ci peut-être la Nubie.

Le palmier du registre inférieur de la tête de massue de Scorpion pourrait désigner le pays d’où le souverain est venu (la barque) et ensuite a célébré quelques importantes cérémonies, montrées dans le registre médian. Si la rosette près du nom de Scorpion et près de la figure de l’employé sur les monuments de Narmer est réellement une transposition du palmier, elle peut aussi symboliser l’état: Scorpion — maître de l’état, employé — serviteur du maître de l’état. Notons en plus la présence de la rosette sur le manche de couteau de Brooklyn. Elle se trouve dans la partie inférieure de la face plate, près du poisson qui est la réplique de celui représenté sur l’autre face, derrière la rangée d’oiseaux et de serpents. Comme on l’a déjà signalé ci-dessus il représente probablement le silure qu’on peut lier au nom de Narmer. Et dans ce cas-ci la rosette serait un élément du titre du roi que le déterminerait comme maître de l’état. D’autre part il ne faut pas oublier que la rosette n’a pas toujours fait partie du titre. Celle du couteau du Gébel-Tarif semble être uniquement un élément de remplissage. Il faut pourtant souligner que ce

27 Cf. note 11.
monument est tout à fait différent de ceux qui ont été jusqu’à ce moment étudiés. On y a appliqué d’autres règles de composition de sorte que l’ensemble est statique est artificiel. Ni au point de vue de la forme ni du style on ne peut le comparer aux plus importants monuments de la période prédynastique tardive.

Quel était le rôle des animaux flanquant le palmier (l’état), surtout les girafes représentées le plus souvent? Étaient-elles son gardien, ou symbolisaient-elles plutôt deux parties du pays qui puisait sa force et sa prospérité dans la création de l’état uni? Cette dernière possibilité semble être la mieux documentée par la Palette aux Vautours. Son avers représente la victoire, son revers le profit qui en résulte. On a l’impression qu’aujourd’hui bien ce monument que ses parois ont le caractère d’un instrument de propagande créé ex-post.

Le girafe de la Petite Palette de Hiérakonpolis est le seul animal qui prend le parti de l’homme au masque. Ces deux figures contrastent avec les autres de la scène de chasse du revers. Leur calme et leur caractère statique ne sont pas sans doute fortuits. La figure au masque peut être prise pour un chasseur qui attire des animaux au piège, tandis que le rôle de la girafe n’est pas trop clair. De même la présence de la girafe dans les rangées d’oiseaux sur les manches de couteaux et le peigne Davis n’est pas apparente. Dans ces cas-ci peut-on la traiter comme personnification du pays où ces événements avaient lieu, ou plutôt comme force protectrice équivalente?

D’autres figures qui sporadiquement apparaissaient dans l’entourage du palmier et des girafes devaient aussi avoir un sens évident pour les Égyptiens de l’époque. On le voit d’après leur répertoire limité à une pintade, un crocodile et un jabiru du Sénégal. Peuvent-elles symboliser de petites unités territoriales ou tribales faisant partie des régions principales qui formaient l’état entier? Leur place derrière les girafes et leur figuration assez rare témoignent de leur rang de moindre importance. Personne ne les identifie aux dieux, de même qu’on n’identifie aux dieux les animaux sur les manches de couteaux.

La juxtaposition des éléments examinés ci-dessus, bien qu’ils ne soient pas tous suffisamment clairs pour nous, semble montrer que le rôle principal du motif étudié consistait à propager l’idée de l’état unifié. C’était probablement lié à la tentative de l’introduction du pouvoir central, d’une seule monarchie unifiant le pays. Ce motif a le caractère d’un instrument de propagande, qu’on voit surtout dans sa liaison avec des scènes ou des symboles représentant la victoire. Il ne nous est pas possible de préciser définitivement, si les monuments qui en étaient décorés furent créés en même temps que les événements aboutissant finalement à la formation d’un état uni, s’ils étaient faits ex-post, après une période de colonisation intense et des opérations militaires locales. La seconde possibilité paraît plus probable. Les fragments du motif examiné se trouvant sur les monuments de Scorpion et surtout sur ceux de Narmer suggèrent que leur modèle a été formé plus tôt. Par contre à l’époque des pharaons cités ci-dessus rien que la présentation même d’une partie de la scène figurant le palmier et les girafes antithétiques suffisait pour faire comprendre l’idée de l’image.
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SOME REMARKS ON EGYPTIAN RESERVE HEADS

The reserve heads are one of the unique phenomena in Egyptian art. Notwithstanding the fact that they happened to appear for a short time, only during the 4th and at the beginning of the 5th Dynasty, they left a durable impression on the sculpture of the Old Kingdom. Being of supreme artistic quality, they were probably the products of royal workshops, thus making a gallery of the most eminent people living in the times of Cheops and Chephren (Figs. 1 and 2). Although these heads, regarding their different character, attracted the attention of many scholars dealing with Egyptian art, they still await a scientific description adequate to their significance.

The reserve heads, contrary to their appearing to be a statue part, are separate objects. They represent different facial types, indicating clearly an attempt to observe individual features of the person depicted. The majority of them were made of white limestone, with only two having been executed in well-processed mud. Intentionally severed at the neck base, they are resting on a smooth, polished face of cut. The face is executed in simple plans of the view with the details very carefully rendered, whereas the coiffure remains strongly

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schematic. In some cases, all deficiencies ensuing both from stone flaws and sculptor’s errors were masked by means of a thin layer of plaster\(^2\). Other heads seem to be unfinished, bearing the incised lines correcting the outline of the coiffure, or those horizontal parallel to the neck base, delimiting the latter’s real length\(^3\). It is difficult to establish now whether they are the corrections

\(^2\) Cf. the head from Museum of the Fine Arts in Boston, Inv. No. 21329 (Reisner, *A History*, Pl. 56b); see also the head belonging actually to the Egyptian University (Hassan, *Giza VII*, Pls. III and IVa).

\(^3\) Cf. the head from Hildesheim, Inv. No. 2138 (Junker, *Giza I*, Pl. XIIIa, d) or correction of length of the neck of the head from the Cairo Museum, Inv. No. 44.974 (Junker, *Giza I*, Pl. XIVa, b).
made by a sculptor who was too pressed for time to complete his work, or if these heads performed some additional function. Also, the incisions that appear in the rear part of some objects and run from skull apex down to it base are difficult to explain⁴, probably intentionally made for some ritual purpose. An equally absorbing fact is the absence of the ears in the all hitherto known reserve heads. Parts of them were simply not hewn. Made of some separate material fragment, they were later connected to the head with pins. But the majority, in spite of the fact that they made an integral statue part, were

⁴ Cf. the heads from the Cairo Museum, Inv. No. 46.217 (Reisner, A History, Pl. 52b) and Inv. No. 46.215 (Reisner, A History, Pl. 53a).
secondarily chipped off and damaged. When and why, is presently difficult to ascertain, but this phenomenon could indicate a double role performed by the reserve heads in the funerary ritual.

An important criterion differentiating between the objects of this group is the way of rendering the eyebrows. Part of them was carefully but conventionally carved in high relief. In the order, the eyebrow is represented in a more impressionistic manner by anatomical transition of the forehead surface into eye-sockets with the rounding of their upper ridges, but without emphasizing the eyebrows' line. A transitional form between these two types is a head from the Cairo Museum, in which the eyebrows were rendered anatomically, but their lower ridge was additionally incised, or the eyebrows from Boston where the incision is so deep that it results in a skin fold, particularly visible at the nose base.

These two different ways of eyebrow modelling cannot, unfortunately, constitute a dating criterion, although the relief-carved eyebrows appear only with the early heads, dated to the reign of Kheops or the beginning of the reign of Khephren. They may be the indications of the activity of two sculpture schools of Sculptor A and Sculptor B, distinguished by G. A. Reisner. A feature characteristic of the majority of reserve heads is a specific arrangement of eyeballs which causes the feeling as if each of the persons depicted would stare into the space somewhere aloft. C. Vandersleyen concluded from it that this expresses the ancient belief in the participation of the human soul in a cyclic movement of stars, and the eyes of the deceased are especially directed to the circumpolar stars maintain the permanent link of the soul with the universe.

An interesting trait of this group of objects is the way in which the coiffure is outlined. All the heads, both male and female, have very schematic coiffures, with the short hair covered either in low relief or marked by an engraved line delineating the forehead, ear area and rear part of a head. It is conceivable that the said line was a kind of rough drawing. It often proves to be not a single line, but a series of corrections, and the final effect was meant to be a coiffure in high relief. It could testify to the fact that these heads were modelled only

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3 The ears almost preserved in the head: Museum of the Fine Arts, Boston, Inv. No. 14.719 (Reisner, A History, Pl. 54b); and heads with plates after the ears e.g.: the head from Cairo Museum, Inv. No. 46. 218 and the head from Museum in Boston, Inv. No. 21.320 (Reisner, A History, Pl. 56b).

4 The head from Museum in Cairo, Inv. No. 46.217 (Reisner, A History, Pl. 52b) or the head from Boston Museum, Inv. No. 14.717 (Reisner, A History, Pl. 52a).

5 The head from Cairo Museum, Inv. No. 46.215 (Reisner, A History, Pl. 53a), or the head from Boston Museum, Inv. No. 14.718 (Reisner, A History, Pl. 54a).

6 Museum of the Fine Arts in Boston, Inv. No. 46.218 (Reisner, A History, Pl. 53b).


after a depicted person's death. Since they probably come from the royal workshops, they could have been a posthumous gift of a ruler and part of the funerary equipment.

Regrettably, in spite of the stylistic analysis of reserve heads, it is difficult to discern the elements and criteria dating, both relatively and absolutely, of the objects under investigation. Some stylistic trends can be observed, however too inconsistent to form definite styles. It can probably be ascribed to scarce comparative material or to the lack of direct access to most objects. It is possible that these heads were created by the artists belonging to one school and the same generation, so being contemporary, with the differences between them ensuing from artistic individuality.

There are several problems associated with the reserve heads which seem to be disputable and call for a renewed consideration. The first of those is their purpose and role in the funerary ritual. Three principal theories on the subject exist.

L. Borchardt is of the opinion that they were placed in a tomb to deceive evil spirits in case they wanted to capture an actual head. H. Junker suggests that these heads were the substitute of real heads when these latter became destroyed, and served as a guide to an errant soul on its to a proper tomb. Thus, their purpose was similar to that of the statues placed in serdabs or open chapels. The third theory was forced by N. B. Millet, who maintains that the reserve heads were sculpting models, as for instance the famous head of Nofretete and some of the heads or masks found at el-Amarna. They served as models for the artists to copy the facial features when executing funerary statues and reliefs. Perhaps they also made a basis for making death masks. According to the author of this theory, this can explain the specific incisions at the back of the some heads, corrections at neck base adjusting its length, incisions marking the outlines of the coiffure, ears etc. The destruction of the ears could have also taken place in the course of removing a plaster or mud mask from a stone mould.

The above theory is disputable. First of all, it seems illogical to execute the prototype in such a troublesome material as stone. It would be much simpler to shape it in such plastic, cheap and easily accessible Nile mud or plaster. An ostracon sketch would be much easier for carving reliefs, as often used to be done. The purpose of these models also appear obscure. They are dated to the reign of Kheops and Khephren. In this period, around a funerary stela, a royal gift made in a royal workshop, exterior chapels were built most often of brick covered by lime mortar, consisting of one or several chambers. Except for the mastaba superstructure and the stela which were royal gifts, the remaining part of the tomb with its decoration were made at the tomb owner's expense. It can

12 Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal, p. 129.
14 Millet, The reserve heads, p. 130.
be hardly believed that, regarding such a developed bureaucracy, the task of decorating the mastabas belonging to all most eminent state officials was undertaken by a royal workshop. This work must have been accomplished by the minor sculptors. Would the artist of the royal atelier have carved a prototype for other sculptors not connected with it?

We also cannot omit the role performed by the reserve heads in the development of the mumification process and the beliefs related to it\(^6\). It seems feasible that in the mastabas of more important courtiers of the 4th and 5th Dynasties, a stone model appeared as a more precious head substitute together with a linen-wrapped body. It had not displaced the linen modelling of face, but accompanied the latter. In the minor burials of the period plaster masks were found. In later times, the tombs of even the greatest courtiers were equipped only with plaster masks, and in the First Intermediate Period with cartonnage masks, to be subsequently transformed into inner anthropoid coffins. Thus, the reserve heads can be regarded as a prime example of the excellent art of the highly developed and flourishing state, whereas later masks are to be recognized as an indicator of looming deterioration of Egyptian art, with the resorting to the cheaper materials, simpler in treatment and less durable, and to less complicated technologies.

Another important problem connected with the reserve heads is their localization in the tomb. H. Junker locates these heads in the passage linking the shaft bottom with the burial chamber\(^7\). They were to be situated in a small niche executed in the blocking of the passage at its very end from the shaft’s side. This niche was additionally blocked with a big, massive stone, the so-called portcullis, provided with one, two or even three holes at the level of the statues’ eyes, meant to serve it in order to communicate with the exterior world. Such an explanation is supported by many arguments. First of all, most of the heads were found on the shaft’s bottom close to the portcullis (15—16 of them). It appears, as a matter of fact, inconsistent that the Egyptians, so security conscious with regard to burials, should at the same time leave the blocking system in a part that is its weakest and most easily penetrable point. The blockade employed in the period in which the reserve heads occurred was constructed in two ways: the entire length of the passage linking the shaft with the burial chamber was filled with carefully dressed stone blocks fixed with lime mortar, or at the two ends of the passage, both from the chamber and the shaft side, solid walls of dressed, mortar-set limestone were erected, with the space between the walls being filled with debris. From the shaft’s side a massive stone was sunken as an additional safeguard, and often in order to hamper its removal it was placed in a specially designed trough. The entrance to the chamber blocked and portcullis stone in its place, the shaft was additionally filled with debris. The above-mentioned means of protection indicate ancient Egyptians utmost care for the earthly remains and their conviction that no safeguard was too excessive to protect them. Thus con-

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\(^6\) Smith, *A History*, p. 27.

\(^7\) Junker, *Giza I*, p. 203 and *Giza III*, p. 22.
sidered, the presence of the niche being simply a breach in the blocking wall is strange. Another argument against this theory is the preserved remains of the blockade. Neither of them indicates the presence of any niche, with no traces of the latter surviving. Also the portcullis stones may both confirm and undermine Junker's theory. Some of them display holes in their upper parts, but their number does not correspond with the number of the reserve heads found. They could have served, for instance, to transport a huge stone into a shaft. Through the holes the ropes were pulled, and the slab was sunken. Despite the fact that most holes are in the upper part of the stone, simple resistance calculations prove that, notwithstanding the enormous weight of the slab, load distribution inside is adequate to retain its statics and prevent the slab's cracking along the holes. Junker's theory could be supported by a head found in Saqqara South\textsuperscript{17}. It was probably discovered on the bottom of a 6th Dynasty tomb, pillaged not traditionally through a shaft, but by means of a drift made on the other side of the mastaba. The confirmation of the second view — that of G. A. Reisner\textsuperscript{18}, locating the reserve heads within the precincts of the burial chamber — is the head from Cairo\textsuperscript{19}. It was discovered, together with other gifts in a chamber destroyed by a flood, but otherwise intact. A. L. Kelley suggests\textsuperscript{20} that the heads originally used as sculptural models were thrown into the tomb after the funerary ritual had been completed and the chamber was blocked. Considering the artistic level of the heads, their additional value as a probable royal gift and the ancient Egyptian's beliefs in the necessity of preserving facial features through their portrayal, it seems rather inconceivable that they should be thrown into a shaft among the debris and rock waste, and not placed inside the chamber or funerary chapel together with other valuable gifts.

It can be distinctly seen that, considering such an important problem as the localization of heads in tomb complexes, we are forced to rely on speculations rather than established principles. So, if possible, it should be aimed to verify this information and to find the data in unpublished field documentation (mainly those of the excavations of H. Junker and G. A. Reisner) and, depending on the results, to raise this problem again as an element in the consideration of the function performed by these said heads in the funerary ritual of the 4th and 5th Dynasties.

\textsuperscript{17} The head found probably in Saqqara South by A. Fakhry in the season 1952/1953, see J. Leclant, \textit{Fouilles et travaux en Égypte, 1952/53}, Orientalia 23, 1954, p. 69.

\textsuperscript{18} Reisner, \textit{A History}, p. 65.

\textsuperscript{19} The head found 1935 in Giza by Selim Hassan in the grave of "Chephren's daughter" (Hassan, \textit{Giza VII}, pp. 4—5).

\textsuperscript{20} Kelley, \textit{Reserve heads}, pp. 6—12.
Tomasz Podgórski

THE HORUS DRESS AS REPRESENTED IN THE TEMPLE OF AMENHOTEP III IN LUXOR

Among the royal attire of the 18th Dynasty, the Horus dress had undoubtedly played the foremost role. This special ceremonial feathered garment, richly endowed with magical meaning, has been identified for the first time as being used by the pharaoh for the pure incarnation of Horus among the painted reliefs of the temple of Thothmes III at Deir el-Bahari. However, it may date back even to the Middle Kingdom, and its first certain instance comes from the early 18th Dynasty when it was depicted on the south exterior wall of the alabaster shrine of Amenhotep I in Karnak (Fig. 1). From then onwards, it was widely represented in most major temples of the 18th Dynasty, both cult and funerary, with altogether 34 examples known to the present writer. Among others, a very good example of this dress comes from the 18th Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu, where it was worn by the king led by Atum and Montu in a scene located left to the entrance to room 1.

The Horus dress is also abundant in the Luxor temple, particularly in its southern part. The present paper aims at an analysis of its appearance in some chambers together with the scenes in which it was employed (Fig. 2).

Beginning with the sanctuary, on the north wall left to the entrance (XIX 187), there is a scene where the king is led by Atum and Horus to Amun. In this exceptional case the king’s torso remains bare, and he has only the lower

1 T. Podgórski, Royal Plume Dress of XVIII Dynasty, MDAIK 40, 1984, pp. 103–121.
2 H. Pillo, ASAE XXII, 1922, p. 240.
3 All numeral markings according to: B. Porter, R. L. B. Moss, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Texts, Reliefs and Paintings II. Theban Temples, Oxford 1929 (and the 2nd edition).
part of the Horus dress (a developed ṣḏwḥ) with a ḫprḥ as headdress (Fig. 3). This scene is situated in the vicinity of the scene of fanning the fire and that of sacrificing the offerings.

Another important chamber is the hall with columns (XVII), performing the function of the room of offering table to the sanctuary. In the new Kingdom temples, this room used to be located as an intermediary between the hypostyle halls and the cult chambers in the rear part of a temple. Here, this Opfertischsaal lies symmetrically on temple’s axis and is situated transversely occupying almost the entire width of the temple. On the east wall (169) in the lower register, the king is led (ḥs n nsw) by Montu to Amun in the presence of Mut and Dptt. He wears the Horus dress and ḫprḥ (Fig. 4). In the same room on the west wall in the middle register (173) the king performs ḫbr ḥḥsw before Amun-Min (?). He wears here the Horus dress with an ḫḥs (Fig. 5).

Next, in the small cult chamber XXII, on the east wall left to the entrance there is the ḫs n nsw scene (198) in which the king is conducted by two gods (one of them is Atum). Only the lower part of the royal figure has survived.

Another example of the Horus dress to be found in this temple is in room XIV, where in the fifth scene of the lower register on the west wall (157) the king is led by Atum and Horus to Atum. The headdress in this case is an ḫḥf. The function of this chamber remains obscure in spite of many reliefs being contained in it.

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6. Ibid., Pl. 12, 42.


In the birth room (XIII) on the north wall in the third scene of the lower register (153) the king performs the *hwt bksw* ritual before Mut (sic). The appearance of this goddess in such a ceremony is most unusual in this period, but it can be partly explained by the role she played in this very chamber, being the patron goddess of king’s mother. The upper part of king’s figure is damaged.

In due course, the Horus dress appears in the room of the sacred bark of Amun (XI) in the fourth scene of the middle register on the east wall, where the king wearing also an *jhs* performs *hwt bksw* before Amun (138).

The last instance of this dress in the southern part of the temple is in the room VII/125 on its north wall, where the king makes *hwt bksw* before Amun-Min. The Horus dress is provided with a pendant. This chamber is the room of offering table for the chapel of the sacred bark of Amun.

Apart from this southern complex, the Horus dress is also to be found in more frontal parts of the temple. On the north wall of the processional
to ensure fertility and good crops in a magical way. This scene often used to be
situated in the context of such events as the Sed feast, coronation, and
sometimes st3 mrw$t, running with oar and vases, and hoeing the earth. The
headdress coming most often with ceremony is the 3if crown, which is also the
case in the Luxor temple (once in combination with an jbs) with four instances
of this particular crown. There are three instances of the jbs wig (once with the
3if crown), and two times it is the hpr$ helmet that accompanies the Horus
dress. In the two remaining scenes the headdress in unknown. Very often, hwt
sw used to be performed before Min, or the syncretized aspect of Amun-Min
(Kamutef), which comes as no surprise regarding the nature of this god, being
also connected with Horus as early as the Pyramid Texts (PT 1948 b).

Another rite involving very often the Horus dress is bs n nsw, belonging to
the coronation cycle as an entry episode15. In this case, the function of the said
dress is obvious, since the king acts as the "newly risen Horus"16. The scene of
receiving the king by the god(s) has similar significance, and usually precedes
bs n nsw (in the Luxor temple very close to the entrance).

T. v. Schuller-Götzburg has reconstructed the cult route pursued by the
king in the Luxor temple17, giving the following sequence of chambers:
—XXIII—IX—V (cf. Fig. 2). It can be observed that the Horus dress is
present in the most important chambers of the temple (Schuller-Götzburg has
excluded from this route room XIII, regarding its peculiar character); specially
considering bs n nsw, it must have existed a purposeful location of this scene in
this temple, very close to the important entrances.

The Horus dress appears for the last time in the Luxor temple on such a
wide scale in the New Kingdom. With the decline of the 18th Dynasty, it
became discarded in its classic form and other kinds of feathered attire came
into vogue, to testify until the last days of independent pharaonic state to the
most strongly rooted dogma, identifying the king with Horus.

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16 C. Aldred, The New Years Gifts to the Pharaoh, JEA 55, 1969, p. 76.
17 Götzburg, Zur Semantik..., p. 16.
3. King Amenhotep III wearing the lower part of the Horus dress and a ḫpḥ in the ḫs n nsw scene; reproduced from Götzburg, Zur Semantik..., Pl. VII, 135, and Pl. IX, 135

4. King Amenhotep III wearing the Horus dress a ḫpḥ in the ḫs n nsw scene; reproduced from Götzburg, Zur Semantik..., Pl. VIII, 37 and Pl. IX, 37

5. King Amenhotep III wearing the Horus dress with an ḫbs (not shown) in the ḫwt ḫḥsw scene; reproduced from Götzburg, Zur Semantik..., Pl. VIII, 9

colonnade of Amenhotep III, right to the entrance to the hall of Ramses II, in the second of the lower register Tutankhamun (or Amenhotep III), usurped by Horemhab, wearing the Horus dress with an 3ṭf is received in the temple after leaving the palace by Amun and Mut. On the opposite side of the entrance there is a similar scene arranged symmetrically, with the same deities and the king wearing the same paraphernalia.

Finally, on the east wall of the hypostyle of Amenhotep III, the scene first on the left represents the king in the ḫwt ḫḥsw scene before Amun, in which the former wears the Horus dress with the combined headgear of an 3ṭf and ḫbs.

Altogether, eleven known examples of the Hors dress appear in this temple: five in the scene of ḫwt ḫḥsw, four in the ceremony of ḫs n nsw and two in the reception of the king by the gods.

The ceremony of ḫwt ḫḥsw, i.e. driving the four calves before a god, is an ancient rite known from the Old Kingdom temples of Wenis and Sahure13. It seems to be connected with agriculture and resembles threshing14, being meant


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PALESTINIAN POTTERY FROM TELL EL-FARA SOUTH IN THE COLLECTION OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN CRACOW

A group of Palestinian vessels are being kept among the collections of the National Museum in Cracow. In the wake of closer examination, it has been successfully established that several of them come from W. M. F. Petrie's excavations at Tell el-Fara South.

The site is situated on Nahal Besor, in the borderland between Judea and the Negev. The problem of its identification has not been decidedly resolved, and both Petrie's proposal to link Tell el-Fara South with Beth Pelet and W. F. Albright's theory connecting it with Sharuhen remain unaccepted.

1 This pottery was donated by the Institute of Archaeology in London following the action of Violet and Władysław Włoch. Their activity was described by O. Hirsch-Dyczak, Dary muzeów brytyjskich, Prace Archeologiczne 19, Studia z Archeologii Śródmieśmorskiej 3, Kraków 1974, pp. 57–62 and also by J. Michalczyk, Kroścady, arrasy i ity, Dziennik Polski, 29 – 30 XII 1990, pp. 5 and 8. Thanks to a kind help of Mr. Mirosław Kruszynski, M. A., whom I would like to express my appreciation, an archival note was obtained from the Institute of Archaeology, London University. It shows, that the vessels discussed in this paper had been transferred to Cracow on March 25, 1948 (the note is handwritten by K. M. Kenyon in a list containing an inventory of nine vessels from Tell el-Fara, and five other vessels as well as one fragment from Tell el-Fara or Tell el-Hesi). Concerning other examples of ancient pottery from the donation of Mr. and Mrs. Włoch to Cracow, see Z. Kapała, Cypryjskie ceramiki krakowskie w zbiorach Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie, Studia Archeologiczne 2, Warszawa 1984, pp. 13–16.

2 Petrie, Beth Pelet I, p. 2.

The excavations were conducted in the years 1928—1929 on behalf of British School of Archaeology in Egypt. In the course of the campaign, the tell and adjoining cemeteries were explored. Two excavation seasons proved an almost uninterrupted settlement on the tell from Middle Bronze IIB until as late as the 1st century A.D.4

The analysis of the material from Middle Bronze IIB coming from the excavations on the tell and cemeteries (comparative studies on pottery by K. M. Kenyon5 and D. Price Williams on acarabs6) have resulted in some more exact determination of the chronology of the site. It is thought that the settlement had begun in the later phase of Middle Bronze IIB period, contemporary with reign of the 15th and 16th Hyksos dynasties in Egypt. The obscure stratigraphy of the tell and complete lack of finds on the cemeteries from the mid-9th to the 7th century B.C. indicate the settlement hiatus in this period.

The identification of eight vases from Tell el-Fara South presented here has been achieved by means of confronting the markings borne by them with excavation reports7 and a publication by J. G. Duncan contemporary with them, systematizing the pottery finds from Palestine within the framework of typology created by W. M. F. Petrie8.

It has been successfully proved that five among the vessels presented here (Cat. Nos. 1—5) come from the cemetery "500". A more systematic description of the tombs situated in it was undertaken by D. Price Williams9. Having used the information contained in original tomb cards, kept in the Institute of Archaeology in London, and catalogues of the museums which acquired that pottery, he was able to elucidate many obscurities and inconsistencies in hurriedly published excavation reports. He failed to reach all materials, among others some contained in the present paper, yet he mentions that "three of these divided groups were given to Mrs. Wloch, Poland and so disappeared."10. Thanks to this work, it was possible to establish several mistakes connected with excavation markings on two from among the vessels presented here (cf. Cat. Nos. 2 and 3).

All the vessels considered here belong to the native tradition of pottery making in Palestine. They are very typical and characteristic of the periods they date from, i.e. Middle Bronze IIB and Iron II, at the same time being the instances of the most popular finds originating from Tell el-Fara South.

Regarding the fact that Palestinian objects are so rarely encountered among Polish collections, this group is of particular importance for didactic and exhibition purposes, with its significance augmented by having its provenance established.

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3 Williams, The Tombs, pp. 150—151.
4 Petrie, Beth Pelet I; E. Macdonald, J. L. Starkey, L. Harding, Beth Pelet II, London 1932. See also the list mentioned above in note 1.
5 Duncan, CPP.
6 Williams, The Tombs.
7 Ibidem, p. 3.
CATALOGUE

1. Bowl

Inv. No. MNK XI - A - 679 (formerly Inv. No. 87626). English Cat. No. E. V. 23/1. Inside the ring of the base, markings: F577c and 23G4 with Indian ink. The same is marked with pencil at the lower part of the body [F stands for the first letter of the site’s name, 577 for tomb number, c denotes the position in the tomb complex, the markings 23G4 inform on the place in typology where 23 denotes the type “Carinated bowls”, while G4 designates its internal differentiation]11. Height: 7.8 cm. Max. diam.: 16.3 cm. Base diam.: 5.4 cm. Dark beige, well-fired clay. Scarce amounts of inorganic admixtures, fine- and coarse-grained. Light beige, with a very delicate slip on the whole surface of the vessel. Small losses on the rim and one insignificant vertical fracture of the vessel’s rim. Base: jagged. Mineral, beige layer on the surface.


A bowl on low ring base, with hemispherical body, bent inwards in its upper part. Mouth spreading out, with S-vented rim. The vessel represents one of many variations of the carinated bowls type, widespread in the entirety of Palestine and Syria. Middle Bronze IIB.


11 It was possible to explain the meaning of these markings thanks to above publications, presenting the excavations’ material.
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Petrie, Beth Pelet, Pl. L; Duncan, CPP, Pl. 23:G4; Williams, The Tombs, pp. 104—105.

2. Bowl

Inv. No. MNK XI — A — 685 (formerly Inv. No. 87625). English Cat. No. E. V. 39/1. Inside the ring of the base markings: F576c and 23G4 with Indian ink; with pencil: IX [the vessel was mistakenly marked: it comes not from tomb 576 but from tomb 574; the meaning of the remaining markings like in Cat. No. 1].

![Image of a bowl](image)


A bowl on a fairly tall ring-base, of half-round body and wide mouth made through inverting the walls at some 2/3 of vessel's height, and their repeated widening upwards. Rim is rather strongly everted. The bowl of the type as Cat. No. 1.


BIBLIOGRAPHY: Petrie, Beth Pelet I, Pl. L; Duncan, CPP, Pl. 23:G4; Williams, The Tombs, pp. 100 and 103.

3. Bowl

Inv. No. MNK XI — A — 682 (formerly Inv. No. 87624). English Cat. No. E. V. 14/1. On the bottom of the base markings: F548 and x2G with Indian ink, in bending of the body part: 548 28Y2 with a pencil [the vessel was mistakenly marked: not Y2 but Y4 or Y5; the meaning of the remaining markings as in Cat. No. 1]. Height: 6.8 cm. Max. diam.: 15.5 cm. Base diam.: 5 — 7 cm. Dark beige well-fired clay. Small amounts of fine grained inorganic admixtures. Light beige, very delicate slip on the whole surface of the vessel. Rim jagged in one place, with mineral beige layer on the surface.

A bowl on a low flat base, with a hemispherical body, bent inwards in its upper part. Mouth widening outwards, with S-everted rim. The bowl of the type as Cat. No. 1.

Cf. Cat. No. 1 and besides: Kenyon, Jericho I, p. 274, Pl. 160:10 (the closest type appears in tomb group III).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Petrie, Beth Pelet I, Pl. L; Duncan, CPP, Pl. 28: Y4 or Y5; Williams, The Tombs, p. 3.

4. Juglet


A juglet of fusiform body, pointed at the bottom. Slender, cylindrical neck slightly widening upwards, with a shaped spout. Single handle, round in diameter, connects the upper body with the mouth just below the rim with rom slightly inverted. A standard example of dipper juglets type, widespread in the entirety of Palestine and Syria. Middle Bronze IIIB.


BIBLIOGRAPHY: Petrie, Beth Pelet I, Pl. L; Duncan, CPP, Pl. 51:GIV; Williams, The Tombs, p. 103.
8. Juglet


BIBLIOGRAPHY: unpublished.


ABBREVIATIONS


Duncan, CPP — J. G. Duncan, Corpus of Palestinian Pottery, London 1930.

Grant, Wright, Ain Shems IV — E. Grant, G. E. Wright, Rumeliah, Ain Shems Excavations IV, Hoveford 1938.


Williams, The Tombs — D. Price Williams, The Tombs of the Middle Bronze Age II Period from the "500" Cemetery at Tell Fara (South), London 1977.
5. Juglet

Inv. No. MNK XI—A—675 (formerly Inv. No. 87622). English Cat. No. E. V. 27/3. On the shoulders, number 500 with a pencil. On the bottom, almost illegible in Indian ink: W. B. 19/3 [the number "500" is most probably the name of the cemetery in which the vessel was found without any context]12. Height: 12.0 cm. Max. diam.: 8.0 cm. Diam. with a handle: 8.5 cm. Dark beige clay. Fine- and coarse-grained inorganic admixture. Light beige slip. Part of the mouth with a neck is missing. Vertical fractures running from vessel’s shoulders to the lower body, then horizontally along the line of the bottom.

A juglet of cylindrical body and separated, slightly convex bottom. The convex shoulders blend into narrow and short neck somewhat widening upwards. Strongly everted mouth. Hand-make handle, rectangular in cross-section and bending at right angle, connects the rim and the upper part of the body. Standard example of cylindrical juglets type, widespread in the entirety of Palestine and Syria. Middle Bronze IIB.

Cf: Duncan, CPP, Pl. 74. The vessel belongs to "Oil flasks" type; the closest subtypes: 02, 03, 023 come from cemetery "500". Albright, Tell Beit Mirsim IA, pp. 77–79, Pls. 9:2, 5, 15:1–3, 6 ("Cylindrical juglets" appear in strata G–F, with most of them found in stratum E; also encountered in stratum D); Guy, Megiddo Tombs, pp. 150–151, Pls. 25:11, 26:3, 6, 27:1, 2, 18, 46:18, 47:11; Kenyon, Jericho I, p. 286, Pls. 142:7, 186:3, 189:12, 212:7 ("Cylindrical juglets" occur in tomb groups III–V. The closest type B1 appears in the same groups); Amiran, Ancient Pottery, pp. 107, 112, 146, Pls. 23:12–13, 34:17–18, 46:2–3; Williams, The Tombs, p. 9, Pls. 4:3–4, 13:7–11, 22:6–10, 26:5–7, 51:4 ("Cylindrical juglets" were found in cemetery "500" in very large quantities, among others in the tombs 545, 551, 555 and 556).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: unpublished.

6. Juglet

Inv. No. MNK XI—A—678 (formerly Inv. No. 87629). English Cat. No. E. VII/65/1. On the shoulders next to the handle, following markings: FL68x in Indian ink, on the lower part of the body: IAG70 with a pencil. It was impossible to establish the meaning of these markings on a basis of excavations’ publications. Height: 13.8 cm. Max. diam.: 6.6 cm. Diam. with handle: 8.4 cm. Brick-red, well-fired clay. Inorganic fine-grained and individual coarse grained admixtures. Dark red slip. Well preserved, with slip partly abraded. Traces of white deposit. Very distinct traces of turning as rings outside and inside the neck.

A juglet of ovoid body and rounded bottom, with short neck, slightly widening upwards. Rim flattened, cut inwards. Small vertical handle, triangular in cross-section, connects vessel’s rim with the shoulder. A standard example of round-bottomed juglets, common in the entire Palestine. Iron II A.

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12 Duncan, CPP, p. 5.
Cf.: Duncan, CPP, p. 6, Pl. 53:D (the vessel belongs to the type of "long-necked juglets"); Albright, Tell Beit Mirsim I, p. 83, Pls. 68:33—47, 69:19—30; Albright, Tell Beit Mirsim III, p. 149, Pls. 17:1—6, 18:10—30 ("elongated, one-handled juglets" come from stratum A); Aharoni, Beer-Sheba I (very similar vessel comes from locus 66); Amiran, Ancient Pottery, pp. 251, 256, 259, Pls. 84:13—15, 85:12—13, 86:14—15, 87:8—12, 88:16—18, 89:20—21.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: unpublished.


7. Juglet


A juglet of irregularly pear-shaped body with slight bend marking the transition into a rounded bottom. Fairly wide short neck widening upwards; somewhat thickened rim. Irregularly shaped, triangular in its cross-section handle links the rim with the shoulder. The vessel of the type as Cat. No. 6. Differences: atypical body, less frequently encountered.

Cf.: Cat. No. 6 and also Duncan, CPP, Pl. 73:C5 (the vessel belongs to "one-eared flasks" type); Grant, Wright, Ain Shems IV, Pl. LXIV:42 (a vessel of similar form but with shaped spout was classified here as typical of Iron IIA).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: unpublished.
Joachim Śliwa
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A NOTE ON EGYPTIAN SCARABS FOUND IN POLISH TERRITORIES

Among the few Egyptian objects found in Poland, the small group consisting of scarabs (coming from Zadowice, Leśno and Sadzarzewice) belongs the most important category of unquestioned imports⁵.

Hitherto, only the scarab from Zadowice, province of Kalisz (Fig. 1), was relatively well known from literature⁶. Its description, however, contained some inaccuracies. It was discovered in 1954 in the course of excavations in a Przeworsk culture cemetery. The scarab was in the smaller of the two urns of the cremation burial No. 95 (presumably it was the grave of a woman with a child, so the scarab has been discovered in the urn containing the ashes of the latter), dated to the second half of the 1st century A.D. (phase B1 of the Roman period).

During the examination of the material from Zadowice, it has recently been ascertained⁷ that grave No. 95, from which the above mentioned scarab comes, also contained in the same urn, the second scarab of analogous type (Fig. 2), yet considerably worse preserved, was found⁸.

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¹ Apart from scarabs, this group includes considerably earlier Ptah-Pataikos amulet from Ciesków, Lower Silesia. The remaining groups are the probable and alleged imports and also some fakes. On Egyptian finds from Polish territories see recently J. Śliwa, Some remarks on Aegyptiaca found in Poland, [in:] Hommage à Jean Leclant (forthcoming).

² Cf. recently E. Kiszewska, Zadowice. Trzykrotnie cmentarzysko na burzstynowym szlaku, Łódź 1984, p. 39 and pp. 89–90; Fig. 69 on p. 67. Presently, the Zadowice scarab is kept in the Archaeological and Ethnographical Museum in Łódź, Inv. No. 1954/107.

³ I am indebted to Dr. E. Kiszewska (Łódź) for her consent to publish the two Zadowice scarabs here, and also to Dr. M. Mieczarek (Łódź) for his valuable assistance in reaching them.

⁴ Glued from six parts. Archaeological and Ethnographical Museum in Łódź, Inv. No. III/53/13. The establishing of its presence only many years after the excavations in this site had been completed may indicate that it is necessary to review accurately also the material coming from other sites, since at present the ascertainment is also possible of the earlier unrecognized imports of this type.
Another find is a scarab from Leśno, site 2, province of Gdańsk (Fig. 3), discovered only recently (1987) in a barrow cemetery of the Wielbark culture (tomb No. 29). The scarab has been found in the burial pit amidst the charred human bones of an individual aged 30—45, with a Celtic coin. The whole burial complex of the Wielbark culture at Leśno is dated to the second half of the 1st century A.D. (phase B1 of the Roman period).

The last, fourth find belonging to this group is a scarab from Sadzarzewice, province of Zielona Góra (Fig. 4). It was mentioned relatively early (1897) as a find coming from an urn grave cemetery of the Lubończyce culture. Despite the fact that the object cannot be verified at present, there is sound evidence that it can be recognized as a certain import, found in one of the graves of the cemetery at Sadzarzewice, coming from the period between the end of the first half of the 2nd century A.D. and the turn of the 4th century A.D. (phases I—III of the Lubończyce culture).

It appears that all the scarabs mentioned above come from cremation burials, and this explains their rather poor state of preservation, i.e. partial burning and porosity of the faience mass that are made of. In the case of both Zadowice scarabs and the scarab from Leśno, the traces of turquoise glaze can be spoken of, whereas the scarab from Sadzarzewice bore the vestiges of blue glaze, and at the tips of the elytra covered with parallel grooves, narrow red stripes were marked. The dimensions of three scarabs were ca. 20 x 18 mm.

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5 These works are headed by Dr. K. Walenta (Łódź), whom I would like to thank for the information quoted and the drawing of the object. The scarab is kept in the collection of the Chair of Archaeology of Łódź University (Inv. No. 1031/87).


7 Cf. H. Jenisch, Skarabai-Genome von Sadersdorf, Kreis Gubin, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Bd. 29, 1897, pp. 169—170. The said scarab, now missing, was handed over already in the 19th century to the collections of the Gymnasium in Guben.

8 Cf. G. Domanski, Kultura lubończycka między Łabę a Odrą w II—IV wieku, Wrocław 1979, p. 39 and note 251; p. 89 and note 797, No. 615. It is possible to limit the beginnings of the Sadzarzewice cemetery to the period of the developed stage of phase B2 and to synchronize its decline with phase C2 of the Roman period. Cf. K. Gółowski, Przemiany kulturowe i osadnicze w południowej i środkowej Polsce w młodszym okresie przedrzymskim i w okresie rzymskim (Prace Komisji Archeologicznej 23), Wrocław 1985, p. 97 (see also pp. 169, 174 and 177). Some indications for the dating of the scarab can also be obtained from the glass bead soldered to its lower surface (see below, note 9): the developed stage of phase B2 can be most probably taken into account.

9 On the scarab from Sadzarzewice is moreover soldered a small bead and other elements. Cf. H. Jenisch, Skarabai-Genome, p. 169: "Er ist gefunden mit einigen melonenförmigen, bläulich weissen Perlen aus demselben Stoffe [geprägter Thon], von denen leider eine seiner unteren Fläche anhaftet (Fig. 2), ferner mir einem angeschmolzenen, aufgebrühten Bronzeringe von 1.2 cm Durchmesser im Lichten, mit zwei kleinen, eimerförmigen Breloques und mit einer milchglasartigen Masse, die einem Knochenstück angebacken ist". The melon-like bead mentioned here belongs most probably to type No. 171 distinguished by M. Tempelmann-Mączyńska (Die Perlen der römischen Kaiserzeit und der frühen Phase der Völkerwanderung im Mitteleuropäischen Barbaricum [Romisch-Germanische Forschungen, Band 43], Mainz 1985, pp. 39-41). Beads of this type are dated from phase B2 onwards; in the late Roman period they are relatively rare.

10 Cf. H. Jenisch, Skarabai-Genome, p. 170: "[...] dem Schlussstück der Flügeldecken haften kleine Streifen lackartig rother Farbe an".
1. Scarab from Zadowice, province of Kalisz
   Phot. by the Archaeological and Ethnographical Museum in Łódź

2. Fragmentarily preserved scarab from Zadowice, province of Kalisz
   Phot. by the Archaeological and Ethnographical Museum in Łódź

3. Scarab from Leśno, province of Gdańsk
   Drawing courtesy of Dr. K. Walenta, Łódź

4. Scarab from Sadzarzewice, province of Zielona Góra (now lost)
   After H. Jentsch, *Skarabäen-Gemme*, p. 169, Fig. 1 and 2
with thickness amounting to 10—11 mm\textsuperscript{11}. On the other hand, the scarab from Sadzorzewice was slightly larger, with its dimensions being 26 x 15 mm according to the information preserved\textsuperscript{12}. All these scarabs had the apertures situated along the axis, which enabled their suspension or insertion as a necklace element (these apertures were from 1 to 3 mm in diameter).

The modelling of all scarabs discussed here was naturalistic, with clear division of the back into elytra and prothorax. In all cases, moreover, the surface of the elytra is covered with parallel grooves. The prothorax is characteristically thickened, which can particularly be seen with the objects from Zadowice and Leśno\textsuperscript{13}. The obliterated details render it possible to establish the manner in which the head and clypeus were shaped, but is seems, as some discernible details indicate, that they were rather carefully modelled. The legs of the bugs were also modelled in a naturalistic, accurate way.

A flat, clearly distinguishable base was encircled with an engraved rim (Zadowice, Sadzorzewice). On its flat surface, in the case of the scarabs from Zadowice and Sadzorzewice, there were engraved signs, perhaps imitating the outline of a rearing cobra\textsuperscript{14}. The base of the scarab from Leśno was, on the other hand, completely flat, with no trace of any sign.

On the grounds of the mentioned features (dimensions, material and colour of the glaze, modelling traits and the signs on the base), some of the objects under consideration can be classified within the group of the faience scarabs, occurring on the northern coast of the Black Sea. Our objects fall into the 50c type distinguished by E. M. Alekseeva, spreading in the time-span from the 1st century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D., yet most often dated in this area to the 1st century A.D.\textsuperscript{15}

In the Polish prehistoric context, these finds fall into the northern and western peripheries of the Roman period cultures. They come, as has already been mentioned above, from the cemeteries of the Przeworsk culture (both objects from Zadowice), Wielbark culture (scarab from Leśno), and Luboszyce culture (scarab from Sadzorzewice) in the time from the middle of the 1st century A.D. to the first half of the 2nd century A.D. (from phase B\textsubscript{2} until the

\textsuperscript{11} The dimensions of the intact Zadowice scarab were 21 x 17.5 x 10 mm, whereas those of the fragmentarily preserved one were 20 x 17.5 x 10 mm. The scarab from Leśno has the dimensions 20 x 19 x 11 mm.

\textsuperscript{12} Cf. H. Jentsch, Skarabäen-Genome, p. 170: "Die Länge beträgt 26, die größte Breite 15 mm."

\textsuperscript{13} In spite of some differences, this is also the feature of the Sadzorzewice object.

\textsuperscript{14} As in the case of the so-called Black Sea scarabs (cf. below, note 15). Considering the scarab from Sadzorzewice, H. Jentsch (Skarabäen-Genome, p. 170) describes this sign as follows: "Der unteren Fläche ist eine dem Umriss — jedoch in Folge des begonnenen Schmelzprozesses nicht ganz genau — entsprechende Furchе eingegräut und im Felde innerhalb derselben, nahe der angeschmolzenen Perle ein Kreis und zwischen diesem und dem Längssie eine etwas einem F. ähnliche Zeichnung, endlich unter der Perle eine längliche Keulen-oder flaschenförmige Aus- tiefung. Eine Deutung der Zeichen hat sich bis jetzt nicht als möglich erwiesen."

\textsuperscript{15} E. M. Alekseeva, Antiknye bazy Severnogo Prikernomoria. Part I, Moscow 1975, p. 42 and Pl. 10.
developed stage of phase B₂ of the Roman period). In spite of some typological similarities with the so-called Black Sea scarabs, their occurrence is most probably linked with western trade routes, and primarily with the amber route.

Apart from the scarabs mentioned above, two objects of analogous features with the outline of a snake on a base clearly discernible are known from the Poznań collections (cf. J. Kubczak, ed., Museum Narodowe w Poznaniu. Zbiory starożytności. Katalog wystawy, Poznań 1983, Nos. 232 and 233). Their provenance is unknown, yet it cannot be excluded that they also come from archaeological finds in this country.
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THE IMPERIAL PROPAGANDA AND
HISTORICAL TRADITION ACCORDING
to a selection of coins from
the collection of Augustine
Czartoryski
Part I: The Fides-Concordia Group

The collection of ancient coins of A. Czartoryski in the Czartoryski Museum, Kraków, consists of nearly 600 pieces ranging from the archaic beginnings up till the early Byzantine period. However little of it looks to have been carefully collected, judging by its well-balanced chronological dispersal and artistic beauty of many pieces. A selection of the best preserved republican coins has been already presented in the Catalogue by L. Morawiecki¹. What regards the imperial pieces (about a half of the set) they have been so far only roughly dated and introductory read by S. Skowronek.

The imperial set records a broad range of historical problems. I have chosen solely one of them, as a matter of fact a fragment from the vast field of studies on the imperial propaganda, the subject having been more recently treated by N. Hannestad². In this narrow field of numismatics as related to propaganda the recent decades have been witnessing a very essential discussion concerning the proper interpretation of the message conveyed by the types and legends³. C. H. V. Sutherland’s analysis of the julio-claudian coinage has become, in a sense, a medium of the discussion and the aim of

² N. Hannestad, Roman Art and Imperial Policy, Aarhus 1986.
³ I am very grateful to Dr. Christopher Howgego, The Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, for a very inspiring discussion and exhaustive professional consultation. This paper and the next one, I am going to submit, owe to him a considerable number of improvements.
criticism. I would like to give some room to his opinion. "The real significance of the imperial coinage (...) should become sufficiently clear when it is once regarded as an instrument of policy, always in action, always assured of an audience, capable of both loud and soft tones in the language of achievement or promise". On the management of the mints: "the princeps exercised over the aes coinage a control no less close and efficient than that of the gold and silver". Of the years 52—54 A.D.: "At no other time is the possibility of manipulating the imperial mint-officials more remarkably displayed". On reflecting the power-struggle by the coinage from the last years of Claudius and the first of Nero, which "showed immediately in which direction the balance of power was swinging... The fundamental change which these types show can have been due only to the transmission of a new set of orders to the mint". The passage from p. 32 may be employed to serve as his final conclusion: "There is no place any longer for easy theories of the leisurely choice of types by individual mints, whether central or local: for any coinage of importance the theme of its message, and even its detailed presentation, was prescribed without the possibility of error". Turning to the other side I would not say that A. H. M. Jones expressed an "incisive critique of this approach". Jones as a matter of fact admitted that "some of the legends and types have a fairly obvious propaganda value... No doubt they were intended to be vehicles of propaganda, though their importance can be exaggerated". Jones' criticism consists of actually essential argument that "Latin legends meant nothing to the eastern half of the empire, where any one who was literate could read Greek only. In the western provinces the great bulk of the population, who spoke Celtic, Iberian etc... would be unaffected". The other essential point is that "the educated classes had something better to read than two or three words on a denarius". But not so much the critique itself is the essence of his paper as rather the wise and inspiring suggestion directed to the numismatists that they should "pay less attention to the political interpretation of the coins" as "they could do an immensely valuable work for the economic historian". The series of questions concerning the economic aspects compose the most essential part of the paper. Next M. H. Crawford developed one of the main objections expressed by Jones: the lack of convincing literary evidence regarding propaganda on coins. In my opinion both sides may regard the literary

5 CRIP, p. 28
6 Ibidem, p. 176.
7 Ibidem, p. 147.
10 Jones, p. 62.
11 Ibidem, p. 80.
data quoted and commented by M. H. Crawford to be of great value for their argumentation. One side, because they are scanty, the other because they are very meaningful. He argued that "there is little evidence for official interest in coin types and even less evidence that in the Greco-Roman world coin types which may be called programmatic had much impact", and added the new points to the debate: "The vast majority of the inhabitants of the Roman Empire, if they saw coins at all, saw new issues as a tiny part of a mass of issues covering a century or more". The most radical attack against C. H. V. Sutherland, M. Grant and their follow came from B. Levick: "This view of Roman coinage was influenced by contemporary events. It came into being when printing, radio, and cinema had made communication with the masses easier than ever before, in particular when totalitarian governments had begun to exploit these media to the utmost in their own interest; it was natural to see the Princes exploiting the coinage in a similar way". Having explained the sense of the word "propaganda" following the Oxford English Dictionary she argued that "there is something objectionable in talking of coins as a means of «propaganda», or even of their having a 'propaganda value' ... 'Publicity' and 'publicize' are the terms to be preferred". Next having strongly stressed the argumentation put forward by the earlier critics (the sporadic nature of the coinage, the indifference of the masses, the actual contempt of the upper classes) she developed her idea: "the coinage of a reign can be seen to make up a composite portrait of the ruler as he liked to think of himself, intended not as publicity but for internal, domestic, Palace consumption...". Personally I must say that the longer I was reading the book by C. H. V. Sutherland the more strongly I found myself convinced to his way of analysis. I would like to return to the point in the next paper I am going to submit and add some comments to C. H. V. Sutherland's argumentation.

I have employed a formal classification of the types and legends arranging them for reasons of convenience under two general headings: 'The Fides-Concordia Group (part I)' and 'The Image od Success in the Interior and Foreign Policy of the Emperor (part II)'. The first section will be considered in three aspects: the loyalty of the army, the Imperial House and "familiar harmony". The historical tradition itself can only be briefly reviewed here because of the necessary limitations.

Maximin I, Philip I and Probus placed FIDES MILITUM on their reverses (Nos. 8, 10, 11). This group representing the separate class of types is symptomatic for the III cent. All three of them, the short-lived military rulers came to power by way of military coup, assumed the purple from hands of revolted legionaries, had to fight the repeating revolts, finally all of them were

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10 Crawford, p. 57 f.
11 Levick, p. 104.
12 Ibidem, p. 105 f.
13 Ibidem, p. 108.
overthrown and murdered by their own soldiers (in case Philip it is not clear). Formal and standardized the type as it is, it hides some meaning, because it was struck in the period of dramatic political upheavals. Fides militum was not an empty slogan for the emperors themselves. They were simply entirely dependent on the loyalty of the guard and main legions. Their coinage was designed to gain fidem militum, who were paid with those very pieces and convince an ordinary citizen that the state was stable, what must have been constantly doubted in that period. The picture given by the historians essentially differs from the official image. At the very beginning of his rule Maximin had to face a series of military conspiracies and revolts\textsuperscript{19} and finally \textit{a sui\ textsuperscript{20} (scil. militibus) occideretur}, as it is epigrammatically stated by the author of HA (Max. et Balb. XI, 2)\textsuperscript{20}. Philip follows the same pattern\textsuperscript{20}. After a series of military mutinies fortunately suppressed, he was finally defeated by his most confident officer. The conclusion is given by Eutropius: \textit{Philippi duo \textellipsis ob exercitu interfeci sunt} (IX, 3, 1)\textsuperscript{21}. The list of rivals of Probus is again very much the same: probably almost all of them came from the military circles\textsuperscript{22}. Probus himself eventually \textit{cum per Illyricum iter faceret a militibus suis per insidias interemptus est} (Prob. XX, 1)\textsuperscript{23}. H. Mattingly stressed \textquote{the almost uninterrupted sequence of similar types in the IIIrd cent.\textquoteright} when \textquote{military loyalty, the basic virtue of the soldier, was chiefly conspicuous by its absence}\textsuperscript{24}.

Continuing the motive of Fides-Concordia we are coming to the second section: the Imperial House in face of the problem of succession, that incurable illness of the Principate. Here we are going to review the propaganda of adoption, dynasty and coregency.

Hadrian came to power in August 117. Both the course of events and their actors are matters commonly treated. They will be only briefly reviewed here when references to the coins are clear. From the very beginning the serious doubts were raised as to the legitimacy of the succession and immediately came out the issues of coins in order to convince the subjects to the official version\textsuperscript{25}.


\textsuperscript{20} Eutrop. Brev. IX, 1, 1: occisus est deserentibus eum militibus suis cum filio adhuc pueru.


\textsuperscript{22} The version related by Aurel. Caes. 28, 10 – 11 is slightly different. Philip died in the battle of Verona while his son \textquote{Romae apud castra praetoria interficitur}.

\textsuperscript{23} J. H. A. Crees, \textit{The Reign of the Emperor Probus}, Rome 1965, p. 113 – 116 on Saturninus and p. 116 ff. on Procul in and Bonosus; H. Mattingly, CAH, XII, p. 315: \textquote{Saturninus} \textquote{has enjoyed the full confidence of Probus himself}; ibidem, p. 316 on the mutineers in Spain and Britain.

\textsuperscript{24} Crees, p. 125 – 127: \textquote{circumstances of his death are most obscure}; SHA, Prob. XXI, 3: \textit{milites coniugiem eum... interemerunt}; Aurel. Caes. 37, 4; Eutrop. Brev. IX, 17, 3: \textit{interfectus... tumultu militari}; Zosimos I, 71, 4 – 5; Zonaras XII, 29.

\textsuperscript{25} Mattingly, RC, p. 154.

\textit{ADOPTIO} on aurei, AD 117, BMC, III, 5 and a parallel issue on denarii BMC, III, 42; Hannesländ on adoption, p. 191; for the constitutional problems of succession: M. Hammond, \textit{The Antonine Monarchy}, Rome 1959.
W. Weber carried out a thorough, in a sense judicial, investigation into the case. The results are damaging to Hadrian. Then when it became clear that Hadrian was determined to change radically the State’s policy and remove the closest collaborators of Trajan from the political stage, the doubts must have been replaced by anger in the army. The conflict came to the point of crisis. It finds indirect mention on the denarius (No. 1) under the guise of CONCORD (ia) and a stress laid on: Divi Traiani Filius. This aspect of Hadrian’s propaganda cannot be explained solely by a wish to procure a title to legitimacy. His persistent stressing of the act of Adoptio, his veneration to his “adoptive parents”, the slogans of Concordia or Fides Exercitum look “freudian”, as if they were expressing a complex of guilt and rising fear. His own propaganda speaks against him. As a matter of fact his contemporaries’ information was defective, but no one could expect clear evidence in case of the conspiracy of only a few of the most influential persons. The case was unclear. Yet it must have been certain for many men. The official version was not accepted by the public. The propaganda proved to be ineffective. In addition, ironically, as history likes irony, it was probably Sura who was represented close at the side of Trajan on the reliefs of the famous column, for sure not Hadrian.

That Hadrian’s “Adoptio” was a deceit, was a fact beyond dispute for the future generations of historians. Here historical tradition is strongly unanimous. It follows generally the pattern employed by Dio (LXIX, 1 f.). Dio called the authority of his well-informed father of senatorial rank and by that he wished his testimony to be suggestive and convincing (LXIX, 1, 2—4). The author of HA went even further and named Trajan’s candidate. It was Neratius Priscus “multis amicis in hoc consentientibus” (Hadr. IV, 8). The same did Themistius (Or. XVI, 250). His candidate was Quietus.

Now I would like to touch a more general problem of Hadrian’s image, the actual object of controversy, starting from the seesturis struck in thirties among the issue of the Imperial Virtues, that is a definite reference to Edictum Perpetuum (Ab. 2). Is CLEMENTIA solely an allusion to the judicial achievement? It cannot be that. Marius Maximus dicit eum natura crudelum

27 Hannestad, p. 191.
28 Ibidem, p. 145: “Concordia Exercitum... a motive which will return regularly when military anarchy threatens”.
29 E.g. in case of the four consuls Henderson rightfully asks if “there was really any conspiracy at all”, p. 49, as they were put to death at widely separated places, p. 48.
30 Weber, p. 303 and SHA, Hadr. VII, 3 on the extraordinary bounties to buy the favour of the people; Mattingly, RC, p. 148 on money largesses to the legionaries.
32 Henderson, p. 38: the dutiful son accepts the local story.
33 Dio’s version repeated: Aurel. Caes. 13, 13; Eutrop. Brev. VIII, 6, 1;
34 BMC, III, p. CXLII.
achievement? It cannot be that. Marius Maximus dicit eum natura crudelemuisse (SHA, Hadr. XX, 3); multis aliis interfectis vel aperte vel per insidias (ibid. XXIII, 8). R. Syme wrote about Vita Hadriani that "it is all fiction, «Vopiscus» at the peak of this performance" 35, while F. Millar devalued the testimony of Dio on Hadrian: "it is clear that Dio is using his material with hostile intent" 36. E. L. Bowie followed this reasoning and presented actually very inspiring material from Pausanias, Marcellus of Side, the poet, Athenaeus, Philostratus and epigraphy in order to show that Hadrian's repressive policy is a later fake 37. He quoted the disputable case of Favorinus. It does not look to be the best choice. In the light of evidence collected by E. Mensching Favorinus was banished (Fav. ex. 11, 8), next his portraits were removed from public places (Dio, LXIX, 3, 3f.). E. L. Bowie's choice from the HA might have been completed by a number of passages like the following one: me (Favorinum illum (Hadrianium) doctorem omnium credere qui habet triginta legiones (Hadr. XV, 13). Supposedly this opinion is more convincing for the historian from Eastern Europe than one from England. Dio's comments and factual evidence is comprehensive: ὃ φόνον τοὺς δεινότατος ἐς πάντας τοὺς τινὶ προέχοντας ἄν πολλοὺς μὲν κεφάλη συγκομιζὲ καὶ ἑκάστες (LXIX, 3, 3). Then Dio gave a list of victims (LXIX, 2, 5), including Favorinus, Dionysius (3, 5) and Apollodorus (4, 1–6). Besides it would be naive to believe that the execution of four men of the highest rank, as Palma or Quietus, did not cause a heavier loss of life among the ordinary men and minor figures from the circles of the executed generals. Consequently there may be some value in a statement by the author of HA: libertas denique et nonnullos milites insecutus est (Hadr. XV, 9). Moreover we should not forget that at the very time when the coins with Virtues (including CLEMENTIA) were being struck, Judea became a stage of extermination and devastation in a very modern sense of the words. E. L. Bowie based on the evidence taken mainly from the area of epigraphy and sophistic against historiography. It is a matter of understanding the nature of political conflicts. As regards epigraphy I cannot imagine an officially, as it was, erected monument that might have been critical over the contemporary Emperor. Quite contrary, the imperial epigraphy provides innumerable examples of repulsive servility. In my opinion if one is to make choice between declamatory and panegyric Second Sophistic on the one hand and Dio, Herodian or even HA on the other, there cannot be place for doubt in matters of political history. Dio himself was an experienced state's functionary with apparent feeling for politics, a quality generally lacking in sophists, poets and antiquarians. Certainly it is a matter of personal judgement. Hadrian's case was an undisguised absolutism. As a follower

37 A lecture said in Kraków in 1989.
of autocratic conceptions expressed by Plato in Politeia he aimed at exercising an unrestricted power. Therefore he must have had his political opponents and victims. It doesn’t seem his CLEMENTIA (No. 2) was a testimony of the counter-propaganda directed against the opposition, intellectual, military and popular accusing him of cruelty.

Next we are coming to S. Severus and his dynastic policy. What came out of his ambitious plans is well known. The As (No. 7) testifies his efforts to establish a new dynasty. The more striking the evidence of No. 7 is that those coins were issued very late, when the final ruin was imminent. Yet the hopes were still cherished by Julia, represented here as Venus Genetrix Mother of the Dynasty. The coin was issued after the murder of Geta and Plautilla. One can only imagine derisive comments resulting from such a propaganda. Here the coin is only its representative. The means were different. Fatally wounded Geta was to call μήτερ, μήτερ, τεκνόσσα, τεκνόσσα (i.e. Genetrix) (Dio, LXXVIII, 2, 3–4). Is this only an accidental parallel or an echo of the Severian dynastic propaganda bitterly alluded to? We cannot suspect Dio to have been derisive in this case. Undoubtedly others were. A comparison to Polynices and Eteocles must have been immediately suggesting itself to a Greek mind. This version was next even more elaborated along the Theban parallel. The author of HA has preserved a piquant story on Caracalla’s intimate relations with his mother (Carac. 10, 1; Geta, 7, 3). Following him were the other gossip writers of the IVth cent. Those were the inquisitive Alexandrians who attached the sequel to the whole story: καὶ τὴν πρεσβυτὴν ἱστάσθη κολούμενον (Herod. IV, 9, 3). Apparent hatred of antiseverian Herodian who poured out all his resentiments after the final fall of the dynasty and the cynism of the author of HA make of Julia even a more tragic heroin. Touching this problem we seem to face the Gordian knot of mutual distrust, injuries and vengeance, entangling the rulers and the public opinion. The “theory of opposites” is no longer valid. Dio seems to be the most acceptable of all in describing that independent, intelligent and tragic woman. The pathetic tone he struck at the moment of Geta’s murder does not sound altogether baseless: τῶν τε δύον ἐν τοῖς ἐκόνεις κόλασις ... ἀκμάλισαν ἐπείδη ... καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἄμετρος πάσα ἐλπίδη (LXXVIII, 2, 4) (LXXVII, 2, 3–4). It looks hardly believable that the coin (No. 7) was struck after the murder of her children and soon before the assassination of Caracalla. The suicide was to complete the story of Venus Genetrix.

40 Hannestad, p. 256—262 on his dynastic propaganda.
41 Other relevant coins: AETERNIT IMPERI, RIC 539 b with the family portrait; similar RIC 540; MATER AVGG, RIC 562; SAECVLI FELICITAS, Isis with infant Horus, RIC 577; VENVS FELIX, RIC 580.
42 Eutrop. Brev. VIII, XX, 2; Aurel. Caes. 21, 3.
43 "The scandalous stories about Caracalla’s ‘marriage’ to his mother may safely be put down to the invention of malice and hatred," BMC, V, p. CXCVI.
44 Compare: Herod. IV, 4, 3; SHA, Sev. XXI, 7.
45 Dio LXXIX, 24, 1; Herod. IV, 13, 8 suggests her murder: εἴς τινες εἴς τινες ἡλενωμένης ἀναχωρήσει.
The achievement of Julia’s and Septimius’ common goal, the establishment of the new dynasty, proved to be unattainable not because of their lack of political abilities, but because of the fatal conflicts within the family, standing in a striking contrast to the official image of the loving and united family. The portrait from Antikensammlung in Berlin showing Domus Divina in perfect unity, closely corresponds with the above bucolic tranquility radiating from the coins.

The third section of this account deals with coregency. The collection gives us opportunity to look at the case of Balbinus and Pupienus. Dio warns that “two or three men, who hold power together are not likely to agree” (XLVIII, 1, 2). A model of propaganda employed by the principes attests to this prediction. Strange to say, but in the course of solely 3 months they managed to strike a number of issues expressing in fact the same massage as it is represented on the reverse of the silver coin No. 9: their hands clasped in unity and the legend FIDES MVTVS AVG. Mutual distrust and conflicts soon brought a disaster. The author of HA laid stress on their incurable ambitions: et erant quidem discordiae inter Balbinum et Maximum etc. (XIV, 1). Curious but the biographer made use of the opposite word to their slogan (Concordia), as if he wanted to show hostile forces in a propaganda war. Herodian as if he deliberately liked to complete the above quoted passage from Dio, revealed the actual cause of their disaster with his characteristic feeling for politics: εἰς ἐπιτιμήματα μοναρχίας ἔπειται. ἄπειροι μάλιστα γέροντες ἀπολείποντα εἰς τινν (VIII, 8, 4).

Next is the class of coins with the imperial women. I mean here a specific group regarding “familiar harmony”. On the one hand, the idea of familiar unity had been exploited in clearly political purposes by the court, on the other it happened to be in many cases a subject of persistent malicious gossip of the public. We are approaching the area of intimate relations of what we almost always know next to nothing.

Sabina represented on denarius (No. 3) with the reverse legend: CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM was to give an edifying example of marital love and unity. The tradition hostile to Hadrian submitted to us an appendix to both of his marriages. The case of Antinous could be enough to throw light on his marital relations. Strange to say, but that intelligent ruler fanned the flame of

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46 Th. Kraus, Das Römische Weltreich, Berlin 1967, Taf. 156.
47 Other slogans from coins: CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM, PIETAS MVTVS, AMOR MVTVVS, CARITAS MVTVS; Ensslin, p. 80.
48 SHA, Hadr. XI, 7; XIV, 5–7; Aurel. Caes. 14, 7; Millar, p. 61 ff.
49 R. Lambert, Beloved and God. The Story of Hadrian and Antinous, London 1984, on Hadrian’s relations with Sabina, p. 73: “Antinous and his sweetness, sensitivity and skill, may have been a cohesive and mollifying factor”. A curious attitude I must say; on Sabina taken on the voyage to the East, included on Hadrian’s private expeditions in Egypt, ibidem: “The mention of ’concord’ and ’harmony’ on the coins may have reference to this temporary matrimonial amity”; Compare: Henderson, p. 130 ff.
gossip by intriguing treatment of the case, politically damaging, morally discrediting for the public image of his marriage. Every handbook of classical art illustrates the story. Neither coins nor the Hadrian’s diary could help his reputation (Dio, LXIX, 11, 2).

Next we have the sestertius of an exceptional fineness (No. 4): Faustina the Younger represented as a Vestal Virgine, a personification of modesty and loyalty to her husband50. A study by K. Fittschen makes possible to grasp a scale of the official propaganda on her behalf51. Here we have no facts. We can only repeat after the historians that her reputation was very controversial. The author of HA never disappoints our expectations if there is someone appropriate for calumny or derision. Telling the story of Faustina he does his best to make an impression on the reader and becomes actually destructive in his hatred (Ant. Phl. 19, 1—2; 19, 7). The testimony given more than two centuries later reveals the temperature of feelings of Faustina’s contemporaries and the atmosphere of intrigue so characteristic for the court of a despotic ruler or possibly for some opposition circles, frustrated because strengthless against the true authority of the two Antonines. Frustrated hence inclined to produce gossip. The real problem regards the very coin No 4. It is too early for the evidence of HA. One of the passages of HA regards Commodus, borne as late as 161. Other fragments give no name and no chronology. Hence it may well be a purely formal type showing the Empress—Pudicitia who “as consort of the Pontifex Maximus, shares in the honours of the Vestal Virgins”52. The story of Commodus and Caracalla and their wives are even more scandalous and hypocritc. After Commodus had come to power a nice denarius with Crispina as Concordia was issued (No. 5)53. One more model marriage for the subjects and a clear message of stability directed to the opponents, as the beginnings we’re not easy for Commodus. The author of HA, that master of inventive, is here very talkative and informative while describing a way of living of Crispina’s husband (Comm. I, 3; I, 7). He takes pleasure in long descriptions of Commodus’ sexual excesses (e. g. Comm. II, 8; V, 4 etc.). Herodian adds to the picture the conflict between Crispina and Lucilla (8, 4). The marital happiness of Crispina did not last for long (Comm. V, 9)54.

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50 The coin fits the broader context: Faustina—CONCORDIA with a dove, RIC 503; Juno with children, RIC 504; PVDICITIA standing, RIC 507 (a) and sacrificing, RIC 508; VENVS, a graceful image, RIC 515 a; VENERI GENETRICI, RIC 1407;
51 K. Fittschen, Die Bildnistrugen der Faustina minor und die Becunditas Augustae, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Nr 126, Göttingen 1982; the coins, p. 82—88, Taf. 7; the sculptures, Taf. 48—56.
52 Mattingly, RC, p. 163; in A. Czartoryski’s collection the type is represented by Etruscilla (463), Marcia Otacilla Severa (457) and Julia Maesa (432).
53 Crispina—CONCORDIA, RIC 278; clasped hands, RIC 279; as Venus, RIC 286; Venus Felix with charming obverse portrait on aureus, RIC 287, strikingly superior to the portrait from denarius, RIC 288; Carson, Coins of the Roman Empire, London 1990, p. 54.
54 Dio LXXIII, 4, 6 is here very laconic.
It is likely that she was not murdered in connection with Lucilla’s conspiracy, but after 185 A.D., however not later than 18758. She must have lived for longer in disfavour, removed from the court. One day Crispina—Concordia became an obstacle and had to give way to the other.

The story of Caracalla and Plautilla is strikingly similar. The denarius that was issued on the occasion of their marriage (Dio tells us about their fabulous wedding: LXXVI, I, 1ff) shows them clasping hands, while the reverse legends laid emphasis not only on their love and unity (Concordia) but on the dynastic future as well (Aeterna) (No. 6). The marriage was not a success. The bridegroom was only fourteen at the time of the ceremony59. Either Dio or Herodian leave no illusions60. While the moneys were striking the denarii with the slogan CONCORDIAE AETERNAE the conflict was heading its climax61. Septimius managed to save her life for the time being, nevertheless she had to live for several years on exile in humiliating conditions62. Eventually executed after the fall of Geta (Herod. IV, 6, 3). The official marital propaganda proved to be short-sighted in the every above case. In the long run it must have proved discrediting to the royal husbands of Crispina and Plautilla, as their coins were circulating for long reminding of the beloved wives and celebrated consorts who were no longer alive.

A SHORTENED CATALOGUE OF THE QUOTED COINS FROM THE COLLECTION OF AUGUSTINE CZARTORYSKI

Part I


58 BMC, IV, p. CLIV; CIL, III, 12487; CIL, VIII 16530; Weber., p. 303.
60 Dio LXXVII, 3, 1; Herod. III, 10, 8: o de Αυτοκινούντας τον ψυχήν του γάμου, αναγείρεται μελάνθην η προσωπική συναίνεσις απεφευχόμενος παράπληκτο την χορήν διαιτάζει ... αὖτε μωτήρ τιον μωτήρ τον κενον κατακεφαλαών στέφεται ... αὖτε μωτήρ τιον μωτήρ τον κενον κατακεφαλαών στέφεται τριλ
61 Dio LXXVII, 2, 5; 3, 1; on the plot of Caracalla, Birley, p. 161 ff.
62 Dio LXXVII, 6, 3; 7, 1; Herod. III, 13, 2 ff.


5. Denarius, Commodus: Obv. CRISPINA AVGVSTA. Rev. CONCORDIA. Concordia holding patera and cornucopiae; A.D. 180–183 (or later?); BMC, IV, 36; M-N-414.


8. Sestertius, Maximin I: Obv. IMP MAXIMINVS PIVS AVG. Rev. FIDES MILITVM. SC. Fides holding standard in each hand; March A.D. 235—early 236; RIC, IV, 43; BMC, VI, 63—64; XI-N-440.


10. Sestertius, Philip I: Obv. IMP M IVL PHILIPPVS AVG. Rev. FIDES MILITVM SC. Fides holding standard in each hand; undated A.D. 244—247; RIC, 172 a; Robertson, III, 63; XI-N-453.

11. Antoninianus, Probus: Obv. IMP PROBVS PF AVG. Rev. FIDES MILIT. egz. VI XXT. Fides standing with two ensigns; A.D. 276-beginning 280; RIC, V, 363; XI-N-484.