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ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY IN RELATION TO STATE ARCHIVES

This paper is based primarily on the experience of Historical Records Survey projects of the Work Projects Administration in the inventory of state archives, especially in North Carolina. This phase of the work of the Survey is much less far advanced than is the inventory of county archives, and the research procedures devised are in only a tentative form. There is now in process of release a technical circular on the preparation of state archives inventories in which the procedures to be used will be outlined in more detail than is possible within the limits of the present paper.

For the purposes of this discussion, administrative history will be considered as embracing the development of the structural organization, the functions or objectives, and the modes of procedure of governmental agencies.

The importance of this study of administrative history to the archivist in the reconstruction of files, the identification and classification of series, and the service of reference has been clearly pointed out by Mr. Trever. The actual problems encountered in its study, however, vary materially with the type of governmental agency studied and with the period of history being explored. In the complexity of problems encountered in research in administrative history, state government lies between county government and the Federal government. Its functions are not so restricted as those of county government, nor is its structure so simple. On the other hand, students of state government are not confronted with the bewildering maze of departments, commissions, and independent agencies, nor with the complex and ever-changing breakdown of departments into bureaus, bureaus into divisions, divisions into sections, and so on nearly ad infinitum which confront the student of Federal administrative history.

The patterns of government within the states, and consequently the techniques of research in administrative history, have changed with the changes in the function of the state. Beginning with the Post-Revolutionary period, we can perhaps distinguish three major periods in the development of state government, each of which offers its own problems in administrative history. In the first period, extending into the second quarter of the nineteenth century, state policy, as determined by the legislature, was generally carried into effect by such local bodies as the county courts or the wardens of the poor, or was enforced through the courts rather than through any administrative organs of the state government itself. The result is that during this period the civil establishment of the state was very small, consisting

generally of a governor, a lieutenant-governor, a secretary of state, a treasurer, an auditor or comptroller, an attorney-general, and an adjutant-general, in addition, of course, to the legislature and the state courts. The largest single item of state expenditure was apt to be the salary and mileage of the members of the state legislature. Such offices as existed were generally provided for in the state constitution. The second period, extending well into the twentieth century, witnessed the steady creation of statute of additional state agencies, beginning with state superintendents of schools and boards of internal improvements or canal boards, and including numerous institutions for the criminal, the insane, and the student; a very large number of regulatory agencies, beginning with those designed to control the operation and rates of railroads; and the rudiments of social service agencies, such as departments of health, of labor, and public welfare. During this period the agencies created tended to have small appropriations, few employees, and simple organizations and procedures. The third period, covering the last two or three decades, has seen the continued creation of such new agencies as the states have expanded the scope of their activities, and more important, it has witnessed an enormous increase in the staff and in the work of the existing state agencies made possible by expanding state revenues and Federal subsidies so that the highway or revenue department of a large state may surpass in size and in complexity of organization many Federal agencies. Coupled with this great increase in the size and activities of state departments has been a tendency to define their structure and functions only in rather broad terms in the statutes, leaving to administrative discretion the determination of detail as to internal organization, particular activities, and procedures.

In certain states other periods offering special problems appear. The Atlantic seaboard states, which existed as colonies of England, and those others which were Spanish or French colonies or were parts of the Republic of Mexico have each a period in which the laws and governmental practices of the mother country determined their governmental development. Those which existed as territories had a similar period in which Federal control shaped the structure and operation of their governments. The Revolution, in the states then existing as commonwealths, constituted a period of violent change and of de facto governmental agencies whose administrative history offers especially difficult research problems. Periods of military government in the Southern States during the Civil War and Reconstruction contribute their own complications.

It should be apparent from the preceding discussion that the problems in the study of state administrative history are varied and that no single approach can operate satisfactorily in all cases. It has been necessary for the Historical Records Survey, however, to establish, as nearly as possible, systematic and uniform research procedures which could employ to advantage competent but professionally untrained personnel. Although these procedures are not practical for use in their entirety by the small and generally professionally

trained staffs of state archival establishments, I shall describe them briefly because I believe that many elements in the procedures may be adapted to the use of state archivists and more particularly because the results attained by this research will be available to the archives establishment in each state.

The structure, functions, and procedures of state governmental agencies and their colonial and territorial predecessors are determined by the law of the state, colony, or territory, whether constitutional or statutory in form, as interpreted through administrative action, attorney-general's rulings, or judicial decisions; by the law of a superior government, such as the Federal government or that of the mother country of a colony; by administrative or executive orders and regulations; and by practice and custom. To what sources, then, shall we turn to discover this corpus of law, regulation, and custom?

The fundamental sources, obviously, are the constitutions and session laws of the state and of the colony or territory from which it was created. Except for the early colonial period in some states, these are usually complete and easily available. The periodic compilations of session laws into official codes adopted by the legislature, or unofficial codes prepared by legal publishing houses are especially useful, because of their convenience and their annotations and because new law is sometimes incorporated in the official codes or obsolete law repealed merely by the device of omission from them. The decisions of the State Supreme Court are also easily available. Attorney General's rulings are often incorporated in the printed reports of the office, but even more often, especially for an earlier period, are to be found only in manuscript in the files of the office or of the agency to which the opinion was addressed. The Statutes at Large and the United States Supreme Court Reports are always available, as generally are the pertinent statutes of England, France, and Spain for those states which were once their colonies. In these sources are the law itself and its official interpretations, which constitute the foundation for administrative history. It is in the use of this relatively homogeneous body of sources that large scale research techniques have been most successful. The myriad administrative regulations, orders, and instructions by which the detailed structure of governmental agencies is established, the precise functions within the scope of legal authorization defined, and the specific procedures of offices set up are less easy to come by, and the actual customary practices of the office not established by either law or written orders are even more difficult to learn. Yet these are little less important to the archivist than the constitutional and statutory framework of government itself. If within a state department of revenue, for instance, a separate sales tax unit is established to administer a new levy, its creation is apt to be provided for in an order of the head of the department rather than in any statute. A state department of public welfare, under a

very general statutory authority, may undertake an elaborate milk-distribution scheme, the operation of which produces a wholly new set of records, and do so by purely administrative action. The complex filing system of a state unemployment service may be almost incomprehensible to the future archivist who may be charged with the administration of its records if he does not have at hand a copy of the filing manual issued by the services. The significance of many record series is not apparent to one not familiar with the customary internal procedure of the office in which it originated. As the structure and activities of state agencies become more complex, the laws themselves tend to give a less adequate picture of their structure and work, and it becomes more and more necessary to rely on such non-legal sources to supply the details of administrative history.

For such orders, regulations, and practices, several sources are available. Perhaps the most convenient are the annual or biennial reports of the departments or offices concerned. In these, the types of work done by the department are described (a matter of great importance when the functions of an office are defined by statute only in very general terms), often something of its procedures is indicated, and important changes in structure or organization effected by administrative action are generally summarized. Next, and perhaps most important of all, are the archives themselves of the department. Here one may expect to find the written record of such administrative actions as we have been describing: organization charts, procedural bulletins or circulars, filing instructions, and the like. If the agency is controlled by a board, such as the state board of health or the board of trustees of a state university, the minutes of that body will be an indispensable source for the internal administrative history of the agency. Not only from the content of the archives, but from their very form and arrangement as well, much may be learned, especially concerning the actual procedures of the office. A convenient and obvious source of information concerning present or recent organization and procedure is, of course, personal interviews with the department heads and chief clerks.

In addition to these primary sources, these expressions of legislative and administrative will, which determine the form and function of governmental agencies, many descriptions of such agencies exist which are useful to the student of administrative history. These include a wide variety: colonial governor's reports such as William Tryon's "A View of the Polity of the Province of North Carolina in the Year 1767"; legislative committee's reports; transcripts of budget hearings, studies by the Brookings Institution and similar agencies, and monographs on various functions of state government, such as taxation, internal improvements, and public schools. Unfortunately, much of the value of this last type of study is lost for the archivist because of its emphasis on the subject matter rather than the machinery of governmental operation.

The total of the materials useful for the study of state administrative history so briefly sketched above - and this by no means even touches upon all the important sources - is staggering indeed. We have attempted to attack this mass of material by establishing controls in the form of card indexes or abstracts. The legal material is first approached in the attempt to note a) every constitutional provision, statute, supreme court opinion, or attorney-general's ruling which creates or affects the manner of appointment, qualifications, and tenure, of a state officer or which establishes or effects the structure and organization of a state department or institution; which defines or changes the functions of the office, department, or institution; which prescribes the procedure to be followed in the execution of those functions; or which requires the keeping of any record or the submission of any report; and b) every law which a state agency is required to enforce. In searching these we make a page-by-page examination, beginning with the most recent constitution, and following in order with the most recent code, the statutes enacted since that code, the earlier constitutions, beginning with the most recent, the earlier codes, beginning with the most recent, the supreme court decisions referred to in the annotations of the appropriate sections of the various codes, and the session laws enacted prior to the most recent code, beginning again with the most recent. Statutes of the mother country of a colony, attorney-general's rulings, and federal statutes are not generally searched page-by-page, but are used only as annotations may lead the workers to them or as there may be evidence in any given instance that they might contain material of value. In some instances an effort is made to abstract the provisions of the various laws; in others only the subject of the provision and a citation are included on the card which is prepared; a few basic acts and constitutional provisions may be transcribed in full. Which of these methods is used depends on the size and competence of the staff available, the ease of access to the original material (for instance, volumes of statutes available in the project office, are usually only indexed; those less easily available are abstracted), and on the nature of the material. A separate card is filled out for each agency affected by each provision of the act being abstracted. The cards are filed by agency; then under detailed topical headings; and thereunder chronologically. This work is done for all state agencies at one time, and is carried through by certified personnel of the highest competence available on the project.

We recognize that this procedure is open to certain objections, especially in that the legal materials are searched in reverse chronological order. This order is recommended to the projects, however, because of the fact that the majority of state agencies are of relatively recent origin; and legal research for each of these can be soon completed if research is begun with the more recent legislation.

Quite obviously, to carry through this program of legal research in its entirety demands so large a staff as to be impractical for almost all state archival agencies and for many Historical Records

Survey projects. Two short cuts are available in such cases. One of these calls for abandoning the page-by-page examination of the legal sources and relying upon indexes, captions, and code annotations to lead the worker to the desired material. This does save a vast deal of time; but due to the fact that indexes and other controls over legal materials are not adopted to the purposes of historical research, the results, while useful, leave something to be desired in the way of completeness. The other is to prosecute the research for one department or agency at a time. This makes possible the very much more rapid completion of research for the particular agency, but creates a great deal of waste in going over and over the same material if such research is ultimately to be prosecuted for all or a great many agencies.

When this primary legal research is completed, the project editors have available at least a framework of the administrative history of the state government. They know what state agencies have been created, the dates of their existence, and their functions and procedures so far as they were defined by law. As our earlier discussion has indicated, however, the legal definition of the functions and procedures of state agencies is usually so general that research must be carried much farther.

For this additional research, however, no effort is made to prescribe a uniform procedure, and the research for each agency is undertaken separately. In almost every case, however, the following steps are taken: 1) Bibliographies are searched to discover secondary studies of the agency or of the function which it executes; 2) the periodic printed reports and other publications of the agency are searched and pertinent references abstracted; 3) if the agency is a department of institution governed by a board, the minutes of the board are searched for ordinances or other acts, which are abstracted as would be the session laws of the legislature; 4) the field workers in surveying the archives of the agency are instructed to note organizational charts, regulations of the agency, keys to files, and other materials of the sort. If these have been printed or mimeographed, copies are secured, whenever possible, for the use of the editors, if not pertinent information is abstracted for their use; and 5) if the agency is still in existence, or has been only recently abolished, its head and such other officials as may be of assistance are interviewed in order to secure an explanation of the internal organization, procedures, and records system as they are at present and have existed in the recent past.

Other special research undertakings may be dictated by the nature and history of the agency. For instance a careful search may have to be made of the printed collection of colonial documents of a state in order to secure such fragments of information as may be obtained concerning an obscure office of the colonial period, or resort may be necessary to such compilations of English sources as the

Calendar of State Papers. Or it may be necessary to turn to the Official Records of the War of the Rebellion in order to learn the fate of a Southern state institution located within occupied territory. More involved research technique may be required at times; for instance, in order to reconstruct the provisions of a North Carolina court act of 1738, of which only the title is extant, it was necessary among other things to make careful comparison of the handwriting in which the minutes of two courts were recorded in an effort to determine whether the clerk of one was ex-officio clerk of the other.

The information assembled as a result of all this research is used by the supervisors and editors in the direction and checking of the actual inventory of the archives of each department, and from it an essay to accompany the inventory is prepared. This essay is itself designed to be as adequate an administrative history of the agency as the staff can prepare, covering as it does the development of the office's structure, of its internal organization, of its functions, and of the procedures by which it executes them, with special attention to the records systems.

The data which will be assembled along the lines I have indicated to enable the various WPA Historical Records Survey projects to prepare accurate and intelligent inventories of state records, will be also available to the state archivist in his tasks of arranging, classifying, cataloging, and providing reference service for the same records. The possibilities of fruitful co-operation between the Historical Records Survey project in each state and the state archivist are obvious. The professional guidance and technical advice of the archivist's staff will be of great value to the project's editorial staff, especially in the more difficult problems of research in the early history of territorial or colonial government; conversely, the man-power available to the projects makes possible the undertaking of research in the more recent legislation with a thoroughness and upon a scale which would be impractical for most state archival establishments. I should especially like to urge such co-operation in one matter: the establishment and maintenance of a file of currently released regulations, procedures, manuals, reports and similar material from each state agency, which will constitute sources for the study of administrative history. This material, when it has been used by the project, should pass into the permanent files of the state archival institution, which should establish the regular collection of such material from every agency as a matter of continuing policy. Wherever possible, an effort should be made to reduce to writing for inclusion in this file, either in the form of interviews or of memoranda, significant organizational or procedural changes which are not made the subject of regulations, manuals, or similar departmental releases. While it is true that the state archival agency may not for a great many years be charged with the administration of the records which will be created as a result of such changes, when they do come into the custody of the agency, its task will be enormously facilitated through its having undertaken the

systematic collection of sources for administrative history. The assembling of such a collection currently offers no great problem; but to gather ephemeral materials of this sort fifty years hence would be extremely difficult if not altogether impossible. In the recent vast proliferation of state government the troubles of your later years and of your successor and your successor's successor are being stored up; it would be well to prepare now so far as possible against them.

The field of administrative history of state governments is a broad and a relatively new one. The studies being made by the Work Projects Administration through its Historical Records Survey projects will constitute only a beginning of its exploration. We hope, however, that with the effective co-operation of state archival agencies, they may be of material assistance to those agencies in the administration of state archives and may constitute a broad basis for the prosecution of further studies.

two products: *qadus* (*saqia* pots) and ceramic pipe. Both were highly standardized in design and were produced in enormous quantities.

At a somewhat later date were produced Modified X-Group redware [R2] and a highly polished plain redware [R5]. Both these wares show the influence of imported Byzantine models, and probably mark the very beginning of the Christian era in Nubia. They were perhaps among the last products of the original Debeira kilns.

Although highly standardized at any given point in their history, the X-Group wares show perceptible change in both form and decoration during the three centuries or so of their manufacture (c. 350-650 A.D.). Only the latter half of the developmental process is represented at Debeira; moreover, some of the larger X-Group vessel forms do not seem to have been manufactured there. The earlier X-Group wares must therefore have been made somewhere else, possibly in the more immediate vicinity of the great tombs of Ballana and Qustul, where only the earlier variants of X-Group pottery are found.¹⁰ Another possible X-Group manufacturing center is Qasr Ibrim, where unfired specimens of X-Group white ware (not found at the Debeira kilns) have been found in recent excavations.¹¹

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN FACTORY AT SERRA

At about the time when the Debeira kilns were going out of production, a new factory was established across the river and a short distance downstream, at Serra West (Site 24-N-3). Although not so well preserved as the Debeira site, the surviving features were very much the same except that the kilns at Serra were more widely dispersed. The following is quoted from the preliminary excavation account of the Serra kilns:¹²

The site consists of four separate mounds spread out over a distance of half a kilometer in the village of Serra West. Like the Debeira site they are small remnants of an old land surface, considerably higher than the present one, which have been preserved from destruction by a dense accumulation of ash, slag, and sherds which covers them. Three of the Serra mounds were trenched during the 1960-61 season, resulting in the discovery of six kilns.

Mound 1, at the south end of the site, contained three kilns of which two were contemporaneous while a third, rather smaller model had been built at a later date upon an accumulation of refuse from the former two. Mound 2 was by far the largest of the three excavated, measuring about 60 × 40 m. with a maximum height in excess of 6 m. Near its summit were found the remains of two small kilns which seem quite insufficient to account for the quantity of ash and ceramic refuse covering the mound. Further trenching would probably have revealed additional structures, perhaps at a greater depth below the surface. Mound 3, a small mound at the north, contained a single large kiln.

The Serra kilns were clearly of the same cylindrical, double-chamber plan and the same general size as those at Faras, Debeira, and Gezira Dabarosa, although so much damaged that in no case was any portion of the upper chamber preserved. The characteristic buttresses which supported the arched canopy over the furnace chamber were, however, present to help identi-

fy the original form. Like the Faras kilns, and unlike those at Debeira and Gezira Dabarosa, several of the Serra kilns had a sloping, tunnel-like structure, a meter or more in length, leading to the stoke-hole aperture. As at Faras these structures had several times been reinforced and extended as the accumulation of ash and debris around the kilns increased. Another feature common also at Faras was a bin, apparently for drying newly turned pots, built against the outside wall of one of the kilns so as to take advantage of the heat radiated during firing. Very little of the outside occupation surface associated with the Serra kilns was exposed, but in at least one case there was a low partition, reminiscent of those found at Debeira, dividing the working space between two neighboring kilns.

The refuse deposits at Mounds 1 and 2 exceeded 1m. in depth and consisted of a number of distinct layers of ash and sherds. However, there was no significant difference between the material from the bottom and from the top of the deposit. On the other hand the Serra site exhibited a degree of "horizontal stratigraphy" in that Mound 3 appeared to be slightly later in date than the other two. This was established by a comparison of the pottery collections from the three mounds with the sequences obtained at Faras during the previous campaign.

A considerable variety of pottery was produced at all the Serra kilns. The finer wares belong predominantly to the Early Christian complex of simply decorated red and white wares which were found also in the lowest levels at the Faras site. All of them were also found in the upper levels of the Debeira and Gezira Dabarosa sites. Also relatively common at Serra was a distinctive very hard, undecorated white ware [W9] which has not been found in the same quantity at other sites.

Notwithstanding the variety of decorated types, the most abundant product of all the Serra kilns was utility ware. *Saqia* pots were made by the thousands at Mounds 1 and 2, and large storage jars and pots are only slightly less common. All of these vessels belong to a hard, coarse red ware [U5], usually unslipped and not infrequently decorated with bold linear designs done in thin white paint.

All evidence suggests that Early Christian pottery, unlike later X-Group pottery, was made concurrently at several different places. Not only is there probably some overlap in time between the Debeira, Serra, and Faras operations (see below), but the diversity of the wares themselves suggests multiple centers of origin. In particular there are three wares, R10, W1, and W9, that exhibit a much glossier finish and a finer paste than do the other Early Christian wares. It is noteworthy too that these three wares are not found in quantity after about 750 A.D., whereas the Early Christian Wares R5 and W2 persist until more than a century later. It seems probable, therefore, that the glossy wares were the products of a single factory which for some reason ceased production sooner than did other Early Christian kilns. The glossy wares were evidently not made at any of the centers that have been found and excavated; they may have come from somewhere farther to the north. All of these wares appear to be more abundant at Qasr Ibrim than at any of the known sites in Sudanese Nubia.

THE FARAS POTTERIES

The most spectacular and certainly the best preserved of Nubian factories was the Faras Potteries (Site 24-E-21),

first discovered and partially excavated by the Oxford Expedition in 1911-12,¹³ and re-excavated by the Sudan Antiquities Service in 1960.¹⁴ Unlike the sites thus far discussed, the Potteries was not originally designed as a manufacturing center but converted from some earlier use, perhaps as a monastery.

Although the dating is far from precise,¹⁵ the Faras site appears to have been occupied from the early eighth century to some time in the tenth century; its history thus spans most of the Early Christian period and the earlier part of the Classic Christian period (see Fig. 3). During that time the place underwent a series of profound transformations, from a secular building to a monastery (?) and finally to a wholly industrial establishment. Although the occupation of the complex was, so far as could be determined, uninterrupted, six developmental phases were recognizable stratigraphically.¹⁶

FIRST PHASE. The earliest structure was apparently some sort of unroofed mud-brick compound lying slightly to the east of all the later buildings. It was built directly on the alluvial floodplain of the Nile. Not enough was cleared by us to reveal the extent or features of this structure, or its relationship to the buildings that soon arose to the west of it.

SECOND PHASE. The main nucleus of buildings clearly dates from the second phase of occupation. As originally laid out, this was an apparently rectangular block of 20 or more contiguous rooms. Their foundations rested upon an accumulation of windblown sand at a level of about 1 m. higher than the foundations of the Phase 1 walls. We cleared only seven of these rooms, all of which had been substantially modified in later periods; the remaining rooms are known to us from Griffith's plan of 1911-12 (see Fig. 5).¹⁷ However, since it is clear that in many cases Griffith exposed only the top of the walls and did not excavate the room interiors, we cannot always be sure that the rooms he shows were part of the original complex and not later additions.

The intended function of the Phase 2 building can only be conjectured. Griffith's plan suggests that the northerly block of eight rooms was built as a single unit, and another group of eight rooms, having a slightly different orientation, was then added along its southern side. It is noteworthy that neither group of rooms shows any exterior doorway along the north, south, or west walls. The complex as a whole is certainly far larger than any ordinary house of the Early or Classic Christian period; moreover, several of the individual rooms are extraordinarily large. The central room that we excavated (Room 10, Fig. 5) measured almost 10 meters long by 3.5 meters wide, and Griffith's plan shows at least three other rooms of equal size. One room near the center of the complex (Room 6, Fig. 5) had originally supported a dome, of which the lower extremities of the pendentives were still preserved; an adjoining space (Rooms 11-12) carried a stairway leading to a second storey or to the roof.

Room 10, the largest of those we excavated, had at its eastern end a large arched niche; at the time of Griffith's

excavation, various traces of painted decoration could still be seen here and elsewhere (by 1960 few of these traces were still visible). A portion of Griffith's description follows:¹⁸

Room 6 [our Room 10] may have been a chapel or oratory. There is no trace of an altar in it, but the east end is raised a step higher than the rest.¹⁹ In the middle of the east wall was an arched niche 1.25 m. above the floor, 90 cm. high, 80 wide and 40 deep; the back of the niche was white and painted with somewhat rude designs of crosses etc. in brown within a border of triangles. Above the niche at 1.55 m. from the south wall was a window 40 cm. wide. The roof was low; the vaulting began about 1.70 m. from the floor,²⁰ and cannot have reached above 2.50 m.; on the south side at 1.30 m. from the west end was a slit window or ventilator 20 cm. wide, with sloped sill at 2.30 m. above the floor. The spring of the vaulting formed a projecting cornice along the sides of the chamber, and upon it was painted a white band, which was also carried across the end walls at the same level, except where it was interrupted by the niche and the door in the west wall. On this band was a painted inscription, and from it at intervals rose crosses in white paint upon the vault and walls. One of these crosses is placed symmetrically on either side of the niche; and on the opposite (west) wall at the south side of the doorway a larger cross, white edged with red, had its horizontal bar coinciding with the fillet; in the centre at the crossing is χ for Christ (?) with the four letters $\Delta\Omega$ for God and ΓH for the Apostles (?) in the angles, and "I, Al . . ." is written in Coptic on the upright below, giving probably the painter's signature. To the left of this cross on the fillet is a coil pattern, to fill the space not occupied by the long inscription. Of this inscription only fragments are to be seen. It probably began on the east wall to the right of the niche, and may have continued to the end of the south wall or to the door on the west wall; it appears to have consisted of the palindrome *sator arepo tenet opera rotas* (in a very corrupt form, and with the substitution of *areto* and *otera* usual in Greek and Coptic instances), and a Coptic record of another decorator beginning with "I, Yopshenka . . ." or some such name. It seemed that there had been a corresponding inscription on the long north wall, but no letters could be distinguished. The palindrome is the same that we meet with as a protective formula in the Anchorite's Grotto, where the original inscriptions are also in Coptic, not in Greek.²¹ Possibly the building was really a monastery.

It must be acknowledged that there is nothing very positive to identify the buildings at Faras as a monastery; however, it is not easy to conceive of any other function for a densely clustered, integrated complex of rooms with very restricted access from the outside. One may note, too, a vague general resemblance between the layout of the Phase 2 building and that of the middle group of rooms at the nearby monastery of el-Wizz,²² which I believe to be the direct successor of the institution under discussion here.²³ Finally, we can observe that the making of pottery was an attested activity of the Coptic monasteries at Aswan (St. Simeon)²⁴ and Thebes (St. Epiphanius)²⁵ in the early Middle Ages.

THIRD PHASE. The complex of Phase 2 was extended considerably to the eastward by the building of an unknown number of additional rooms, four of which were excavated by us (Rooms 7, 13, 15, and 22, Fig. 5). These

Seen in *Archaeological Perspective*, McCaleb Modules in Anthropology, no. 21 (Reading, Mass., 1972), 1.

4. For a useful bibliography, see K. W. Nicklin in *World Archaeology* 3 (1971): 13-48.

5. H. Balfet in F. Matson, ed., *Ceramics and Man*, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, no. 41 (Chicago, 1965), 161-77.

6. *Ibid.*, 161.

7. *Ibid.*, 164.

8. *Ibid.*, 169.

9. E.g., in E. Dinkler, ed., *Kunst und Geschichte Nubiens in Christlicher Zeit* (Recklinghausen, 1970), 114-15; and in F. Hintze, ed., *Sudan in Altertum, Meroitica 1* (Berlin, 1973), 181-84.

10. See Matson (n. 5), 209.

11. 650 vessel forms are illustrated in Chapter 10, Figs. 18-94. I have identified about 50 additional forms that are not illustrated.

12. See O. Bentley and J. W. Crowfoot in *Sudan Notes and Records* 6 (1924): 21, for a discussion of pottery functions among the contemporary Nuba.

13. Usually called *bouza* in the Sudan; see esp. J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia* (London, 1819), 218-19.

14. See David and Hennig (n. 3), 14-16.

15. For discussion and illustration of these vessels, see W. Y. Adams in *Kush* 14 (1966): pp. 279-83 and pl. XXXVIII. For a general discussion of the role of amphorae in ancient commerce, see E. L. Will in *Archaeology* 30 (1977), 264-70.

16. Adams (n. 15), pl. XXXVIII, c.

17. See C. M. Kaufmann, *Die heilige Stadt der Wüste* (Berlin, 1924), pl. 99.

18. See L. Török in *Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts zu Budapest*, 2 (1971): 87-97.

19. David and Hennig (n. 3), 25.

20. See Balfet (n. 5), 163.

21. See P. Forand in *Der Islam* 48 (1971): 116-17.

22. David and Hennig (n. 3), 17.

23. *Ibid.*, 18.

24. G. M. Foster in *American Antiquity* 25 (1960): 606-9.

25. H. Tschopik in *American Antiquity* 15 (1950): 215-16.

26. David and Hennig (n. 3), 17-18.

27. Tschopik (n. 25).

28. David and Hennig (n. 3), 18-20.

29. J. H. Robertson and A. A. Mohammed in P. L. in Shinnie, J. H. Robertson, and F. Kense, eds., *Canadian Archaeology Abroad*, Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Archaeological Conference of the University of Calgary (Calgary, Alberta, 1976), 93.

30. David and Hennig (n. 3), 20-21.

31. Foster (n. 24).

32. Author's unpublished sherd tallies.

33. See Adams in Hintze (n. 9), 152; J. G. D. Clark, *Prehistoric Europe: The Economic Basis* (Stanford, 1952), 205; L. Scott in C. Singer, et al., eds., *A History of Technology*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1954), 407.

34. Scott (n. 33); Tschopik (n. 25), 205-6; S. Linné in Matson (n. 5), 22.

35. Tschopik (n. 25), 217; Shepard (n. 1), 354-55; G. M. Foster in Matson (n. 5), 56.

36. Scott (n. 33), 405-6.

37. David and Hennig (n. 3), 4-5.

38. *Ibid.*, 4.

39. Robertson and Mohammed (n. 29); Bentley and Crowfoot (n. 12), 21; R. Haaland in *Studies in Scandinavian Prehistory and Early History* 1 (1983): 57-59.

40. Matson (n. 5), 212; Foster (n. 35), 46-47. It is also noteworthy that most of the potters in Upper Egypt in the early twentieth century seem to have been Nubians; see W. S. Blackman, *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt* (London, 1927), 135-53, and accompanying illustrations.

41. Tschopik (n. 25), 197; Foster (n. 35), 44; Scott (n. 33), 406; D. A. Arnold in *Current Anthropology* 16 (1975): 183-94.

42. Scott (n. 33), 406.

43. Balfet (n. 5), 162-63.

44. *Ibid.*, 163.

45. *Ibid.*, 163-64.

46. *Ibid.*, 166.

47. *Ibid.*, 164.

48. Scott (n. 33), 407; David and Hennig (n. 3), 23; D. Drost in *Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig* 25 (1968): 138.

49. D. Randall-MacIver in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 35 (1905): 20-21.

50. See *ibid.*, 23; Haaland (n. 39), 55-56.

51. Shepard (n. 1), 354-55; cf. also Foster (n. 35), 56.

52. David and Hennig (n. 3), 21.

53. *Ibid.*, 22. For an exactly parallel case from what was then Tanganyika (now Tanzania), see M. H. Dorman in *Man* 38 (1938): 98.

54. Haaland (n. 39), 48, 57-59.

55. *Ibid.*, 51-52.

56. Randall-MacIver (n. 49), 23.

57. Blackman (n. 40), 135-53.

58. See esp. Randall-MacIver (n. 49), pl. V.

59. Scott (n. 33), 407.

60. Linné (n. 34), 22.

61. Balfet (n. 5), 163.

62. See Randall-MacIver (n. 49), 26-28.

63. G. A. Reisner reported in 1923 that there were about 150 professional potters at Ballas; see *Excavations at Kerma*, Harvard African Studies, vol. 6 (Cambridge, Mass., 1923), 321.

64. See n. 41, above.

65. Balfet (n. 5), 163.

66. G. Baer, *Egyptian Guilds in Modern Times*, Israel Oriental Society, Oriental Notes and Studies, no. 8 (Jerusalem, 1964), 37.

67. *Ibid.*, 21.

68. Randall-MacIver (n. 49), 25-26; Blackman (n. 40), 146; Scott (n. 33), 408.

69. Randall-MacIver (n. 49), 25; Blackman (n. 40), 135-53.

70. E.g., the potters of ancient Athens were traditionally *metics*, or resident foreigners. See Scott (n. 33), 408.

71. See W. Y. Adams in *Kush* 12 (1964): 170-71; Adams (n. 33), 201-4.

72. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 50 (1964): 117-20; *Sudan Notes and Records* 48 (1967): 11-12; *Meroitic North and South: A Study in Cultural Contrasts*, Meroitica 2 (Berlin, 1976), 14-16.

73. See Adams (n. 33), 227-29.

74. See Foster (n. 35), 52-54.

75. See W. Y. Adams in *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 108 (1981): 6-7.

76. See Adams (n. 33), 207-8.

77. See n. 70, above.

78. Pottery-making is attested for the Egyptian monasteries at Aswan (St. Simeon) and Thebes (St. Epiphanius) in the early Middle Ages. See ch. 2, nn. 24, 25.

79. This is suggested by the extensive use of Coptic rather than Greek or Old Nubian in texts from the monastery sites; see P. L. Shinnie and H. N. Chittick, *Ghazali—a Monastery in the Northern Sudan*, Sudan Antiquities Service Occasional Papers, no. 5, (Khartoum, 1961), 69-94; G. T. Scanlon in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 58 (1972): 18-19.

80. Matson (n. 5), 212; Foster (n. 35), 46-47.

81. Baer (n. 66), 37.

82. In Matson (n. 5), 46.

83. However, Robertson and Mohammed (n. 29) have observed that the modern potters of the Shendi area are individuals of slave origin.

84. See P. L. Shinnie, *Excavations at Soba*, Sudan Antiquities Service Occasional Papers, no. 3 (Khartoum, 1955), 28-35.

85. See A. J. Arkell in *Kush* 7 (1959): 115-19.

86. See Adams (n. 33), 227-28.

87. O. G. S. Crawford and F. Addison, *Abu Geili and Saqadi & Dar el Mek*, Wellcome Excavations in the Sudan, vol. 3 (Oxford, 1951), pp. 50-51; pl. XL, A.

88. Author's field observation.

89. See M. Rodziewicz in *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 4 (1972): 652-84.

90. See Burckhardt (n. 13), 511-16; Y. F. Hasan, *The Arabs and the Sudan* (Edinburgh, 1967), 20-28.

91. Burckhardt (n. 13), 493-502; Hasan (n. 90), 91-92.

92. However, contrast Foster (n. 35), 56.

93. See Burckhardt (n. 13), 299-304; W. B. K. Shaw in *Sudan Notes and Records* 12 (1929): 64-65.

94. See G. A. Reisner in *Bulletin of the (Boston) Museum of Fine Arts* 27 (1929): 67.

95. See Burckhardt (n. 13), 493-94.
96. For a splendid illustration of the modern transport of these wares, see National Geographic Society, *Ancient Egypt* (Washington, 1978), 48-49.
97. Burckhardt (n. 13), 494-95.
98. Esp. *ibid.*, 163-344; W. G. Browne, *Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria from the Year 1792 to 1798* (London, 1799), 180-313. For a résumé of the latter, see W. B. K. Shaw (n. 93).
99. Burckhardt (n. 13), 279-344.
100. *Ibid.*, 309.
101. *Ibid.*, 307.
102. *Ibid.*, 298.
103. See especially *ibid.*, 304; Browne (n. 98), 142.
104. Reisner (n. 94), 66.
105. See Burckhardt (n. 13), 137-38; Baer (n. 66), 84-93; S. Shaw, *The Financial and Administrative Organization and Development of Ottoman Egypt, 1517-1798* (Princeton, 1962), 101-41; Huseyn Efendi, *Ottoman Egypt in the Age of the French Revolution*, trans. S. Shaw, Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, no. 11 (Cambridge, Mass., 1964).
106. H. J. Franken and J. Kalsbeek, *Potters of a Medieval Village in the Jordan Valley* (Amsterdam, 1975), 128, 220.
107. For reasons that are far from clear, the percentage of imported pottery at Qasr Ibrim in the later Christian period was considerably lower than that in the Second Cataract area, despite the nearer proximity of Egypt (author's unpublished sherd tally data).
108. See Foster (n. 35), 52-54; Adams (n. 33), 183.
109. Foster (n. 35), 52.

5. HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS OF THE NUBIAN AND EGYPTIAN INDUSTRIES, 200-1600 A.D.

1. See H. Å. Nordström in *Kush* 14 (1966): 63-68, and in *Neolithic and A-Group Sites*, Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia Publications, vol. 3, no. 1, (Copenhagen, 1972), 33-94.
2. See W. Y. Adams in *Kush* 12 (1964): 171, and in F. Hintze, ed., *Sudan in Antiquity*, Meroitica 1 (Berlin, 1973), 203-4.
3. Hand-made pottery was probably not really scarce in the Napatan and early Meroitic periods; it is merely underrepresented in the royal and noble tombs, which are the main sources of our published collections (see D. Dunham, *Royal Cemeteries of Kush*, vols. 1-5 [Boston, 1950-63]). For some examples of Napatan hand-made pottery, see F. L. Griffith in *University of Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 10 (1923), pls. XXXIII-XXXIV. Additional material is now coming to light in the pre-Meroitic levels at Qasr Ibrim; see W. Y. Adams, "Pottery Wares of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods at Qasr Ibrim: Preliminary Ware Descriptions" (MS). Available or request from W. Y. Adams, Department of Anthropology, University of Kentucky.
4. See C. L. Woolley and D. Randall-MacIver, *Karanog, the Romano-Nubian Cemetery*, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Eckley B. Coxe Junior Expedition to Nubia, vol. 3 (Philadelphia, 1910), 52; F. L. Griffith in *University of Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 11 (1924): 102; W. Y. Adams in *Kush* 12 (1964): 170.
5. They are much more commonly found in graves than in habitation sites.
6. The excavators of Qasr Ibrim have referred to these as "Bosnian wares" because of their association with post-Christian occupation levels when a Bosnian garrison is known to have been established at the site. See J. M. Plumley in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 56 (1970): 12; W. H. C. Frend in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 60 (1974): 53-54. However, the term is inappropriate for a number of reasons. The decorated wares came into use at least a century before the establishment of the Bosnian garrison at Qasr Ibrim, and they are widely distributed throughout Nubia in places where no Bosnians were ever resident. Moreover, their relationship to the earlier Nubian hand-made wares is obvious.
7. See G. Savage, *Pottery through the Ages* (Harmondsworth, 1959), 33.
8. During the X-Group period there was some continued use of fine clay to make goblets and cups of X-Group type (Ware W30).
9. See J. W. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (London, 1972), 387-401.
10. See Adams in Hintze (n. 2), 206-7.
11. *Ibid.*, 177-78, 201-9.
12. *Ibid.*, 204-5.

13. *Ibid.*, 207-8.
14. See G. A. Reisner, *Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Report for 1907-1908*, vol. 1 (Cairo, 1910), 345-46; E. Smith and D. Derry in *Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Bulletin* 5 (1910): 11-25.
15. See W. Y. Adams in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 51 (1965): 160-69; in *Sudan Notes and Records* 48 (1967): 12; and in *Nubia, Corridor to Africa* (London, 1977), 390-92.
16. L. P. Kirwan in W. B. Emery, *The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul* (Cairo, 1938), vol. 1, p. 387, Ware F; vol. 2, pls. 112-14.
17. This was already acknowledged by Emery (*ibid.*, 1: 18).
18. See also Kirwan (n. 7), vol. 1, 387, Ware H.
19. See L. P. Kirwan, *The Oxford University Excavations at Firka* (Oxford, 1939), 33; B. G. Trigger in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 55 (1969): 125, and in *The Late Nubian Settlement at Arminna West*, Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt, no. 2 (New Haven, 1967), 64-65.
20. In *Kush* 10 (1962), 272.
21. See H. Hodges, *Artifacts* (London, 1964), 40.
22. Most notably at the University of Rome in 1964.
23. Closely similar vessels are illustrated from the Coptic monasteries of Kellia in Lower Egypt, but they exhibit more elaborate decoration than is found on the Nubian specimens. See M. Eglloff, *Kellia: La poterie copte*, Recherches Suisses d'archéologie Copte, vol. 3 (Geneva, 1977), pls. 1, 3, 23-25.
24. See esp. Hayes (n. 9), 217-81, 395-96.
25. See P. L. Shinnie and H. N. Chittick, *Ghazali—a Monastery in the Northern Sudan*, Sudan Antiquities Service Occasional Papers no. 5 (Khartoum, 1961), 31.
26. E.g., stylized birds, winglike figures, and the *guilloche* (twisted cord) motif. See, e.g., T. Petersen in *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene* (Princeton, 1954), 300; M. Cramer, *Koptische Buchmalerei* (Recklinghausen, 1964), passim; N.S.H. Jansma, "Ornaments des manuscrits Coptes du Monastère Blanc (doctoral diss. Univ. of Groningen, 1973), 125-231. I have discussed the probable origin of many of the Classic Christian decorative motifs in W. K. Simpson and W. Davis, eds., *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan* (Boston, 1981), 1-10.
27. This was less true at Qasr Ibrim, where the Aswan wares constituted about one-third of all decorated pottery in the later Classic period.
28. The reddish-brown fabric of the later Classic wares is also more similar to that of Early Christian pottery than to that of the Faras wares; apparently it lacks the component of grey desert clay that was added at Faras.
29. However, the fine white Ware W5 was made only at Faras and is not found in Lower Nubia after the early Classic period.
30. This is inferable from the range of pottery types represented both in illustrations (Shinnie and Chittick, n. 27, 36-63) and in sherd collections at the Sudan Museum, Khartoum.
31. This observation is based upon my examination of a mass of unpublished material furnished by Dr. Violet McDermot of Ditchling, Sussex, to whom my thanks are due.
32. Judging from my examination of the Ghazali collections in the Sudan Museum; the late wares are not specifically identified as such in the published report on Ghazali (Shinnie and Chittick, n. 27).
33. See n. 31, above.
34. However, the quantification of pottery in relation to population is a very imprecise business; see ch. 20.
35. Sayed N. M. Sherif, the Director General of Antiquities in the Sudan, informs me that wheel-made *qadus* were still made at Abri when he was a boy.
36. Nearly all known examples of these have come from the Faras Potteries; they may therefore represent potters' experiments rather than wares introduced into commerce.
37. See Adams (n. 3).
38. See F. Oswald and T. D. Pryce, *An Introduction to the Study of Terra Sigillata* (London, 1920); Hayes (n. 9); F. O. Waagé, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 4 (Princeton, 1948), 1-60.
39. *Kush* 12 (1964): 160.
40. These vessels constitute Hayes's "Egyptian A Ware" (n. 9, 387-97); however, he is almost certainly incorrect in suggesting Thebes rather than Aswan as their place of manufacture.