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CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIAL STATEMENT	1
ABYDOS	Professor Edouard Naville, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A. ... 2
EGYPTIAN EMPIRE IN ASIA	D. G. Hogarth, M.A., F.B.A. 9
THE DATE OF STONEHENGE	Professor A. H. Sayce, LL.D. 18
EGYPTIAN BEADS IN BRITAIN	H. R. Hall, M.A., F.S.A. ... 19
NEW LITERARY WORKS FROM ANCIENT EGYPT	Alan H. Gardiner, D.Litt. 20, 100
THE YEAR'S WORK AT ABYDOS	T. Eric Peet, B.A. 37
THE IBIS CEMETERY AT ABYDOS	W. Leonard S. Loat, M.A. ... 40
THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY: REPORT FOR 1913, 1914	Aylward M. Blackman, M.A. 41, 182
THE BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN EGYPT	Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie, D.C.L., F.B.A., and H. F. Petrie 43, 185
THE LAW RELATING TO ANTIQUITIES IN EGYPT	H. G. Lyons, F.R.S. ... 45
PAPYRI AND PAPHYROLOGY	Professor A. S. Hunt, D.Litt. 81
GRAECO-ROMAN LEADEN TESSERAÆ FROM ABYDOS	J. Grafton Milne, M.A. ... 93
THE SANATORIUM OF DÊR-EL-BAHRI	J. Grafton Milne, M.A. ... 96
ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA?	J. Grafton Milne, M.A. ... 99
SOME NEW EXAMPLES OF EGYPTIAN INFLUENCE AT NINEVEH	L. W. King, M.A., F.S.A. 107, 237
THE RELATIONS OF AEGEAN WITH EGYPTIAN ART	H. R. Hall, M.A., F.S.A. 110, 197
THE USE OF NATRON BY THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS IN MUMMIFICATION	A. Lucas, F.I.C. 119

	PAGE
EXCAVATIONS AT ABYDOS: THE GREAT POOL AND THE TOMB OF OSIRIS	Professor Edouard Naville, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A. ... 159
ANTINOË AND ITS PAPYRI	J. de M. Johnson, M.A. ... 168
THE BYZANTINE RESEARCH FUND: EXCAVATIONS AT WADI SARGA	R. Campbell Thompson, M.A., F.S.A. 187
EGYPTIAN MUMMIES	Professor G. Elliot Smith, F.R.S. 189
"Ελλην IN COPTIC	S. Gaselee, M.A. 207
AN UNRECOGNISED MEANING OF THE VERB 	T. Eric Peet, B.A. 209
HITHERTO UNNOTICED EVIDENCE REGARDING COPPER WORKS OF ART OF THE OLDEST PERIOD OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY	Prof. Kurt Sethe, Ph.D. ... 233
THE USE OF BITUMEN BY THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS IN MUMMIFICATION	A. Lucas, F.I.C. 241
THE SAWÂMA CEMETERIES AND THE IBIS CEME- TERY AT ABYDOS	Prof. T. Whittemore ... 246
THE AUSTRIAN EXCAVATIONS, 1914	Prof. H. Junker, Ph.D. ... 250
BIBLIOGRAPHY:	
Christian Egypt, 1912-13 ...	S. Gaselee, M.A. 47
Hellenistic Egypt, " ...	F. Ll. Griffith, M.A., F.S.A. ... 124
Graeco-Roman Egypt, " ...	H. Idris Bell, M.A. 129
Greek Inscriptions from Egypt, " ...	Marcus N. Tod, M.A. ... 140
Ancient Egypt, 1912-14 ...	F. Ll. Griffith, M.A., F.S.A. ... 254
NOTES AND NEWS 70, 144, 212, 292
NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS 75, 153, 224, 296
CORRESPONDENCE 79

The Index to Volume I will be printed in Volume II, Part I.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIAL STATEMENT	1
ABYDOS Edouard Naville ...	2
EGYPTIAN EMPIRE IN ASIA D. G. Hogarth ...	9
THE DATE OF STONEHENGE A. H. Sayce ...	18
EGYPTIAN BEADS IN BRITAIN H. R. Hall ...	19
NEW LITERARY WORKS FROM ANCIENT EGYPT ... Alan H. Gardiner ...	20
THE YEAR'S WORK AT ABYDOS T. Eric Peet ...	37
THE IBIS CEMETERY AT ABYDOS W. Leonard S. Loat ...	40
THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY Aylward M. Blackman	41
THE BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN EGYPT ... W. M. Flinders Petrie	43
THE LAW RELATING TO ANTIQUITIES IN EGYPT ... H. G. Lyons ...	45
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF 1912-3: CHRISTIAN EGYPT ... S. Gaselee ...	47
NOTES AND NEWS	70
REVIEWS	75
CORRESPONDENCE	79

EDITORIAL STATEMENT

To launch a new Journal upon the sea of literature must always be an undertaking requiring serious consideration, yet the need of a publication in English which should deal systematically with all the branches of Egyptological studies is one that has been felt for a long time by all scholars and others whose sympathies lie in the direction of Egyptian work.

In response to this want, the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund have decided to issue *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, which will be published quarterly each year in January, April, July and October.

This decision was made early last summer, and the first part of the *Journal* could have been issued in October 1913, but for several reasons the Committee deemed it advisable to begin publication with the present year.

The *Journal* will give all information obtainable regarding excavations that are being conducted in Egypt, and will contain articles, some, specialized and technical, intended mainly for experts, others, simpler in character, such as will be intelligible to all who care for Egypt and its marvellous interests. The history, language, papyrology and antiquities of the succeeding epochs in the story of the Nile Valley will be treated in turn, and current progress in the various branches of Egyptology and Egyptian Archaeology will be discussed.

Books relating to Egypt sent to the *Journal* for review will receive, according to their importance, either short notices or be reviewed at length by competent authorities.

Hearty promises of support and cooperation have been received from many of the leading writers on the manifold and divergent phases of Egyptian lore both of the far past ages and of more modern times.

ABYDOS

THE name of Abydos is a good example of what we call popular etymology. Its Egyptian form is *Abut* or *Abtu*, which sounds like the name of the city of Abydos on the Hellespont, a most familiar name to the Greeks. Finding an Egyptian word which had some likeness to the name they knew, the Greeks mixed the two together, as is often the case in our time.

Abydos was a large city. Its foundation must go back to the earliest time of Egyptian history, but it never was very powerful in a political sense. In this respect it could never be compared with Thebes or Memphis. Its importance was chiefly religious; just as *On*, Heliopolis, was the city and residence of Tum Harmakhis, Abydos was that of Osiris. This god is constantly called "he who resides at Abydos," and since he is as often styled "the god of the West," Abydos has become the symbol of the West, just as the city of *Dad*, Busiris, is that of the East.

Abydos is the residence of Osiris. This god is by far the most interesting of Egyptian gods. He is the only one who has a kind of moral character, while all the others are forces of nature or natural phenomena. He is the god of the dead, a funerary divinity, before whom takes place the most solemn scene found in the Book of the Dead, the judgment. At Abydos is supposed to be the hall, or rather the court of law, where this scene takes place. The god, in the form of a man, is sitting on a throne under a canopy and before him are his four assessors, the gods of the four cardinal points, and the balance in which the heart of the deceased is weighed while the dead man appeals to forty-two divinities and takes them as witnesses that he has not committed any of the forty-two capital sins. We must consider that this scene takes place in a celestial Abydos. Just as each man has a *Ka*, a double, exactly similar to what he has been on earth, something like his shadow, who lives in the other world, so it is with some of the religious cities. They have in the other world a double, a repetition, a kind of projection exactly similar to what they are in this world. This is particularly striking in the case of Heliopolis, Abydos and Busiris, for they all have their places in the celestial geography. Heliopolis sometimes reminds one of the celestial Jerusalem.

Another place near Abydos which occurs constantly in the funereal texts is *Roset*, the entrance to the lower world, a kind of opening through which the deceased have to pass. It may be one of the clefts one sees in the mountains closing the horizon on the West, which are the beginning of the desert.

Osiris is a god having a human appearance. He is generally seen holding in his hands the hook and the flail, the emblems of royal power. His consort is Isis and his son Horus. Is this human form the original appearance of the god, and is Osiris

his original name? These are questions very much discussed. Various authors advocate the idea that this form of Osiris and the well-known myth of his destruction by Set, who dismembered his body, as well as the restoration of his body by his son Horus, come from the Delta in the North. I shall not now discuss this matter. One thing seems certain, that the usual and well-known form of Osiris, the king in man's form, is comparatively late and is not that found under the first dynasties, at least at Abydos.

Abydos had from the first been a city, the *raison d'être* of which was religious. It was connected with the beginning of Egyptian history. We know from Manetho, the Egyptian priest who compiled in Greek the annals of the kings, that the first historical king, Mena, left a place called *This*, in Middle Egypt, went down the river and stopped at the head of the Delta, where he founded Memphis, and where he made great hydraulic works, diverting the bed of the Nile so that the river should flow more to the east, in order to leave an open space on which to build his new capital Memphis.

This is in the neighbourhood of Abydos. It has been identified as a hill not very far from Girgeh, and called *el Birbeh*, the temple. The name of *This* is found in the New Empire. The chief or prince of *This*, or the royal son of *This*, was an official having a high administrative employment, but though *This* was perhaps originally the civil and political capital of the province it was soon superseded by the religious city of Abydos.

Evidently the information given by Manetho is correct on this point: the origin of the dynastic series of kings of Egypt is derived from Abydos. There, and in the immediate neighbourhood, we find the oldest Egyptian constructions, the remains of the first three dynasties. There the kings showed that they kept up their connection with *This* by building their funerary monuments.

About a mile from the cultivated land, at a short distance from the mountains, is a mound called by the natives Umm el Ga'ab, the mother of pots, because of the quantity of pottery with which it is covered and which gives it its red colour. There the excavations, first of a Frenchman, M. Amélineau, and afterwards of Prof. Flinders Petrie, have revealed extensive constructions in bricks, which have been called tombs. They generally consist of a central chamber, on the sides of which are suites of rooms, where have been found vases, furniture, slate palettes, flint instruments and all the objects which have revealed to us what the civilisation of the first dynasties had been. There were also big jars on the caps of which were sealings printed with what has been supposed to be cylinders, but I should rather think with small engraved rectangular pieces of wood. I need not revert to the importance of the discovery of the names of the kings of the first three dynasties, not the name each bore as a living ruler, but that of his *Ka*, his double, who is living in the other world, while his body is hidden in the earth.

The monuments at Umm el Ga'ab are called tombs. I do not consider that they were actual burial places, at least not for the kings. I believe we have here the first example of what we see throughout the whole of Egyptian history. The place where the king is worshipped is distinct from the tomb itself. The room or the hall where he is worshipped is accessible to the friends and families and to the priests of the deceased; the body is concealed in a closed chamber. When the place of worship was enlarged and became a whole temple, as we find in the case of the temple of Deir el

Bahari or the Ramesseum, it soon was used as a cemetery where the subjects of the king, officials, priests and perhaps his servants, were buried. It is the same at Umm el Ga'ab, where the rooms around the central chamber have been used as the burial places of a great number of officials and priests, probably what we may call the court of the time, and even the dwarfs. The idea which led to this custom is twofold. The deceased wished to be as near as possible to their former ruler, and also it was a kind of homage paid to the deceased king. The *Kas*, the doubles of his officials and priests, were to surround his own in the other world. They were his society, for the deceased king did not like to be alone.

It seems to me probable that the chief reason which induced the kings of the first three dynasties to have their *Ka* sanctuaries at Abydos was the existence there of the sanctuary of their god, who was called afterwards Osiris. Osiris does not appear with this name in the earliest inscriptions, for in these he is called Apuatu or Upuatu, the opener of ways, the guide. He generally has the appearance of an animal of the canine species, it may be a jackal, a dog, a wolf or a fox, and as such he is represented on the standard of the kings who follow him in their march towards the North. Though the name of the god changed, the animals were still sacred in the place. We have discovered there a necropolis containing thousands of mummies of these animals.

It may reasonably be supposed that there was a sanctuary of Apuatu somewhere near the present temple of Osiris. His *Ka* was worshipped there, just as the *Ka* of Osiris was the divinity to whom Seti I afterwards raised a temple. When the ancient authors speak of the tomb of Osiris, I believe this must be interpreted as being the sanctuary of the *Ka*, the funereal temple, just as when they speak of the tomb of *Osymandyas*, the same word as *Usimares* Rameses II, they mean the Ramesseum, where the king was certainly not buried, since his tomb is in the valley of the kings, and his mummy, which was recovered, never was in the temple. When they speak of the head only of Osiris being buried at Abydos, I suppose it means that with the *Ka*, with his statue or his emblem, was deposited the amulet of the stone head, a certain number of which have been discovered in the tombs, and which was said to ensure the safety of the whole body.

The founder of the great temple of Osiris was Seti I, the second king of the 19th dynasty, the father of Rameses II. It consisted at first of two open courts, giving access to a columned hall of three rows of twelve columns. From this open seven vaulted rooms, each dedicated to a special divinity, the three northern ones being those of Osiris, Isis and Horus. From the room of Osiris a passage leads into a part of the temple, specially dedicated to him also, consisting of a middle hall with ten columns and side rooms. A wing of the temple contains the famous list of kings, from Mena to Seti I. The sculptures of these rooms, some of which, having brilliant colours, are very well preserved, are among the finest in Egypt and are remarkable pieces of art. In front of his father's hall Rameses II built another, which, like all his work, is done hastily and without much care. It cannot compare with that of Seti I.

These halls and rooms are for the ceremonies of the worship of Osiris and of the divinities he admitted in his temple and for each of whom a special room was built. But we may ask where was the chamber dedicated to the *Ka*, to the double? Where was he supposed to reside?

In my opinion, it must be under the sanctuary of Osiris, at a certain depth in the earth. What makes me think it must be so, is what we found in the temple of the 11th dynasty at Deir el Bahari, the temple of Mentuhotep (*Egypt Exploration Fund Memoirs*, No. xxx, *Deir el Bahari, Xth Dyn.*, Part II). This temple ends with a sanctuary, in front of which stood a hypostyle hall where the bases of the columns only remain. In the middle of the court, before the hypostyle hall, opens a sloping passage disappearing very soon in the rock. It was choked at the entrance with large stones. When we had removed them, we found ourselves at the door of a rock cut corridor sloping down. It was empty, and one could walk upright through its whole length. At a distance of about 150 feet from the entrance, it begins to be vaulted. It ends in a small granite chamber, extremely well built, made of large blocks of well polished syenite. The greater part of it is occupied by a shrine made of blocks of alabaster of the finest quality without any inscription or ornament except a thick moulding. It certainly had a door since the holes in which the pivots turned are still visible. In front of it were boats with figures, fragments of wooden weapons, cloth and remains of offerings. I believe it cannot be called a tomb. It is not a burial place for it did not contain a coffin. Its dimensions are too small to contain a stone sarcophagus as it would have done had it been that of a king. Besides, a coffin is never found in a shrine. Wherever we see in the sculptures a shrine being opened, it invariably contains an emblem or a statue, and I have no doubt that it was so at Deir el Bahari. A shrine contained the statue of the king, the figure of his *Ka*, and the priests could go down and take him offerings which would be described on a large stele, while a chamber containing a mummy would have been hermetically closed. Judging from analogy, I suppose that the *Ka* of Osiris must have been worshipped at Abydos in a subterranean chapel, at a certain depth under the sanctuary of the god.

We know already the entrance and part of the construction leading to it. It is what is called the Osireion, which we began excavating, and which we have to finish next winter. Our aim is to reach the room where the *Ka* of Osiris was supposed to dwell, his subterranean sanctuary.

For the knowledge of the existence of a passage going probably towards the temple, we are indebted to Prof. Flinders Petrie, or rather to Miss Murray his assistant, who was the first to attempt an excavation behind the temple of Seti, at some distance in the sacred enclosure, the temenos. There a depression running parallel to the enclosure on the west side showed the presence of some old work, and in fact Prof. Petrie discovered a subterranean passage covered with texts and figures from the Book of the Dead and bearing the name of King Menephtah, the son of Rameses II. This passage, which does not go towards the temple, ends in a small chamber, also ornamented with funerary figures and texts. Just in front of the chamber, a doorway with a lintel indicates the entrance into a passage. Miss Murray stopped there, after having copied the texts which were in the depth of the doorway, and covered it up again.

This passage in the direction of the temple, the door of which had only been seen, was the object which attracted us to that spot. Was it going as far as the temple and what should we find at the end? These various questions encouraged us to attack the enormous mounds of rubbish which were before us, and which turned out to be even a larger work than we expected. For we had to face, not only the

removal of tons of sand which centuries had accumulated on these old buildings, but also close to the temple were heaps or rather mounds of rubbish which came from Mariette's excavations, when he cleared the temple of Seti I. In fact, one winter's work has left us only at the beginning of the task, but has revealed enough to show how important it is to bring that excavation to a finish, and, in order to do that, to work on a larger scale than we did before.

In speaking of excavations it is most dangerous to be a prophet. I should like only to explain briefly the reasons which allow us to hope that the work is really worth the money and labour. It is an excavation of a monument and not that of a cemetery where one may expect to find objects for a museum; it is the clearing of a construction which at present seems unique.

The purpose of such excavations is the solution of important questions concerning history, art, or religion. The Fund was the first to initiate this kind of work at Deir el Bahari, where we discovered a temple absolutely unknown. The example has been followed by the Germans in the Sieglin expedition, which devoted itself to the Second Pyramid of Gizeh. No objects were found in that extensive and costly work, but we know much better now what the pyramids were, and the assemblage of constructions of which they were a part. In the pyramid itself was the funereal chamber and mummy, on the east side a large and somewhat complicated temple, from which a causeway led to the larger one. In this case, it was the so-called Temple of the Sphinx, the real nature of which has been recognized and fixed. Are these not most valuable results?

We are in a similar position at Abydos. There stands a temple dedicated to Osiris, which has a decided funereal character. We know from the Greek authors that it was called the tomb of Osiris, which was said to contain not the body of the god but his head. Just as on the western side of Thebes, the neighbourhood of this temple is a vast cemetery where thousands of tombs have been discovered. One of the mounds, Kom-es-sultân, is quite honeycombed with tombs of the 12th and 13th dynasties. What is it that gave the temple of Abydos its funerary character? There must be something else than the big constructions above ground. In the case of a human king there might be in connection with it a tomb hidden in some remote valley. But the Egyptians could not pretend to have the body of the god, so it is likely that there is a sanctuary for the *Ka* of the god. There is the interest of the question raised; it has a religious bearing. What kind of construction did the Egyptians erect to a god whom they supposed to have died?

I must say that what we have already found is very encouraging. After having cleared again the door discovered by Miss Murray, we pushed forward into the passage which was quite concealed and filled with rubbish. It slopes gently downwards, then becomes horizontal again, the length being about 45 feet. On the walls are texts of the Book of the Dead; on the right the 1st and 17th chapter, on the left the 99th, the 146th, and the negative confession. The way the texts are arranged shows that they have been sculptured later and not at the time of the building. The beginning, the first chapter, is at the end of the passage; on the right the texts are read going up, the vignettes on the top of the text are also in the same order. Arriving at the entrance, the reader has to go over to the left side and has to read the texts going down. If this construction were really a tomb, as those of the kings

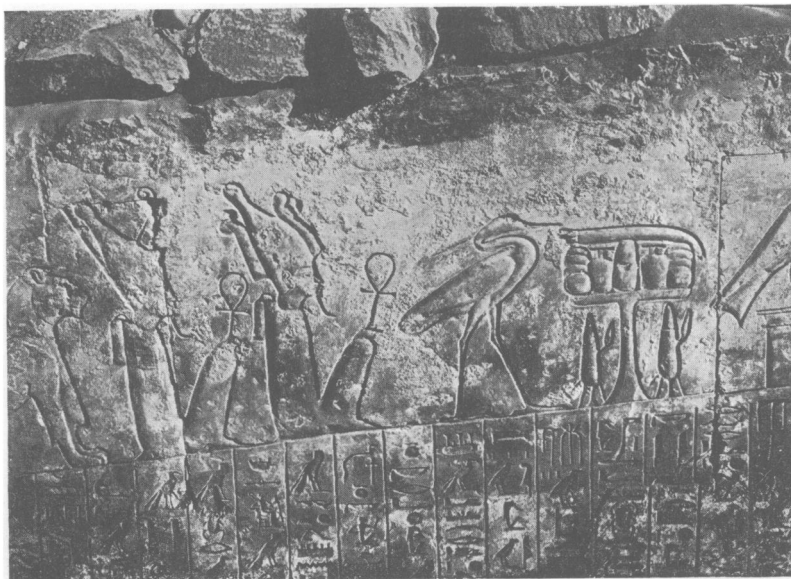


Fig. 1. Scenes and inscriptions on the walls of the Osireion

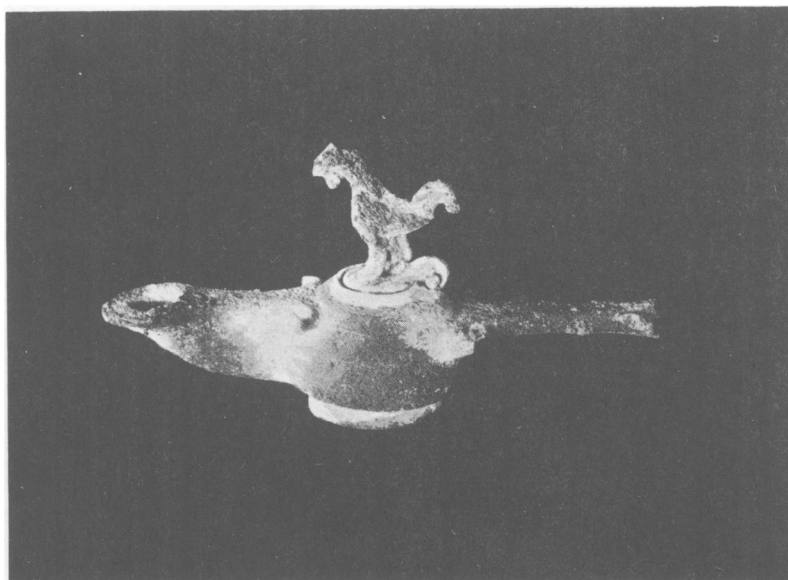


Fig. 2. Coptic lamp of bronze from Abydos

at Thebes, the text would begin at the entrance. Therefore we must consider all these texts as an usurpation of Menephtah, who merely began placing them there, or did it hastily, since in the following rooms the funerary texts are only painted, and now hardly legible. They are not outlined for sculpture as in the tombs of the kings but are painted.

I believe Menephtah was actuated by the same feeling as the men who had their burials in the Ramesseum or at Deir el Bahari. It was his wish to be as near as possible to Osiris, to be in his abode. In all these representations we must always remember that the reason why they are made is not mere ornamentation, it is what is called magical imitation, or rather imitative magic. The fact of something being painted or sculptured is sufficient to cause it to come into existence, to live in the other world. The passage had a ceiling of monolithic architraves, which have all disappeared except the first.

When we reached the end of the passage, on both sides we found wide openings which evidently were chambers, and in front a huge monolithic lintel 15 feet long. It looked at first like an entrance to another passage, but we soon perceived that it was merely an opening in a stone wall about 12 feet thick, built of enormous blocks of sandstone and red quartzite. This wall separates the two rooms we had first reached from other rooms in the direction of the temple. We could clear only the southern room. The west wall leans against a mound of marl and is thinner. The southern one has outside a kind of rough casing in limestone and I believe it was not subterranean at that place. The erection was roofed over with large stones which have been used since as building material. Over the roof was probably sand, so that the whole construction looked like a huge mastaba.

The wall on the east side of the chamber is built of enormous stones very well joined. It reminds one of the masonry of the time of the pyramids, of the so-called Temple of the Sphinx. It seems probable that it is much older than the temple of Seti. It may have been part of the first sanctuary, for there was certainly one at an early date, at least of the time of the 12th dynasty. Otherwise one would not understand why there was such a large cemetery of that epoch, and of the following dynasty, such as is found in the hill called Kom-es-sultân, where Mariette made such productive excavations. Beyond this wall, going towards the temple, we could trace two more rooms, so that what we are now excavating is not a mere passage, it is a series of rooms, the last of which is probably under the temple of Seti.

This is one of the questions raised by this unique construction. Are we here in the oldest sanctuary of Osiris? For we cannot suppose that there was none at the time when the kings of the first dynasties built their funereal monuments at Umm el Ga'ab. There must have been a settlement of some importance in a place which already, at that early time, had a sacred character. This character would naturally be derived from the existence of a sanctuary, from its being the abode of a most venerated divinity.

Abydos has always been the city of Osiris, as Heliopolis was the city of Tum. When did Abydos begin to be the residence of the god? When was the first place of worship erected there, and when did Osiris take that name instead of *Apuatu*? I am going to risk an opinion which, I confess, is at present only a conjecture. The name of Osiris means "he who makes a seat or an abode," and *Apuatu*, as we have

seen, is "the opener of ways," the guide whom the conquerors follow. Did the change of name not take place when an abode, a sanctuary, was first built at Abydos, and he ceased to be the wandering god, the standard of a tribe of migrating conquerors? If this hypothesis were confirmed, it would explain also why Abydos was the first capital of the early kings, and the starting point of Menes. Perhaps the excavations of next winter will throw some light on these points, but we must not be too hopeful, and especially we must not venture on any prophecy.

The work next winter will be on a larger scale than before. As you know, the clearing is done with railway plant, lent to us very kindly by the Service des Antiquités. We shall require, and probably shall have to purchase, more cars. The plan is to have two parallel lines working, one on either side. The amount of rubbish to be carried away is enormous. Last year we did not touch the northern chamber at the end of the passage, because it lay under something like 30 feet of rubbish which our northern line will have to remove. Further, towards the temple, we are in loose sand constantly falling in again, a most unpleasant addition to our labour.

When we stopped at the end of the winter of 1912, we had reached the foot of the high mound resulting from Mariette's excavations. When this famous explorer cleared the back rooms of the temple of Seti, he had in view only the construction itself. Besides, the time had not yet come when work of that kind was done with a railway. The rubbish was carried away only with baskets. One may fancy the number of boys required for clearing large halls like those of such a large temple. It was necessary to throw the rubbish as near as possible, just behind the wall of the temple. The sight of this mound was certainly very discouraging. Next month when we resume work, we shall find that it is gone. Sir Gaston Maspero had for several years intended to complete the work of Mariette, and to clear the access to the temple of Seti I. The native houses in front of the entrance court were to be pulled down, and the ground excavated in order to show the avenue leading to that court. At the same time, it was necessary to carry off part of Mariette's mound which was close to the wall of the temple and rose above its height. Sir Gaston told us that since he was obliged to attack this mound he might as well have the whole removed, and thus greatly facilitate our work, if the Fund were disposed to bear part of the cost. An arrangement was made with Sir Gaston, the Fund contributed £200 towards the expense, and the whole part of the mound which was in front of us has been carried away under the direction of the Inspector, M. Lefebvre.

Thus we shall have to carry on only proper excavation, and we have to express our thanks to Sir Gaston and his agent, to whose kindness and work we owe it that the huge mound has been removed at a relatively small cost, and thus we have been saved a considerable amount of labour and time. We may expect now that, with a sufficient number of men, and with a little more plant, we shall be able this winter to finish the Osireion, unless something unexpected turns up, which may always happen.

I earnestly hope that we shall have no reason to regret the expense and the labour, and I shall be very happy if you realize in some degree the importance and the interest of the questions to be solved by the excavation of the Osireion.

EDOUARD NAVILLE.



Entrance to inner chamber of the Osireion, discovered 1911

EGYPTIAN EMPIRE IN ASIA¹

I HAVE been asked to deliver the first of a series of popular lectures dealing with Ancient Egypt. I do not understand by "popular" the merely superficial, but I do understand that a lecture is desired which shall not be overfilled with details and unfamiliar names, but at the same time shall embody recent discovery and attempt some general co-ordination of knowledge. Therefore on the present occasion, taking for my subject Egyptian Empire in Asia, I propose to deal very generally not only with its political and military character, but also with its cultural effect. Some new evidence on all these points, but especially on the last, has been coming to light as the result of recent explorations in Syria, notably that of the British Museum at Jerablus, the site of Carchemish, and that conducted by Professor Garstang for the University of Liverpool at Sakjegözü, whose ancient name is still unknown. I shall try to estimate summarily the bearing of some of this evidence and to deduce general inferences about the relations of Egypt to the near Asiatic lands. I could wish that I had had time to produce a discourse better worth your attention as Egyptologists, and also to collect other illustrations than the few which I have hastily scraped together; and finally, that I were more of an Egyptologist myself. My excuse for addressing you on this subject at all must be my connection with some of those explorations in Syria about which I have just spoken.

Before dealing with the Egyptian Empire in particular, I should like to say a word in general on the meaning or meanings of this term "Empire" as applied to the results of ancient conquests. It must imply some degree of suzerainty acknowledged by the inhabitants of an alien land; but what degree or degrees? Broadly there seem to be three degrees of such suzerainty, to all of which the word empire is actually applied by historians of antiquity.

(1) In the highest degree Empire meant territorial dominion, secured by permanent occupation by the forces of the imperial power and exclusive administration by its direct representatives. In full development it entailed also enrolment of all subjects not only in the military forces of the ruling power, but also in its civic body; but this further development was not dreamed of in the ancient world before Alexander the Great and not even partially realized until the third century of the Roman Empire. (2) In the second

¹ This lecture was delivered on March 11, 1913, not from a manuscript but from short notes; nor did I then suppose that it was to be published in full. In writing it out from my notes some months later, I have had to shorten it by omitting most of what was said about the Hittites. It is not worth while to repeat this part without the photographic illustrations of Carchemish, shown during the delivery, but not allowed to be published till the official account of the excavations is issued by the British Museum. D. G. H.

degree Empire meant permanent tributary allegiance, secured neither by general occupation of the alien lands nor by direct administration but by the fear of reconquest which a few garrisons and agents and the prestige of the conqueror could keep alive in the minds of indirect administrators and native subjects. (3) In the third degree Empire meant little more than a sphere of exclusive influence, from which tribute was expected, but, not being secured by garrisons or representatives of the conquering power, tended to be intermittent and to be yielded only to the occasional pressure of raids or the fear of them.

Of these three degrees of "Empire" we may exclude the first from consideration altogether in speaking of the Asiatic dominion of Egypt at any period before the Ptolemaic. It is just possible that the definitive possession of South Syria, i.e. of Palestine proper up to about the latitude of Acre, obtained by Thothmes III, lost by Amenhetep IV's successor, but regained by Seti I and kept till at any rate the end of the reign of Rameses II, amounted to territorial occupation. But though a few local governors, mentioned in the Amarna Letters, under Amenhetep III and IV bore Egyptian names (a fact which, of course, is quite compatible with their having been Syrians), and certain lands in Palestine became Egyptian royal and priestly appanages, the administration seems in the main to have been left to indirect native representatives, intimidated by some garrisons and occasional agents—the former at least having been apparently mercenary aliens for the most part, when not mere levies of the native princes. That is to say that even in Palestine the Egyptian Empire of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties was of the second degree. So far as our knowledge goes, territorial Empire of the first degree, even in that less developed form, which did not include the subject's participation in the citizenship of the imperial people, was not known in West Asia till the Later Assyrian Kingdom. The earlier Mesopotamian "Empires," Sumerian, Babylonian and Assyrian, had indeed hardly risen above the third degree, i.e. had amounted to little more than spheres of exclusive influence. In introducing therefore at any rate the second degree, the Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty may be credited with advanced imperial ideas, although their advance did not lead them to a conception of territorial empire, as we understand it.

Egyptian Empire in Asia was originally an immediate consequence, perhaps an effect, of the expulsion of the Hyksos power from the Nile Valley. There is no reason to suppose that, apart from occasional expeditions sent to work Sinaitic mines by Pharaohs of the Old and Middle Kingdoms and occasional raids upon the nearest Arabian Bedawins, the Aamu, in the interest of the mining settlements, official Egyptian forces ever entered Asia prior to the reign of Aahmes I. The story of the Egyptian Sanehat's residence at Hebron in the time of Amenemhat I is inconsistent with anything short of the complete independence of South Palestine at that epoch.

The subsequent subjection of Egypt to the Hyksos meant, of course, Asiatic Empire in Egypt, precluding all possibility of Egyptian Empire in Asia. With the ebb of this wave, which, whatever it was in particular, was in general part of the great flow from the East which brought the Canaanites to Syria, the road into Asia lay open at last, and though the raid which we find the first Pharaoh of the Eighteenth Dynasty pushing across Carmel about 1582 B.C. may not have been exactly retaliatory, it was doubtless induced to some degree by the suction of that receding flood. If nothing else, the Egyptians must have learned from the Hyksos what to expect in Syria and how to get it.

These early appearances of the Egyptians under Aahmes I and Thothmes I in south-west Asia were preliminaries to the establishment of dominion, but did not themselves create anything which could be called Empire even of the lowest degree. The expeditions were mere summer raids, such as have been the vogue in Asia since time immemorial. We hear nothing of the capture of strong places such as Gaza, Ascalon or Megiddo which lay on the path of the armies, but merely of the harrying of the Shasu Bedawins of the Tib, and of the Rutennu in the Galilean hills, and of blackmail levied on Phoenician towns as far north as Arvad, and on inland tribes still farther north even to Naharina, the Aleppo country: but much of the "tribute" was probably sent from a distance to forestall incursions, which eventually were not made.

It is not till well on in the reign of Thothmes III that Egyptian Empire was instituted over any part of Asia as a permanent political condition. With the capture of Gaza, Megiddo and the other strong places of Palestine, the incorporation of the southernmost part of Syria, including most of Phoenicia, was complete by the Pharaoh's thirtieth year. We hear of new chiefs appointed to rule the land, but have no reason to suppose these to have been Egyptians born; nor can we be sure how much military occupation there was. A century later some of the Amarna Letters from Palestine complain of the withdrawal of troops which used to be in garrison there, and since the abandonment of strong places, which had been taken by Thothmes' armies after painful sieges, is unlikely, we may reasonably presume that some of these withdrawn garrisons had been planted in Palestine in the days of the original conqueror. It was therefore Empire of the second degree—a province administered indirectly by native governors appointed by Pharaoh, whose allegiance was stiffened by the presence of some garrisons and direct agents of the ruling power. If we are to draw a northern boundary to this imperial province, it would seem to leave the Mediterranean coast north of Arvad, to bend southwards to the watershed between the Orontes and the Jordan and to fade away into the eastern desert some distance to the south of Damascus.

Above this line Thothmes constituted by the end of his reign a second imperial province, but, so far as I can venture to infer from the evidence available, it was Empire only of the third degree, that is it was an exclusive Egyptian "sphere of influence," where any other armies than Pharaoh's knew they raided at certain peril of his chastisement, while his own armies traversed it freely, and levied contributions on country and town. Other strong powers of Western Asia respected his exclusive rights—the Kassites of Babylonia (Kardunias), the Mitanni, who, pending the rise of Asshur to independence, had the chief rank in north Mesopotamia, and the Hatti growing in strength beyond Taurus but still, as a unified organization, confined to Cappadocia, despite the memory of some southward excursions. Egyptian forces made periodic raids *in terrorem* through different parts of this north Syrian province, not merely into north Phoenicia (Zahi) and the lower valley of the Orontes, but to Naharina and to the Sajur Valley, on whose slopes a modern village still preserves the venerable name Tunip, which the Egyptian annalists knew. A definite northern frontier can hardly be assigned to this vague "province" which may have included even Cilicia. If Thothmes actually pushed as far north-eastward as Carchemish, he probably went no farther, but left the modern districts of Aintab and Marash, which made the best part of ancient Commagene, to native, perhaps Hittite, chieftains, whose allegiance was attested by propitiatory offerings and secured by the pacific intentions of which the Cappadocian Hatti sent

him proof. But I repeat that northwards from Kadesh, which Thothmes seems not to have meddled with before his forty-second year, and then merely to have blackmailed, the Egyptian position seems to me to have been imperial only in the third degree, not secured by either permanent garrisons or even indirect representatives in the governorate. North middle, and north Syria were not more incorporated in the Egyptian dominion than, say, Afghanistan is in the British. I will state presently a reason based on Syrian exploration for thus reducing to narrow limits what others (for example so sound an authority as Mr H. R. Hall) have held to have been a wider Egyptian Empire of a higher degree, in the time of Thothmes III.

Such as it was, this somewhat ill-defined and loosely knit empire survived intact through the reigns of three successors of Thothmes, and gathered strength by the mere influence of use and wont. Under Amenhetep III Syria seems to have lain quiescent from end to end; we hear of no Egyptian raids into any part, but on the contrary of unimpeded relations between the Nile and Mesopotamia and of much peaceful intercourse illustrated by the initiation of an attempt to assimilate the Syrians to the Egyptians through education of the princely youth of the former on the Nile. Such attempts have often been repeated by imperial powers since. Rome tried them; the Ottoman power has tried them; France has tried them; we and Russia try them still. None has met with much success. The young bear, once returned to his native hills, remembers some of the tricks which his captors have taught him, but remembers them with no sort of gratitude.

Certainly the experiment bore little fruit for Amenhetep's successor. From the first years of the reign of Akhenaten the decline of the Asiatic Empire of Egypt began. Thanks to the Amarna Letters we can follow the foreign relations of Egypt in this period more closely than in almost any other. But that story of cities falling away one after another because Amenhetep IV no longer maintained garrisons or even sent an occasional expeditionary force; of native governors, after vain appeals, electing for his enemies; of new powers growing unchecked in the north and centre, is well known to you. Perhaps however the decline is laid too much to the charge of Akhenaten himself, and too little to that of his predecessors. It is more surprising that an empire so weakly organized, so dependent on mercenary swords and indirect representatives, should have survived four reigns than that it should have collapsed in the fifth.

Egypt won and held her Asiatic dominion only in an interval between the collapse of elder Asiatic powers and the rise of younger ones. When Thothmes III marched through Syria there was none stronger than the weak Kassite monarchy, and the inconsiderable power of Mitanni to dispute his path. The Hatti, who had ruined the elder Dynasty of Babylon, had retired to Cappadocia and were not yet ready to emerge again. Assyria was growing but not yet grown. The Aramaean wave of Arabian Semites was only beginning to flow northward and westward. A hundred years later the Hatti had found a strong dynasty to lead south again; Assyria was become a power prepared to dispute the west with them, and had made a mighty effort under Shalmaneser I to cut their southward path: the Aramaeans had coalesced into a settled state about Damascus. Each of these powers was more strongly planted in Asia than Egypt at her strongest, and swiftly and inevitably the Egyptian fell back into Africa. By the time Horemheb sat on the throne of the Pharaohs, the former foreign empire of Egypt had reverted to Asiatic hands. It was not, of course, lost for ever. The next Dynasty of

Pharaohs would regain all the provinces that their predecessors had held as Empire of the second degree, i.e. Palestine and south Phoenicia, and would re-assert the Egyptian claim in the south of the northern province. But it would be an intermittent and merely momentary revival. If that can be said of the Asiatic Empire of Seti I and Rameses II, still more truly may it be said of occasional later excursions made by Aethiopic Pharaohs into Palestine from the tenth to the eighth centuries. In fact what such as Sheshonk, Osorkon I, Shabaka and Tirhakah did in Asia can hardly be said to have created an Empire of any degree. What finally the first Ptolemies did there we need not take into account to-day: for, although all that they seized and held in Syria and of Asia Minor became constituted Empire of the first degree, it was really not Egyptian but Greek Empire taken and held not directly from the Egyptian land, but from the Greeks' element, the sea. If we try to estimate what Egyptian Empire meant, what effect it had on its lords and subjects, it is the Empire of the Eighteenth Dynasty which has to be considered.

What effects of it do we trace on the culture of Egypt and on the culture of West Asia respectively? On the first a very considerable effect; on the second so little that, on present evidence, we have hardly any choice but to presume the Empire to have been only in very small measure administered or garrisoned by Egyptians even in south Syria; while in the northern "province" there can hardly have been any permanent Egyptian element whatever.

In Egypt, as all students of Egyptology agree, the greatest change in culture took place in the latter part of the reign of Thothmes III. Fabrics, forms, decoration, which had been developing evenly and continuously since the Old Kingdom, suddenly felt a new influence and either advanced or declined *per saltum*. New ones appeared, and in their company there was a rush of foreign products, many of which can be ascribed with certainty and some with probability, to a Syrian origin, while others again were due to importation or to influence from the East Mediterranean (or "Aegean") culture. Non-Egyptian names become frequent on monuments, and non-Egyptian ideas begin to germinate in Egyptian soil. The social apparatus grows quickly to an unprecedented height of luxury, while at the same time we note a social development which in the history of nations has often been concomitant with a sudden increase of wealth, and is always significant of it, namely, a rapidly growing use of mercenary alien, rather than native, soldiery to uphold national interests. That the root and fostering influence of these changes is to be sought in the imperial expansion resultant on Thothmes' Asiatic conquests admits of no question. What the Egyptians had learned and seen in Asia, what their raiding armies had brought back, what came to the Nile as tribute from native princes and indirect representatives in Syria, what came from further Asia and the Aegean in the course of trade along roads long closed—all these novelties combined to affect Egyptian culture rapidly and profoundly.

Upon Syria, on the other hand, so far as we can tell from the exploration of sites which were important throughout the period of the Eighteenth Dynasty, no comparable reciprocal influence was exerted at that time by Egypt. Several such sites in the Philistine country have been examined, chiefly by the enterprise of the Palestine Exploration Fund. Of these Gezer is the most informing, because its results have been by far the most completely published; but Tells' Hesy, Mutesellim, Zakaria and others have also much to tell us. At all, and especially at Gezer, a great number of objects

manufactured in Egypt, or, if manufactured in Syria, of obviously Egyptian character, have come to light, but an almost infinitesimal proportion of these can be referred to any period so early as that of the Eighteenth Dynasty, or even that of the Nineteenth. The great bulk seems due to much later influence exerted from the Nile, most active from the tenth to the seventh centuries B.C. At the same time, when we look at other things which may be expected to be of local manufacture, such as the pottery especially, and also the cult-apparatus, the figurines of deities and the like, one observes little or no sign of any Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian influence.

The same result has to be recorded of the German and Austrian excavations in the Carmel region, at Taanach and Megiddo. Hardly anything—at the last site indeed practically nothing—has been found, to attest the presence of Egyptians or local action of Egyptian cultural influence during the Eighteenth Dynasty. As we pass up from Palestine into mid and northern Syria we seem soon to leave even such faint traces behind altogether. Mid Syria, including Phoenicia, it is true, has been so little excavated by scientific explorers that one must speak of its earlier strata with all reserve: but what objects of Egyptian character have come into the hands of the numerous dealers in its coast towns are almost all of the later period, and I have not heard of any early Egyptian stuff having been found by the French excavators of the presumed site of Kadesh, south of the Lake of Homs. Farther north much more thorough explorations have been carried out on three sites at least, namely those at Sinjerli, excavated in 1894 and published by Von Luschan, Koldewey and others: that at Sakjegözü, excavated in 1911–12 and published by Garstang and others; and finally and most important that at Jerablus or Carchemish, which has been in process of exploration since 1912 at the instance of the British Museum under the successive direction of myself and Messrs Thompson and Woolley and is still in hand. Of all these three it may be said broadly that none has yielded evidence of close contact with the Egypt of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Egyptian objects virtually cease to be found below strata of the tenth, or perhaps even the ninth century. Every class of native remains of earlier periods—pottery, bronzes, terracottas, sculptures, seals—is innocent of obvious Egyptian influence.

Take the last mentioned class, the seals, not merely from these three sites but from North Syria in general—the so-called South Hittite sphragistic class. It forms a very numerous family of cylinders or stamps ranging over a long period from before the Eighteenth Dynasty down to the Persian period. In the seal class, if in any class of antiquities, one would naturally look for traces of the influence of so active and prolific a sphragistic art as the Egyptian; and in that class one duly finds it. But at what epoch? Only in products of the eleventh and later centuries, not before. Cylinders and other seals found with cremation burials, assignable to a period from the ninth to the seventh century, show it; still more do those found with the inhumation burials of the succeeding and last “Hittite” (or Perso-Hittite) period, when the use of a compost material had been introduced from the south with sigillistic motives strongly Nilotic, and with the true scarab form. Previous to this period scaraboid seals occur more and more rarely till, before 1000 B.C., they vanish, leaving the earlier North Syrian strata to show seals which in fabric, form and engraved subject owe much to Mesopotamian and Cappadocian art, but nothing to Egyptian.

How are we to explain this one-sided cultural action of the Eighteenth Dynasty Empire? Egyptian culture at the opening of the imperial period was undoubtedly much

more highly developed, much more potent than Syrian culture. Its influence might have been expected to leave a wider and deeper mark on Syria than was left by any reciprocal Syrian influence on Egypt. Yet, on the contrary, it has left much less mark. The one explanation I can suggest is that far fewer agents of Egyptian culture were active in Syria, than agents of Syrian culture in Egypt—that is to say, while numbers of Asiatics flocked to and resided in Egypt under the Eighteenth Dynasty, very few Egyptians stayed in their Syrian Empire, and those few were not of the commercial class. We must conclude that after the first conquest the Egyptians were content to hold *per alios*, and were not to be seduced by the possession of foreign territories from their traditional home-keeping particularism, and their distaste for foreign adventure or trade.

In fact the cultural effect of the Eighteenth Dynasty Empire particularly illustrates what I venture to propound as a historical generalisation—that, at all periods, Egyptian culture remained without influence on the general progress of the world, unless agents from without visited Egypt to learn of it on the spot. The Egyptians themselves did nothing to disseminate it abroad. They were not adventurers, they were not traders. They had not the instincts of an imperial people. The periods during which we find the influence of Egyptian culture spread wide and far afield are four in history, separated by other periods more or less long, during which it seems to have shrunk back to the Nile. The four are the Late Minoan (sixteenth and fifteenth centuries B.C.), the Later Assyrian (tenth to seventh centuries), and the Ptolemaic and Roman periods (together third century B.C. to sixth century A.D.). In the whole or part of two of these Egypt was subject to external powers; in one dominated by a foreign dynasty with intimate Mediterranean relations. In the fourth and earliest of the periods we do not know the political conditions; but certainly Egypt, though she had Asiatic Empire then, had none over Crete and neither troops nor agents in Cyprus. Nevertheless these two islands between them have yielded more Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty objects than all Syria. There could hardly be a better illustration of my contention that Egyptian civilization did not follow the flag.

It has been the fashion, since the discovery of many Egyptian and Egyptianizing objects in Aegean strata, whether in the islands or on the Greek mainland, to discredit the previously accepted maxim that the Egyptians were a closely exclusive and home-keeping people: and narratives of Egyptian travellers and the diplomatic correspondence between Egypt and Asiatic localities have been adduced to support a correction of the old idea. I venture, however, to think the old idea is still sound and good, and that the new Aegean evidence confirms, not corrects, it. For while, as I have maintained already, the diplomatic correspondence in question does not prove the residence of actual Egyptians abroad, and the narratives in question, if they indicate anything, indicate that foreign travel was a very rare and uncongenial occupation for an Egyptian, the Egyptian objects found on Aegean sites were almost certainly brought thither not by Egyptians but by Aegeans trading with foreign settlements in northern Egypt. If so they illustrate, rather than traverse, the view that, whenever Egyptian culture passed the limits of the Nile Valley in antiquity, it was by the agency of foreigners. Trading adventurers or invaders from without had to go to its home-land, and themselves ignite a torch at that bright flame of civilization which from first to last the native Egyptian was fain to hide under his bushel.

The failure of the Eighteenth Dynasty to maintain its imperial hold on West Asia

was, I have said, inevitable. So soon as a power of any strength appeared in Asia itself, Egypt could not but obey an order to quit. This may appear, however, a hard saying and I must offer a little more justification, which may, I think, be obtained by looking not at Eighteenth Dynasty Empire alone but at the whole history of both Egyptian Empire in Asia and Asiatic Empire in Egypt.

From first to last that history exemplifies one empirical law that Egypt has never been able long to retain anything in Asia, or any alien to retain Egypt, saving and excepting *when one or the other has held command also of the Levant Sea*. Exceptional instances prove the rule. The first durable empire established over foreign lands by Egypt was that of the earlier Ptolemies, whose fleets were predominant over the whole Levant as far north as the Cyclades, and as far west as the mouth of the Adriatic; and their empire endured just so long as their sea-power. With the increase of the Rhodian navy it ceased in Asia Minor: with the appearance of Roman fleets it ceased in Syria also. On the other hand the first durable empire established by an alien power in Egypt was that of Rome, not won until she had taken command of the Levant after the suppression of the Pirates of Crete and Cilicia, and never again lost until she and her successor, Byzantium, ceased to rule the sea.

The best illustrations on the other side, the best examples of the rule itself, are to be found in the history of Asiatic Empire over Egypt. The overwhelming might of Assyria failed to keep its African conquests for more than the space of a single generation. It occupied Egypt before it had completely reduced Tyre, and, when the mistress of the Levant trade finally submitted to Ashurbanipal, the Assyrian apparently did nothing to enlist her or the Phoenician navies in his own service. The result was that Psammetichus and the national party in Egypt remained free to open negotiations with the enemies of Assyria oversea and, with the co-operation of Gyges of Lydia, to import shiploads of fighting men from Asia Minor, with whose assistance the Assyrians were forced back out of the Nile Valley after an occupation of very few years.

The New Babylonian Kingdom never obtained a footing in Egypt at all; but its Persian successors, who, from their first appearance on the Mediterranean coast, courted and made use of the Phoenicians, succeeded in capturing the realm of the Pharaohs at the first attempt, and in maintaining themselves there without difficulty for about half a century. But the moment that Phoenician sea-supremacy was seriously challenged by a new and independent maritime power, that of the Greeks, trouble began for the Persians in Egypt. The history of the first Psammetichus repeated itself. The national party called in Greeks again and again and finally, after half a century more, with their aid expelled the Asiatic masters once more. Nor, so long as the Greek navies continued active and dominant in the Levant, could the Persians regain their footing, despite many attempts, in which, from the time of Artaxerxes Mnemon onwards, they themselves used Greeks to fight the Egyptian's Greeks. Only when the rising and aggressive power of Philip of Macedon had weakened the Greek states and forced them to look to their own houses, and at the same time Persian gold was become a dominant factor in Greek politics, could Asiatic rule be re-established over Egypt, to endure to the coming of Alexander less than twenty years later.

I think, therefore, that I am stating nothing but obvious truth when I say that the fall of the Eighteenth Dynasty Empire in the face of the first strong Asiatic power, which should challenge its tenure, was inevitable. The power which actually did

determine its fall was, of course, that of the Hatti. Once this came south to stay, the retirement of the Egyptians began. There is some sign that Thothmes III made use of the sea for his conquests and his communications, but little or none that any of his successors imitated him. Since men of Dor, the Tchakaray, appear in Egyptian service at this time, it is possible that their ships, as well as those of Phoenicians to the north, plied awhile in the service of Egypt: but in the time of Amenhetep IV these cities fell away one after another to Hatti or Aramaean allegiance. Though the first Pharaohs of the Nineteenth Dynasty recovered them for the moment they could not keep them against a consolidated Hatti power. We find Arvad, for example, helping the enemy of Rameses at Kadesh. Whatever the immediate issue of this battle, it is clear, as has often been pointed out, that Rameses' speedy withdrawal after it and the tone and content of the treaty made in his twentieth year with the Hatti King, indicate that its ultimate result was the abandonment of Egyptian Empire over any part of Syria except south Palestine; and even this last province had gone the way of the rest by the time of Rameses III. Thereafter, although Pharaoh Necho would pass up through Syria even to Carchemish, and hold it in fee for some four years, there will be no Egyptian Empire, but only Egyptian raids and Egyptian intrigues, to be considered in Asia, till after the conquest of Alexander.

D. G. HOGARTH.

THE DATE OF STONEHENGE

EGYPT has helped to fix the chronology of prehistoric Krete: I am now able to show that it can perform the same service for Britain. Hitherto there has been no possibility of determining the period when Stonehenge was built; the attempt to do so astronomically, at all events, has not secured the suffrages of the archaeologist. And there seemed no other means whereby its age could be fixed.

That it belongs to the beginning of the Bronze Age, however, has long been fairly clear. A stone with a copper stain was found by Dr Gowland during the excavations at Stonehenge in 1901, and chippings from the sarsen blocks of the outer circle have been discovered in at least two of the adjoining Bronze Age barrows. We may therefore conclude that the blocks were erected at no great interval of time before the construction of the barrow.

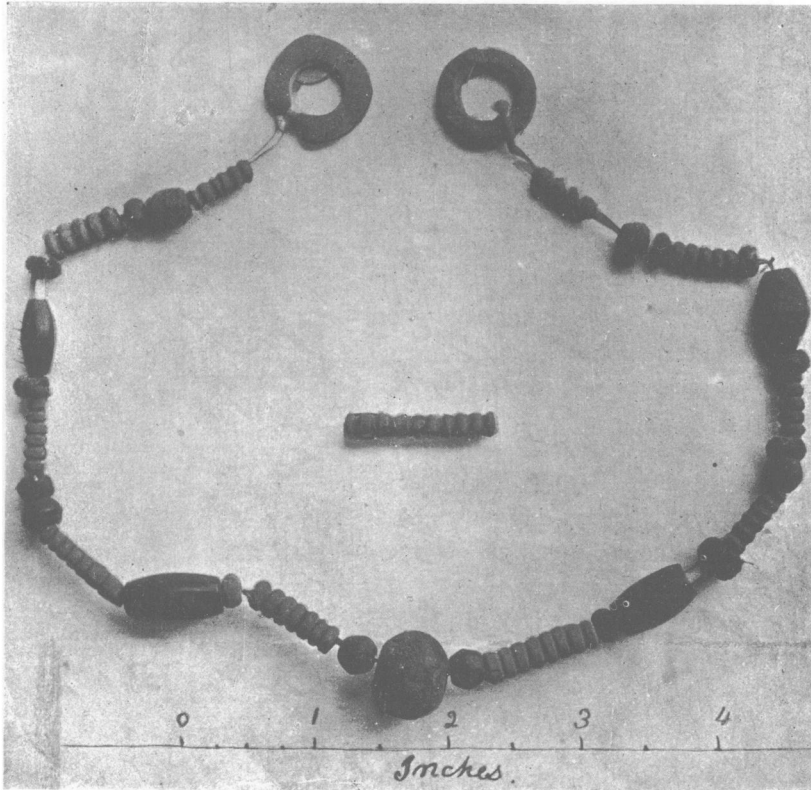
Most of the objects found in the barrows have been deposited in the Museum at Devizes. Among them are numerous beads described as "notched beads of blue glass." What was my surprise to find that they were neither notched nor of glass, but were well-known Egyptian beads of Egyptian faience and coated with Egyptian blue glaze. They are beads, moreover, which belong to one particular period in Egyptian history, the latter part of the age of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the earlier part of that of the Nineteenth Dynasty, and are known to Egyptian archaeologists as cylindrical beads formed of circular disks. There is a large number of them in the Devizes Museum, as they are met with plentifully in the Early Bronze Age tumuli of Wiltshire in association with amber beads and barrel-shaped beads of jet or lignite (Plate III). Three of them come from Stonehenge itself (Barrow 39). Similar beads of "ivory" have been found in a Bronze Age cist near Warminster: if the material is really ivory it must have been derived from the East. The cylindrical faience beads, it may be added, have been discovered in Dorsetshire as well as in Wiltshire.

The period to which they belong may be dated B.C. 1450—1250, and as we must allow some time for their passage across the trade-routes to Wiltshire an approximate date for their presence in the British barrows will be B.C. 1300. Consequently Stonehenge will have been erected in the 14th century before our era.

In one of the barrows two other Egyptian beads have been discovered. These are the ribbed and melon-shaped beads characteristic of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, thus agreeing with the evidence of the cylindrical beads.

Along what particular trade-route these Egyptian beads made their way to southern Britain is of course uncertain. Speaking as a geologist, Prof. Boyd Dawkins maintains that the blue stones which form the inner circle at Stonehenge have been brought from Brittany and not from Wales, as is usually supposed. It will be remembered that, in the time of Caesar, the Veneti of Brittany had a large commercial as well as naval fleet, with which they carried on trade with the opposite coast of Britain. But there was a prehistoric trade-route in amber which ran from the Baltic to the Adriatic through the valleys of the Elbe and Danube, and which Montelius has shown goes back to the late neolithic epoch, while amber was carried at an early date from the Baltic to Britain and the gold of Ireland and Wales was conveyed to Scandinavia.

A. H. SAYCE.



**Beads from Bronze Age barrows on Salisbury Plain, in the Wiltshire
Archaeological Society's Museum at Devizes**

The necklace of 32 beads is from Barrow 6, at Upton Lovell; the large central bead and the small round ones are of amber; the fusiform, or olive-shaped ones are of jet; the two terminal rings of Kimmeridge shale, and the long segmented, or notched beads are of an opaque blue substance, that has been variously described as 'vitreous paste' or 'faience.'

The single long bead in the centre is of this last description, and was found in a barrow at Lake, near Stonehenge.

EGYPTIAN BEADS IN BRITAIN

PROFESSOR SAYCE, in the foregoing article, has noted the occurrence in the Salisbury Plain district of interments containing XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasty Egyptian beads, and from that fact has drawn most interesting conclusions as to the date of the Plain barrows and the great Stonehenge temple. These conclusions bear out the date usually, I think, accepted for Stonehenge, which ascribes its building to about 1400 B.C., in the Middle Bronze Age.

My own interest in the matter is due to the fact that in the course of the excavations of the Fund at Deir el-Bahari, we discovered thousands of blue glaze beads of the exact particular type (already well-known from other Egyptian diggings) of these found in Britain. Ours are, in all probability, mostly of the time of Hatshepsut, and so date to about 1500 B.C. In the third volume of *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari* (Thirty-second Memoir of the E. E. F.), which has lately appeared, I noted (p. 17) the identity of our Deir el-Bahari beads with those that have been found in Britain. Professor Sayce tells me that he had not noted my reference to the matter when he penned his article. It is gratifying that the Professor agrees that the Devizes beads are undoubtedly Egyptian, as an important voice is thereby added to the *consensus* of opinion on the subject.

What I said in *Deir el-Bahari: XIth Dynasty*, III. was: "long segmental beads occur, of an interesting type, identical with similar 'faïence' or 'frit' beads found in deposits of the Middle Bronze Age in Crete and in Western Europe, even so far as Britain, as for example at Lake and Tan Hill in Wiltshire. There can be little doubt that the blue segmental beads from Lake and Tan Hill are of Egyptian make, and so date at the earliest to about 1500 B.C. They are found in Egypt as late as about 1200 B.C. probably. That they were imported into Britain long after the period 1500—1200 B.C., is hardly likely." Their occurrence in Britain is a testimony to the long distances that highly prized objects were carried in the course of trade and barter so early as about 1400 B.C. Up the Rhone valley and across Gaul came these little beads, which, we can well imagine, were greatly valued by our ancient chieftains for their brilliant colour—a quality we still admire. We are not here dealing with imitations; these are actual Egyptian beads.

The Wiltshire finds, and others of the same kind in Britain, have been mentioned or described in the following publications: *Brit. Mus. Guide: Antiquities of the Bronze Age*, p. 96; A. J. Evans, *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xxii. (1908), p. 127; Ludovic Mann, *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* XL. (1906), pp. 398 ff.; Abercromby, *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* xxxv. (1905), pp. 256 ff.; *Bronze Age Pottery of Great Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 1912), p. 66. I am indebted to my colleague Mr Reginald Smith for several of these references.

H. R. HALL.

NEW LITERARY WORKS FROM ANCIENT EGYPT

By ALAN H. GARDINER.

No living Egyptologist has made greater additions to our scanty but precious store of old Egyptian literature than M. Golénisheff, of the Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg. It is to him we owe the Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor, the simplest and for that reason most charming of all early fantastic travellers' tales. To him also is due the discovery of the Narrative of Unamun, that pompous and woe-begone ambassador of the Theban god under the Pharaoh Hrihor, whose misadventures in Syria are replete with interest and unconscious humour. It could hardly have been imagined that any subsequent publication of papyri by M. Golénisheff would be able to maintain so high a standard of importance; yet such is indisputably the case with the stately volume of photographic facsimiles and hieroglyphic transcripts recently issued by the Directors of the Hermitage¹. In this volume we have first of all a very welcome reproduction of the hieratic text of the Shipwrecked Sailor, and secondly a complete textual edition of two other papyri (*Pap. Petersburg* 1116 A and 1116 B) of the utmost historical and literary value, to which are added some fragmentary duplicates from Moscow and elsewhere. With a diffidence which cannot but be deplored, M. Golénisheff has renounced the task of translating the papyri in full, his interesting Introduction being confined to brief summaries of the contents, with but few excerpts. Thus it has been left to the present writer, who had the advantage of studying the originals in company with their editor last summer, to make the first attempt in the way of translation.

Before setting forth on this perilous adventure it is needful to describe the new papyri in general terms. They may perhaps once have formed part of a single large roll, as the subject-matter and handwriting of the real *recto*² are the same in each case. Here we find official accounts dealing with grain (*Pap.* 1116 A) and with wood, ivory and other commodities (*Pap.* 1116 B); these appear to date from the short period of the co-regency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II. It may well have been the original owner and writer of these accounts who, having no further use for them, determined to utilize the valuable writing-material for providing himself with copies of two famous literary classics. For this purpose he cut his roll into two strips of the requisite length, to which he gave the proper book-size by reducing (unequally in

¹ *Les Papyrus Hiératiques nos. 1115, 1116 A et 1116 B de L'Ermitage Impérial à St Pétersbourg*, 1913.

² Somewhat misleadingly called by M. Golénisheff the *verso*, as containing less important texts than the opposite side. For the avoidance of confusion I elsewhere conform to G.'s nomenclature.

the two cases) the height of the page. The name of the gentleman to whom we thus are accidentally indebted for the preservation of two important literary compositions is given in the colophon to the first of them (*Pap.* 1116 A, ll. 144—150), which I here translate :

“It has come to a successful ending even as it was found in writing, as written by the scribe Khamwēse for himself, the truly-silent one, good of disposition, kindly and philanthropic, who stood not in the eye of another, who was not quarrelsome, the servant of his lord, the scribe who rendered account(?), skilled in the art of Thoth, the scribe Khamwēse; and (also) for his brother, his well-beloved, the truly-silent one, good of disposition, skilled in the art of Thoth, the scribe Mahu, son of (blank).”

Our gratitude to the scribe Khamwēse is tempered with the regret that he did not use more care in the copying of his originals. His irregular and somewhat untidy hand justifies the suspicion that he was himself responsible for a fair share of the errors which have crept into his transcript. Both compositions date from the Middle Kingdom and sufficient time had thus elapsed to admit of a good deal of textual corruption; but the Moscow fragments in the one instance, and the Cairo writing-board in the other, prove that a fairly accurate text of both was still extant in the Eighteenth Dynasty. Unfortunately for us not only these duplicates, but also the others, which are not so correct, cover only a small part of the ground; and we are therefore for the most part left to wrestle with Khamwēse's blunders and carelessnesses. Our perplexities are increased by lacunae on almost every page, and last but not least there is the obstacle presented by our own insufficient knowledge of the language. It will be evident by this time why I have referred to the translation of the Petersburg papyri as a perilous adventure. If I attempt it notwithstanding, it is partly on account of the intrinsic interest of the subject, and partly because of my conviction that it is only by grappling with difficulties that they can be ultimately overcome¹. Nor have I thought fit to omit words and clauses where I am utterly at a loss to follow the drift of the context. Possibly a single word, thus brought within the ken of the English reader, may suggest to him the underlying connection of thought. One test of a good translation (since it is not to be supposed that the Egyptian author wrote nonsense) is its general coherence and *prima facie* plausibility; conversely the incoherence of much of my version—an incoherence of which it is impossible not to be conscious—will give a truer impression of the difficulties of the original than could be conveyed by dots and by displaying a more scholarly reticence. In presenting to the reader the result of my somewhat hasty labours I would make two requests: first, that he should use his own judgement in accepting or rejecting my renderings; and secondly, that he should accord to me his kindly indulgence if my notes of interrogation, disjointed phrases and lapses into unintelligibility cause him some irritation.

¹ In this respect I hold diametrically the opposite view to that expressed by M. Golénischeff in the footnote on p. 4, col. 2 of his Introduction.

I. PAP. PETERSBURG 1116 A, *recto*¹.

(1) “[THE INSTRUCTION WHICH THE KING OF UPPER AND LOWER EGYPT..... MADE] FOR HIS SON (KING) MERY-KE-RĒ.”

[The enunciation of this title sufficiently indicates the place in Egyptian literature to be assigned to the composition. “Instructions” (*sbōyet*) were a common didactic literary *genre*, of which several examples are known. The most celebrated of these are (1) “The Instruction of the Vizier Ptahhotep,” who lived under King Assa (or Issi) of the Fifth Dynasty; (2) “The Instruction of Dawef to his son Akhthoy”; and (3) “The Instruction of King Amenemmes (I) to his son.” The first is a disquisition on the behaviour appropriate in a magistrate, which the Vizier Ptahhotep, feeling the infirmities of old age creeping upon him, is supposed to have dictated for his son and heir. The second, which was a very favourite school-book in later days, contains the advice of a father (mainly praise of the scribe’s profession) in putting his boy to school. The third is a sort of political testament of the founder of the Twelfth Dynasty, one of the most famous of all the Egyptian Pharaohs. It is to the last of these books, all of which came to be regarded as classics, that the work before us bears the closest analogy. In both cases the supposed author is a king who, after contending with great difficulties, left a pacified and prosperous kingdom to his successor; and in both cases that successor is the son addressed in the “Instruction.”

A lacuna has very unfortunately deprived us of the name of the father in the Petersburg papyrus, but it is evident from both internal and external testimony that he was a member of the Herakleopolitan house of Akhthoi (*vulgo* Khety; Greek Akhthoes) corresponding to the Ninth and Tenth Dynasties of Manetho. That he was not the actual founder of the line is probable from the facts (1) that the first Akhthoi mentioned in the Turin canon is followed by a ruler whose name cannot be made to square with that of Mery-ke-rē in our papyrus², and (2) that whereas the king who here speaks refers to himself in the first person (*e.g.*, l. 73), an apparently deceased (*m*;³-*hrw* “justified,” l. 109) king Akhthoi is named in ll. 109 and 143. Though not therefore *the* Akhthoi who founded the Dynasty³ and who is declared by Manetho to have been a cruel tyrant, it is yet possible that the author of the Instruction was *an* Akhthoi, for it is known that there were several Pharaohs of the name. The identity of the son is more easily fixed. He is the Mery-ke-rē whose successful wars against the Southerners are recorded in a tomb at Siut⁴, and who appears to have been buried at Saqqarah in the neighbourhood of the Pyramid of Teti⁵. It is just

¹ Some sentences from this were quoted and translated by M. Golénischeff in an article published more than thirty-five years ago (*Zeitschr. f. äg. Sprache* 14 [1876], pp. 107—111).

² This argument is rather insecure, since it assumes that the Akhthoi of fr. 47 is really the first king of the name. The position of fr. 48, which appears to name another Akhthoi, is anything but certain.

³ To this first Akhthoi probably belongs the vase published by Daressy, *Annales du Service* xi 47—48, on which the family name Akhthoi appears as both prenomens and nomen.

⁴ GRIFFITH, *The Inscriptions of Siut and Dér Rifeh*, plate 13, where the name is written in the order *k*’-*k*’-*mry* as at Saqqarah.

⁵ See below the comments on § 23

possible that we may be able to define more closely the age in which he lived by an allusion in the Petersburg papyrus. In two obscure passages reference seems to be made to a calamity which happened in the region of Thisis in the time of his father (ll. 69—74; 119—121). Some tombs seem to have been violated or destroyed (l. 70), and the king takes the blame upon his own shoulders (ll. 70, 120). Disastrous events ensued, and it does not seem too venturesome to suppose that these took the form of a loss of territory on the south frontier. Now it is difficult to regard as mere coincidences some similar allusions in the inscriptions of the Theban rivals of the Herakleopolites. A certain Zari, whose stele Professor Petrie found at Gurnah some years ago, speaks of a mission on which he was sent by the Horus Wah-ieb Antef “after the fighting with the house of Akhthoi on the West of Thisis¹.” The same monarch, on the well-known stele from his pyramid at Dra Abu’l Naga, relates how he “captured the Thinite nome in its entirety².” A high official of the same reign states that he lived many years under the Horus Wah-ieb Antef, “while this land was under his rule from Elephantine to Thisis³.” The last indication is a little misleading as both the Theban stelae above quoted explicitly place the northern boundary of the Horus Wah-ieb some distance north of Thisis in the Serpent nome⁴, round about the modern Gau el Kebîr. It thus seems likely that the conquest of Thisis fell in the latter portion of Antef’s long reign of fifty years. Entirely in accordance with this evidence is the fact that a stele of the next king, another Antef whose Horus-name was Nakht-neb-tep-nûfer, was actually found at Abydos in the Thinite nome⁵. His successor again was a Mentuhotep; an inscription in the British Museum, which names all three of these kings, is said to have been set up “in the fourteenth year (i.e. of Mentuhotep), in the year when Thisis rebelled⁶.” Except for a brief moment of disaffection, therefore, Thisis was definitely Theban from the last years of the Horus Wah-ieb Antef onward. It thus seems more than likely that the end of the reign of this Antef coincided with the reign of the supposed writer of our Instruction, that is to say, with the reign of the father of the Herakleopolitan ruler Mery-ke-rê.

There will be more said of the historical bearings and credibility of our text later on. We must now turn to the contents of the “Instruction,” the title of which has called for so long a digression.

The first and second pages are full of lacunae. For the benefit of those who can make use of them I translate such words and phrases as remain.]

§ 1. “(2).....mild in a case [deserving]....., but punish (3)..... them (?) in every word. It is the first principle⁷ (?) of (4) [kingship (??)].”

¹ PETRIE, *Kurneh*, pl. 2.

² SCHÄFER-LANGE, *Grab- und Denksteine*, no. 20512.

³ *Brit. Mus.* 614 (Cat. no. 100)=*Hierogl. Texts*, pt. 1, pl. 49.

⁴ See too NEWBERRY in *Proc. S. B. A.* xxxv (1913), p. 121.

⁵ SCHÄFER-LANGE, *op. cit.*, no. 20502.

⁶ *British Museum* 1203 (Cat. no. 99)=*Hierogl. Texts*, pt. 1, pl. 53. Mr H. R. Hall tells me that the meaning and significance of this phrase had been noted by the late Mr P. D. Scott-Moncrieff, who had intended to publish a note on his discovery.

⁷ Probably *h:t-t* “prow-rope,” a common Egyptian metaphor, is to be emended.

§ 2. “[If thou findest (?) a city (??), whose.....] has happened¹, suppress the rebels (5).....with.....(6)..... As for him who makes report.....(7)..... After thy word has taken place.....(8).....(9)..... If (?) he makes half of it in (?) life....., then (10).....my dependents, (11).....seem (?) to thee many, thou errest on the way (12)..... Slay thou.....(13)..... if (?) thou knowest dependents of his who love him².”

[From such broken fragments as these it is obviously impossible to learn much. The first two lines may have referred to some cardinal virtue that a king should possess. The second paragraph seems to give advice in dealing with some specific form of rebellion.]

§ 3. On the treatment of unruly vassals (P).

“If [thou] findest.....[who] is a.....of a city³, a possessor (14) [of] clansmen, order him unto thyself, that he (?) may not.....(15)..... Often (??) when a man violates the law⁴.....(16).....the Great Halls (of Justice)(17).....he [appeals to (??)] the clansmen. Beware lest.....”

§ 4. (Subject obscure.)

“.....(18)...beware...living. When (?) a month has passed (?).....(19)..... his own..... He speaks his thought (?) and recalls.....(20).....[be reconciled⁵(??)] to him, thy heart being appeased.....(21).....those who are [reconciled (??)].”

§ 5. More advice concerning unruly vassals.

“[If] thou [findest a.....] like a god....., whose neighbours⁶ are [evil (?)], whom (22) the city....., whose dependents are many in sum (??).....whose..... enters in (?).....(23), and he is pleasant in the sight of his serfs.....⁷—a man who talks much (?) is a mischief-maker (??)—suppress him, slay <him>, (24) wipe out his name, [destroy (?)] his kinsfolk, suppress his memory, and (?) his dependents who (?) love him.”

§ 6. On turbulent vassals.

“The turbulent man is confusion (25) to a city. He creates two factions⁸ among the young generation. If then thou findest (26) one who belongs to a.....city, [and]

¹ These words are marked as the beginning of a paragraph by being rubricated. Since the section ends with the same words as § 5 (l. 24), it very possibly began in the same way. But § 5 probably began with the words “if thou findest” like § 3 (l. 13). See the similar parallel beginnings of sections *Prisse* 5, 10. 13; 6, 1.

² Both here and in l. 24 *mrt* seems to be the MS. reading; emend the participle *mrr* (?).

³ Regarded, as the determinative shows, as a community of citizens; so often below.

⁴ [*Tp*]-*rd*.

⁵ *Htp* (?).

⁶ *Hnw*, see BR., *Lex.* 904, and cf. *Tarkhan* 1, 79, 7; *Pap. Brit. Mus.* 10509, 3, 6; 5, 5. Demotic *hyn*.

⁷ The words *mn m(?) + i* are a *crux*. After this we find fairly certain traces of the first signs of the sentence *t;hw pw mdwty*, see the Moscow fragments and below l. 27. The identity of *t;hw* with the words quoted BR., *Lex.* 1526; *Suppl.* 1309 is problematical.

⁸ Variant Moscow: “a faction,” lit. “dependents.”

his doings are passed beyond thee¹, cite² him before the nobles, and suppress [him]. He is a rebel (27) moreover. A man who talks much(?) is a mischief-maker(??) for a city. Bend(?) the multitude, suppress its ardour. There is none who..... rebellion (28) with(?) the poor man. He [is(?)] made to rebel³.”

[Thus far the counsels proffered have been counsels of political wisdom. The old King now goes on to speak of qualifications more personal and intimate.]

§ 7. On the avoidance of passion (P).

“A subject(?).....when(?) the soldiers are(?) in confusion..... Make (29) its end as..... (When) many rage, let them(? ?) be placed in the magazine⁴(??). Mild.....thou punishest (30)....., [the citizens(??)] are in joy. Make thyself innocent before God. Let the people say [in] spite of(?) thee, (31) that thou punishest in accordance with thy⁵(?)..... A good disposition is a man's heaven⁶; the blaspheming of the pass[ionate] man⁷(?) is baneful.”

§ 8. On the value of cleverness in speech.

“(32) Be skilful in speech, in order that thou mayst prevail. The tongue is a.....and(?) a sword(?) to a [king(?)]. Speech is more powerful than any fighting. None can circumvent (33) him who is clever..... A wise (king) is a [school⁸(??)] to the nobles; they do not thwart him (34) who know (the measure of) his knowledge. No [falsehood(?)] draws nigh to him. Truth comes to him in pure essence⁹ like the sayings of the Ancestors (35).”

§ 9. Seek ancient models.

“Copy¹⁰ thy fathers who have gone before thee.is achieved by knowledge. Behold, their words are recorded in writing. (36) Open and read and copy him who knows(?). Thus he who is skilled becomes one who is instructed¹¹. Be not evil; good is willingness of heart. (37) Make a lasting monument for thyself in the love of thee. Multiply....., show kindness(?) to the city. God will praise thee for reward;.....will [give] thee (38) praises for thy goodness, will wish for thy health henceforward¹²(??).”

¹ I.e. “if he has got out of hand(?)”

² Read *srh*.

³ *Sabl-[tw]-f*(?).

⁴ I translate the individual words mechanically without grasping their sense. “Rage” seems significant for the general drift of the section.

⁵ M. Golénischeff's transcription assumes the same readings in both MSS. I prefer to assume that the Petersburg papyrus had the suffix of the second person while the Moscow fragments have that of the third.

⁶ I.e. the loftiest point he can reach(?).

⁷ Restore *d[nd(?)]-ib*; cf. NEWBERRY, *Rekhmara* 7, 1 (in my own collation).

⁸ A metaphor from some kind of building, as the determinative shows.

⁹ The word *th-š* means literally “squeezed” or “pressed out” and is a metaphor from brewing or the making of wine.

¹⁰ See GARDINER, *Admonitions*, p. 86.

¹¹ Cf. Coptic *caħe*.

¹² M. Golénischeff's note on this line is, I fancy, due to a misunderstanding of my meaning.

§ 10. Look to the future.

“Show consideration to the nobles and prosper thy people. Make firm thy boundaries (39) and thy borders(?). Good it is to work for the future. Respect a life of energy(?), for self-content will make a wretched man. Let men.....(40) through thy good disposition. Weak it is to bind¹ to oneself the land..... A fool is he who is greedy when others possess. [Life] (41) upon earth passes; it is not long. Fortunate is he who is remembered²(?) in it. (The possession of[?]) a million men availeth not the Lord of the Two Lands. The [good man(?)] shall be (42) living for ever. He who has passed with Osiris(?) departs, even as he who was pleasant to himself(?) is dissolved(?).”

§ 11. Magnify thy nobles.

“Magnify thy nobles, that they may do (43) thy ordinances. He who is wealthy in his house does not deal partially³; he is rich and does not want. The poor man does not speak (44) according to his truth. He who says “I desire” is not fair. He is partial to him whom he loves; he inclines towards the possessor of rewards⁴. Great is the Great one, when his great ones are great. Strong (45) is the King who possesses courtiers. Exalted is he who is wealthy in nobles. Speak thou Truth in thy house, that the nobles (46) who are upon earth may fear thee. Uprightness of heart beseems the Sovereign. The inside (of a house) inspires the outside with fear⁵.”

§ 12. Act justly.

“Do (47) Justice, that thou mayst endure upon earth. Calm the weeper. Oppress not the widow. Expel no man from the possessions of his father. Degrade not (48) magistrates from their posts. Take heed lest thou punish wrongfully. Slaughter not, for it doth not profit thee⁶. But punish with beatings (49) and imprisonment⁷, for thus shall this land prosper. Excepting only⁸(?) the rebel who has devised his plans, for God knoweth the froward, (50) and God requiteth his sins in blood. It is the lenient man who.....lifetime. (Yet⁹) slay not a man, when thou knowest his good qualities, (51) with whom thou once didst rehearse (thy) letters¹⁰, and recite(?)...... God. Advance boldly in difficult places. (52) The soul comes to the place that it

¹ So apparently the Moscow duplicate.

² The Moscow fragments may have had “[he who is without] wrong” for “he who is remembered.”

³ *Nm'*, cf. *Siut* I 249; *MAR.*, *Dend.* I 68 b; *PIEHL*, *Inscr. Hiér.* II 84; etc. I am indebted to M. Dévaud for these references.

⁴ So the Moscow manuscript; the Petersburg papyrus more briefly, “He is partial to the lord of his rewards.” By “rewards” of course “bribes” are meant, cf. *SETHE*, *Urkunden* I 118.

⁵ Doubtless a proverb; for *hnt...s*; see *VOGELSANG*, *Die Klagen des Bauern*, p. 117. The preceding sentence appears to mean, literally, “It is appropriate to a sovereign upright of heart.”

⁶ It would be grammatically possible, perhaps even preferable, to construe this as a restrictive clause, “unless it profit thee.”

⁷ Lit. “with men beaten and imprisoned.”

⁸ *Wp[hr]*(?).

⁹ I fancy that this prohibition must still be governed by the word “rebel.” It is difficult to believe that the sentence is meant to have a wider application.

¹⁰ Lit. “sing writings.” Those who have visited a native school in Egypt will appreciate the meaning of this phrase.

knoweth; it mistaketh¹ not its paths of yesterday. No magic can restrain it, but it hastens towards them who (53) give it water².”

§ 13. Remember the Day of Judgement.

“(As for) the Magistrates who judge sinners³, mark thee that they will not be lenient on that day of judging miserable (54) (men), in the hour of performing (their) function. Woe is him who is accused as one conscious (of sin [?]). Put not thy faith in length of years, (55) (for) they regard a lifetime as (but) an hour. A man⁴ remains over after (reaching) the haven (of) Death. His deeds are laid beside him for (all) treasure. (56) Eternal is the existence yonder. A fool is he who has made light of(?)⁵ it. But he who has reached it without wrongdoing, shall continue yonder like a God, (57) stepping forward boldly like the Lords of Eternity.”

§ 14. On the recruiting of soldiers.

“Raise up thy young troops, that the Residence may love thee. Multiply thy dependents as henchmen(?). (58) Behold, thy city is full of fresh recruits⁶. Twenty years it is, (that) the young generation is happy in following its heart. (Afterwards), henchmen⁷(?) (59) come forth again; the head of a family(?)⁸ enters in with(?) children..... (Thus) doth antiquity fight for us, (60) whence I raised (troops) when I arose (as King). Exalt thy great ones, advance thy [warriors(?)]. Increase the young generation of (61) thy followers, (that they may be) equipped with possessions, endowed with fields, rewarded with cattle.”

§ 15. Recognize merit. Perform religious duties.

“Distinguish not between the son of a noble and him (62) of lowly birth. Take to thyself a man because of his capacity. All crafts are done according to⁹.....the Lord of Valour. Protect(?) thy boundary, (63) and raise up¹⁰ thy monuments. Profitable are gangs of workmen to their lord. Make [beautiful] monuments for the God; that causeth to live the name of him who doeth it. A man does (64) what is profitable unto his soul, (even) the monthly service of priest, and wearing the white sandals. Frequent the shrine. Be discreet concerning the mysteries, enter into (65) the sanctuary. Eat bread in the temple.”

¹ For the same simile see below, l. 127; its upshot is that experience teaches and that the first step is the most difficult. For *tht-nf* should be read *th,-nf*.

² Moscow variant: [*didyw-n*]f-mw.

³ *S'ry*, see the references in VOGELSAAG, *op. cit.*, p. 75. The word appears always to have an ethical meaning.

⁴ Moscow duplicate rightly “a man” (*st*) for Petersburg “they” (*sn*) as the suffix in the next sentence shows; “they” in the preceding clause of course refers to the Judges of the Court of Osiris (l. 53).

⁵ For *ir tst* (so the Moscow papyrus) cf. *Millingen* 1, 7.

⁶ *Srud m'*, cf. BRUGSCH, *Thes.* p. 1296; see too GRIFFITH, *Kahun Papyri*, p. 21.

⁷ *Šw-t* (?), a rare word, for which M. Dévaud quotes me *Prisse* 15, 2; *Urkunden* IV 945.

⁸ There is a pun between *k* and *s'ky*. The latter word is known only from *Siut* v 2, where it is parallel with *h,w* “families”; I fancy that the meaning must be “one who causes to enter,” i.e. “begets children.” It is very instructive to note that the length of a generation is here put down as twenty years.

⁹ My transcript has no verse-point here.

¹⁰ Probably no lacuna should here be marked.

§ 16. Religious institutions and the making of monuments.

“Replenish the table of offerings¹, increase the loaves. Add to the daily sacrifices, (66) for it is profitable to him who does so. Make firm thy monuments according as thou art rich. For a single day giveth for eternity, an hour makes (67) beautiful for futurity. God knoweth him who worketh for him². Bring thy statues from a distant land, nor let them(?) reckon the total³ (68) thereof. For miserable is he that is free <from(?)> enmity; never is the enemy still⁴ in the midst of Egypt.”

§ 17. Occurrences in the neighbourhood of Thinis.

[Thus far the advice given to Mery-ke-rē has been of a general character, lessons drawn from a knowledge of the world and from the teaching of history. From this point onwards the counsels of the old King contain a more personal note; he recalls the events of his own reign, and uses his own successes and failures to point a moral. At the same time the language employed becomes more obscure, the textual corruptions more numerous. This is all the more tantalizing because it is evident that the events alluded to are of very considerable interest. The first paragraph is one upon which I laid stress in an earlier portion of this article, and deals with occurrences in the neighbourhood of Thinis. Even the general drift of the passage cannot be elicited without some degree of uncertainty, but the rendering that I propose is to some extent supported by a reference to the same events that occurs later on (ll. 119 foll.); this should be read in connection with the present context.]

“Troops (69) shall subdue(?) troops, as (runs) the prophecy of the Ancestors concerning it⁵. Egypt fights⁶ (70) in the Necropolis. Injure not the tombs⁷ with deeds of injury(?); for even so I did and even so it did occur, even as should be(??) done to (71) one who has transgressed in this way(?) with(?) the god. Deal not evilly with the Southern land, for thou knowest the prophecy of the Residence concerning it⁸. (72) That(?) shall(?) happen even as this did happen. They did not transgress, according as they said..... I speak of(??) Thinis.....(73)....., its southern boundary at Taut(?). I captured it like a flood of water⁹. King (74) Mer(?)....., the deceased, did not do it. Be lenient concerning it.....(75) There is no.....which causes it(?)self to lie hid¹⁰. It is good to work for the future.”

¹ Emend *wdhw*.

² Cf. l. 130.

³ Lit. “statues..., without their giving the total thereof.”

⁴ Lit. “cold.” It appears to be meant that enemies will fail to give the king due recognition, but this is only to be expected.

⁵ Cf. *Admonitions* 1, 10.

⁶ Reading *ih*; *Km-t* with the Moscow duplicate. Is it meant that dead Egypt avenges itself upon any violation of the tombs?

⁷ This expression occurs in *Admonitions* 12, 10, where I have restored a wrong determinative.

⁸ The word *hnw* seems here and especially below l. 102 to have a rather more definite topographical meaning than merely “the Residence.” Probably the old Memphitic Residence is intended. The reference must be to some old and celebrated prophetic utterance similar to, but of course not identical with, that contained in *Pap. Petersburg* 1116 B.

⁹ For this expression, cf. *Piankhi*, l. 27. 96.

¹⁰ For a very similar sentence cf. l. 126.

§ 18. Present relations with the South.

[In the next section the relations of Mery-ke-rē to his Southern neighbours are described. For the moment there appears to be a lull in the hostilities between the rival houses of Thebes and Herakleopolis. This truce seems to have made possible the importation of the red granite of Syene; and since the fine limestone quarries of Turah are also accessible to Mery-ke-rē, there will be no excuse for him if he demolishes ancient tombs in order to construct his own. In the final sentences the old King appears to contrast the prosperity of the present with the troubled conditions prevailing in his own reign; and to emphasize the fact that it is due to him if Mery-ke-rē can now afford to live in inactivity and luxury.]

"Thou standest well with the South; the bearers (76) of loads come to thee with gifts. I did the same as the Ancestors; there was none who had corn that he should give it. Be indulgent(?) (77) for(?) their weaknesses towards thee(?). Be satisfied with thy bread and thy beer¹. The red granite comes to thee (78) without expeditions(?). Harm not the monument of another, but quarry stone in Royu². Build not (79) thy tomb out of that which has been overturned³, (making) what once was made into what is yet to make(?). Behold the King <is one(?)> full of joy of heart. Thou art indolent (80) and sleepest through my⁴(?) strength; <thou(?)> followest thy heart through what I have done. There is no enemy within (81) thy border."

§ 19. The subjugation of the North-West.

[An undoubtedly very corrupt passage.]

"When any ruler arose in a city⁵(?), his heart was oppressed by reason of the North-land, (from) Hat-shenu to S(?)beka, (82) its⁶ southern boundary to Khawey⁷(?). I pacified the entire West, as far as the stretches⁸(?) of the Fayûm. It works (83) for itself(?), and it yields..... The East is one rich <in(?)> foreigners, (84) their produce.....islands in the midst(?), every man within it. The estates(?) say, 'Greatly revered art thou(?)' concerning me⁹."

§ 20. The subjugation of the North-East.

[The next section is hardly, if at all, less corrupt than the preceding, but we can at least see that it deals with the liberation of the eastern Delta from the

¹ Mery-ke-rē is bidden to be indulgent and contented with what he already possesses, in case at any time the imports from the South should be curtailed; he is at all events better off than was his father.

² *I.e.*, the celebrated limestone quarries of Troia or Turah, not far from Helwân.

³ M. Dévaud quotes for these sentences a very apt parallel in the fragments of an inscription now in the Cairo Museum, SCHÄFER-LANGE, *Catalogue*, no. 20741.

⁴ Read *sf-k* and perhaps emend *hps̄-i* for *hps̄-k* (1).

⁵ The Moscow duplicate rather suggests this rendering, which however is far from certain. Egyptian often appears to invert the position of temporal and principal clause; a literal rendering of what I suppose to be the correct text would run: "There arises everyone who arises in a city, his heart being oppressed."

⁶ The feminine suffix can hardly refer to "North-land."

⁷ The marsh-land of the Herakleopolite nome, see BRUGSCH, *Dict. Géogr.* pp. 621, 1365; in my opinion the reading is certain.

⁸ *Pds-wt*, only here; cf. the analogous term *w'r-t*.

⁹ For a sentence of similar form cf. *Admonitions* 4, 3.

domination of foreign rulers. In the few lines of which § 20 consists the Asiatics are not actually mentioned by name, but there are frequent references to them in the following paragraphs. It is particularly regrettable that lacunae should render the sense of the first two sentences somewhat uncertain, for it appears to be an Egyptian version of the famous maxim *Divide et impera*.]

“Behold [the land] which they destroyed is made into districts. Every great city..... The principality of one (86) is in the hand of ten men. The magistrate(?)..... with all manner of tax which exists. The priest is entrusted¹ with fields. (They) work for thee like (87) a single gang (of labourers). How comes it that rebels are not made? (Because) Nile does not fail thee by not coming. Produce (88) is in thy hand from the North-land². Behold, I drove in my(?) mooring-post³ in the region(?) which I made(?) on the East, from(??) the boundaries of Hebenu to (89) the Horus-Way⁴, equipped with cities, filled with people of the best of the entire land, so as to repel (90) their attacks. Let(?) me see a brave man who shall⁵(?) copy it, and add to what I have done,.....from(?) a (91) cowardly heir.”

§ 21. Characterization of Syria and the Syrians.

[Continuing the topic of the preceding paragraph, we now come to what is perhaps the most curious passage in the entire papyrus, a characterization of Syria and the Syrians. Such generalizations are rare in Egyptian texts, though one may compare the words on the well-known stele from Semneh in which the character of the Nubians is cleverly summed up⁶. The insight displayed here is quite remarkable; indeed the first few pages of the second volume of Sir Gaston Maspero's great History of the Ancient Orient read exactly like a commentary on the present text.]

“Speak thus moreover to the barbarian. Behold the wretched Aamu, toilsome is the land wherein he is⁷, (a land) troubled <with⁸> (92) water, (made) difficult by many trees, its ways (made) toilsome by reason of the mountains. He dwells not in a single place, but (93) his legs are (ever) driven wandering(?). He is fighting (ever) since the time of Horus. He conquers not, nor yet is he conquered. (94) He announces not a day in fighting, like one who undertakes(?) the suppression(?) of conspirators.”

¹ Lit. “yoked,” see *Urkunden* IV 28 and compare our metaphor “saddled”; the phrase probably conveys the notion of compulsory ownership or tenancy.

² Read, with the aid of the Moscow text, *b'k-t m'-k n-t T'-mħw*, for the construction of which see my note on *Sinuhe* B 287.

³ *Hî mnî-t*, cf. *Cairo* 20512; *Brit. Mus.* 574 (Cat. no. 148). After this possibly *m w ir-nî*.

⁴ Hebenu is in the neighbourhood of Zawiyet el Meitîn, on the east bank a little south of Minieh, see *Benihasan* II, pp. 19–20. *W;t-Ĥr* “the Horus-Way” appears to be a synonym for the fortress-town of Zalu, near Kantarah, on the eastern boundary of the Delta, whence the caravan-route to Syria starts; for references see GARDINER, *Literary Texts* I, p. 29*, note 2.

⁵ Cf. *sn kn r ir<t>nî*, *Brit. Mus.* 562 (Cat. no. 141).

⁶ Cf. LEPS., *Denkm.* II, 136 h = *Aeg. Inschr....Berlin* I, p. 258.

⁷ As the text stands it would be necessary to render, “...he is troublesome to the land where he is”; but since the next words describe the land, not the people, it seems better to cancel the preposition *n*.

⁸ Insert *m* before *mw*, which begins with the same letter.

§ 22. The defeat of the barbarians.

".....(95) whilst I existed(??), these barbarians were as a battle-axe in a fortress(??)(96) I caused the North-land to smite them, I carried captive their inhabitants, I plundered their cattle¹. (97) An abomination(??) is the Aamu unto(??) Egypt. Do not trouble thyself concerning him. He is an Aamu....., he.....on (98) his coast. He plunders a lonely settlement(?) but he will not attack a populous city."

§ 23. Fortifications are to be made.

[A very obscure and corrupt passage.]

"Dig a (99) dyke(?) against [half(??)] of it, and flood half of it², (even) Kem-wey³. Behold it is the navel-string of the desert-people; (100) its walls and its warriors are many, and subjects are in it able to....., the pure (101)...of the region of Dad-esut⁴. It counts ten thousand men as citizens, free(?) and without imposts. (102) There are magistrates in it since the time of the Residence⁵. Established are(?) <its(?)> boundaries, strong its garrison(??), northerners (103) many(??). Inundate them(??). The North-land gives(?) produce(?) in corn in freedom(?). It is to.....(104).....of him who does it. Behold it is the handle(?) of the North-land. They have made a dyke against (105) Herakleopolis. Suitable(??) is a populous city. Beware lest thou be(??) surrounded by subjects of an enemy (106), for prisoners(??).....old(?) a year."

[The above rendering sufficiently displays the obscurity and difficulties of the section. The first part of it consists apparently of a recommendation to strengthen the town of Athribis, now Benha on the line from Cairo to Damanhūr and Alexandria. How this place comes to be called "the navel-string of the desert-people" is a puzzle, unless we choose to hazard the very venturesome conjecture that *Kem-wēr* "Athribis" has here been wrongly written for *Kem-wēr*, the ancient fortified outpost not far from Lake Timsah, at the eastern end of the Wady Tumulât⁶. Further on there is a mention of Dad-esut, the pyramid-town of King Teti (6th Dyn.) at Saqqarah. The context in which it occurs is altogether obscure, nor is it clear whether the following

¹ Cf. *Sinuhe* B 103; LEPS., *Denkm.* II, 136 h = *Aeg. Inschr....Berlin* I, p. 258.

² *Mdnî-t* is a place-name in *Eloquent Peasant* R 38; hence perhaps the determinative here. It is however obvious that *dnî-t* should be emended as in l. 104; this word means a dam or embankment (see VOGELSANG, *op. cit.*, p. 174), though rarely it seems also to have the meaning "trench" or "ditch," like our English "dyke." The fragment of the sign lost in the lacuna suggests *gs* "half," in which case the preceding *w* must be omitted.

³ *Km-wy* determined with the Bull is proved by certain proper names (*K?-m-Kmwy*, *Leiden* v 108; *Vienna* 60 and particularly *Wr-nb Km-wy*, *Cairo* 20089, *Berlin* 7286 when compared with *Wr-nb-Km-wr Cairo* 20036 [Berlin Dictionary; kindly communicated by Dr Grapow]) to be identical with *Km-wr*, the old name (e.g. *Harris* I 59, 8; *Piankhi* 109) of Athribis, the modern Benha. Not to be confused with the sea and fortress of *Km-wr* at the E. end of the Wady Tumulât; this is never determined by the bull-sign.

⁴ See BRUGSCH, *Dict. Géogr.* pp. 983, 1355; and the comments that follow the translation of this section.

⁵ Read *Hnw* only, omitting *r*; and see above p. 28 n. 8.

⁶ See KÜTHMANN, *Die Ostgrenze Ägyptens*, pp. 34-35.

sentences refer to this or to the earlier-mentioned *Kem-wēr*. Be this as it may, it is interesting to find Dad-esut named in our papyrus, for excavations on the spot have brought to light sarcophagi of persons who were priests at once of the Pyramid of King Teti, and at the same time of the Pyramid of our King Mery-ke-rē¹. There can be little doubt that the tomb of Mery-ke-rē is to be sought in this region.]

§ 24. Build castles in the North-land.

“When thy boundary is troubled towards the South, it is the barbarians (107) who take the girdle²(?). Build castles in the North-land. A man’s name is surely not small (108) through that which he doeth. A well-provided town is not harmed. Build castles....., for the enemy (109) loves him who is destructive(?), whose deed is evil(?). King Akhthoi the deceased foretold(?) in (giving) instruction(?): (110) ‘He who is(??) quiet shall be(??) violent..... God thwarts(?) the rebel.....home.’”

[With these very obscure sentences we reach the end of the paragraphs that allude to foreign enemies on the North-east frontier. It is not quite easy to see exactly to what they amount. There is certainly no reason for deducing from them a prolonged domination of Syrian invaders at all analogous to the Hyksos domination. Still the space accorded to them, and the stress laid upon the fortification of the Eastern Delta suffice to show that they had been a source both of danger and actual trouble. The first sentence of the section just translated probably defines the situation with accuracy. Neither the Syrians of Palestine nor the tribes of the Sinaitic peninsula were ever strong enough in prosperous times to make a successful invasion of Egypt; but when inner disruption gave them their opportunity, they were never slow to seize it. Thus while Mery-ke-rē’s predecessors were at variance with their Southern neighbours, it may well have happened that the Asiatics harried the North, and even made settlements there, until the Pharaoh was strong enough to drive them out again. In editing a curious and interesting Leiden papyrus, which has a good deal to tell about incursions into the Delta, I have drawn the conclusion that the period referred to was that intermediate between the 6th and 11th Dynasties³. The Petersburg papyrus certainly goes far towards supporting my contention.]

§ 25. Exhortation to be industrious(ρ).

“There comes one...(111) who(?) shall do it. He shall be wise in what he has decreed(?),....., on that day of (112) <his> coming. Enrich the tables of offerings⁴. Revere the god, and say not he is weak. Let not thine arms be slack, (113) but work joyfully(?). Satiety(?) is the violation of heaven⁵(?). Death⁶(?) is a monument in

¹ Cf. QUIBELL, *Excavations at Sakkarah* (1905—1906), pp. 21—23; *Berlin 7796 = Aeg. Inschr. I*, p. 130. The name of the pyramid was Waz-esūt.

² The sense of the word ‘gird’ is uncertain, but the phrase must somehow mean “gird oneself” for battle.

³ GARDINER, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, pp. 110—112.

⁴ *Wdhw* is to be emended here as above l. 65.

⁵ Lit. “what violates”; after the word *s:t* I prefer to read an oblique stroke instead of *f*.

⁶ Read *wd’*(??), though the first sign is certainly more like *m*. *R rh*, cf. *r rh-ti*, *Amada stela* 12, and the parallel phrase *r m’(w)*.

the opinion of(?) an enemy. (114) He does not diminish it(?) though desire that what he hath done may be embellished by one who comes after him. There is none without an (115) enemy. Full of knowledge is the <ruler> of the two lands. Not ignorant is the King who possesses nobles. He is wise at (116) his going forth from the womb; <the god(?)> exalted him from among a million men¹(?).”

[It is only with the utmost difficulty that the trend of this and the following sections can be conjectured. If I guess rightly, the ambitious ideals of a King are here contrasted with the negative and unprogressive purposes of his enemies. Herein the King displays his wisdom, a thought developed further in the next paragraph.]

§ 26. The responsibilities of Kingship.

“A goodly office is that of King; (117) it has no son, nor has it a brother who is made to endure upon its monuments. One brings honour to another. A man works for [him who] (118) (went) before² him, through the desire that what he has done³ may be embellished by him who comes after him. (119) Behold a calamity happened in my time; the regions of (120) Thinis were violated. It happened in sooth through that which I had done; I knew (121) it after it was done⁴. Behold my recompense⁵(?) (followed) from what I had done. Nay, but weak is he, and no good man, (122) who restores what he has destroyed, and demolishes what he has built, and improves what he has made beautiful⁶. Take heed (123) concerning it. A blow is rewarded with the like thereof; that is the consequence(?) of all that is done.”

[This interesting section contains a reference to the disaster at Thinis, which appears to be introduced in order to illustrate the doctrine that, while every man must reap the consequences of his own mistakes, his successor may benefit by the lesson thereby inculcated.]

§ 27⁷. God, even when hidden, exacts piety from men.

“A generation of men passes, (124) and God, who discerneth characters, hath hidden himself. (Yet) there is none can oppose the possessor of a hand(?); he is one who thwarts(?) (even[?]) what is (125) seen by the eyes⁸. Reverence must(?) be shown to God upon his path. (Men) work in precious stones, and carve(?) [out of] bronze. The mud-flat(?) is (126) replaced by a flood. There is no river that suffers

¹ Emend *si* “man” for *t*; “land”(?).

² At the end of l. 117 the traces suit *n nty*. At the beginning of l. 118 emend *hr h'-t* for *hr '-t*.

³ Emend *irt-nf*, as is found in the parallel sentence l. 114.

⁴ Omitting the determinative, with the Moscow duplicate.

⁵ *D;r* appears to mean the “appropriate method” or the “due” of something; it is especially common in the phrase *r d;r* or *r d;wt*.

⁶ The sense seems to be: it is both useless, and weak, to try and repair damage done; the consequences of actions must be borne. The Moscow duplicate has a somewhat different text.

⁷ In beginning a new paragraph here I follow the Moscow manuscript. The Petersburg papyrus rubricizes *tri-tw ntr hr w;t-f* in l. 125.

⁸ The general sense is perhaps: though God hide himself, yet his unseen strength is felt.

itself to be concealed¹; but it loosens the dam²(?) by(?) which (127) it lay hid. (Even so) also the soul cometh to the place that it knoweth³. Make stately thy castle in the West, adorn thy place (128) in the Necropolis; even as one who is just, as one who doeth Right. This is that whereon men's hearts repose. More acceptable⁴ (129) is the nature of one just of heart than the ox of him who doeth iniquity. Work unto God, that he may work for thee the like; with offerings (130) to replenish the offering-tables, and with carved inscription⁵—it is what pointeth out thy name. God is cognizant of (the man) who worketh for him.”

[The conception of God's hiding himself in troubled moments of history is familiar from the much-disputed passage in the Leiden *Admonitions* (11, 11—12, 6). Though the terms of both passages are vague and elusive, it is clear in each case that the Sun-god Rē was at the back of the writer's mind. Confirmation of this will be found in the next paragraph, which eulogizes God as the author of all existence and well-being.]

§ 28⁶. God the creator of all.

“Command thou(?) (131) men, the flocks of God. He made heaven and earth at their desire. He checked the greed of the waters, and made the air to give life (132) to their nostrils⁷. They are his own images proceeding from his flesh. He arises in heaven at their desire. He made (133) for them grass and cattle, fowl and fish to⁸ nourish them. He slew his enemies and destroyed his own children (134) because of their plots in making rebellion⁹. He maketh the dawn at their desire. He sails by¹⁰(?) in order to see them. He has raised (135) a shrine behind them. When they weep, he heareth. He made for them rulers in the egg¹¹, a supporter(?) (136) to support(?) the back of the weak. He made for them magic as weapons to ward off (137) (evil) events; dreams (also) by¹² night and day. How hath he slain the froward of heart? Even as a man (138) smiteth his son for his brother's sake. For God knows every name.”

[This monotheistic passage is perhaps the earliest, and certainly one of the most remarkable of its kind. That the sun-god is meant is plain, not only from the word “he arises” in l. 132, but also from the clear allusion to the familiar legend of the “Destruction of Men” preserved to us in the tomb of Sethos I. A very striking

¹ *I.e.*, even as the inundation recurs annually, or as a soul returns to its own place, so God will come back to claim his due(?). For the form of the sentence see l. 75.

² Read ‘-mw(?)’, for which see GRIFFITH, *Kahun Papyri*, p. 100.

³ Cf. l. 52; the Moscow duplicate adds the further phrase found in l. 52, namely, “it errs not concerning its path of yesterday.”

⁴ Moscow variant: “more profitable.” For a similar sentiment cf. I *Sam.* 15, 22.

⁵ Lit. “with carving.” For all this passage, cf. *Admonitions* 11, 1 foll.

⁶ The Petersburg MS. begins the section, not here, but in l. 134 (“He maketh the dawn”).

⁷ The text is corrupt, but the sense quite clear. Emend *t;w n ‘nh m fnd-sn* or *t;w r s‘nh fnd-sn*.

⁸ Read *r snm-st* with the Moscow duplicate.

⁹ Cf. NAVILLE, *La Destruction des Hommes=Trans. S.B.A.* iv pp. 1 foll.

¹⁰ The determinative seems to connect this with *kdd* “to sleep.” But surely *skdd* “to sail” is meant.

¹¹ So Moscow.

¹² Emend *m* for *s*(?).

sentence is that in which the god is said to have created magic (*hike*) to be used by men for their personal protection against accidents¹.]

§ 29. Conclusion.

“Do not do anything(?) which my mouth....., when(?) it gives (139) any laws concerning the King. Direct(?) thy face straight forward(?), and.....as a man. O that thou mayst reach me², without (finding) thy accuser. Slay not (140) any that is near unto thee; the god who knows him commends him to thee. He who is happy upon earth is one of them³; gods are they (141) who serve the King. Instil the love of thyself in all the land. A good character is (for a) remembrance⁴(?)..... It was said (142) concerning thee⁵(?), ‘Perished is the time of the weak’ by those at the back⁶ in the house of (143) Akhthoi, in foretelling its(?) coming today. Behold I have spoken to thee (144) the best of my inner thoughts; set them stedfastly⁷ before thy face.”

Here the book ends, the few remaining lines of text being devoted to the colophon that was translated in an earlier part of this article. Reviewing the composition as a whole, it will be noted that its obscurities, though very numerous, affect points of detail much more than they disturb the general train of thought. It will require years of patient study, and very possibly even the discovery of a better manuscript, to warrant the removal of the query-marks that I have scattered so freely over my translation. Meanwhile there is an abundant harvest of positive information, historical and otherwise, to be gathered from the papyrus for our use. So far as the study of Egyptian ideas is concerned, it is not a question of vital importance whether the document is the actual political testament of a Herakleopolite king, as it purports to be. Its authenticity must be more critically scrutinized, however, if it is to rank as good historical evidence.

It is obvious without discussion that the text is an old one, and that it owed its popularity in the 18th Dynasty to aesthetic merits it possessed, or was supposed to possess. The alternative to accepting it on its own credentials as a work of Herakleopolitan date is to suppose that it was written when the House of Akhthoi was already vanquished and when therefore its maxims had been either neglected or stultified. The improbability of this view is apparent at a glance. It is legitimate to assume a certain amount of editing or embellishment at a later date, and indeed the variants of the duplicate are sufficient proof that no special efforts had been made to preserve the original text in exactly its original form. We must leave a certain margin for later alterations; but, this done, by far the most probable view is that the work is contemporary, or nearly so, with the events it narrates. There is a tendency among

¹ This sentence confirms in the most striking way my view of Egyptian Magic as a kind of *privata religio*, i.e. the principles of religion deliberately applied to individual and personal ends, see *Trans. Third Congress...Hist. Religions*, vol. I, p. 208.

² I.e. reach my age, or else, join me in the tomb.

³ I.e., one of the gods, as the next sentence clearly shows. In what sense this statement can be meant is obscure to me.

⁴ Emending *sh,* for *swb,*

⁵ Reading *dd rk* instead of *ddw-k*.

⁶ I.e., the slaves, cf. *Inscription of Mes* N 35.

⁷ Lit. “make them well-established.”

Egyptologists to be more sceptical in questions of this kind than the facts either demand or warrant. Thus the Proverbs of Ptahhotep are often assigned to the 12th Dynasty rather than to the reign of Issi, when the Vizier Ptahhotep actually lived. In that particular case there is very little evidence on either side, but the burden of proof clearly rests on those who deny the earlier date. In other instances more positive evidence can be adduced, and it invariably points in the direction of authenticity. Take the Story of Sinuhe; the writer knows the date and circumstances of the death of Amenemmes I, the name of his Pyramid and of that of his successor, the name of his Queen and other similar details, some of which we are able to control. Take the Story of Unamūn; its details fit in so well with what we know of the contemporary history, that it has even been imagined to be the actual unaltered report of the ambassador of Amūn. In all these cases I prefer to leave a considerable margin for redactional alteration; nor would I care to assert my conviction that the documents are exactly what they purport to be. It appears to me that without undue credulity we may risk a verdict of "founded upon fact" in these and all similar instances, and that we may use their statements, in the absence of conflicting testimony, as the best available evidence with regard to the periods of history to which they relate.

(To be continued.)

THE YEAR'S WORK AT ABYDOS

OUR fifth winter at Abydos has been devoted entirely to the excavation of tombs. It has amply justified our prophecy that the cemeteries of Abydos were not yet by any means exhausted. Though the work was confined to two small portions of the site, results of the highest interest were obtained. The problem of the predynastic kilns of which we found a first specimen last year near the Osireion has been solved by the discovery of more and better examples. We have investigated a small mastaba cemetery of about the fourth dynasty which was in excellent preservation and contained a number of untouched pot-burials. We have succeeded in bringing home to England a large number of fine objects of the twelfth and eighteenth dynasties, and we have examined and recorded in the minutest detail a cemetery of sacred ibises.

The greater part of a very short season was devoted to the excavation of a low mound lying to the north of the well-known Coptic Dêr. This mound proved to contain remains of almost every period of Egyptian history. On the top were the floors of Coptic houses on which a few remains of this period still rested, such as a large leaden store jar and the beautiful little lamp of bronze (Plate II, Fig. 2), both of which are now in the Cairo Museum. At a lower level were tomb shafts of the twelfth and eighteenth dynasties, below these again the mastaba cemetery of the Old Kingdom, and at a still greater depth the predynastic kilns.

These last consist each of two parallel rows of large bell-shaped jars about 20 inches high, set upright side by side on the surface of the desert and surrounded by a low wall of bricks. Each vase was supported by fifteen fire-bricks arranged around it in a nearly vertical position. Fixed tightly in the bottom of each jar was a small bowl, which apparently served to fill up the pointed end of the jar and to prevent the material with which the jar was filled from sinking into the point, whence it could not easily be removed. In each kiln there were about thirty or forty jars. The whole space enclosed by the walls was roofed over with bricks and mud, except the mouths of the jars themselves, which remained open. In the walls were numerous holes at regular intervals. These seemed at first difficult to explain, but it was afterwards seen that they were stokeholes for the introduction of fuel into the kiln, which was in effect a closed furnace in which a slow fire burned round and among the vases, keeping their contents exposed for a long time to a not very considerable heat. But what were these contents? An examination of the small amount of black deposit found at the bottom of the jars shows that they were a common species of wheat. The purpose of the kilns was thus to keep wheat at a certain temperature for a considerable time. This heating or parching of grain is practised by various races and always seems to have one of three objects. Firstly, to make the grain fit to be eaten whole

without any pounding or grinding, or secondly, to facilitate grinding, or thirdly, to improve the keeping properties of the grain. We are not able to decide which of these objects the ancient Egyptians had in view, but we may be fairly certain that it was one of them. Evidence for the date of the kiln is not wanting and goes to prove that the structure is to be assigned to the predynastic period or shortly after.

At a higher level than the kilns and vertically over them lay the early mastaba cemetery. The mastabas were small structures of brick, many of them arranged around a much larger and more imposing mastaba. The form is rectangular and the average size about six feet by four. The structure is not more than a foot high, is filled with sand and completely roofed over with a layer of brick. In its east wall are two niches, the more southerly of which is compound and the other simple. Most of the mastabas have small courtyards in front of the side which contains the niches, bounded by walls only a few inches in height. In some cases the back of an older mastaba served as a courtyard wall to a newer and the running across of two short cross-walls completed the enclosure.

Beneath the mastaba lay the tomb itself. This usually consisted of a circular or rectangular pit about six feet deep. At the bottom lay the body in a contracted position. Sometimes it was in a wooden coffin, sometimes in one of pottery. In other cases the only covering was a mat or a basket. Sometimes, again, the covering consisted of a rough layer of bricks, often covered with mud, but most frequently of all a large rough bowl of pottery was inverted over the body. This pot-burial is of great interest for it has been found in other parts of Egypt, for instance at Hierakonpolis and at Reqaqna and at El Amrah. The type of bowl used is in all these places the same and all the examples of the custom date from a single period, the third to fifth dynasties.

In a few of these mastaba tombs there was a small chamber or, more correctly, a recess opening off the bottom of the pit, and in this the body was placed. In the great mastaba round which so many of the others were grouped there were two rectangular pits, 17 feet deep, from the bottom of which opened off large chambers in the rock.

These tombs unfortunately were very poor and yielded but few objects. The most important is a small cylinder seal which may contain the name of Sahura, a king of the fifth dynasty.

The graves of the twelfth dynasty were all of the type usual in that period, that is to say, they were well cut rectangular shafts descending about twenty feet and giving access at the bottom to two or more rock-cut chambers. Many of them had not been disturbed. In these the dead lay in one of the two positions usual at this time, namely, on the left side with the legs and arms slightly bent or, in rare cases, in the supine position and outstretched. There was always a coffin of wood. Many fine objects were found with these burials. The best of these were the small toilet vases of alabaster and serpentine, and the jewellery. Two tombs yielded necklaces of carnelian of extraordinary size and beauty. Another gave a magnificent string of amethysts, four feet in length. This latter tomb was that of a chancellor named Si-Anhur, whose steatite seal was found, and of his wife. Both bodies had been plundered, but nothing had been removed except the gold. There still remained the necklaces of amethyst, carnelian and garnet, the small jewels of electrum and the

alabaster vases. With them was a remarkable figure in limestone of a girl acrobat engaged in the funerary dance known as the *khetebt*. She bends her body backwards till it forms a bow, her hands rest on the ground behind her, and her head and long hair hang down till they touch the ground.

The tombs of the eighteenth dynasty were of two types. The majority resembled those of the twelfth, but in a few the shaft was not nearly so deep and gave access to a large brick chamber with a flown vault, built up in a large pit cut for the purpose and afterwards covered up with sand. One of these vaults had contained burials of great richness, which had been completely plundered in antiquity. There still remained large numbers of objects, vases of alabaster and serpentine, small gold ornaments, scarabs of Thothmes III, pieces for playing a game, necklaces of glaze and carnelian, together with a great quantity of the pottery known as Cyprio-Syrian. Another tomb with scarabs of the same king yielded excellent bronzes and another gave two remarkable figurines of fine brown pottery.

The ibis cemetery lies in quite a different part of the site, south of the dry watercourse leading up from the cultivation to the Royal Tombs. Here were found a number of large jars, some of baked, others of unbaked, mud, lying only just below the surface. Nearly 100 of these jars stood in a space not twenty yards square. Most of them were about two-thirds filled with mummified remains of the sacred ibis and of other birds and animals. The mummification had been carefully carried out, bitumen being used, and the outer wrappings being in cloth of two colours, black and brown (originally white?), worked together in a series of extremely accurate geometric patterns. The majority of the mummies were of the ibis itself or of bundles of its feathers, which seem to have been collected as sacred like the bird itself, and mummified. Other mummies were those of various kinds of hawks, of shrews, of snakes and even of scarab beetles. Three small pottery jars were found to contain masses of broken ibis eggs.

Among the jars, often close beside them, were several rough brick enclosures containing the heads and often other bones of various animals, oxen, sheep and dogs. Thus the cemetery, although reserved in the main for the ibises, was also used for the burial of other birds and animals.

It may be safely dated to the Roman period. One of the large jars is of particular interest, for it bears a drawing in black ink of a male and a female figure standing facing one another one on each side of a conventional tree with ivy leaves. The woman is an Egyptian, but the man wears a fillet over his curly hair and is clearly a Roman or a Greek. It has been suggested that this is a satiric drawing of Antony and Cleopatra.

The volume dealing with the season's work in detail (*The Cemeteries of Abydos, Part III*) has just been published.

T. ERIC PEET.

THE IBIS CEMETERY AT ABYDOS

DURING the course of last season's excavations at Abydos, a very interesting Ibis cemetery was discovered, situated on one of the ridges which run at right angles from the edge of the cultivation away back into the desert towards the Royal Tombs. The cemetery consisted of ninety-three large jars, made for the most part of unbaked clay, the larger ones being built up of two or three sections and having the mouths sealed with coverings of unbaked bricks (Plate IV, Fig. 1). Originally the jars had stood in the open, no design having been followed in their arrangement, but simply placed here and there in a haphazard fashion. In the course of time the drifting sand had completely covered them, the tops of some being as much as three feet below the level of the present surface, leaving no trace of their whereabouts. Judging from the shape etc. of the jars one may safely refer them to the Roman period, i.e. about 150 A.D.

On making a detailed examination of the contents of each jar, it was found that the mummified remains were chiefly those of the sacred Ibis (*Ibis aethiopica*), some fifteen hundred examples of this species being recorded, as well as a large number of bundles—also carefully preserved and wrapped—which contained the remains of young birds, feathers or bones. The most interesting feature of this cemetery was the wonderful variety of bindings, chiefly geometrical patterns, woven with the greatest skill and precision, the material employed being simply narrow strips of black and brown linen; between sixty and seventy types of bindings were recorded (Plate IV, Fig. 2).

Unfortunately the white ant had, in former times, worked through the whole cemetery, thus destroying many of the specimens; the remainder however were in a more or less excellent state of preservation. The black strips of linen were very friable, due no doubt to the dye that had been used in their manufacture, but by spraying the wrappings with varnish—which in no way detracted from their value as museum specimens—a fine hard surface was obtained. They were then carefully wrapped in cotton-wool and sewn up in linen; by adopting this method the whole of the collection travelled safely to England. The number of mummies in each jar varied considerably, in some there were but two or three layers, others again contained as many as a hundred or more specimens.

Lying close to one of the jars were two small pottery vases containing eggs of the sacred bird, unfortunately most of them were too broken to bring home. Although the cemetery was chiefly devoted, as I have already mentioned, to the preservation of the remains of the sacred Ibis, some of the jars contained one or two examples of hawks, others bundles of shrews, a small insectivorous mammal, not unlike the common mouse. These bundles were also carefully preserved and bound in various patterns.

Of the larger mammals, one ox was found, several examples of horned sheep, and a few mummies of dogs (domestic variety); these latter were placed in small brick enclosures at the bases of the jars. In conclusion I might mention that the Ibis was sacred to the god Thoth, the scribe of the gods, the chief centre of whose worship was at Hermopolis Magna, near Rôda, in Upper Egypt. The worship of this god dates far back in the history of Egypt, but there is no record, as far as I can learn, why the Ibis was looked upon as being sacred to this god, or at what period the ancient Egyptians first began mummifying this species.

W. LEONARD S. LOAT.



Fig. 1. Jars of mummified ibises as discovered

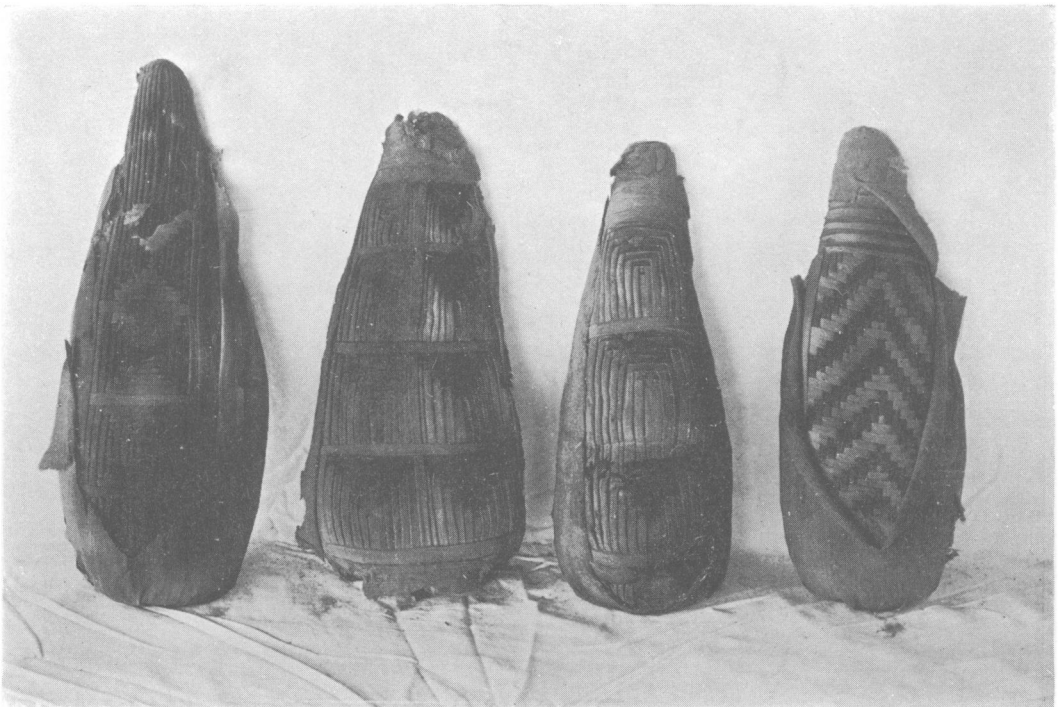


Fig. 2. Specimens of mummified ibises

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY

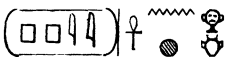

THE work of the "Survey" was recommenced at Meir early in January of this year (1913) and continued till April 16th. The first thing to be done was to record all the scenes in chapel No. 5, that of Ukhuhotp, son of Ukhuhotp and Mersi (see *Archaeological Report*, 1911-12, p. 5 footnote and p. 11) which seemed in danger of suffering further injuries during the interval between this and the next season. It proved a lengthy undertaking owing to the broken condition of the beautiful plaster reliefs with which the chapel is decorated and to the extraordinary minuteness of the details. Nearly the whole of this monument is now recorded, only unimportant and well-protected parts being left over for the forthcoming campaign.

All the copies of the reliefs in Senbi I's chapel, made the season before, were subjected to a careful revision, which practically amounted to the re-drawing of them. The volume containing them will, it is hoped, appear in the spring of 1914.

The inscriptions in the XIIth Dynasty chapels were all copied, and likewise the important ones in the joint chapel of Pepiankh and his father Sebekhotp, nomarchs during the VIth Dynasty¹.


The important funerary scenes drawn in ink outline only on the walls of one of the rooms in the last-named chapel² were photographed, the accompanying texts copied, and notes taken of the various ceremonies. They will be traced next season if possible, but they are in no immediate danger, for the roof is intact and the entrances closed with iron gates.



On March 15th a new chapel, situated about fifteen minutes' walk south of those of the XIIth Dynasty, was discovered by the workmen of Seyd bey Khashba, an Asyût notable. After it had been cleared of *débris* the pressing repairs were executed at once by the Department of Antiquities. The Department intends to restore it (part of the roof has collapsed) and erect an iron gate, Seyd bey having generously undertaken to bear the cost.

Sir Gaston Maspero has asked me to describe this chapel in the Meir memoirs and it will doubtless require one volume at least. It is a very interesting monument, being the mortuary chapel of the nomarch  "Pepiankh the Middle," who the inscriptions tell us was the son of Sebekhotp. He was therefore the brother of the Pepiankh whose chapel, combined with that of Sebekhotp, lies further north. The attribute  "the Middle" shows that he was Sebekhotp's second son. At Kūṣeir El-Amarna, opposite Kūṣīya, on the east bank of the river, is the scantily

¹ See *Archaeological Report*, 1911-12, p. 9.

² *Op. cit.* p. 10.

inscribed chapel of  "Pepiankh the Eldest," who is doubtless Sebekhotp's eldest son, though unfortunately the parentage is not given¹.

This "Pepiankh the Eldest," like his father and two younger brothers, was ruler of the nome. "Pepiankh the Middle," however, the owner of the newly found chapel, attained to a higher rank and fame than either his father or brothers. The father and youngest brother, it is true, are both described as  "The Superintendent of the South" (the eldest brother was merely a local notable) but he himself was a  "vizier."

"Pepiankh the Middle's" chapel consists of a pillared forecourt (Plate V, Fig. 1), and a large room or hall, the walls of which are adorned with painted reliefs (Plate V, Fig. 2), with a small undecorated chamber leading out of it.

The west wall of the forecourt, i.e. the spaces on either side of and above the door that admits to the hall, is covered with inscriptions, a large portion of which is devoted to the nomarch's biography. We are told among other things that he lived to the age of 100, and also that he was the first to excavate a chapel in that part of the necropolis. The importance of this chapel made instant action a necessity. Mr Griffith had fortunately just finished his work at Marawi in Dongola Province, so I was able to secure the services of his two camera-boys, with whose assistance I speedily photographed all the reliefs. Besides doing this I copied all the inscriptions and took copious notes of the details of the scenes, in case they should deteriorate before next season. Shortly after the discovery was made Dr A. H. Gardiner paid me a visit and we copied the biographical inscriptions together, collating one another's work. Just before he left Dr Gardiner made another final and searching revision of these texts. Thus everything was done to obtain an accurate record.

Altogether 150 photographs were taken during the season. Very little photography will therefore need to be done this coming season unless yet another chapel turns up, a not unlikely event.

One gratifying piece of information to report is that in view of the importance of the Meir chapels the Department of Antiquities intends to repair them all, re-roofing them and erecting iron gates. Before I left Meir the chief inspector of the district and the departmental engineer visited the site and drew up an estimate of the cost of these restorations.

I leave for Egypt on October 21, 1913, accompanied by Mr E. K. Stephenson of Merton College, Oxford, and we hope to start work on November 1, 1913.

AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN.

¹ This identification is rendered all the more certain by the fact that his eldest son is named Sebekhotp after his grandfather:





Fig. 1. The Pillared Forecourt of Pepiankh the Middle's Tomb-Chapel at Meir

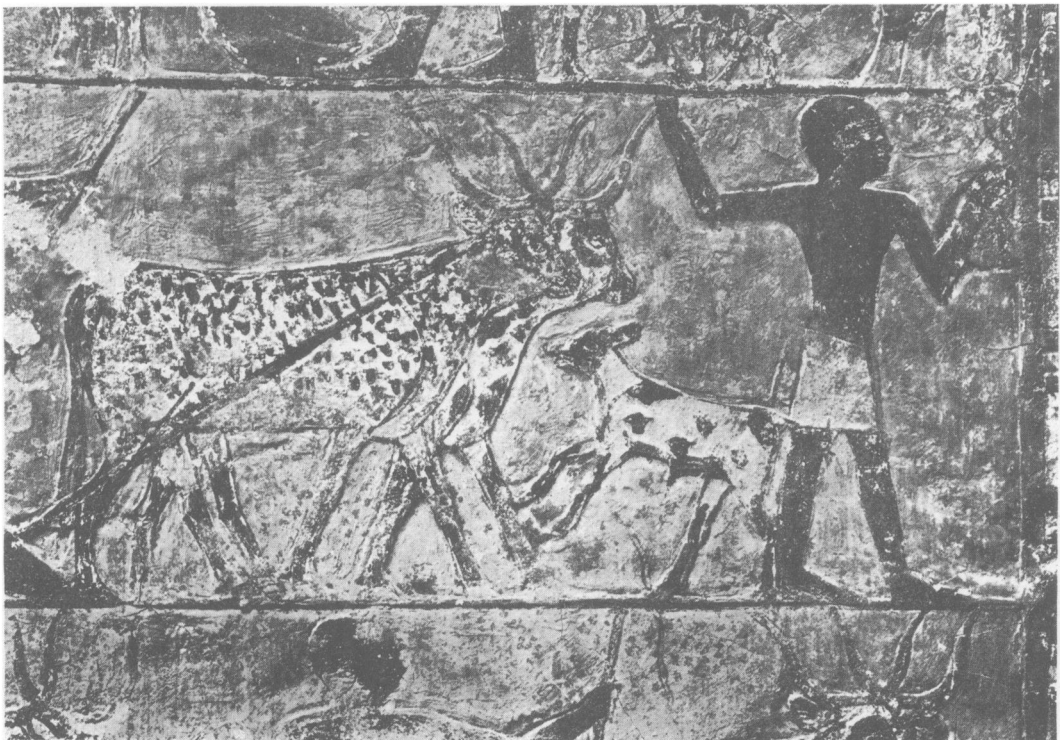


Fig. 2. A specimen of the painted reliefs in the Tomb-Chapel of Pepiankh the Middle at Meir

THE BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN EGYPT

THE excavation of the great cemetery of Tarkhan was completed in March 1913. It has proved to be the most important cemetery yet found for the early history, as about 1500 graves were opened and recorded belonging to the critical century of the establishment of the dynastic people. A complete register of every grave will be published, in tabular form for convenient reference; the skeletons were measured, and the results from over 600 will be issued. Fixed historic points were obtained by the names of King Ka and King Narmer; and the connection of the stone and pottery vases with those forms fixed in the Royal Tombs series, serves to define the historical position precisely. It is found that the styles of pottery familiar in Upper Egypt are found equally within forty miles of Cairo; no difference in fabric can be traced, and their historical position is identical in both parts of the country. Pottery was not only locally used, but spread by trade to all parts, as it is at the present time. Hence it is equally good evidence for data wherever it is found.

From the study of the long bones it appears that the women were of homogeneous race; but the men consisted of two types mixed. About a tenth of the men were shorter than the main type which accorded with that of the women. On looking back in earlier periods it is seen that there was a gradual diminution of size for centuries before the 1st dynasty. Then the dynastic clan broke in with a sudden further reduction of stature; and after that the size increased down to the Middle Kingdom. This points to a gradual infiltration of the dynastic type, like the gradual intrusion of Syrians before the Hyksos, and of Arabs before Islam.

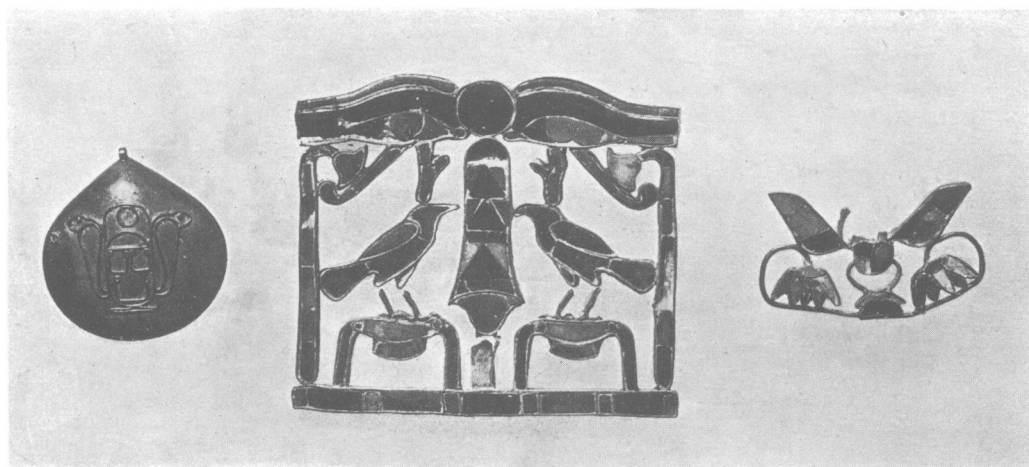
A great quantity of alabaster vases, fine beads and slate palettes resulted from this excavation; all of which were recorded by a *corpus* of many hundreds of drawings for publication, and have been distributed in original groups to Museums, excepting what was kept for sale by the Egyptian Government. Blue glazed vases proved to be quite usually owned by the ordinary people. Some foreign pottery was found dated to the middle of the 1st dynasty; no parallel to it is yet known, so its source remains to be fixed.

Besides the contents of the graves, the superstructures remained perfectly preserved in some cases. The small mastabas, with miniature courts for offerings, had all the stack of offering jars left at the side, just as they were deposited at the festivals. Some larger mastabas of the middle of the 1st dynasty were also found, like those of Gizeh. From one of these a great quantity of linen was obtained in excellent condition, also a splendid set of alabaster jars. By the side of these mastabas were tombs of dependants in perfect condition, with the superstructures plastered and white-washed. Two of these tombs contained favourite animals; in one was a duck buried in a coffin of human size; in another were three donkeys, beheaded, the only donkey skeletons yet found in Egypt.

Another cemetery at Riqqeh, nearer to Meydum, was also worked. It was of the 12th and 18th dynasties. The main discovery was that of the jewellery of a noble quite complete, the ancient plunderer having been killed in the tomb by a fall of the roof. Some of the objects are shewn here (Plate VI). The pectoral is of the same work as those found at Dahshur, of gold inlaid with carnelian, lazuli and turquoise. The gold shell bears the name of Senusert III. The broken group on the right shewed the name of Senusert II, the scarab being winged and supported by lotus flowers; the solar disc and front of the scarab has been anciently broken. Very fine canopic jars and a large circular stone table also belonged to the 12th dynasty. Painted coffins and a tomb were also copied. Of the 18th dynasty was a gold necklace belonging to a scribe named Bera, of the reign of Thothmes III, as shewn by his gold badge. Gold hair-rings and other objects were with it. Many other fine objects of the same age were discovered.

At Memphis an acre and a half of the Ptah temple was cleared, and much sculpture was found, some being of Akhenaten. Gradually this great site is being searched year by year. The granite sphinx of 11 tons is now at Philadelphia, and the alabaster sphinx of 80 tons has been lifted and erected at Memphis on a pedestal. The working party comprised Mrs Petrie (who did the drawing), Mr Engelbach, Rev. C. T. Campion, Mr H. Thompson, Mr G. North, and Prof. Petrie.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.



Jewellery from Riqqeh

THE LAW RELATING TO ANTIQUITIES IN EGYPT

IT has long been recognized that the Decree of 15 August 1897, which was promulgated to regulate the search for objects of archaeological interest, and to safeguard the existing antiquities of Egypt, has not proved altogether successful. It did not sufficiently control the illicit digger and his colleague the dealer in antiquities; and during the years which have elapsed since its publication, illicit digging by the inhabitants of various villages, and the flourishing trade of the dealers have wrought irreparable harm to records of the past history and civilization of the country, which the climatic conditions so well preserved.

As early as 1901 Sir Gaston Maspero, the Director-General of the Department of Antiquities, prepared a draft for a new decree which should deal more effectively with the existing conditions and adequately safeguard the antiquities of Egypt. In the peculiar conditions of international law which exist in Egypt, the preparation of such a law was a matter of great difficulty, and the new proposals were discussed at length both by the Comité d'Égyptologie in Cairo, and by the law officers of the Government during the years 1902-1904.

At this time it seemed improbable that further progress could be made in the matter, and action was suspended for some time. Recently, however, the subject has been again taken in hand, and after renewed discussions in 1911-1912 "Loi No. 14, 1912, sur les Antiquités" having passed the Council of Ministers, and the Legislative Council, was approved by H.H. the Khedive on 12 June 1912¹.

Under the authority of this law, three Ministerial Orders have been issued by the Ministry of Public Works which treat respectively of the authorizations to deal in antiquities, the regulations for the transport and export of ancient objects, and the regulations governing excavations, etc.

These constitute the group of rules and restrictions which now regulate the ancient sites of Egypt and their investigation.

All antiquities throughout Egypt are declared to form part of the "Domaine Public de l'État," except such as have been granted to the finders under a licence to excavate, or such as form part of a private collection. The term "antiquity" is defined as including objects of all periods—Pharaonic, Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Coptic; buildings, as well as objects of industry or art; inscriptions graven on rocks; walls and houses of sun-dried bricks as well as those of stone; in fact all the remains of man's occupation in earlier times. Localities where such antiquities occur may be expropriated by the State.

Finders of ancient objects, other than those having a licence to excavate for them, are required to deliver them to the Government. Where objects are found otherwise than by illicit digging, the finder will receive one-half of the find, or the

¹ The text has been published in the *Journal Officiel du Gouvernement Égyptien*, on 15 June 1912; and in the *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, Tome XII, pp. 245-251. Cairo, 1913.

equivalent value. The find will be divided into two portions of equal value by the Department of Antiquities, and the finder has the right of choosing one of them as his share. For an object claimed by the Department of Antiquities both parties will fix a value, and if the finder does not accept the half of the price fixed by the Department, the latter may either take the object or renounce its claim to it, giving or receiving the half of the price which the finder has fixed.

No one may undertake excavation for the purpose of searching for antiquities either on private or public land without a licence. Damage to ancient sites, the removal of the material derived from the destruction of such sites, or the utilization of ancient structures for modern habitations, cattle or sheep yards, burial grounds etc. render anyone infringing this section of the law liable to imprisonment not exceeding one year, and to a fine not exceeding £E.100, or to one of these punishments. Persons who shall conceal the discovery of an ancient site or of antiquities, or shall excavate in search of antiquities without a licence, or shall sell antiquities without a proper authorization shall be liable to the same punishments; while writing names or inscriptions on ancient monuments is prohibited under a penalty which may not exceed a week's imprisonment and a fine of £E.1, or either of these.

Dealers in antiquities are required to hold a licence from the Department of Antiquities, to keep a register of all sales, and to offer it for inspection when required by duly constituted authorities.

The transport and export of antiquities may only be effected with the permission of the Department of Antiquities, to which written application must be made giving a complete list of the objects which it is desired to remove. Charges of PT. 4 per case and of 1.5 per cent. of the declared value have also to be paid.

Licence to excavate will only be granted to archaeologists who are authorized by Governments, Universities, Academies, Learned Societies, and to private individuals who have the necessary qualifications. These latter may be required to employ a qualified archaeologist to supervise the work, if their own experience is not sufficiently wide.

Licences cannot be granted to one individual for more than two sites, and application for licences should reach the Department of Antiquities before October 25th each year, accompanied by a sketch-plan of the site desired. A charge of PT. 10 per day is demanded from the excavator, who is also required at the end of the work to fill in trenches, bury remains that have been disturbed and generally leave the site in good order, unless he obtains permission to leave trenches etc. unfilled if he intends to resume work on the same site in the following season. After a season's work, a plan of the site, a list of objects and monuments found, and a report of the work which has been carried out have to be furnished by the excavator to the Department of Antiquities.

If these regulations have the effect of reducing the destruction of ancient sites and objects, and if they result in disproving the statement too often made that even the least skilful excavation is better than the risk of the illicit digging by dealers since the latter is inevitable, then archaeologists will welcome any additional stringency that these new regulations contain.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF 1912—13: CHRISTIAN EGYPT¹

1. *Biblical*.—Three Greek O.T. vellum fragments in Munich, all Egyptian, are published² by GERHÄUSSER and RAHLFS. They contain a few verses of *Gen.* xxxvii and xxxviii, *Lev.* i and ii, and *Judges* v.

A third³ collection of O.T. Sa'idic texts is edited by SCHLEIFER: it contains *Exodus* xix, 10—16; *Lev.* xix, 4—7; *Numbers* iv, 33—v, 1; vii, 12—37; xiv, 17, 18, 22—24; xxvii, 22—xxix, 1; *Deut.* xxi, 8—16; 1 *Sam.* xii, 4, 5, 10, 11; xxx, 21—24; 1 *Kings* i, 32—40; *Job* ii, 10—12; *Prov.* xx, 5—11; *Isai.* xxxi, 9—xxxii, 4; *Jer.* i, 9—13; iii, 14—17; xxx, 2—11 (= xlix, 2—5, 28—33); *Ezek.* xxxvii, 21—25; xlii, 2—11; *Zach.* iv, 14. Most are from the British Museum, one from Paris, and one from Eton College; I must protest against the description of the last-named as "in London." A review⁴ by RÖSCH deals with forms of grammatical and lexicographical interest occurring in this collection. Another⁵ reviewer calls attention to S.'s first two parts and to the literal renderings of the Sa'idic translator as opposed to the Bohairic. MALLON remarks⁶ on the manner in which the letter α is written at the end of a line.

Budge's publication of the early British Museum papyrus codex of *Deut.*, *Jonah*, and *Acts* (*v. last Report*, 56) is severely reviewed⁷ by RAHLFS, who corrects some mis-readings from the facsimiles which accompany the edition. LEIPOLDT makes some remarks⁸ on the order in which the books occur in the MS, and doubts B.'s conclusions as to the date when the version was made. A full review⁹ by CRUM calls particular attention to linguistic archaisms, and gives a new and complete translation of the difficult colophon which has been used (palaeographically) to date the papyrus. ANDERSSON gives¹⁰ an account of the contents of Budge's volume, as does L. D[IEU?] at greater length¹¹, discussing the question of date and some of the grammatical forms which B. had signalised as peculiar.

Sir Herbert Thompson's publication of the British Museum Palimpsest (*v. Report*, 1910—11, 61) is reviewed¹² by N. REICH, who gives a general account of the contents of the MS. Part of a gap in that text is filled from the Amherst-Morgan papyri, whence CRUM publishes¹³ *Ruth* iv, 5—10 with *lacunae*.

¹ I owe some references to the kindness of Dr von Lemm, Dr Crum, Mr Griffith, and Marcus Simaika Bey.

² Göttingen *Kön. Ges. Nachrichten*, 1913, 72.

⁴ *Or. Lit. Zeit.* xvi, 365.

⁸ *Sphinx*, xvii, 57.

⁶ *Byzant. Zeitschrift*, xxii, 171.

¹⁰ *Sphinx*, xvi, 66.

¹² *Sphinx*, xvii, 16.

³ Vienna *Acad. Sitzungsab.* 170, 1 (1912).

⁵ *Rev. Biblique*, x, 463; cf. ix, 609.

⁷ *Theol. Lit. Zeit.* xxxviii, 3.

⁹ *ZDMG*, lxvi, 780.

¹¹ *Muséon*, xiii, 215.

¹³ *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Sem. Ser.* xii, 1.

An anonymous writer¹ has notes on the Biblical fragments published by the Italian Society for the discovery and study of Greek papyri (*v. last Report*, 64), particularly on *Luke* xxii, 45—47 and 50—53. The second volume² of the Society's publications contains Greek fragments of *Judges* i, 10—19, *Luke* xxii, 44—56, 61—63, *Acts* vi, 7—15, and *Gal.* ii, 5—6.

It is good news that L. DIEU is preparing an edition of the Sa'idic book of *Job*, critically the most interesting portion of the Sa'idic Bible. Meanwhile³ he prints some Paris fragments overlooked by Maspero and gives his reasons for believing that this version, in the state in which we now possess it, represents the text before Origen's revision. He follows this publication by a general review of the Greek text of *Job* current in Egypt, examining closely the witness of the Codex Alexandrinus. Short reviews of his work by NAU⁴ and MALLON⁵ have appeared.

WESSELY again publishes⁶ a long series of Sa'idic N.T. texts, together with three bilingual and a few Greek texts: his leaves containing the last chapter of St Mark go to the end of the Gospel as we have it. His MS was unfortunately completed before the appearance of Horner's edition, with which these should be compared and incorporated. His three fasciculi are briefly reviewed by MALLON⁷, and No. xi by MASPERO⁸.

A careful review⁹ of Horner's Sa'idic Gospels, by M. SPRENGLING, deals with some of the few verses still missing, and has some remarks on the character and date of the version.

N. REICH publishes¹⁰ some Coptic fragments preserved in Munich, of which the most important are Sa'idic texts of parts of *Acts* xxiii, 17—34 and *Mk.* v, 15—42.

The continuation¹¹ of HEBBELYNCK'S work on the manuscripts of the White Monastery (*v. last Report*, 56) has naturally been made more easy for him, now that he has come to the Gospels (the subject of his present fasciculus), by Horner's investigations and tables. It is valuable, however, to have the results of a fresh comparison, and Hebbelynck has been able to include Wessely's Rainer publication, unknown to Horner, and has had some communications from Hyvernat as to fragments in the Pierpont Morgan collection. He shews that the Eton fragment published by Schleifer (see above) is part of the same MS as Borgia VII, of which there are also a good many pages in Paris and London. See also the notice of Delaporte's Paris catalogue on p. 67 below. MALLON, reviewing¹² H.'s first part, hopes that we may soon have the complete catalogue of the Coptic MSS of the Vatican.

HEER, referring to the bilingual Graeco-Coptic Gospel fragments published by him last year (*v. last Report*, 56), has consulted Hyvernat about the complete Sa'idic lectionary and the Gospel MS in the Morgan collection. He learns¹³ that the MS has the two endings to St Mark, first the shorter and then the longer, while in the

¹ *Revue Biblique*, x, 137.

² *Soc. Ital. per la ricerca dei pap. greci in Egitto*, ii, Florence, 1913.

³ *Muséon*, xiii, 147, 223.

⁵ *Sphinx*, xvii, 55.

⁷ *Sphinx*, xvii, 22.

⁹ *American Journal of Theology*, xvii, 274.

¹⁰ *Wiener Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.* xxvi, 337.

¹¹ *Les manuscrits coptes-sahidiques du "Monastère Blanc,"* ii (offprint from *Muséon*, xiii, 275), Louvain, 1912.

¹² *Sphinx*, xvi, 30.

⁴ *Rev. Or. Chrét.* xviii, 111.

⁶ *Studien zur Paliographie*, xii, Leipzig, 1912.

⁸ *Revue Critique*, lxxiv, 325.

¹³ *Oriens Christianus*, N.S. iii, 141.

lectionary the Gospel closes at *ἐφοβούντο γάρ*. The position as it now rests on the evidence of Heer and Horner is conveniently stated¹ by VAN CAUWENBERGH. CRUM publishes² from the Amherst-Morgan papyri parts of a lectionary (only one other on papyrus is known) containing some Psalms, *Eph.* v, 17—20, and *Titus* ii, 11.

A fragment of a Greek-Fayoumic Gospel MS is published³ by WESSELY: it contains parts of *Mt.* xv, 12—15, 17—19. He places it early, perhaps 6—7th century, and gives a photograph: the fragment is unfortunately in bad condition.

The publication, now long expected, of the Freer Greek MS of the Gospels was the subject of much comment in the Press, the *Times* even giving a facsimile⁴ of the end of St Mark's Gospel, into which an apparently Gnostic verse (known to St Jerome, but otherwise unrepresented) is interpolated. Nothing certain as to the provenance of the MS seems to be known—the stories of the antiquity dealers are as vague as usual—but the White Monastery has been suggested.

I may here perhaps mention the appearance of VON SODEN'S first volume of the N.T. text with apparatus criticus: though the Coptic witnesses have naturally little place in it, as his theories lead him to believe that he has earlier and more important guides.

Parallels drawn⁵ by H. C. HOSKIER between the text of Evan. 157 (Rome Vat. Urb. 2) with the Coptic versions may conceivably, if his theory of a polyglot codex be correct, shew the influence of the Coptic column on the Greek text: but they do not indicate to any extent the Greek underlying the Coptic, many of them (e.g. position of possessive pronouns) being peculiarities of Coptic grammar from which the original cannot be inferred.

The two works in which Hoskier put forward his views on the relations of the Biblical versions in general and the date of the Bohairic in particular are reviewed⁶ without much sympathy by GOODSPEED. He makes the comment that the evidence is presented in a crude and indigestible form.

From the Golenishchev collection, now in the Alexander III Museum at Moscow, VON LEMM gives a facsimile⁷ of a tenth-century leaf of *James* ii, 23—iii, 14. He has already published the text in his *Sah. Bibelfragmente* II, and it will be used by Horner: but it is of additional interest for the pictures of animals in the margins, which are of quite a different order of merit from those, elsewhere always so rough, which are regularly found in Coptic MSS.

2. *Apocryphal, Gnostic*.—A general review of the Gospel-Apocrypha in oriental languages, in which respect Coptic holds a considerable place, has long been needed, and it is now supplied⁸ by F. HAASE. The general discussions as to the relations of various versions, and the full bibliographies, make this a most important contribution to the literature of the subject.

¹ *Rev. Hist. Eclési.* xiv, 632. Cf. also *Rev. Biblique*, ix, 610.

² *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Sem. Ser.* xii, 2.

³ *Wiener Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.* xxvi, 270.

⁴ *Times*, 13 and 14 May 1913.

⁵ *Journ. Theol. Stud.* xiv, 245, 359.

⁶ *Amer. Journ. of Theol.* xvi, 652.

⁷ *Pamjatniki Muzeja izjashchnych iskusstv imeni Imperatora Aleksandra III*, i, ii, Moscow, 1912.

⁸ *Literarkrit. Untersuchungen zur Orientalisch-apokryphen Evangelienliteratur*, Leipzig, 1913.

The Ethiopic *Testament of our Lord* is now published¹ by L. GUERRIER with the help of Grébaud. It is both of early origin and of great importance in the history of the apocalyptic apocrypha so popular in the East; but, as M. R. JAMES points out², it is difficult to investigate it further until Schmidt publishes his long-promised *Epistola Apostolorum*.

GRÉBAUD continues³ (*v. last Report*, 58) his translations and analyses of the Ethiopic *Qalementos* and other similar Apocrypha: the revelation of St Peter to St Clement describes the Creation, Heaven, the coming of Christianity and its spread. Among smaller pieces⁴ may be noted an account of the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon, a miracle of our Lord (the coming to life of a statue of a Cherub or Seraph in the Temple), the apostasy of the deacon Leontius and the death of the Jew Isaac, an account of the 7 Heavens and the 7 circles of the earth, and a list of the tribes to which the 12 Apostles belonged. The parts of the *Qalementos* containing the *Apocalypse of Peter* are translated⁵ into German by DUENSING.

It was mentioned in the last *Report* (p. 64) that BUDGE was engaged in printing the British Museum MS Or. 6783: he has, however, preceded this by a mixed volume⁶ of varied and valuable contents. It contains the "Book of the Resurrection, by Bartholomew the Apostle": the Falling Asleep of St John and the "Mysteries" of the same Saint: the life of Pistentius, by John the Elder: an encomium on St John the Baptist by St John Chrysostom: and the "Instructions" of Pachomius. Of the first of these a complete facsimile is given: the texts of all are printed, and translations supplied, together with a certain amount of introductory matter. Many of B.'s renderings will not be accepted without cavil by Coptic scholars, and an unsigned review⁷ puts forward the suggestion that the *Bartholomew* does not (as B. believes) represent the Apostolic tradition coloured by Egyptian religion, but may rather be Manichean in origin, derived from Armenian and Mesopotamian sources. To whatever extent these criticisms are justified, the volume makes public a large collection of very valuable Coptic texts. A brief abstract⁸ of the contents of the volume is given by MAAS, and another, at rather greater length, by an anonymous reviewer⁹.

A review of the Hemmer-Lejay *Protevangelium Jacobi* and its accompanying texts is interesting as from the pen of AMANN¹⁰, who is himself an editor of the same writings. He thinks that Peeters—the translator of the Coptic and Arabic *Joseph the Carpenter*—might have devoted less space to the consideration of general principles of translation, and more to a study of the story itself.

The *Protev. Jacobi* is the subject of a study¹¹ by DE LACY O'LEARY, who insists upon the composite character of the work. Its interest to us is its Gnostic nucleus, to which were later added various secondary stories and the whole revised by a Catholic editor. The same writer has also given a more general account¹² of the Gospels of the Infancy.

¹ *Patrol. Orient.* ix, 3.

² *Journ. Theol. Stud.* xiv, 601.

³ *Rev. Or. Chrét.* xvii, 244, 337; xviii, 69.

⁴ *Ibid.* xvii, 315, 427; xviii, 101, 204, 213.

⁵ *Zeitschr. f. d. Neutest. Wiss.* xiv, 65.

⁶ *Coptic Apocrypha in the dialect of Upper Egypt*, London, 1913.

⁷ *Athenaeum*, 4474, 80.

⁸ *Theol. Lit. Zeit.* xxxviii, 573.

⁹ *Internat. Journ. of Apocrypha*, 35, 74.

¹⁰ *Bull. d'anc. lit. chrét.* ii, 76.

¹¹ *Internat. Journ. of Apocrypha*, 35, 70.

¹² *Studies in the Apocryphal Gospels of Christ's Infancy*, London, 1912.

The Greek and Latin fragments—some of them new—of the *Gospel of Bartholomew* are brought together¹ by WILMART and TISSERANT.

The *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles* is the subject² of a full study by H. WAITZ.

BAUMSTARK³ finds in the *Testament of our Lord* (=the Testament in Galilee) traces of an extra-canonical Gospel, possibly the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*.

After his death, appears REVILLOUT's second fasciculus⁴ of Coptic Apocrypha. Besides a supplement to his "Gospel of the Twelve Apostles," it contains the *Acta Pilati*, the bulk of it from a Turin papyrus already known from Rossi's publication, and two fragments from Paris MSS.

Two long studies of the *Gospel of Peter* appear this year. The first⁵, by C. H. TURNER, enquires (with negative result) whether it can in any way be regarded as an independent witness to the tradition of the Resurrection, and ends with a careful translation and a complete list of parallels to the Canonical Gospels: while H. STOCKS puts together⁶ the materials for a possible complete reconstruction of the Gospel. This is the most elaborate and ingenious study that has yet appeared on the subject.

Flamion's edition of the *Acts of Andrew*, etc., is reviewed by DUFOURCQ⁷ and A. L[OISY ?]⁸. The former thinks that they are not so purely fictitious as F. and the German writers believe. A leaf among the Amherst-Morgan papyri, published⁹ by CRUM, is part of some apocryphal Acts in which St Andrew plays a part, but is too fragmentary for it to be definitely fixed to which story it belongs.

An edition¹⁰ of the *Acts of Paul* in the Bousquet-Amann series, by L. VOUAUX, summarises all the work that has been done on the subject, and presents the *Acts*, with adequate notes and full introduction, in the most convenient form both for the general reader and the student. He rightly lays stress on the service done by the Coptic version in deciding the order of the fragmentary narratives we possess and in shewing the relation of *Paul and Thecla* to the whole, though his conclusion that *Paul and Thecla* was committed to writing at the same time as the rest, late in the second century, is warmly contested¹¹ by F. C. CONYBEARE, who puts it at a much earlier date and thinks that the rest was possibly imitated from it: he holds that V. should have paid more attention to the evidence of the Syriac and Armenian versions in one or two crucial passages. A review¹² by M. R. JAMES makes some suggestions which should be valuable to V. for a future edition. A review¹³ by NAU has also appeared.

Two large and comprehensive works on Apocrypha should here be mentioned, though the first deals only with Old Testament Apocrypha and the first volume of the second (all at present published) has the same contents. R. H. CHARLES supplies¹⁴ a general introduction and prints the whole of the O.T. Apocrypha, the different books edited by various scholars: S. SZÉKELY has¹⁵ also a long introduction, paying especial

¹ *Revue Biblique*, x, 161, 321.

³ *Ibid.* xiv, 232.

⁵ *Journ. Theol. Stud.* xiv, 161.

⁷ *Bull. d'anc. lit. chrét.* iii, 61.

⁹ *Anecd. Oxon., Sem. Ser.* xii, 14.

¹¹ *Internat. Journ. of Apocrypha*, 34, 55.

¹³ *Rev. Or. Chrét.* xviii, 219. Cf. also *Rev. Biblique*, x, 466.

¹⁴ *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, Oxford, 1913.

¹⁵ *Bibliotheca Apocrypha*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1913.

² *Zeitschr. f. d. Neutest. Wiss.* xiii, 338; xiv, 38, 117.

⁴ *Patrologia Orientalis*, ix, 2.

⁶ *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengeschichte*, xxxiv, 1.

⁸ *Revue Critique*, lxxiv, 367.

¹⁰ *Les Actes de Paul*, Paris, 1913.

¹² *Journ. Theol. Stud.* xiv, 604.

attention to the eschatology of such writings: in this case the (Latin) texts are all the work of the editor, as are the separate introductions to each. Full reviews have appeared from the pens of I. ABRAHAMS¹ in the first case and T. WITTON DAVIES² in the second.

A Christianized Enoch apocryphon is published³ by CRUM from the Amherst-Morgan papyri. It is unfortunately very fragmentary; but it mentions Enoch's mother and sister, and the Sibyl.

E. DE FAYE writes a general history⁴ of Gnosticism in the second and third centuries, in which Egypt naturally plays a prominent part. I may here also refer to BOUSSET'S important article⁵, though it has been published a couple of years, in the Pauly-Wissowa Encyclopaedia, which has not been mentioned before in these *Reports*.

P. D. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF'S posthumous account⁶ (unfortunately unfinished) of the process by which paganism was supplanted by Christianity in Egypt contains well-balanced discussions of many disputed points. Although he does not bring forward very much that is quite new, his book is now the best existing account in a short compass both of Egyptian gnosticism and of the beginnings of the monastic system: the artistic and epigraphical evidence is also most carefully and completely considered. A review⁷ by SAYCE discusses the rapidity with which Christianity penetrated down to the Fellaheen.

A magical papyrus, mostly in Greek hexameters, is published⁸ by L. FAHZ: it forms part of the same as the fragments already published by Dietrich from among the Mimant papyri in the Louvre. The contents are highly syncretic: the pagan deities, as well as Abraxas, Iao, and Sabaoth, are impartially involved. There is Coptic on the verso, which F. hopes soon to edit with the help of some Coptic scholar. Another, shorter, in prose (magic to compel love) is edited⁹ by K. PREISENDANZ: it is less Christian, but mention is made of the divine Wisdom.

3. *Liturgical*.—TH. SCHERMANN proceeds¹⁰ with his studies of the history of the Eucharist in Egypt: as well as the actual Liturgy, he describes the church kalendar of the early centuries. A general glance at his work on this subject in late years is given¹¹ by H. BRUDERS, and a convenient resumé¹² of his large volume by DE PUNIET. MORIN greatly praises¹³ Schermann's work, and remarks that it should be read with Dom Cagin's treatise, *L'Eucharistie*.

EDMUND BISHOP'S *Liturgical Comments and Memoranda*¹⁴ contain, among a large amount of varied information as to early liturgies, Eastern and Western, suggestions as to the position of the Intercession for the Dead and the *Epiclesis* in the Egyptian

¹ *Internat. Journ. of Apocrypha*, 35, 62 (Reprinted from *Jewish Chronicle*).

² *Ibid.* 35, 75.

⁴ *Gnostiques et Gnosticisme*, Paris, 1913.

⁶ *Paganism and Christianity in Egypt*, Cambridge, 1913.

⁸ *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* xv, 407.

¹⁰ *Aegyptische Abendmahlsliturgien*, Paderborn, 1912. *Der Katholik*, 1912, 229, 325, 396. *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*, v, 1, 124. *Theologie und Glaube*, v, 89, 177.

¹¹ *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.* xxxvii, 324.

¹² *Rev. Hist. Ecolés.* xiv, 189; cf. *Bull. de l'anc. lit. chret.* ii, 236.

¹³ *Revue Bénédictine*, xxx, 118.

³ *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Sem. Ser.* xii, 3.

⁵ *Realencyklopädie*, xiv, 1503.

⁷ *PSBA*, xxxv, 198.

⁹ *Ibid.* xvi, 547.

¹⁴ *Journ. Theol. Stud.* xiv, 23.

rites. A study¹ of the words of consecration and the *Epiclesis* in the Coptic rite by CHAÏNE consists in great part of a critical text of those passages in the *Euchologion* and a comparison of them with the accounts of the institution of the Sacrament in the Coptic versions of the Evangelists and St Paul. Höller's general study of the *Epiclesis* in the Eastern rites (*v. last Report*, 60) is reviewed² by SPÁČIL, who compares its position there with that in the Roman rite. W. KOCH justly remarks³ that our ignorance of the whole subject is still deep, and only likely to be cleared up by further discoveries of MSS etc.

In No. lviii of his *Kl. kopt. Studien* VON LEMM publishes⁴ a liturgical ostrakon (with facsimile) in the Hermitage collection. It is the *Preface* of a Sa'idic *Anaphora*.

A monograph⁵ by R. M. WOOLLEY on Sacramental Bread contains photographs of the ordinary Coptic loaf used in the Liturgy, as well as the Maundy Thursday *Eulogia*. The former is called Isbodikon or Isbadikon rather than Asbadikon (all are a corruption of τὸ δεσποτικόν): W. has probably missed the *kasra*.

A facsimile⁶ is given by BAUMSTARK of a page of MS Leyden Scalig. 243. He believes it to be a book of lessons (*Pericopae*) of the Coptic rite. It is written in parallel columns of Greek and Arabic, and the Greek has not a very Egyptian look. B. also notes⁷ with respect to the Amherst-Morgan papyrus lectionary mentioned above (p. 49) that the lessons of so early a date practically correspond with those in the modern Bohairic lectionaries for Low Sunday and Epiphany.

Yet another edition⁸ of the *Synaxarium* begins to be printed, this time in Egypt, edited by the Hegoumenos PHILOTHEOS MACARIUS and the Priest MICHAEL MACARIUS. The present part comprises the months Thoth—Mechir, and is provided with some useful notes.

Reviewing I. Guidi's study of the Ethiopic *Synaxarium* (*v. Report* 1910–11, 53 and last *Report*, 61) P. P[ETERS] expresses⁹ the just wish that so learned and important a piece of work should not remain buried in the pages of a learned journal, as it deserves an independent and more accessible existence.

Masoudi's puzzling list of the names of the various grades of the Christian hierarchy is cleared up by NAU¹⁰, who explains the corrupt Arabic terms by their Greek or Graeco-Coptic originals. His best suggestion—the way to the rest, for it brings the order right—is that *Bardout* (بردوط) has nothing to do with *πρεσβύτερος*, which it does not indeed greatly resemble, but stands for *περιουδεντής*.

During his linguistic mission to Abyssinia, 1910–11, MARCEL COHEN acquired several liturgical and magical MSS which may have had, very far back, a partially Egyptian origin. He gives¹¹ a list of them, with brief descriptions. CHAÏNE begins¹² the publication of the Ethiopic ritual by a text and Latin translation of the baptismal service.

¹ *Rev. Or. Chrét.* xvii, 225.

² *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.* xxxvii, 184.

³ *Theol. Quartalschrift*, xcv, 471.

⁴ St Petersburg *Acad. Mémoires*, viii sér. *Hist.-Phil. Class.* xi, 4, p. 137.

⁵ *The Bread of the Eucharist (Alcuin Club Tracts, xi)*, London, 1913.

⁶ *Oriens Christianus*, N.S. iii, 142.

⁷ *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Sem. Ser.* xii, 2.

⁸ *Kitāb eṣ-ṣādiq el-amīn fī akhbār el-qaddīsīn*, Cairo, Tewfiq Press, A.M. 1629.

⁹ *Anal. Boll.* xxxi, 330.

¹⁰ *Rev. Or. Chrét.* xviii, 134.

¹¹ *Nouvelles archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, N.S. 6, 1912.

¹² *Bessarione*, xvii, 38.

The exorcism in the name of Trypho the Martyr is familiar to students of Egyptian liturgical forms: L. ARNAUD now suggests¹ that an exorcism in the Greek Great Euchologion, "by the Great Name that was written on the rock, the rock which could not stand but melted away as wax before a fire," is derived from Gnostic sources.

A Coptic amulet from the Golenishchev collection is published² by B. TURAEV: it consists of the opening words of the four Gospels, the account of the healing of Simon Peter's wife's mother, prayers (one ascribed to Severus of Antioch), and appeals to various Saints.

Not very different in character is an amulet published³ by KALBFLEISCH and SCHÄFER, containing the Lord's Prayer and an "Exorcism of Solomon for every unclean spirit." It is perhaps of greatest interest as having been copied from another amulet in which the arrangement in lines and columns was different, and by the copyist's mistakes the disposition of the lost original can still be traced. A review⁴ of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* viii, by K. F. W. SCHMIDT, deals very briefly with the Christian amulet and texts there published.

4. *Church Literature*.—A. RAMSBOTHAM continues⁵ his critical text of the commentary of Origen on *Romans*: J. STUFLER discusses⁶ whether confession in Origen's time was public or private. W. METCALFE, in a review⁷ of the edition of the newly-found commentary on *Revelation* (*v. last Report*, 62), adds some parallels which tend to confirm the ascription of the new discovery to Origen.

A study⁸ by L. COULANGE entitled *Le Christ Alexandrin* seeks to shew that the Logos-doctrine was known in Egypt before Christianity, and that it took its natural form in the writings of the Alexandrine Fathers.

A study⁹ of St Clement of Alexandria by H. U. MEYBOOM is a collection of separate monographs on various attitudes of his life and work. A review¹⁰ by H. KOCH gives some account of its contents and suggests some additions to the bibliography: M.'s method is also explained at some length, with comments, by G. GIACCARDI¹¹. W. HOZAKOWSKI comments¹² upon St Clement's explanation of the 70 "weeks of years" with reference to New Testament chronology. O. STÄHLIN gives¹³ reasons for thinking that St Clement did not, as is usually supposed, speak of the *Didache* as one of the "Scriptures."

Bardy's monograph on Didymus the Blind is reviewed¹⁴ by BIHLMAYER, who remarks that this Father is in fashion at present. He notes the points on which Bardy is opposed to Leipoldt, the author of the most important previous study.

A Jena papyrus from Egypt is published¹⁵ by H. LIETZMANN. It contains fragments of ten chapters of Irenaeus Book v and a pagan (? or syncretic) text. A review¹⁶ by S. COLOMBO gives some account of the contents of the fragment.

¹ *Échos d'Orient*, xvi, 123.

³ *Papyri Iandanae*, i, Leipzig, 1912.

⁵ *Journ. Theol. Stud.* xiv, 10.

⁷ *Rev. of Theol. and Philosophy*, viii, 666.

⁹ *Clemens Alexandrinus*, Leiden, 1912.

¹¹ *Didaskaleion*, ii, 238.

¹² *Klemens z Aleksandryi o 70 tygodniach Daniela proroka*, Poznań, 1912.

¹³ *Zeitschr. f. d. Neutest. Wiss.* xiv, 271.

¹⁵ *Göttingen Kön. Ges. Nachrichten*, 1912, 291.

² *Christianskye Vostok*, i, 203.

⁴ *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, clxxiv, 633.

⁶ *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.* xxxvii, 193.

⁸ *Rev. d'hist. et de litt. religieuses*, iv, 327.

¹⁰ *Theol. Lit. Zeit.* xxxviii, 264.

¹⁴ *Theol. Quartalschrift*, xciv, 620.

¹⁶ *Didaskaleion*, ii, 118.

The Greek lives of St Athanasius are studied¹ by B. BECK. Reviewing this with Lanchert's life, v[AN] D[E] V[ORST] remarks² that they are not of great importance, though it is satisfactory to have established their mutual relationship.

The sermon of Timothy of Alexandria, a pupil of Athanasius, on the Virgin and the Visitation, is translated³ from Armenian (into Latin) by A. VARDANIAN.

The Greek translations of Cassianus' *Collationes* are investigated⁴, and part of them printed, by K. I. DYOBOUNIOTES.

Of Theophilus, Patriarch 385—417, we have little but fragments of letters, public and private. M. BRIÈRE prints⁵ the Syriac text and gives a translation of a short catechetical homily by him.

Fifty homilies and two letters of Macarius the Egyptian are translated⁶ into German by D. STIEFENHOFER, who prefixes to them a useful preface on Macarius' life and writings, with bibliography. I should have mentioned last year a dissertation⁷ on Macarius by C. FLEMMING. STIGLMAYR sums up⁸ his previous investigations into Macarius' writings, also going more deeply into certain single points. He is reviewed by BIHLMAYER⁹, H. BRUDERS¹⁰, BONWETSCH¹¹, and v[AN] D[E] V[ORST]¹²: the last-named remarks that S. has put it beyond all doubt that the writings we possess under Macarius' name are composite, but the quantity of original and of redactors' additions has still to be demonstrated.

In No. 128 of his *Miscellen* VON LEMM gives¹³ further corrections (see No. 43) of a sermon by Euhodios published by Rossi: in No. 130 he deals with one of the *Apophthegmata* of Macarius (printed, e.g. in Steindorff's grammar, 2nd edn. p. 19*). He makes the interesting suggestion that the Coptic word $\alpha\pi\epsilon\mu\iota$, $\alpha\pi\epsilon\mu\iota$, hitherto explained as a puppy, or some other small animal, is nothing more than the Greek $\alpha\nu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\eta$.

A. Struckmann's study of the opinions of St Cyril on the Eucharist is reviewed¹⁴ by P. B[ATIFFOL ?], who gives the work general praise, but thinks the treatment of some passages (e.g. the 10th homily *In cenam mysticam*) a little superficial. Rücker's publication of St Cyril's Homilies on St Luke (*v. last Report*, 63) is reviewed¹⁵ by P. C[AGIN ?], who would have desired a wider study of the exegetical content of the homilies. CHABOT edits¹⁶ the Syriac text of them with full variants from all the MSS accessible in European libraries: a few misprints are corrected in a review¹⁷ by DIETRICH.

Aigrain's edition of 49 letters of St Isidore of Pelusium is reviewed by G. MORIN¹⁸, by BIHLMAYER¹⁹, who would like to see an investigation into the genuineness

¹ *Die griech. Lebensbeschreibungen des Athanasius*, Weida i. Th. 1912.

² *Anal. Boll.* xxxii, 307.

³ *Oriens Christianus*, N.S. ii, 227.

⁴ *Ἑκκλ. Φάρος*, xi, 51, 161, 225.

⁵ *Rev. Or. Chrét.* xviii, 79.

⁶ *Des hl. Makarius des Aegypters fünfzig geistliche Homilien (Bibliothek der Kirchenväter, 10)*, Kempton and Munich, 1913.

⁷ *De Macarii Aegyptiaci scriptis*, Göttingen, 1911.

⁸ *Sachliches u. Sprachliches bei Makarius von Aegypten*, Innsbruck, 1912.

⁹ *Theol. Quartalschrift*, xc, 311.

¹⁰ *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.* xxxvi, 836.

¹¹ *Theol. Lit. Blatt*, xxxiii, 440.

¹² *Anal. Boll.* xxxii, 309.

¹³ *St Petersburg Acad. Bulletin*, 1913, 536.

¹⁴ *Bull. d'anc. litt. chrét.* ii, 73.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* iii, 79.

¹⁶ *Corp. Script. Christ. Or.* iv, i.

¹⁷ *Theol. Lit. Zeit.* xxxviii, 617.

¹⁸ *Revue Bénédictine*, 1912, 221.

¹⁹ *Theol. Quartalschrift*, xc, 486.

of individual letters, and by VYKOUKAL¹, who also has doubts about some of Aigrain's selection. A review² by P. B[ATIFFOL ?] has also appeared, who refers to the curious difference of opinion as to the age of two important MSS employed in the edition. P. P[EETERS] remarks³ on the strong language which St Isidore's position enabled him to use without offence even to such great men as St Cyril.

No. lvii of VON LEMM'S *Kl. kopt. Studien* is the publication⁴ (with translation and notes) of an Encomium on St Athanasius which he ascribes to St Cyril of Alexandria. He had previously printed some of this in his "Coptic fragments of Alexandrian patriarchal history," but he has now added a considerable amount of new material, and he is able most ingeniously to fit the whole together to make what is almost a consecutive narrative.

NAU continues⁵ his edition of the Greek *Apophthegmata Patrum* (v. last *Report*, 64) from MS Coislin. 108.

The vexed question of the original language of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* is again treated⁶ by CHAÎNE. He decides strongly, against Amélineau, for Greek, shewing that the few places where the Coptic seems more precise are natural additions of a translator, and that on the other hand the Coptic text has often suffered in intelligibility from failure to understand the Greek original. Chaîne is supported in his position by P. P[EETERS]⁷, who makes a single correction in one of his citations, and by NAU⁸, who gives what he believes to be the chronological order of the various redactions of the Greek form. He does not however accept all C.'s linguistic demonstrations. E. PORCHER prints⁹ three leaves, hitherto unpublished, from the same Sa'idic MS used by Zoega for his long fragments.

Bolotov's theories as to the value of the Coptic Acts of the Council of Ephesus in 431, so strongly assailed by Kraatz, have found a vigorous supporter¹⁰ in D. LEBEDEV. In an article of great length he deals with Kraatz's arguments *seriatim*, and adds much interesting comment of his own. His position is explained in a review¹¹ by BONWETSCH, who praises his vigour and acumen.

A. GROHMANN begins¹² a study of the Apocalypse or visions of Shenoute in Ethiopic, Arabic, and Coptic. After some introductory remarks, he prints the Ethiopic text, with variants and translation.

The first volume of Leipoldt's text of Shenoute (v. *Report*, 1908-09, 57) is reviewed¹³ by JUNKER, who remarks with only too much truth that every sermon and every letter of this writer presents us with a problem, and shews us how many grammatical rules have to be modified in the light of fuller knowledge.

Any Bohairic MS earlier than A.D. 1000 well deserves publication, and CHAÎNE has performed a useful service in his edition¹⁴ of a short sermon by Gregory of Nyssa (attributed in the MS to Gregory Nazianzen) on the sacrifice of Abraham. The MS

¹ *Rev. Hist. Eclés.* xiii, 414.

² *Bull. d'anc. litt. chrét.* ii, 158.

³ *Anal. Boll.* xxxii, 304.

⁴ St Petersburg *Acad. Mémoires*, viii sér. *Hist.-Phil. Class.* xi, 4, p. 89.

⁵ *Rev. Or. Chrét.* xvii, 294; xviii, 137.

⁶ *Mél. de la Fac. Orientale*, Beyrout, v, 541. Cf. also *Bessarione*, xvi, 393.

⁷ *Anal. Boll.* xxxii, 83.

⁸ *Rev. Or. Chrét.* xvii, 448; xviii, 208.

⁹ *Ibid.* xviii, 168; cf. also *Riv. Studi Orientali*, vi, 188.

¹⁰ *Christianskye Vostok*, i, 146.

¹¹ *Theol. Lit. Blatt*, xxxiv, 441.

¹² *ZDMG*, lxvii, 187.

¹³ *Ibid.* 378.

¹⁴ *Rev. Or. Chrét.* xvii, 395; xviii, 36.

(Vat. Copt. 61) is dated A.M. 678 = A.D. 962: and it may be hoped that the rest of its contents may soon be printed in full.

A papyrus leaf in the St Petersburg Hermitage, containing a fragment of the "Memoirs" of Dioscorus, is published¹ with commentary by VON LEMM, who adds a useful bibliography of work already done on these "Memoirs." The author kindly informs me that of the Munich leaves mentioned in the note on p. 634, those numbered 96, 97, 92 have already been published by Winstedt in *PSBA*, 1906, 138—141 (*v. Report*, 1905—06, 71).

From the Vatican Bohairic MS Copt. 62 CHAÎNE publishes² a letter from Severus of Antioch to the deaconess Anastasia, in which he discusses the identity of the last Old Testament martyr, Zacharias the son of Barachias.

The Amherst-Morgan papyri, published³ by CRUM, contain much interesting matter. Among the sermons is one preached by the patriarch Damianus (578—605) in the Cathedral at Alexandria before Constantine Λάδρως, envoy of the Emperor Maurice: the most important text is a long fragment of the life of Pachomius, the original whence the Arabic life printed by Amélineau is descended. Crum fully examines the various lives, which differ very considerably, and establishes results of the highest importance for future investigators into the Pachomian monasticism. The whole edition of the papyri is a model of the way in which these difficult and fragmentary texts should be published, and the explanatory notes are full of matter not to be found elsewhere.

The Ecclesiastical and Apostolical canons in Arabic have been re-edited⁴ by J. and A. PÉRIER: two MSS of the Bibliothèque Nationale preserve a better text than that at the Vatican used by Horner. A review⁵ by DELAPORTE thinks that the Coptic and Ethiopic texts should be published anew to attain the utmost exactitude and record all possible variants and divergencies. A short review⁶ by L. BOUVAT has also appeared.

Euringer's study of the Arabic version of the *Diatessaron* (*v. last Report*, 62) is reviewed⁷ by BAUMSTARK. He hopes that Graf's publication (at the end of Euringer's book) of the Beyrout fragment may lead to a new edition of the whole text—Ciasca's is now insufficient. STOCKS also contributes⁸ a favourable review. G. WOHLBERG, working on Euringer's results, gives⁹ a general *Stemma* of the Arabic MSS of the *Diatessaron* which have come down to us. Two reviews¹⁰ by L. SH[EIKHO] have also appeared: he proclaims himself now ready to assent to the theory that the translation is indeed by Abū 'l-Farag ibn eṭ-Ṭayyib if it can only be explained why it is not mentioned in the known general list of his works.

The list of authorities used by Mu'taman ad-Daula Abū Ishāq ibn el-'Assāl, the youngest of the three learned brothers of that name who flourished in Cairo in the 13th century (*v. Report*, 1905—06, 72), is published¹¹ with translation and full

¹ St Petersburg *Acad. Bull.* 1913, 632 (*Misc.* 132).

³ *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series*, xii.

⁵ *Revue Critique*, xlvi, 81.

⁷ *Oriens Christianus*, N.S. ii, 350.

⁹ *Theol. Lit. Blatt*, xxxiii, 457.

¹⁰ *Al-Machriq*, xv, 470, and *Mél. Fac. Or.* Beyrout, v, 2, lv.

¹¹ *Oriens Christianus*, N.S. ii, 205.

² *Oriens Christianus*, N.S. iii, 32.

⁴ *Patrologia Orientalis*, viii, 4.

⁶ *Journal Asiatique*, xx, 525.

⁸ *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengeschichte*, xxxiv, 299.

commentary by G. GRAF. A few notes of Egyptian interest are to be found among the same writer's miscellanea¹ on Christian Arabic.

Among the literature published by the modern Copts I may mention a treatise² on cases in canon law by the late Hegoumenos PHILOTHEOS, sometime head of the Great Church of St Mark in Cairo, edited by Girgis Philotheos 'AOUÐ: and a volume³ of religious philosophy by the Hegoumenos Andreas ANTONIUS.

5. *History, Legends, etc.*—D. CALLIMACHUS concludes⁴ his articles on the Saracen conquest of Egypt and the identity of the Muqauqis with a general review of all those who have written on the subject for the last two hundred years: it is satisfactory to know that his study is now appearing in the form of a single volume. There is a useful summary⁵ of his complete position and his arguments against the theories of Butler and Stephanou by G. P[APAMICHAEL]. BECKER⁶ does not seem to doubt the identification with Cyrus, but has not space to give his reasons.

The most vexed question of the destruction of the library of the Serapeum at Alexandria is once more debated⁷. The late E. REVILLOUT agrees with a contention of CHAUTARD, which will be published separately, against Butler, that the Patriarch Theophilus was innocent of the fire, and he is inclined to believe in the traditional story that the act of vandalism was due to 'Amr.

A review⁸ of Wiet's edition of Maqrīzī, as far as it has appeared, by CL. HUART, makes some suggestions on the text. P. SCHWARZ has some corrections⁹ to offer on Fischer's notes to Graefe's text of Maqrīzī's account of the Pyramids.

Several articles, of various lengths, by CHR. PAPADOPOULOS have this year to be chronicled. The most important perhaps is a sketch of the life and writings of Sarapion of Thmuis¹⁰: he has also notes¹¹ on Eusebius, a bishop in Alexandria in the fifth or sixth century, and a certain Alexander of Lycopolis mentioned by Photius. His other articles¹² deal with various points of Melchite history, and though they are too numerous to be put down singly here it is clear that they are of considerable importance for a much neglected department of ecclesiastical history.

GRÉBAUT prints¹³ another Ethiopic list (*v. last Report*, 67) of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, with a few variants.

BAUR reviews¹⁴ Lucot's *Palladius* (*v. last Report*, 66), pointing out that he has been able to use an Oxford MS for the first 35 chapters which Butler only knew after that point, and that L.'s index leaves something to be desired. A review¹⁵ signed MY. points out that the excessive fidelity of L.'s translation has sometimes

¹ *Theol. Quartalschrift*, xcvi, 161.

² *El-khalāṣat el-qūnāniyah fi el-aḥwāl esh-shakhṣiyyah*, Cairo, Tewfiq Press, 1913.

³ *Kitāb el-firdūs el-'aqlī wa kitāb el-'ilm wa 'l-'amal*, Cairo, Heliopolis Press, 1913.

⁴ Ἐκκλ. Φάρος, vii, 442.

⁵ *Ibid.* viii, 223.

⁶ *Cambridge Medieval History*, ii, ch. 10, Cambridge, 1913.

⁷ *Revue Égyptologique*, xiv, 101.

⁸ *Journal Asiatique*, xi, i, 479.

⁹ *Zum Verständnis des Maqrīzī*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1913.

¹⁰ Ἐκκλ. Φάρος, xi, 177.

¹¹ *Ibid.* viii, 64.

¹² *Ibid.* vii, 406; viii, 241, 321; ix, 212, 324; x, 233, 483; xi, 381. Πάριτος, v, 117.

¹³ *Rev. Or. Chrét.* xvii, 302; xviii, 92.

¹⁴ *Rev. Hist. Ecclés.* xiv, 342.

¹⁵ *Revue Critique*, lxxv, 502.

led to very unintelligible French; and a few remarks¹ by P. B[ATIFFOL?] on difficult sentences seem due to the same cause.

In Cabrol's dictionary, s.v. *clôture*, E. RENOIR puts together in brief and convenient form² the practice of the Egyptian monks as to the extent that visitors to the monasteries were allowed, or the occasional permission to the inmates to go outside.

A palimpsest, bought in Egypt in 1906, contains, beneath a Christian Arabic treatise, the stories in Palestinian Syriac of the forty martyrs of the Sinai desert and of Eulogios the stone-cutter: it is printed³ by AGNES SMITH LEWIS. The Coptic text of the latter has already been printed by M. Clugnet in the Acts of Daniel of Scete (*v. Report*, 1900-01, 71). A review⁴ by NAU speculates on the possible cause of the almost total disappearance of non-biblical MSS in this dialect. H. DUENSING describes⁵ the contents of the edition and mentions a few mis-translations. P. P[EETERS] remarks⁶ that the document has more than a merely linguistic value, and will be used by a future editor of Ammonius' story: he is not impressed with the "insipide bavardage" of Daniel. SCHULTHESS⁷ would greatly desire a facsimile of the MS.

In No. lvi of VON LEMM'S *Kl. kopt. Studien* he puts together⁸ various fragments of an Encomium on St Claudius, some previously published by Amélineau, but a great deal new, and gives translation and full notes. Like the Encomium on St Athanasius mentioned above, it is a master-piece of ingenious juxtaposition of small fragments from different libraries and manuscripts. He also prints two alphabetical hymns to the same saint.

It is curious that the Acts of so obscure a saint as Psote should be extant in Latin. They are printed⁹ by F. WILHELM and K. DYROFF, who discuss (without coming to a definite conclusion) whether they depend directly on the Coptic original (*v. Reports*, 1909-10, 60 and 1910-11, 69). H. D[ELEHAYE] suggests¹⁰ some emendations in the text, and has some general remarks on the Acts of Eastern Saints preserved in Latin versions. Fragments of the Sa'idic life (and several other Saints' martyrdoms) are published¹¹ by CRUM from the Amherst-Morgan papyri.

O. VON LEMM publishes¹² two leaves of a Tischendorf Coptic MS in the public Imperial Library at St Petersburg, with the title *Die Thalassion-Legende bei den Kopten*. Texts containing the same and similar legends in Ethiopic are published in Ethiopic by J. SCHICK, and there are in the same volume the corresponding Arabic texts. Its relation to other versions and to similar hagiographical stories is discussed¹³ by P. P[EETERS].

An unsigned review¹⁴ of Winstedt's Texts on St Theodore (*v. Report*, 1910-11, 69) deals briefly with the historical questions raised, and makes a few suggestions on the rendering of the Coptic. HENGSTENBERG—whose own article on St Theodore (*v. last*

¹ *Bull. d'anc. lit. chrét.* iii, 79.

² *Dict. d'arch. chrét.* xxx, 2025.

³ *Horae Semiticae*, ix, Cambridge, 1912.

⁴ *Rev. Or. Chrét.* xvii, 445. Cf. *Journal Asiatique*, xi, i, 225.

⁵ *Theol. Lit. Zeit.* xxxviii, 105, and *Deutsche Lit. Zeit.* 1912, No. 49; cf. *Rev. Biblique*, ix, 610.

⁶ *Anal. Boll.* xxxii, 329.

⁷ *Gött. Gelehrte Anzeigen*, clxxiv, 692.

⁸ *St Petersburg Acad. Mémoires*, viii sér. *Hist.-Phil. Cl.* xi, 4, p. 1.

⁹ *Münchener Museum für Philologie des Mittelalters u. der Renaissance*, i (Munich, 1912), 185.

¹⁰ *Anal. Boll.* xxxii, 305.

¹¹ *Anecd. Oxon., Sem. Ser.* xii, 18.

¹² *Corpus Hamleticum*, i, Berlin, 1912.

¹³ *Anal. Boll.* xxxii, 330.

¹⁴ *Church Quarterly Review*, lxxvi, 197.

Report, 66) is carefully reviewed¹ by EHRHARD, who thinks that the Theodore-problem is not yet solved—deals at great length² with W.'s work, from the historical and hagiographical point of view, and also continues³ his own study mentioned above with the story of the Theodores and the Dragon: in this the Coptic accounts naturally play a predominant part. P. P[EETERS]⁴ is not in favour of the hard words with which W. characterised the Coptic hagiographers: he also reviews⁵ W.'s *Coptic Saints and Sinners* and makes one or two suggestions as to translations.

Wensinck's publication of the Archylides story (*v. last Report*, 67) is elaborately reviewed⁶ by WEYH, who discusses the relations of the MSS of the Syriac version and of the various versions to each other. He suggests that in the Arabic قندس (which Wensinck had connected with *kalendas*) should rather be read قندلس and derived from *candelas* (?), and this suggestion is discussed⁷ by BAUMSTARK, who thinks the reference is rather to Epiphany than to Easter eve. CHEIKHO publishes⁸ an Arabic text which appears to be the prototype of Wensinck's Karshuni MS, and to contain valuable readings. I. G[UIDI] has a few suggestions⁹ to make in the translations: NESTLE does not think¹⁰ that the original source can be Greek, and VON DOBSCHÜTZ¹¹ lays emphasis on the fact that the story is purely Eastern—it seems unknown to Greek Christianity. Wensinck himself indeed is now inclined to suspect a Coptic rather than a Greek original; so too P. P[EETERS]¹², or at least among Monophysites: Nestle (doubtfully) a Syriac: Weyh an Edessene Syriac: and Baumstark a Christian Palestinian source, with later alterations by Jacobite hands.

WENSINCK follows up his work on Archylides with a most interesting collection of texts¹³ on Hilaria, the Emperor Zeno's daughter who became a monk under the name of Hilarion. He gives a new translation of the Coptic version, now considerably improved by the labours of von Lemm; translations of the Arabic texts, which occur in both a long and a short version, texts and translations of two similar Karshuni versions, text and translation of the Syriac version, and texts only of the Ethiopic versions, which are almost identical with the Arabic. He gives also a translation of the ancient Egyptian tale of Bent-Resh, which appears to be the ultimate source of the story. A full review¹⁴ by SCHULTHESS goes into the Syriac poetical version at some length.

The life of St Onesima is translated¹⁵ from the Georgian by C. KEKELIDZE. P. P[EETERS] rightly holds¹⁶ that his views of the genesis of the version are almost certainly unsound, but his episodic remarks on Egyptian monasticism interesting. We ought to possess a proper and complete account of the Georgian version, or redaction, of Palladius, and perhaps K. might be persuaded to undertake the task.

A valuable series, *Bruchstücke koptischen Märtyrerakten*, is begun¹⁷ by VON LEMM. He prints from various sources fragments of the Martyrdoms of St Theodore the Eastern

¹ *Byzant. Zeitschrift*, xxii, 177.

³ *Oriens Christianus*, N.S. ii, 241; iii, 135.

⁵ *Ibid.* 328.

⁷ *Ibid.* lxxvii, 126.

⁹ *Riv. Studi Orientali*, vi, 177.

¹¹ *Theol. Lit. Zeit.* xxxviii, 265.

¹³ *Legends of Eastern Saints*.—2. *Hilaria*, Leyden, 1913.

¹⁵ *Kieff Theological Academy Transactions*, 1911, i, 177, 335.

¹⁷ *St Petersburg Acad. Mémoires (Phil.-Hist. Cl.)*, xii, 1.

² *Ibid.* 179.

⁴ *Anal. Boll.* xxxi, 473.

⁶ *ZDMG*, lxvi, 764.

⁸ *Al-Machriq*, xvi, 92.

¹⁰ *Or. Lit. Zeit.* xv, 406.

¹² *Anal. Boll.* xxxi, 478.

¹⁴ *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, clxxv, 496

¹⁶ *Anal. Boll.* xxxi, 478.

(and his companions), Leontius the Arabian, Heraklides, and Isidorus, following them with translations, notes, and full indexes.

Among the Arabic manuscripts belonging to P. A. SBATH are some¹ (3, 4, 28, 38) containing lives of Egyptian saints.

The Krumbacher-Ehrhard study of St George (*v. last Report*, 66) is reviewed² by NAU, who describes their method and the sources they used, and remarks that the historical character of the saint seems to fade still further into the back-ground. A. KRÖSS welcomes³ Aufhauser's study of the dragon-story as an example of the way in which such complicated legends should be investigated, while C. BAUR praises⁴ the manner in which he has dealt with the various versions and MSS.

In a review of Gaselee's collection of texts (*v. last Report*, 68) on the 24 Elders, H. S. C[RONIN] suggests⁵ that the home of the cult was near Hierapolis in Asia Minor, the *Thrake* of the texts possibly representing *Oraka*, and *Aristophorus* standing for Aristion or 'Αρίστου πόλις. An emendation in one of the Bohairic hymns on the Elders is shewn to be wrong by A. J. TAIT⁶. A short review⁷ by NAU has also appeared.

Many Ethiopic texts with an Egyptian original a long way behind them are often being described. Among these may be mentioned TURAEV'S description⁸ of a MS of the lives of Barlaam and Josaphat and the Miracles of Christ, as well as a long miscellaneous collection of Old Testament Apocrypha not unlike the Pseudo-Clementine literature which Grébaut is still analyzing. Compare the liturgical works mentioned above which Cohen collected at Adis Abeba.

The interest that Nubia has lately awaked owing to the discovery of its Christian language makes particularly valuable a full survey⁹ of all that is known of it as a Christian country (600-1600) by G. ROEDER. The Soudan is included in the survey.

6. *Non-Literary texts*.—The Crum-Steindorff *Jēme* texts (*v. last Report*, 68) are reviewed¹⁰ by MASPERO. He remarks on their value as material for the study of Copto-Byzantine law and upon the frequency of the donation or dedication of children to monasteries.

In a notice¹¹ of the Aphrodito Greek and Coptic texts (*v. Report*, 1910-11, 70) A. R. G[UEST] gives a general survey, drawn from these materials, of the condition of the Fellaheen under Moslem rule at the beginning of the eighth century; he refers also to the historical characters mentioned in the texts. I should have mentioned previously that BELL is engaged¹² in translating these texts.

Some interesting inscriptions are printed¹³ with commentary by LEFEBVRE. There are five funerary inscriptions (Greek and Coptic mixed) with curious *orantes* from Akhmim *Stelae*, which were luckily seized by the Government just as they were being illegally shipped off to a dealer: a Greek inscription from the Fayoum, relating how

¹ *Rev. Or. Chrét.* xvii, 280.

² *Ibid.* 333.

³ *Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol.* xxxvii, 176.

⁴ *Rev. Hist. Ecclés.* xiii, 709.

⁵ *Cambridge Review*, xxxiv, 457.

⁶ *The Heavenly Session of Our Lord*, p. 122 n., London, 1912.

⁷ *Rev. Or. Chrét.* xvii, 449.

⁸ *Christianskye Vostok*, i, 50, 298.

⁹ *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengeschichte*, xxxiii, 364.

¹⁰ *Revue Critique*, lxxiv, 383.

¹¹ *Royal Asiatic Soc. Journal*, 1913, 437.

¹² *Der Islam*, ii, 269, 372; iii, 132, 369; iv, 87.

¹³ *Annales du Service*, xi, 238.

a church of St Menas (in the West of the Fayoum) was decorated with marble in the bishopric of Peter (otherwise unknown) at the expense of the *στρατηλάτης* Menas: L. dates it at 5—6 century. There are also two Greek epitaphs (Abba David at Abydos and Johanna at Antioe), and a Coptic inscription¹ from Meir. Another (Greek) from the same place is pagan, though included in the author's *Recueil*, No. 230.

G. STRUWE publishes² an interesting I.O.U., which he believes to be before the seventh century and perhaps of Theban *provenance*, belonging to Turaev. A certain Pamphilus borrows 12 pieces of gold to distribute to the poor, promising $33\frac{1}{3}\%$ interest.

A selection of Theban Coptic Ostraca (now divided between the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology and the Bodleian) is published³ by Sir HERBERT THOMPSON. They are of the seventh and eighth centuries and not of any peculiarly great interest: at the end are one or two school exercises—copies of biblical texts and a list of Greek words.

Some exercises of Christian Egyptian school-boys are printed⁴ with explanatory notes by LECLERCQ.

In a further note⁵ on the marriage contract published by him (*v. last Report*, 69), Sir HERBERT THOMPSON is inclined to think that the date should be read A.M. 963 = A.D. 1246, and not A.M. 663 = A.D. 946. CRUM supplies transcriptions in Arabic characters of the Arabic names found in it, and suggests that it comes from Esfūn, north of Esneh.

In 1906 Galtier published a Coptic inscription found on half a circular plate. The other half has now been found in the Lichachev collection, and is published⁶ by B. TURAEV: it is an epitaph of three women, Johanna, Theodora, and Theophania. From the same collection T. publishes two other epitaphs, one a fine specimen of Coptic epigraphy in a square lapidary hand.

One of the earliest letters written by a Christian, though not otherwise interesting, is among those published⁷ by KALBFLEISCH and EISNER.

In the course of an investigation⁸ into some of the forms of wills found in Greek papyri, Z. SZTEHLO examines the will of Abraham, Bishop of Harmonthis or Erment in the Thebaid (middle of seventh cent.—published in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* i).

MALLON takes⁹ some of the Coptic epitaphs of a literary tone and edits them anew with translations and suggestions of some importance in the rendering of difficult words. He prints the epitaph of Febronia and the really fine lines on Cosmas *πῆτος*—almost the only piece of original (i.e. non-translated) Coptic of any real beauty or poetical feeling. He deals also with one or two Coptic inscriptions from Nubia, which he puts high in the scale of composition, and with the last dated Coptic inscription (A.D. 1337) of Saif Abūlazz Boktomor. His results are summarized¹⁰ by I. G[UIDI].

¹ I do not think that *πασον* should be changed into *πικσον* as L. suggests. The mark beneath the former word is hardly a *π*, it is beneath the *c* rather than the *a*, and I think it does little more than call attention to the *caret* in which the missing parts of *πεννηματα ετοσαδ* are supplied. *πασον* is regular for a monk—the possessive is not to be pressed.

² *Christianskye Vostok*, i, 207.

⁴ *Bull. d'anc. lit. chrét.* iii, 209.

⁶ *Christianskye Vostok*, i, 45.

⁸ *A görög papyrus-végrendeletek*, Eperjes, 1912.

¹⁰ *Riv. Studi Orientali*, vi, 190.

³ *Theban Ostraca*, Toronto and Oxford, 1913.

⁵ *PSBA*, xxxiv, 296.

⁷ *Papyri Iandanae*, ii, Leipzig, 1912.

⁹ *Mél. Fac. Or.* Beyrout, v, 2, 121*.

A little hand-book¹ by AIGRAIN contains a fair number of Greek Christian inscriptions from Egypt.

7. *Philological*.—The late E. REVILLOUT began² a full study of Coptic orthography and grammar in the light of the older language. The first part consists of remarks on the alphabet and the manner in which sounds non-existent in Greek were transcribed, with particular reference to the Old Coptic magical texts.

Articles³ by ERMAN on Egyptian lexicography and etymology contain lists of words of the most ancient, middle kingdom, new kingdom, and Saitic-Greek periods which (a) have survived, (b) have not survived into Coptic.

Several points of grammatical and lexicographical interest are dealt with by VON LEMM in his new *Miscellen*⁴. $\psi\lambda\eta$ is shewn to be a verb meaning "to crawl," its supposed second meaning "to smell" being a mis-reading for $\psi\lambda\bar{\eta}$: ΔMHM is a *vox nihili*, the Coptic word for a wasp being ΔMH : while the ΦTCI of the *Aprophthegmata Patrum* (e.g. in Steindorff's grammar, 2nd edn., p. 5*) is really ΦTCI = Greek $\phi\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\iota$, and is not to be explained by $\phi\epsilon\upsilon \gamma\epsilon$. A word in a Greek note in the Koridethi Gospels is shewn to be the Greek-Coptic $\delta\lambda\omicron\kappa\acute{o}\tau\iota\nu\omicron\nu$ or gold piece. A similar suggestion is found in the article mentioned above, p. 55, on one of the *Aprophthegmata* of Macarius. Some of von Lemm's previous *Miscellen* are noticed by MASPERO⁵, who comments on the curious change *nr—l* in the old language: and by P. P[EETERS]⁶ who gives a brief summary of their contents for the last few years.

SPIEGELBERG recognizes⁷ an old Egyptian word, meaning "the year of the reign of" in the Boh. ΔCFOTI and the Sa'. $\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{N}}$ (Luke iii. 1 and Esther i. 1). In the same volume of the same periodical there is a good number of etymological studies by him and SETHE which use Coptic words to determine ancient Egyptian meanings, and in the course of their investigations light is often thrown on shades of meaning in the Coptic too.

From Budge's publication of the British Museum Biblical Papyrus (*v. last Report*, 56) RAHLFS selects⁸ some of the Greek words appearing in Coptic dress, and draws from them conclusions of considerable interest as to the pronunciation and accentuation of Greek in Egypt.

I should have mentioned some time ago a theory⁹ of D. SERRUYS as to a change in the "Canon" of Greek uncial writing which seems to have taken place in the sixth century. He thinks that it ought possibly to be put down to a reform in the Patriarchal Chancellery at Alexandria.

One of the most curious documents published of late years is a kind of trilingual conversation book, probably of the sixth century, in Latin, Greek, and Coptic, from a papyrus at Berlin. It contains portions of two dialogues, one representing (apparently) the end of a dinner-party, and the other the visit of a guest bringing a letter from a brother of one of the interlocutors. The whole is written word for word in the three languages, the Latin in Greek characters. The publication¹⁰ is due to SCHUBART,

¹ *Manuel d'épigraphie chrétienne*, ii, Paris, 1913.

² *Revue Égyptologique*, xiv, 93.

⁴ *St Petersburg Acad. Bull.* 1913, 533, 536, 545, 627 (*Misc.* 126, 127, 129, 131).

⁵ *Revue Critique*, lxxiv, 246.

⁷ *Zeitschr. f. Aeg. Sprache*, 1, 125.

⁹ *Mélanges Chatelain* (Paris, 1910), 492.

³ *Berlin Akad. Sitzungs.* 1912, 904.

⁶ *Anal. Boll.* xxxi, 326.

⁸ *Berlin Akad. Sitzungs.* xlv, 1036.

¹⁰ *Klio*, xiii, 27.

assisted by G. MOELLER in the Coptic part of it: in this latter column there is still a good deal to be done in the way of filling gaps and correcting readings.

Reinisch's book (*v. Report*, 1910–11, 72) on the position of Nubian in the family of languages is reviewed¹ by W. MAX MÜLLER. F. CHARLES JEAN goes into general questions² of the relation of Hamitic and Semitic forms.

SCHUCHARDT has a convenient survey³, not without some valuable additions of his own, of the present state of knowledge of the Meroitic language. He rightly points out that it is a pity to begin with a misnomer by calling the Christian Nubian texts "Old Nubian": Meroitic is "Old Nubian," and the texts in question may be called "Middle Nubian," though it is perhaps in reality more satisfactory to keep "Christian Nubian" for them.

A comparison⁴ by H. SCHUCHARDT of Nubian and Basque is striking: but reviewers, such as A. MEILLET⁵, seem to think that judgement must be suspended for a time before pronouncing that they are off-shoots of the same stem. Zetterstéen's publication of Almquist's Nubian remains (*v. last Report*, 71) is reviewed⁶ by CONTI ROSSINI: at the same place will be found notices of other books on Soudanese and further Hamitic.

W. MAX MÜLLER discusses⁷ the Egyptian word for a "baker," which appears in Coptic in the Graecized form κενεφτις. It seems to come originally from a Libyan stem *eknef* (*akanif*, etc.).

The Kenzī dialect of Nubian (*v. last Report*, 71) is now being well represented in written literature. The Gospels have been translated⁸ into it by SAMUEL (formerly Mahomèt Ali) HISEN; some specimens of his work have previously been published (*v. Report*, 1910–11, 72). The work contains valuable information on orthographical and other points in an introduction by SCHÄFER. A review⁹ by ZETTERSTÉEN has some remarks on the methods of transcription employed, and SCHUCHARDT goes into great detail¹⁰ on the character of the language revealed by this publication.

Other dialects are also represented in this year's publications. HANS ABEL publishes¹¹ an Arabic story (known by occurring in Spitta's collection) in the Fadija dialect with commentary and vocabulary. JUNKER and SCHÄFER print¹² descriptions of childrens' games and songs in the Kenus, and JUNKER and CZERMAK give¹³ several short texts and sentences in the dialect of Gebel Dair in Kordofan. These were got from an educated native living in Cairo, through the Austrian mission there, and it is the first time that more than a vocabulary has been obtained from that group of Nubian-speaking peoples. WESTERMANN recognises¹⁴ as Nubian the vocabulary of the pagan Midob people given by H. A. Macmichael in the *Anthropological Journal*, xlii (1912).

¹ *Or. Lit. Zeit.* xvi, 171.

³ *Wiener Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.* xxvii, 163.

⁵ *Revue Critique*, lxxiv, 501.

⁷ *Wiener Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.* xxvi, 428.

⁸ Berlin (*British and Foreign Bible Society*), 1912.

¹⁰ *Wiener Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.* xxvii, 97.

¹¹ *Dresden Abhandl. d. K. Sächs. Ges.* xxix.

¹² *Vienna Akad. Schriften der Sprachenkommission.*

¹⁴ *Zeitschr. f. Kolonialsprachen*, iii, 248.

² *Riv. Studi Orientali*, vi, 69.

⁴ *Revue internat. des études basques*, vi, 267.

⁶ *Riv. Studi Orientali*, vi, 173.

⁹ *Le Monde Oriental*, vi, 249.

¹³ *Vienna Akad. Sitzungs.* 174.

It is satisfactory to know that the Griffith-Schäfer Christian Nubian texts, with grammatical remarks and full vocabulary, are in the printers' hands.

8. *Art, Archaeology, Excavations*.—It is doubtful whether E. RICHMOND will find that everyone will agree with him¹ that Coptic art was in no sense Egyptian and that it perished at once and absolutely at the coming of the Saracens.

Many monuments, funerary and other, at Harmonthis and elsewhere, are surmounted by a bird which is variously described as a dove, a sparrow-hawk, or an eagle. J. P. KIRSCH believes² that they are all eagles: the Copts preserved this bird, honoured in Egypt in Ptolemaic times, as a symbol of the victory of the Christian religion.

There has been a discussion³ between W. R. LETHABY on the one side and C. G. E. BUNT on the other about a statuette of a mother and child in the British Museum. The former thinks it one of the earliest representations of the Virgin and infant Saviour (? fourth cent.), the latter that it is one of the latest of Isis and Horus: or a doll.

C. M. KAUFMANN publishes⁴ a series of terracotta statuettes and other objects from the Fayoum, with excellent reproductions. Some are of the Greek, most of the Coptic age. Several small articles of interest are described⁵ by the same writer: a flask on which St Menas is described as Ἀθηνογέννης, a votive figure of Apa Phib, a lamp bearing the figure of a saint, and a pretty necklace with reliefs of beads from a Christian mummy.

FALLS' interesting account⁶ of Mgr. Kaufmann's expedition to the Menas Sanctuary (*v. Report*, 1910–11, p. 73) has now been well translated into English by Elizabeth Lee. The English edition is not quite so fully illustrated as the original, and the careful map is a loss: the chapter on Beduin songs is less severely missed. The proper names keep their somewhat German forms, but there are obvious difficulties in transliterating to English standards. The work is admirably done, and will be of very great value as a readable and accurate record of this very important piece of excavation. A general account⁷ of the expedition, its aims and objects, is given by S. MERKLE.

The miniatures in a manuscript (New Testament or Katameros) preserved in the Church of Deir Abu-Sifein are the subject of a short article⁸ by H.R.H. JOHN GEORGE, Duke of Saxony: the photographs given, though not wholly successful, are enough to give some idea of their style. Is the date of the MS in question 1289 A.M. or A.D.? H.R.H. also describes⁹ the frescoes (by Syrian artists) in the Deir-es-Suriāni in the Nitrian desert.

The second edition¹⁰ of C. M. KAUFMANN'S *Handbook of Christian Archaeology* pays due attention to Egyptian remains—sculpture, ostraca, stuffs, etc. The 500 well-selected illustrations make the book attractive as well as useful.

The volume on the Monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara (*v. Report*, 1909–10, 64) has been followed by another¹¹, equally large, handsome, and important. QUIBELL

¹ *Royal Asiatic Soc. Journal*, 1913, 23.

² *Bull. d'anc. lit. chrét.* iii, 112.

³ *Burlington Magazine*, xxiii, 249, 356.

⁴ *Aegyptische Terrakotten*, Cairo, 1913.

⁵ *Oriens Christianus*, N.S. iii, 105.

⁶ *Three Years in the Libyan Desert*, London, 1913.

⁷ *Hochland*, x, 19.

⁸ *Burlington Magazine*, xxiii, 203.

⁹ *Oriens Christianus*, N.S. iii, 111.

¹⁰ *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie*, Paderborn, 1913.

¹¹ *Excavations at Saqqara, 1908–10*, Cairo (*Service des Antiquités*), 1912.

completes the description of the monastery and church, with many fine photographs both of the site and various rooms, and of the most important objects found: while Sir HERBERT THOMPSON again deals with the Coptic inscriptions, which number about 230, including graffiti and ostraca. One of the most interesting describes the amount of the allowance of wine for the more important festivals observed by the monastery. The previous volume is reviewed¹ by MASPERO, who has remarks and emendations to make on some of the Greek and Coptic inscriptions. The fresco of Apa Jeremias himself, which was published in the first part mentioned above, is the subject of a disquisition² by DE GRÜNEISEN. From it he argues that the square (as opposed to the circular) nimbus is not an *insigne viventis*, but, deriving its origin from heathen Egyptian art, shews that the person represented has passed from life temporal to life eternal. I have not seen another study³ on the same subject by DE JERPHANION.

The Egyptian department of the British Museum has been enriched⁴ by the acquisition of 11 marble capitals from the monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara, five Coptic mirrors from Harmonthis, four carved Coptic combs, an ebony jewel-box or toilet-case, inlaid with figures of saints in ivory or bone, and various objects from a Meroitic Christian cemetery.

SOMERS CLARKE'S study⁵ of the Christian antiquities of Egypt and the Soudan is almost entirely confined to the churches: it embraces the most important churches and monasteries in the whole range between Sennar and the Mediterranean. The plans and measurements are of the utmost value: there has been no previous attempt on anything like the same scale or with any approach to the same accuracy. He prints at the end a list of the existing churches and monasteries, with their sites and districts, supplied by Marcus Simaika Bey. An anonymous reviewer⁶ particularly praises the plans, and remarks that they will throw light on many debated points of early Christian archaeology, even outside Egypt.

In the sale of the de Rustafjaell collection of Egyptian antiquities (*v. Report*, 1909-10, 63) were some Coptic stuffs, stelae, and a curious earthenware model⁷ (figured in a plate of the illustrated catalogue) apparently representing a Coptic church. This object is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge.

I am told that two Egyptian book-bindings of the early ninth century published⁸ by IBSCHER may be the work of Coptic artists. The Pierpont Morgan collection has much to teach us on this subject, of which we are at present almost completely ignorant.

9. *Miscellaneous*.—A general review of work lately done in Coptic studies is again provided by MICHELANGELO GUIDI⁹: and another¹⁰, with especial relation to theological studies, by A. ALT.

¹ *Revue Critique*, lxxiv, 208.

² *Mémoires présentés à l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, XII, 2, Paris, 1912, and *Christianskye Vostok*, i, 220.

³ *Études publiées par les PP. de la Compagnie de Jésus*, cxxxiv, 85-93.

⁴ *British Museum Return*, 1913, 60.

⁵ *Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley*, Oxford, 1912.

⁶ *Rev. Biblique*, x, 477.

⁷ *Sotheby's Sale Catalogue*, 20 Jan. 1913, No. 418.

⁸ *Amtl. Berichte aus den Königl. Kunstsammlungen*, xxxiii, 46.

⁹ *Riv. Studi Orientali*, vi, 235.

¹⁰ *Theol. Jahresb.* xxxii, 98, 108.

The *Scuola Orientale* of Rome surveys¹ Oriental Studies in Italy for the last fifty years and gives a bibliography of the writings of various scholars who have been interested in Coptic and other studies connected with Egypt. This part of the bibliography is due to G. FARINA, and includes the work of Balestri, Benigni, Ciasca, I. Guidi, M. Guidi, Levi, B. Peyron, Pistelli, Puntoni, Rossi, Teza, and Tortoli.

DELAPORTE continues² (*v. last Report*, 72) his summary catalogue of the Paris Coptic MSS. His present instalments deal entirely with the Sa'idic fragments of the Old Testament.

HYVERNAT enquires³ why the Coptic literature which we possess in European libraries has come down to us in such a fragmentary state. He concludes that we still possess only 10–20% of the great monastic libraries, and that they were allowed to fall into decay by the negligence of the monks living there. The Bohairic library of St Macarius in Nitria, ransacked by Assemani, had come off rather better than its Sa'idic counterpart, the White Monastery, when visited by the emissaries of Cardinal Stephen Borgia.

Work is proceeding on the great Pierpont Morgan collection of MSS (*v. last Report*, 54), of which another general notice⁴, by CUMONT, may be mentioned. The notes given last year may be supplemented by the statement that, in addition to the Fayumic forms found in most of the colophons, there is one MS in a broad Fayumic dialect; that a general *catalogue raisonné* is being prepared by Hyvernat; and that many of the MSS are now being entrusted to various scholars, whose work will appear in the *Corpus Scriptorum Orientalium*.

FRIEDRICH ZIMMERMANN (of Bonn) studies⁵ the accounts of the ancient Egyptian religion given by the pagan writers and Church Fathers. In a review⁶, LEIPOLDT, while praising his work generally, says that more might have been made of Coptic reminiscences of paganism: but this gap is filled⁷ by FRITZ ZIMMERMANN (of Cologne—unless they are one and the same person) who resumes all the curious traces of heathen Egypt to be found among the Copts, such as their names, so often those of the ancient gods, their view of the hereafter, their treatment of their dead, etc. A review⁸ of the first-named treatise by OBBINK deals almost entirely with the heathen deities of Egypt.

DEIBER begins⁹ a publication of the Coptic medical papyrus of Meshaiikh with an account of the cryptographic alphabet used in writing it.

Baumstark's little books on the Christian literatures of the East (*v. Report*, 1910–11, 75) are reviewed¹⁰ by SEYBOLD, who points out some errors in the transcription of proper names which should be rectified in a new edition. A review¹¹ by LABOURT remarks that they are by no means wholly elementary, but will be useful to professed scholars too.

FRANÇON continues¹² his French translation of the Ethiopic *Didascalia*. This may perhaps be a convenient place to observe that there is much material dealing with Christian Egypt in CONTI ROSSINI'S catalogue¹³ of Abbadie Ethiopic MSS. C.-R. also

¹ *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, v, 1.

² *Rev. Or. Chrét.* xvii, 390; xviii, 84.

³ *Revue Biblique*, x, 422.

⁴ *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, xv, 25.

⁵ *Die aeg. Religion nach der Darstellung der Kirchenschriftstellen*, Paderborn, 1912.

⁶ *Theol. Lit. Blatt*, xxxiv, 391.

⁷ *Theol. Quartalschrift*, xciv, 592.

⁸ *Theol. Stud.* xxxi, 49.

⁹ *Revue Égyptologique*, xiv, 117.

¹⁰ *Or. Lit. Zeit.* xvi, 223.

¹¹ *Bulletin d'anc. litt. chrét.* ii, 157.

¹² *Rev. Or. Chrét.* xvii, 286.

¹³ *Journal Asiatique*, x, xix, 551; xx, 5, 449.

reviews¹ together Grébaut's *Mysteries of Heaven and Earth* and Goodspeed's *Conflict of Severus*. He remarks that the grammar of the latter treatise is so bad and full of Arabisms, that it was perhaps translated into Ethiopic not by an Abyssinian, but by some Coptic ecclesiastic.

The capture of Damietta by the Christian invaders in November 1219, as represented in Dutch art, is the subject of a study² by ALY BEY BAGHAT.

Various points of Coptic geography and history are dealt with³ in BECKER's articles in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*. I may mention those on Burullus (Burlos, Parallou), Cairo, and Damietta.

GAUTHIER's study⁴ of the localities of the 10th nome of Upper Egypt contain many references to its geography in Coptic times. He also publishes a series⁵ of geographical notes on the Panopolite nome, for which he has obtained much assistance from the B.M. Aphrodito papyri. He deals with several places mentioned in the lives of Pachomius and Shenoute, and gives interesting lists of the different names and forms of names found attached to various places, such as Panopolis itself and Tabennèse.

A mixed Christian-Moslem calendar (? seventeenth century), possibly of Egyptian origin, is published⁶ by NAU from the Latin of Ismael Boulliau.

The late A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, whose interests were Egyptian as well as Byzantine, finds an appreciative biographer⁷ in G. PAPAMICHAEL. His comparatively early death, at the age of 56, is greatly to be regretted, and a bibliography at the end of the notice shows the great amount of work he had already done. A shorter notice⁸ and bibliography is from the pen of A. PALMIERI.

An account⁹ of the most prominent Copts of the 19th century is begun by TAWFIQ ISKARUS. A review¹⁰ by I. G[UIDI] mentions as important the biographies of the Patriarchs Mark VIII and Peter VII, and of the wonder-working bishop Serapamun or Abu Tarḥa.

The University of Athens, to celebrate the 75th anniversary of its foundation, offered¹¹ the degree of Doctor in Theology to the four (orthodox) patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. All accepted with pleasure except PHOTIUS of Alexandria¹², who does not like to see laymen presenting ecclesiastics with a certificate of competence in theology. Photius has been displaying great energy¹³ in the administration of his church, sending an archimandrite to the Congo, to the Cape, and even to Madagascar: he hopes that since the Italian conquest of Tripolitania, that province may be handed over from the Patriarchate of Constantinople to that of Alexandria.

A sketch¹⁴ of the history of the Coptic Uniat community and Church-organization is given by G. LEVENQ. There is a useful list of its Vicars-Apostolic and Patriarchs.

Perhaps the name of Ernst Edler VON DER PLANITZ ought to be familiar to the present writer as the author of a very modern apocryphon: but the appearance of a second edition¹⁵ may be an excuse for calling attention to it here. It professes to be the letter of

¹ Gött. *Gel. Anzeigen*, clxxv, 106.

³ *Encycl. of Islam*, i, 801, 815, 910.

⁵ *Bull. Inst. Franç. Arch. Or.* x, 89.

⁷ Ἐκκλ. Φάρος, xi, 430.

⁹ *Nawārbagh el-Aqbāt wa mashāḥihum fi 'l-qam et-tāsi'* 'ashr, Cairo, Tewfiq Press, 1910.

¹⁰ *Riv. Studi Orientali*, iv, 1082.

¹² *Échos d'Orient*, xv, 547.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* xv, 405.

² *Bull. Inst. Égyptien*, v, vi, 73.

⁴ *Rec. de Trav.* xxxv, 1, 162.

⁶ *Rev. Or. Chrét.* xvii, 319.

⁸ *Rev. Hist. Ecclés.* xiv, 470.

¹¹ Πάναυρος, 21 June 1912, 385.

¹³ *Ibid.* xvi, 176.

¹⁵ *Ein Jugendfreund Jesu*, Berlin [1912 ?].

an Egyptian physician named Benan, writing in the time of Domitian, and describing his familiarity with the Saviour in earlier days. It is written in a biblical style, and is not very interesting. It is supposed to have been written in Greek and "worked over" in Coptic; a reproduction of the title-page of the "original papyrus" contains words in Latin, Greek, and what passes for hieroglyphics and Coptic.

A novel¹ by NORMA LORIMER describes modern Christian society in Egypt.

S. GASELEE.

P.S. Since the above was in type, several publications of importance have appeared: a new volume of Leipoldt's Sinuthian texts, the second part of the Cairo *Synaxarium*, and another part of Wessely's *Studien*. I shall hope to give some account of these next year.

¹ *A wife out of Egypt*, London, 1913.

NOTES AND NEWS

THE Fund's Exploration work is being continued this winter on the Osireion site at Abydos by Professor Edouard Naville, assisted by Mr E. A. Wainwright, B.Litt. Oxon. and Professor Thomas Whittemore, of Tuft's College, Mass., U.S.A. It is expected that the excavation of the Osireion will be finished this season, and Professor Naville hopes that the chief result will be the discovery of the *Ka* chamber of Osiris, which he considers is probably there.

Mr Aylward M. Blackman, M.A., assisted by Mr E. K. Stephenson, of Merton College, Oxford, has been engaged since November 1st in carrying on the work of the Archaeological Survey at Meir, whence he is expected home sometime in January.

Mr J. de M. Johnson commenced the work of the Graeco-Roman Branch this season on the mounds of Antinoë or Antinoöpolis in Upper Egypt, probably the most important Graeco-Roman site now remaining. No work has yet been done on this part of the site, though M. Gayet of the Musée Guimet has been engaged since 1896 in the excavation of the temple and necropolis. Of the prospects it is difficult to form an estimate. Though a fair number of Antinoöpolite documents have from time to time found their way into European collections, the available evidence goes to show that these were mainly found in other districts—Ashmunên (Hermopolis) and the Fayum (Mr Bell is of opinion that the important unpublished group in the British Museum were probably found at Umm el Baragât or elsewhere in the Fayum)—where citizens of Antinoöpolis may be supposed to have been resident. The only documents, of which the provenance can be definitely ascribed to the actual site, are those published by de Ricci in *Studien* i. pp. 6 sqq., but these were found by M. Gayet not in the mounds but in a tomb. However it is possible that the presence of the French expedition has given an added security to the site against the treasure-seeker, and in any case the peculiar position of Antinoöpolis in view of the privileges accorded to it by its founder Hadrian makes the work of excavation a peculiarly attractive one.

The following lectures have been or will be delivered in London during 1913-14 under the Fund's auspices:

1913. Dec. 10 at 4.30 p.m. Professor A. S. HUNT, D.Litt. "Papyri and Papyrology."

In the Society of Antiquaries' Rooms, Burlington House, W.

1914. Jan. 7 at 4.30 p.m. Professor G. ELLIOT SMITH, F.R.S. "Egyptian Mummies."

In the Society of Antiquaries' Rooms, Burlington House, W.

Feb. 10 at 4.30 p.m. ALAN H. GARDINER, D.Litt. "The Nature of Hieroglyphic Writing."

In the Royal Society's Rooms, Burlington House, W.

March. T. ERIC PEET, M.A. "Abydos, a city of the dead."

May. A. M. BLACKMAN, M.A. "Temple Ritual."

June. Professor A. H. SAYCE, D.D. "Recent discoveries in the Nile Valley."

The date, hour and place of these lectures will be announced later. All the lectures will be illustrated with lantern views. Members and subscribers may introduce friends.

Dr Dwight L. Elmendorf has resigned the Honorary Secretaryship of the Fund in the United States of America and has been succeeded by Mr Eckley Brinton Coxe, Junr., of Drifton, Pennsylvania, a generous benefactor to the Fund and to Egyptology generally.

The Byzantine Research and Publication Fund is conducting excavations in Egypt under the direction of Mr R. Campbell Thompson, late of the British Museum and of the University of Chicago, who was Mr Hogarth's first assistant in the recent excavations at Carchemish. The site selected is the ruined monastery of Deir el-Ganadleh, in the Wady Sarga, opposite Sidfa in Middle Egypt, where it is hoped interesting finds may be made. The Secretaries of the Fund are Mr O. M. Dalton, of the British Museum, and Mr F. Weir Schultz, 14, Gray's Inn Square, W.C.

The British School of Archaeology in Egypt will continue its work in Middle Egypt, where it has been steadily clearing the ground southward from Memphis, wherever there are no earlier claims. Having finished the great Menite cemetery of Tarkhan, it will resume work at a very large cemetery of the XIIth Dynasty at Harageh, which has not yet been touched in modern times. Another camp will search for the entrance to the pyramid of the queen of Senusert II at Lahun. The working party which left in November consisted of Mr Engelbach, Mr Brunton, Mr Battiscombe Gunn and Mr Willey. Prof. Flinders Petrie left in December with Dr Amsden and Mr F. G. Frost, joined later by the Rev. C. T. Campion, Mrs Flinders Petrie and Mrs Brunton. Memphis will be worked as usual later in the season.

In December 1913 Dr Borchardt was again digging at el-Amarna, with headquarters at Hagg. Qandêl, and had discovered the house of one of the notables of Akhenaten's court.

Professor Garstang on December 1st, 1913, resumed work at Meroë in the Royal City. His chief assistant is Mr W. J. Phythian-Adams, B.A. and Mr J. Hamilton Beattie is the third member of the staff. Professor Sayce may visit the camp and stay during January.

Mr H. S. Wellcome is excavating at Gebel Moya, near Sennaar, in the Sudan, assisted by Mr James Dixon and others.

Dr Schubart, the Curator of the Papyrus-Collection in the Berlin Museum, reports (in the *Amtliche Berichte aus den königlichen Kunstsammlungen* for November 1913) an interesting acquisition of Greek papyri. It consists of a collection of eight rolls, of considerable size and in exceptional condition, written about the middle of the second century, and evidently belonging to the land-registry of the village of Theadelphia (now Hârît) in the Fayum, a site which has yielded many papyri both before and since its identification by Grenfell and Hunt as the result of their excavations there in 1899. Most of these rolls contain lists of taxpayers, which are of interest from their completeness and give a very full conspectus of the economical condition of the village. One, however, is of unique character and exceptional value, being a handbook of instructions for the Idiologus, or principal finance-officer of Roman Egypt, based (as is expressly stated) on an ordinance of Augustus, with such modifications or additions as had been enacted by his successors. The papyrus contains over a hundred paragraphs, and throws a flood of fresh light on the Roman administration of Egypt, and on the relations of the several nationalities which occupied the country. Indeed, so far as one can judge from Schubart's description, it will rank with the Revenue Papyrus of Ptolemy Philadelphus at the head of all non-literary papyri that have come from Egypt.

In a special number of the Bulletin of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, issued in November last, Dr G. A. Reisner publishes a most interesting account of his recent excavations at Gîza, which have yielded many splendid examples of the art and handicraft of the Old Kingdom, besides giving us much information as to the personages to whom the excavated tombs belonged. Dr Reisner's *flair* and scientific method have again yielded him *spolia opima*. The tombs excavated belong to a single family of the time of the Vth and VIth Dynasties, which gave to the kings from Isesi or Assa to Pepi II (dated by Dr Reisner from about 2675 to about 2600 B.C.) their chief building officials. The oldest of these was Senedjem-ib Yenti, "a builder of palaces and a digger of artificial lakes," in the time of Isesi. Others were Mehi, Khnum-enti, Nekhebu, and his son Im-thepy, both of whom bore the "good name" Ptah-meri-ankh-Merira, "Ptah desireth that Merira shall live." Merira is Pepi I. Both Nekhebu and Im-thepy are mentioned, as Dr Reisner points out, under their "good" names, in the quarry of Wadi Maghâra in the Sinaitic peninsula, where they left inscriptions recording the fact that Pepi had sent them in his eighteenth year to get stone for the royal buildings. The tombs are most interesting on account of their contents. In that of Yenti the mummy of the master-builder was found, and is illustrated in Fig. 9 of the Bulletin. That of Im-thepy was unviolated. In it were discovered the whole funeral paraphernalia intact, so that we know exactly what was put into a fine tomb of the VIth Dynasty: copper vessels of the well-known types of the day, model offering-tables of copper in doll's house style, model tools and implements, among them crystal and slate objects, a stack of the red polished pottery bowls characteristic of the Old Kingdom, and the actual remains of the joints of meat, wildfowl, and other food left for the *ka*. "In the coffin lay the

badly mummified body of Im-thepy, with an alabaster head-rest, two alabaster jars, and a copper mirror at the head, with a wooden stick and some cakes of mud by the left side, and with a beautiful necklace of gold and faience beads on the breast" (p. 59). In another tomb were found wooden *ka*-statues, one of which, probably representing a son of Mehi, is very fine, and equal to the best work of the Old Kingdom otherwise known (Fig. 19). In addition were found two biographical inscriptions of Nekhebu, which are important. One is at Cairo, the other at Boston. The report is illustrated by very fine photographs.

In the annual report of the acquisitions by the Alexandrian Museum for 1912 Professor Breccia describes a marble block found near that city bearing an inscription recording the erection of the portal of a Synagogue at the town of Xenephyris in the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes II. This must be the place of that name assigned by Stephen of Byzantium to the "Libyan side of Egypt, near to Alexandria." The marble block came from a mound named Kom-el-Akhdar, near Abu'l Matamir, evidently the site of Xenephyris, which will henceforth be known as having possessed a Jewish colony.

Emil Brugsch Pasha, who has been for so many years in the service of the Egyptian Government, has resigned his appointment as Keeper of the National Museum of Egyptian Antiquities in Cairo. He first went to Egypt in 1869 and was appointed Assistant Conservator in the Bulak Museum, where the collection of antiquities was then housed, in 1870. Mr J. E. Quibell, the Chief Inspector of Antiquities for the Gizeh District, has been appointed to the vacant office. We congratulate him very heartily on his promotion. M. Daressy has been advanced to a new post, that of Secretary-General of the Antiquities Department. Mr C. M. Firth during this winter will take Mr A. E. P. Weigall's place as Chief Inspector of the Luxor District, and will then succeed to the post Mr Quibell is leaving. Mr Weigall is appointed Inspector of the Kalyûbieh District and will reside in Cairo.

A paper, well worthy of note by Egyptologists, on Egyptian Blue was read at a meeting of the Royal Society on December 4th, 1913.

It was the joint work of Dr A. P. Laurie, Mr W. F. P. McLintock and Mr F. D. Miles. In it the authors described the results of a search undertaken to decide the exact conditions under which the blue manufactured and used in Egypt from the Fourth Dynasty on to classical times was produced. Their investigation confirms the conclusion reached by Fouqué that the blue is a double silicate consisting principally of calcium and copper but in which these metals can be partially replaced by alkalis. The discovery of this compound by the Egyptians is doubtless due to their practice of glazing small objects carved out of sandstone with a green copper glaze.

The finding of this pigment during the excavations at the palace of Knossos is additional evidence of the commercial relations between Egypt and Crete. It seems to have been used universally throughout the Roman Empire; here in England it has been found on the site of the Roman town Viroconium in Shropshire. The secret of making this blue was lost between 200 and 700 A.D. The authors of the paper exhibited a large specimen which they had prepared of this material.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

THE Annual General Meeting of the Egypt Exploration Fund was held on Friday afternoon, November 14th, 1913, in the rooms of the Royal Society at Burlington House, the Earl of Cromer, G.C.B., President, in the chair.

Sir F. G. Kenyon, K.C.B., read the report of the Committee, in which reference was made to the loss the Society had sustained by the deaths of Lord Avebury, the Marquis of Northampton, Sir William Preece and other members.

The resignation of Mr J. S. Cotton, who had been the Honorary Secretary of the Society for more than sixteen years, was mentioned with regret. His successor is Mr H. R. Hall, M.A., F.S.A., of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, one of the leading Egyptologists of this country.

Excavation work in the past year was continued by Mr T. Eric Peet, Mr W. L. S. Loat and Professor Whittimore at Abydos, mainly among the cemeteries, whence a number of fine objects of the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties, as well as the contents of an Ibis cemetery, were obtained. These were brought to England and were exhibited during July last at Burlington House. An account of these excavations appears in the earlier pages of this Part of the *Journal* (pp. 37-40), while the recently published volume, *The Cemeteries of Abydos, Part III*, by Mr T. Eric Peet and Mr W. L. S. Loat, gives complete details of the work. *Parts I and II* of the *Cemeteries of Abydos* are in the Press and are almost ready for publication.

The Archaeological Survey has been active both in publication and in the collection of fresh material.

Mr Blackman, during both last and the present winter, has been busy at Meir. *Five Theban Tombs*, by Mr N. de Garis Davies, was published towards the end of last year, and the volume on *The Tombs at Meir*, by Mr Blackman, will be received by subscribers early in 1914.

The Graeco-Roman branch of the Fund had so much material in hand that no expedition was sent to Egypt last year for the purpose of collecting more.

Professor A. S. Hunt has been engaged in the preparation of *Part X* of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* and it is hoped the volume will be issued early this year.

Mr J. de M. Johnson (p. 70) is now searching in the mounds at Antinoë in the hope of finding further papyri.

The Society has appointed the Rev. F. G. Walker, M.A., of Jesus College, Cambridge, Secretary of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society during the past seven years, as its Organizing Secretary and also as the Editor of *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, a quarterly publication which will be issued each year in January, April, July and October.

The *Journal* will incorporate the matter formerly published in the *Archaeological Report*, which will be discontinued.

At the close of the formal business Professor Edouard Naville read an important paper (p. 2) descriptive of the work already accomplished on the Osireion site, and related what will be attempted there during this winter, expressing the hope that one result of this year's excavation will be the discovery of the *Ka* chamber of Osiris, which would be a matter of much significance as regards the religion of Ancient Egypt.

The Earl of Cromer, after thanking Professor Naville for his paper, appealed for increased support for the Fund, that it might be able to carry out with even greater success than hitherto its most valuable work in Egypt, and begged all members of, and subscribers to, the Fund to endeavour to obtain as many new members as possible in order that the Society might accomplish this aim.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Paganism and Christianity in Egypt. By P. D. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF. pp. viii + 225. Cambridge University Press, 1913. 6s. net.

Mr Scott-Moncrieff died in 1911 at the early age of twenty-nine, before this work on Paganism and Christianity in Egypt was quite completed. It lacks the final chapter which was to have summarised his conclusions, and the section on the Early Hermits and Monks is obviously unfinished. But the volume now published posthumously by Scott-Moncrieff's friends is a great deal more than a mere tribute to the memory of a promising young scholar. The first eight of the whole nine chapters are mature and finished work, and present by far the best account yet written of the interaction of Christian and Pagan thought in Egypt among Egyptians during the first four centuries of our era. I miss any mention of the Apocalypses of Elias and of Sophonias, published by Steindorff, and of the complete Book of the Odes of Solomon, published by J. R. Harris in 1909, but with these exceptions all the chief documents which tell us of the early stages of Christianity and Egypt are brought under consideration and an appropriate place assigned to them.

What gives the book its special value is that while Mr Scott-Moncrieff approached the study of Christian Egypt from the point of view of a trained Egyptologist, he had at the same time a really competent knowledge of the modern investigation of Christian origins generally. The result is that when he comes to treat of such subjects as Apocryphal Gospels, Coptic Biblical Versions, or Gnostic philosophy and asceticism, he is always sensible and well-balanced. His work may therefore be given to the learner as an Introduction, without misgivings or the usual depressing caution that "of course, you mustn't believe too much of what is said in the book." And by the learner, I mean not only those who intend to make a study of Egyptology, but also and more especially that much larger class who wish to be told in a general way what the specialists know about the early days of Christianity in the Nile Valley.

The account of *Pistis Sophia* in chapter VII is so good that I am tempted to add two criticisms on points of detail. On p. 170, line 2, *aeaiouo* should be *aeēiouō*, i.e. the vowels of the Greek Alphabet in order, and on line 15 *omega* should be *ōō*¹. On p. 172 it may relieve some Comparative Mythologists to be assured that there is really no solid ground for supposing that Aphrodite was ever called "the Ram of Bubastis"! I cannot quite translate *Pistis Sophia* 366, line 23, without emendation, but a comparison of it with the similar statements on pp. 367²⁶, 369², 370⁴, 371¹³, makes it quite clear that the Ram in question is the first Sign of the Zodiac and that 'Aphrodite' is only called 'Bubastis.' In these curious astronomical passages 'Zeus' appears to stand for the Sun and 'Aphrodite-Bubastis' for the Moon: the positions indicated with elaborate mythological symbolism are nothing more than Full Moon in March, June, October, November, and January, respectively. At these Full Moons, somewhat as in the Manichaean system explained in C. W. Mitchell's *Ephraim*, pp. xxxvi ff., souls in torment are set free and are received into the treasury of light by Zoroaster-Melchisedec.

F. C. BURKITT.

¹ The barbarous name "O Mega" is, I believe, an invention of the ninth century A.D.

Archaeology of the Old Testament. Was the Old Testament written in Hebrew? By EDOUARD NAVILLE, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A. Robert Scott, 1913. pp. x + 212. 5s. net.

The publication of a new book by Dr Edouard Naville will interest greatly readers who are familiar with his earlier works, especially such as *The Old Egyptian Faith* (Williams and Norgate, 1909). It will be taken for granted that Dr Naville has much to say that merits attention and consideration. And his new book, though many readers will hardly be convinced of the soundness of the views propounded, does not fail to fulfil in large measure this expectation. It contains some instructive and useful Egyptological data; and gives an English translation (from the German of Sachau) of one of the Aramaic documents from Elephantine, as well as other useful information about the Jewish colony there. The book, therefore, has a value apart from the novel theories it propounds. It has an interest also apart from the facts which instruct or the fancies which astonish us. It is clear that in writing it Dr Naville has been impelled by the desire, not merely to make a new book (an impulse which has become far too common), but to present to the public certain considerations which he believes to be new and of supreme importance. One sympathises with him in his devotion to what he believes to be the truth and in his fine courage.

It would not be so difficult to believe that Moses wrote fragments of the Pentateuch or that he wrote them in cuneiform. But Dr Naville believes that Moses was the author of the whole of the Pentateuch and inscribed his records in cuneiform on clay tablets. Cuneiform tablets, he reminds us, are naturally independent of each other, each one forming a whole. This accounts for the lack of connection which we notice in certain parts of the Pentateuch. And since our present Hebrew text is a translation from Aramaic, which in turn was a translation from an original cuneiform text, Hebrew philological considerations simply do not count! Therefore, the arguments of the Higher Critics have no force, for, according to Dr Naville, it is "the philological analysis on which rests entirely the theory of the various documents of the Pentateuch" (p. 204). On this last-mentioned supposition the whole theory of Dr Naville seems to be based. And the supposition represents a strange misapprehension.

The truth is that the analysis of the Pentateuch may be said to owe its origin primarily to critical and historical considerations. What first and early attracted attention were substantial contradictions or duplications and historical inaccuracies or discrepancies. It was discovered afterwards that repetitions and divergences in the substance or thought of the narratives were marked at the same time by differences in style and language. The linguistic analysis served to reinforce the results of a rough historical and critical analysis; and subsequent pursuit of the investigation has strengthened the fundamental positions from both sides. No doubt some Hebrew scholars have attempted to carry the analysis too far. If Dr Naville's book succeeds in convincing them of the futility of extravagance, the author will have done a service to Biblical scholarship. The book will do a further service, if it brings its readers to realize the great importance of the study of Aramaic. For, apart from the author's theory that the whole of the Old Testament was written in Aramaic before it existed in Hebrew—a theory which is confronted with as many difficulties and objections as it seeks to remove—Dr Naville's book does tend to demonstrate the truth that, as the result of recent discoveries, the study of Aramaic has become vastly more important and imperative than it has been felt to be hitherto.

MAURICE A. CANNEY.

The Religion of Ancient Egypt. By Professor A. H. SAYCE, D.D. Second Edition. pp. vii + 256. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1913. 4s. net.

The second edition of Professor Sayce's *Religion of Ancient Egypt*—that portion of his Gifford Lectures which dealt with Egyptian religion—has been brought up to date in many respects, but we see that the author has retained a few conclusions and statements which might perhaps be modified in accordance with our present knowledge. Thus, for instance, he still speaks of Queen Teie or Tii, the mother of Akhenaten, as a "foreigner." This is not wholly the case. Her father Yuia was a foreigner, a Syrian prince of the Lebanon: he is called "chief of Zahi" on the unique cup in the possession of Mr Towry Whyte; but her mother Tuju was certainly a pure Egyptian. What influence

the foreign blood of Teie and the probably equally foreign blood of her consort Amenhatp III—whose mother Mutemua was probably a Mitannian princess—may have had upon the spread of the Aten-cult we do not know, but we must not attach too much importance to it, since the cult of the Aten seems to us to be purely Egyptian in its origin, though its development may have been affected by Semitic influences from over the border. Professor Sayce regards the Aten-heresy as absolutely non-Egyptian (p. 94), but with this statement it is difficult to agree. Generally the Professor seems to assign rather more influence to Asia than many other students of Egyptian religion will admit. His great knowledge of Babylonian antiquities and of cuneiform lore generally leads him to ascribe *con amore* rather too much, perhaps, to “probable” early connexions between Egypt and Babylonia. Into many of his speculations on this point only competent Assyriological scholars are entitled to enquire: the Professor must be judged by his peers. But from the Egyptological point of view it might be said, with diffidence, that many of his supposed connexions do not carry much conviction. One would prefer connexion with near Syria than with distant Babylonia. Syria, it is true, was early Babylonized, but not so early as to give elements of Babylonian culture and religion to Egypt. Yet the infiltration of the Syrian race into Egypt, which Professor Elliot Smith seems to prove under the earliest dynasties, may well account for many coincidences. And Syria may have supplied religious elements both to Babylonia and to Egypt. The anthropomorphic gods of Egypt may have come from the North: certainly the animal-deities were, as Professor Sayce says, those of the indigenous inhabitants, and represent the oldest stratum of Egyptian religion. Thus the hawk is no doubt the old-Egyptian sun-god (or rather sky-god) of the South, of Edfu, while the man-form of Rā may have come to the Delta from Syria. Hor is the old Egyptian sun-god, Rā the foreigner. Apis at Memphis is the Egyptian, Ptaḥ the foreigner. Ptaḥ certainly has a Semitic name, and Osiris himself, though there are African elements in his worship, has connexions with Syria, where may have been the Nysa of tradition, the home of agriculture, viticulture and apiculture, the “land of milk and honey.” We are going to find out a great deal, and it will probably be rather astonishing, about the early relations of Egypt and Syria, and Professor Sayce will no doubt be able to appeal to many facts as bearing out his theories. But one does not now any longer, and probably one never will again, demand a derivation of Egyptian culture from Babylonia. Yet in this book this rather old-fashioned view seems to be accepted, if not emphasized.

The distinguished Professor's envisagement of the main features and tendencies of Egyptian religion will be read again with interest. During the years that have elapsed since the first publication of his Gifford Lectures many other scholars have written accounts of the Egyptian religion, and it is instructive to compare the different views of various phenomena that are taken by the different writers. Egyptian religion, as Professor Sayce says, was a hotchpotch of warring ideas, without real unity of any kind. It could rise in the mouths of the learned to the highest conceptions, it could descend in the brains of the unlearned to the lowest absurdities. It was an eminently human religion. In it its ancient votaries could find anything they wanted, and so can we modern students of it.

H. R. HALL.

Memphis V and Tarkhan I. By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, G. A. WAINWRIGHT, and A. H. GARDINER.
81 plates. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt. 25s.

The greater part of the first volume dealing with the work of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt in the season 1911-12 is taken up with a description of the results obtained from the excavation of the First Dynasty cemetery of Tarkhan. One of the special interests of this cemetery was due to the fact that wooden objects were found in an unusually excellent state of preservation, and a valuable series of early beds was obtained, as well as many re-used boards which Professor Petrie shows to have been originally fashioned for the construction of wooden houses. Another exceptional find was a copper spear-head, the first example of so early a period: probably such spear-heads, being extremely valuable, would as a rule be stolen from any grave in which they were buried very shortly after the funeral. Mr Wainwright contributes a full description of an important mastaba, from the contents of which he deduces conclusions as to the survival of pre-dynastic ideas into the period of the First Dynasty. The bulk of the material obtained from the cemetery is given in a

corpus of stone vases and pottery and a list of the contents of tombs classified upon the basis of this *corpus*.

The fruits of the work at Memphis were much less in quantity: the only object which receives much attention is a statue of a scribe Amenhotep, which bears an unusually long inscription: this is translated and explained by Dr Alan Gardiner, and gives interesting details of the foundation of an endowment by Amenhotep, which provided successive benefits for the priests of Ptah, those of the Pharaoh, and the priest of the funerary cult of Amenhotep himself. J. G. MILNE.

The Exploration of Egypt and the Old Testament. By Rev. J. G. DUNCAN, B.D. pp. 248, 54 plates. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1913. 5s. net.

This will be a highly useful book to those who wish to know better the actual details of exploration work—its pleasures and discomforts—in Egypt than can be gathered easily from the more technical memoirs of the leading explorers in that country. Mr Duncan bases his book mainly upon the knowledge and experience he gained when working with Professor Petrie. He points out how varied a good excavator's mental equipment must be; he must know something about stones and metals and of how chemical action affects them; of languages and religions; of surveying and levelling; have above all a keen power of observation combined with a large share of common sense, and, in a country like Egypt, use sympathetic firmness in dealing with natives. To Bible students the second and third chapters of the book will be specially interesting, for in them Mr Duncan successfully summarizes the relations of Egypt with Syria and Palestine during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties—the few centuries before the Exodus—and gives an accurate account of the various discoveries by excavators in Egypt which throw light upon the problems of Old Testament history. The photographic illustrations are excellent; we reproduce two of them (Plate VII).

F. G. WALKER.

The Pharaoh and the Priest. By ALEXANDER GLOVATSKI: translated by Jeremiah Curtin. pp. viii + 696. London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1913. 3s. 6d. net.

Glovatski is a Polish author little known to English readers. This book is an historical novel of the order of *Quo Vadis*. It relates in an imaginative yet instructive manner the story of the causes which led to the decadence and fall of the Egyptian Empire under the later Ramessides. The tale is mainly concerned with the intrigues of Herihor the High Priest of Amen who gradually rose to power on an equality with the monarch himself, and who on the death of the last Rameses quietly took the crown of Upper Egypt.

A Wife out of Egypt. By NORMA LORIMER. pp. 368. London: Stanley Paul and Co., 1913. Third Edition. 6s.

A well-written book dealing with modern Egyptian life and its complicated internal politics. It shows how some English folk, by their old-fashioned aloofness in social matters from other races, cause trouble and heartburnings in the breasts of those peoples to whose welfare and material good they have sacrificed so much.

The love story running through the book makes clear some of the reasons of the unrest existing among the educated Syrians and Copts in Egypt.

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A book for an idle hour. It is an exciting mixture of modern wireless telegraphy, ancient Egyptian knowledge, and adventures in one of the great Pyramids.



Fig. 1. Ferry in the land of Goshen



Fig. 2. Palm Grove in the land of Goshen

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CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of the Journal of Egyptian Archaeology

MAHAMID,
UPPER EGYPT.
December 1913.

DEAR SIR,

Most travellers visiting Egypt and probably all archaeologists have seen the two fallen statues of Rameses II which lie prone amongst the palms at Bedrashên.

The residents in Cairo have been exercised in discussing the rumour whether one or both of the colossal figures should be removed from the site for which they were originally made, and transported to the irregularly shaped place known as the Bab el Hadid in Cairo, upon the north side of which lies the Railway Station.

One colossus is made of grey granite, the other of fine white limestone.

They do not agree in size, indeed the difference is considerable.

They have suffered a good deal as might be expected in view of the centuries of neglect to which they have been subjected: both are broken in various places, legs altogether wanting or backs damaged.

The largest colossus, if complete, would stand about 42 feet in height without including a pedestal.

The suggestion for planting the two figures facing one another has received but little favour. It was asked, were their heads to be on a level, or their feet, or should the pedestals be so contrived as to strike a happy—or unhappy—mean?

On a suitable pedestal the largest colossus would, to the top of the head, stand some sixty feet above the road.

Rumour has, of late, confined itself to the subject of one statue only.

It is certainly unfortunate that two such fine specimens of ancient sculpture should remain on the ground at Bedrashên, but we may ask whether it would not be still more unfortunate to set them, or one of them, up, with new legs and other reparations, in the middle, not of a "square" or an area contained by any geometrical lines, nor in a position where a work of art could be calmly studied, but in a place that has grown into its present form without design, where the buildings planted along the sides are absolutely without balance or symmetry and which, worse still, is riddled in all directions by tram lines, iron poles and iron trestles carrying overhead wires?

The grave countenance of Rameses would be calmly gazing over the incongruous bustle and terrible noise of a modern railway and tramway station yard.

It is possible that these statues are those mentioned by Herodotus and Diodorus as standing before the front of the temple of Ptah at Memphis. They are worthy of care. Could they not be set up again and so preserved in their original home?

Yours faithfully,

SOMERS CLARKE.

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
PAPYRI AND PAPYROLOGY	Professor A. S. Hunt, D.Litt. 81
GRAECO-ROMAN LEADEN TESSERAÆ FROM ABYDOS	J. Grafton Milne, M.A. ... 93
THE SANATORIUM OF DËP-EL-BAHRI ...	J. Grafton Milne, M.A. ... 96
ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA?	J. Grafton Milne, M.A. ... 99
NEW LITERARY WORKS FROM ANCIENT EGYPT (<i>concluded</i>)	Alan H. Gardiner, D.Litt. ... 100
SOME NEW EXAMPLES OF EGYPTIAN IN- FLUENCE AT NINEVEH	L. W. King, M.A., F.S.A. ... 107
THE RELATIONS OF AEGEAN WITH EGYPTIAN ART	H. R. Hall, M.A., F.S.A. ... 110
THE USE OF NATRON BY THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS IN MUMMIFICATION ...	A. Lucas, F.I.C. 119
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF 1912-13:	
HELLENISTIC EGYPT	F. Ll. Griffith, M.A., F.S.A. 124
GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT	H. Idris Bell, M.A. ... 129
GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM EGYPT	Marcus N. Tod, M.A. ... 140
NOTES AND NEWS 144
NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS 153

Communications to the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* should be sent to the **Editor**, the Rev. F. G. Walker, M.A., 114 Stanford Avenue, Brighton, or to the **Honorary Secretary of the Egypt Exploration Fund**, H. R. Hall, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., 37, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.

Books intended for review should be addressed to the **Editor**.

All subscriptions for the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* should be sent to the **Honorary Treasurer of the Egypt Exploration Fund**, 37, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.

PAPYRI AND PAPHYROLOGY

BY PROFESSOR A. S. HUNT, D.LITT.

[See Plates VIII—X]

MY aim here is to give a general sketch of the subject-matter of papyrology—to supply some answer to the questions: What are our principal debts to the papyri, where and how, chiefly, have they supplemented and are they supplementing our knowledge, or modifying our methods of investigation and criticism? The field to be surveyed is a very wide one, and I cannot pretend to offer more than a distant bird's-eye view; just indicating the main sources and summing up shortly some results. Much of what follows will no doubt be familiar to many of my readers; but possibly even to those whom I shall remind rather than inform, a summary of the kind I contemplate may not be quite devoid of interest.

Papyrology means the study of papyri; and it need hardly be said that the papyri found in Egypt (the only place, apart from the charred rolls of Herculaneum, where they have been preserved) are written in a variety of scripts and languages, Egyptian, in its progressive stages of Hieroglyphic, Hieratic, Demotic and Coptic, Hebrew and Aramaic, Syriac, Pehlevi, Arabic, as well as Greek and Latin. But in practice, such general terms as Papyrology, "Papyrusforschung," and so forth, have come to be associated with papyri in the two classical languages, especially Greek, which greatly preponderates. It is with Greek and Latin papyri that I am concerned. But of course the student of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt must not neglect the evidence, though he may have to take it at second hand, of contemporary documents in Demotic; nor, on the other hand, can a papyrologist limit himself to papyri; he must include within his view texts inscribed on other materials—stone, wooden tablets, and above all ostraca, or broken potsherds, which were very commonly employed for short ephemeral documents, such as receipts, letters and accounts.

The history of papyrus discovery falls into three main periods. The first begins with the year 1778, when a Greek papyrus is first known to have found its way from Egypt to Europe; and it lasts for about a century, at various times in which sporadic finds occurred, including four speeches of Hypereides, several lengthy Homeric papyri, and a number of documents of the Ptolemaic age. But these were isolated and comparatively small discoveries, and it was only in the second period, to which may be given roughly the 20 years from 1875 to 1895, that the great possibilities of Egypt in this direction came to be realised. This second period was marked by very large finds of papyri of the Roman epoch in the ruins of certain ancient towns and villages, chiefly in the Fayûm province; and the stream which then started has been flowing

pretty continuously ever since. In the winter of 1895 the first excavations definitely undertaken with a view to Greek papyri were carried out in the Fayûm by Mr Hogarth, Dr Grenfell and myself. The discoveries of the two preceding periods had been the result of unauthorised and desultory digging by native plunderers; those of the third period, which we had the good fortune to inaugurate, and which is still in progress, have been largely the fruit of properly organised and properly directed work by European explorers. In 1897 Dr Grenfell and I began excavations on the site of the ancient Oxyrhynchus—which, let me remark, is not in the Fayûm but in the Nile Valley about 120 miles south of Cairo—excavations which proved most successful, and were only recently concluded. Meanwhile our example had been followed by German, French and Italian investigators, who went to Egypt both to excavate and to make purchases; with the result that whereas 15 years ago there were practically no papyri outside the collections of London, Paris, Berlin and Vienna, and the smaller ones of Oxford, Dublin, Leyden, Turin and Cairo, now they are scattered broad-cast over the museums and libraries of Europe: at Cambridge, Manchester, Leipzig, Heidelberg, Munich, Strassburg, Giessen, Graz, Hamburg, Halle, Brussels, Geneva, Basle, Lille, and elsewhere. A considerable quantity have found their way, like other things, also to America. The Tebtunis papyri are the property of the University of California; and the Amherst collection was one of the last purchases of Mr Pierpont Morgan.

Publications have naturally been increasing in a corresponding degree. Fifteen years ago it was no very formidable task to carry in one's head a working knowledge of all the edited material; to-day, anyone coming fresh to the subject is overweighted with the mass of texts to be sifted and digested. Monographs of various kinds are also constantly appearing; so that even for a specialist it is ceasing to be easy to keep fully abreast of the latest developments in the different branches of research to which papyri more or less directly contribute.

A word should here be said regarding the conditions in which papyri are found. The bulk of them proceed from the ruins of ancient towns and villages: either from deserted houses, where the papers which were of no use to their owners were left behind lying about on the floor, or in a pot, as often in the Fayûm; or, secondly, from rubbish heaps, on which waste paper was thrown out with other house refuse, as for instance at Oxyrhynchus and Hermopolis. Such piles of refuse often rise to a height of from 20 to 30 feet, and similar heaps can be seen in process of formation outside almost any modern Egyptian village. The other main source of papyri is tombs, in which occasionally a roll is found. In the Bodleian Library may be seen a roll of Homer with a lock of the hair of the lady with whom it was buried. But the cemeteries supply us in another and less obvious manner. In the third and second centuries B.C., occasionally still later, mummies were often decorated with pieces of painted cartonnage, in the composition of which waste papyrus was frequently employed. It is possible to remove the overlying plaster and paint, and to separate the layers of papyrus, and so to recover the documents in a more or less legible condition. Most of the earliest Greek papyri have been derived from this source. Sometimes, too, waste paper was used in the mummification of crocodiles and other animals. On two occasions we made large discoveries in this way in the Fayûm, where the crocodile was held sacred.

Such, in brief, has been the history of the discoveries: we may now pass on to consider in what the discoveries consist.

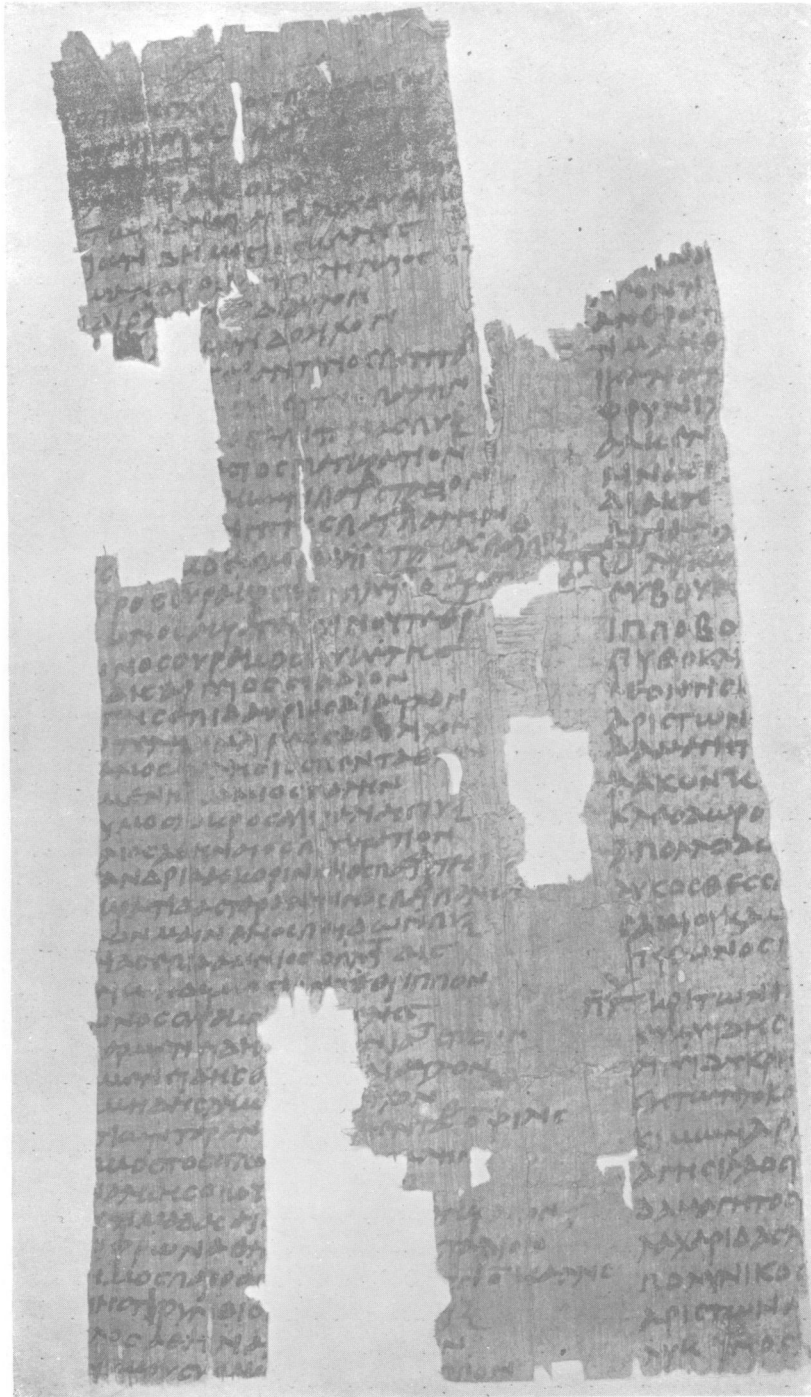
Papyri can be divided into various classes. The broadest division is that between the literary and non-literary. The former naturally come first.

The literary section falls into two main groups, the new and the already known, and within these two groups a number of subdivisions may of course be made. If it be asked, what have been the most important new literary finds, the answer, I suppose, would be, for the theologian, the two fragments of Sayings of Christ, the so-called *Logia*, small in extent but of deep interest not only for what they actually contain, but also for their bearing upon Synoptic problems. In the department of History there are the Aristotelian treatise on the constitution of Athens, published in 1891, and the Oxyrhynchus *Hellenica* which made its appearance six years ago, and of which the authorship has not yet been settled—a candidate who has lately been coming into favour is Ephorus, whose claims have been ably advocated in a treatise issued a few weeks ago by Mr E. M. Walker. But whether Ephorus or Theopompus or some other writer be eventually accepted as the author of these fragments, all critics are agreed on their historical importance. In the department of Oratory we have gained Hypereides, whose six extant speeches, or parts of speeches, are all due to Egypt. In lyric poetry there is Bacchylides, and more recently the remains of Pindar's Paeans. We may, I think, cherish hopes of further additions here, for it seems clear that the great lyrists enjoyed considerable popularity in the Roman period. In the next Oxyrhynchus volume, which will be ready early in the new year, I propose to publish remains of two manuscripts of Sappho and two of Alcaeus. Let me hasten to add that they are in a sadly mutilated condition. Still, Sappho is—Sappho; and for vocabulary and dialect even small fragments have their importance. Of one pretty poem there remain five and a half Sapphic stanzas in fair preservation, expressing regret for an absent friend. "Some say the fairest sight on earth is a company of horse or foot; but I say that the fairest thing is what happens to be the object of a man's desire. And this is easy to prove; for did not Helen judge Paris to be the goodliest man, although he involved his country and his home in ruin? So too I would now rather behold the gracious form of my friend than all the hosts of Troy; but it may not be, for she is far away." Such is the thought, and it is expressed with the simple directness, the apparently effortless felicity, characteristic of the poetess. Of another poem in a different metre, on the subject of the marriage of Hector and Andromache, about 20 lines have survived. Alcaeus comes off rather better; from him we gain some 70 lines in various metres, in a state approaching completeness, but unfortunately not consecutive.

In tragedy the chief acquisitions have been the extensive fragments of Euripides' *Hypsipyle*, from which the plot of the play can in large measure be reconstructed, and of the *Ichneutae* of Sophocles, published in 1912, which afford for the first time a fair idea of a Sophoclean Satyric drama. A translation of this, I hear, was performed in Germany last June. In comedy there are about 1300 lines of four plays of Menander, from a papyrus at Cairo. The Oxyrhynchus fragments of Callimachus, including part of the famous love-story of Acontius and Cydippe, are a notable addition to the surviving work of that most influential writer; and the choliambic poems of Herondas have provided a valuable specimen of a class of poetry of which before there was no adequate representative. These may be reckoned the principal gains so far. Then there is a numerous second class, in which may be placed the two fragments of Sappho previously recovered,

one from Oxyrhynchus, the other at Berlin; substantial pieces of Alcman and Corinna; a sample of Pindar's *Partheneia*; the *Persae* of Timotheus, the MS. of which is perhaps the oldest specimen of Greek literary writing on papyrus; fragments of the *Demes* of Eupolis, of the *Eurypylos* of Sophocles, of Euripides' *Antiope* and *Cretes*; of Callimachus' *Hecale*; of the *Meliambi* of Cercidas; of Aristotle's *Protrepticus*; of the *Elements of Metre* of Aristoxenus, the chief ancient authority on the subject; the life of Euripides by Satyrus, written in the form of a dialogue, an interesting element in the history of biographical composition; considerable remains of a treatise on Ethics by the Stoic Hierocles, probably a contemporary of Epictetus; the commentary of Didymus on Demosthenes' *Philippics*, valuable for quotations from the lost works of Theopompus, Philochorus, Anaximenes, and others; an epitome of some of the lost books of Livy, which is an isolated case of an important Latin literary find; the Oxyrhynchus list of Olympic victors (Plate VIII), an insignificant looking scrap measuring a few inches only, but full of precious information, fixing several doubtful dates in connexion with Pindar and Bacchylides, and supplying important evidence for the history of Greek sculpture. Room must also be found in the list for such singular relics of the obscurer literary byways as the so-called Erotic fragment, a poetical lament of a maiden for a lost lover, of the second century B.C., and a farce and mime of the early Roman period, which look like survivals of a local music-hall.

I will not add to the tale, nor descend into the still more numerous third and fourth classes. But there is a general reflection suggested by a survey of these multifarious remnants of perished works, to which I would refer—I mean the remarkable popularity and diffusion of Greek letters in Egypt. The number of literary fragments found at Oxyrhynchus, for example, was enormous; and Oxyrhynchus was only one provincial capital out of many, whose inhabitants are not to be credited with a much higher grade of cultivation than their neighbours. It is not till the Byzantine period that a marked decline becomes apparent, to be traced partly to the material decay which was beginning to make its effects generally felt, partly also, I think, to the spread of Christianity. A new literature had come into favour, and though the great classics were still in wide circulation—Homer, Demosthenes and Menander being prominent—the range tended to become more and more restricted. The right-minded man would tend to replace Sappho with the Psalms, and satisfy his appetite for history and romance with lives of the saints and martyrs. Down to about the end of the third century, however, the papyri may be said to indicate that not so very much of what was really important had been entirely lost. Of course some works had a greater vogue than others; but if such books as the Boeotian poems of Corinna, the philosophical lyrics of Cercidas, or a rhetorical treatise in Doric still found readers in Egypt in the second century, it may fairly be argued that works more generally attractive were not allowed to perish. And this consideration has some weighty consequences. If the materials were so large and so easily accessible, surely it behoves the critic to treat with respect the statements even of comparatively late writers—i.e. statements of fact, such as could have been obtained from older sources. It is not worth while to invent when information lies ready to hand, by means of which, moreover, falsehood can readily be detected. Let us remember, for example, the case of Anthropus, the Olympian victor, who has risen from the grave in an Oxyrhynchus papyrus to confute the modern critics who, refusing to accept the evidence of the early commentators on Aristotle, denied his existence. Similarly the statement of



List of Olympian Victors (Pap. Oxyrh. 222). Third Century.

Plutarch, that Aeschines of Sicyon was one of the tyrants deposed about the end of the sixth century by the Lacedaemonians, has been regarded with suspicion, because this Aeschines was not elsewhere attested. His name has now been found in a papyrus two centuries older than Plutarch in the Rylands Library at Manchester. Another instance, of which the details are not yet published, has recently come under my observation. It will be remembered that the biographical notices of the poet Apollonius Rhodius represent him as having succeeded Eratosthenes as librarian at the Alexandrian Library. This is inconsistent with other evidence for the date of Apollonius, and therefore modern critics have declined to believe that he was one of the Alexandrian librarians at all. There they have gone too far. They ought to have suspected that a positive statement of this kind had a solid basis of fact. A papyrus which will be included in the forthcoming volume shows how the ancient error in date arose. There was a second Apollonius, who held the office subsequently; presumably, therefore, this person was confused with his more celebrated name-sake. And we may now read with better comprehension the statement of Tzetzes, who says that the famous Aristarchus was the 4th or the 5th in succession from Zenodotus. The 4th or the 5th: exactly so; if we count one Apollonius, the 4th; if two, the 5th. It is a grave mistake, then, to treat such reports of ancient authorities cavalierly. They are not, of course, free from confusions and corruptions, against which it is right enough to be on guard; but to neglect their affirmations, or to dismiss them without strong conflicting evidence, is not consistent with the principles of sound criticism. At any rate, those who are minded to flout early testimony will do well to wait until the period of papyrus discovery is safely over.

In passing on from the new to the already known, there is a small group to be noticed standing between those two classes, namely the papyri which preserve specimens of the original Greek of works previously known only in translations. Most of these discoveries relate to theological books. I mention one example, that of the well-known Christian treatise called the *Shepherd of Hermas*. The Greek of this was mostly recovered from Mt Athos in the middle of the nineteenth century, but the conclusion of the book was missing until the notorious dealer in manuscripts, Simonides, produced it, professing to have copied it at Mt Athos. When his other forgeries were revealed, his version of the end of the *Shepherd of Hermas* naturally fell under suspicion, but its genuineness was maintained by Hilgenfeld as late as 1887. About ten years ago we found part of the missing portion in a sixth-century papyrus; needless to add, this does not agree with the version of Simonides. There is also an interesting classical or semi-classical instance, the late Latin treatise on the Fall of Troy attributed to Dictys Cretensis, and professing to be a translation from Greek. The latest Teubner editor decided that the Greek original was a myth. Unfortunately for him, however, we unearthed at Tebtunis in the Fayûm a papyrus containing the Greek of part of the treatise, a papyrus actually written about the middle of the third century A.D.; it is thus evident that the treatise itself must go back at least to the second century and that the authorities upon which the book is based are of no mean antiquity.

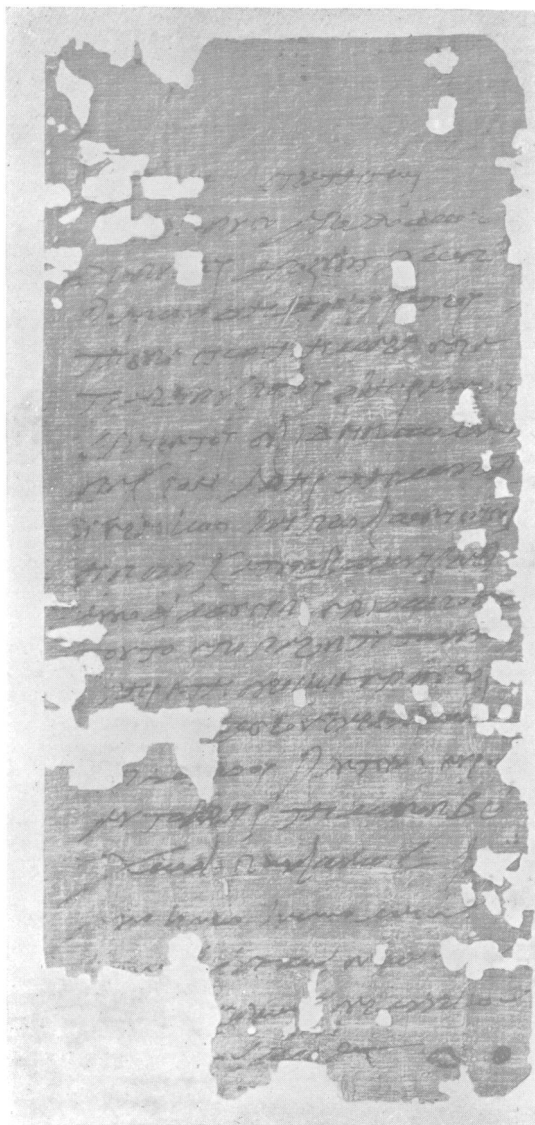
Of the Greek Bible, there are numerous fragments, and both for the Old and the New Testament the earliest known manuscripts are to be found among the papyri. Mention should perhaps be made here, though the material is parchment, not papyrus,

of an important discovery which has lately come from Egypt, the Freer Gospels. This MS., which is now at Washington and was published some months ago, is an admirably preserved book in the ancient binding dating probably from the fifth century, and so ranking among the oldest authorities for the Gospel text; and it is distinguished from all other known MSS. of the Gospels by the occurrence in the last chapter of St Mark of a passage otherwise known only from a partial quotation in Latin by Jerome. Of our chief Greek classics, those which remain entirely unrepresented are becoming comparatively few (e.g. Plate X, Fig. 2). Of the exceptions, the most noticeable, perhaps, is Aeschylus, of whom, so far, there is no certain fragment. The commonest author of all is Homer. Some 200 Homeric papyri have already been published, and there are many more to come. The great popularity of the bard is indeed one of the chief trials of the excavator's patience. He sees an extra large literary fragment emerging from the soil, and wonders for a brief moment what new treasure he has found—but ten to one it is only old Homer again. The *Iliad* is always considerably more in evidence than the *Odyssey*; the Homeric Hymns, which would be of more use for critical purposes, unfortunately do not occur.

The chief lessons to be derived from a study of this early evidence for the Greek classics are, I think, three. First and most important, the general confirmation of tradition. Our classical texts are found to be substantially the same as they were at the beginning of the Christian era. The papyri sometimes bring better readings, but they show that there was no extensive deterioration during the early middle ages. Secondly, I think that on the whole they tend to justify the methods of the best modern scholarship. Of course, the end of the resources of conjecture is only too soon reached; but where defects have remained more or less on the surface, conjectural alterations have not seldom been confirmed. For example, some papyrus fragments of the eleventh book of Polybius, in the space of about 130 short and incomplete lines, have corroborated no less than 13 conjectures. A modern scholar may thus have the supreme satisfaction of actually seeing in a papyrus his darling emendation. Thirdly, with regard to the character of papyrus texts, they are often of what may be described as an eclectic type; that is, they do not as a rule tend to support a single manuscript or group of manuscripts, as against others, but to agree here with one, there with another. Editors must beware of pinning their faith to any one manuscript or group; it may be in general the better witness, but it is unlikely to have any monopoly of the truth.

Before passing on to the non-literary papyri we may pause a moment to notice the miscellaneous company which lies about the borderline: documents relating to magic and astrology, incantations, prayers, medical prescriptions, calendars and mathematical tables, school exercises and dictations, which sometimes contain literary or semi-literary matter, and so forth.

It has been aptly remarked, that as for the archaeologist the nineteenth century was preeminently a period of stone, so the twentieth will be preeminently a period of paper; and the essential difference between the inscriptions and the non-literary papyri is this, that whereas the former were consciously designed for the public eye and for posterity, the latter, the papyri, are as a class ephemeral and personal. Their value lies largely in the insight they afford into the business of common every-day life, from the official in his office down to the labourer in his fields. They draw aside



Report of a Public Physician on a man found hanged
(Pap. Oxyrh. 51). 173 A.D.

the curtain, so to say, and show us the figures actually at work, off their guard, free of all artificiality or pose.

These non-literary documents cover a period of rather more than a thousand years. Egypt passed under the rule of the first Ptolemy in B.C. 323, and from that time till the Arab conquest in A.D. 641, Greek became the official language of the country. The earliest dated Greek papyrus at present known is a marriage-contract of the year 311 B.C. After the Arab conquest Greek continued to be employed side by side with Arabic so long as papyrus remained in use as a writing material; but after the first half of the eighth century the Greek language receded into the background, and is practically confined to bilingual official receipts. Latin papyri are rare at all times; those found usually relate to military affairs or legal business.

Considered according to their subjects these documents may be broadly divided into two classes, the official and the private, each class including a large variety of subordinate groups. Under the former head we have laws, rescripts, edicts, diaries of official acts, judicial sentences, reports of many kinds (e.g. Plate IX), correspondence, receipts for payment of taxes, accounts, lists, inventories and the like. In the private papers, a convenient distinction may be drawn between, first, those addressed to officials by private persons, such as petitions, in great variety, census and property returns, notices of birth and death, and numerous other declarations; secondly, those passing between private persons alone: contracts, receipts, wills, letters, accounts, &c. Documents of all these kinds are to be found in a long series of publications, extending now to 50 or more large volumes; among the most considerable may be reckoned the four parts of the British Museum Catalogue, numbering some 1100 texts, the Egypt Exploration Fund series, containing about 1600, and the Berlin *Griechische Urkunden*, about 1200. A special periodical, started in 1901, the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, gives notices and reviews of the different editions as they appear, besides having important original articles dealing with their subject-matter. An extremely valuable historical and legal introduction to papyri with extensive annotated selections, by Profs. Wilcken and Mitteis, appeared last year in Germany—a *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde*, indispensable alike to the student and editor of papyri. Several smaller German selections for school use have also been published recently; in English there is Dr Milligan's well-chosen series of Greek papyri, translated and annotated, issued three years ago by the Cambridge University Press, and in French, the selected texts appended to Hohlwein's *L'Égypte romaine*.

Evidently a material so diversified may be viewed in numerous aspects, and will throw light on many branches of study, Roman as well as Greek. For the historian the harvest is especially rich. Direct contributions to political history are not, indeed, common, but they are occasionally obtained. For example, the original edict of Caracalla extending the Roman citizenship to the provinces of the Empire can now be partly read in a papyrus at Giessen. Authentic survivals of the Decian persecution of the Christians in the third century have come to light in the *libelli*, as they were termed, the certificates issued to suspected persons after they had sacrificed publicly to the pagan gods. For dynastic history the papyri are of much importance in all periods, often giving new information on points of chronology and nomenclature. Any history of the Ptolemies must necessarily be full of references to the papyrus evidence, both Greek and demotic; and for the Caesars, too, it is often valuable, not only on

account of the information afforded, but for the way one is brought into touch with events. A recently published Berlin papyrus preserves an edict of Germanicus deprecating extravagant demonstrations on the part of the populace when he appeared in public. Another from Oxyrhynchus is a draft of the actual proclamation announcing to the inhabitants of the town the decease of Claudius and the accession of Nero. But it is in regard to internal administration, and economic and social conditions, that the historical value of the documents is most conspicuous. A large papyrus at Halle has appeared during the past year containing extracts from a number of Alexandrian laws put together in the third century B.C. apparently for use in some advocate's office. To the same period belong the so-called Revenue Papyrus, which reveals the complicated details of the management of a government monopoly, and a document from Hibeh displaying the elaborate organisation of the official postal service, which was conducted with a regularity and precision worthy of a modern registered-letter department. The crocodile papyri from Tebtunis have afforded a very complete picture of the administration of government land a century or so later. In Roman times, the official day-books or diaries are especially notable, both in respect of their form and their contents; they preserve a number of details of legal cases and decisions, and give an adequate idea of the manner in which the Roman magistrates kept the records of their public acts. It is to the papyri that we owe our knowledge of the periodic census, instituted apparently by Augustus, which can be clearly traced from the year 19 A.D. to the middle of the third century. The object of this census was taxation, and the cycle of 14 years depended on the fact that 14 was fixed as the age at which the poll-tax became payable. On the whole subject of taxation the papyri are very full of information. The names of more than 150 different taxes imposed on the Egyptians of the Roman period are now known. Besides the poll-tax, they include taxes on exports and imports, taxes on land and its produce, on trades, on animals, on business transactions such as sales and mortgages, imposts for the benefit of the government and its officials, from the Emperor downwards, who took his bakshish in the form of a national offering at his accession. When one further considers the other burdens to which property was liable, the imposition of public duties and the discharge of costly municipal functions, the wonder is that the back was at all equal to the load.

Concerning industrial conditions, the papyri have much to tell us:—about the forms of land-tenure, the methods of cultivation, the development of trades and handicrafts, and similar subjects. And such inquiries may have more than a merely local interest. For instance, some weighty evidence may be gathered from the papyri on the important subject of the agrarian policy of Rome. The Roman government inherited from its predecessors, the Ptolemies, a great quantity of Crown land, which went on increasing in extent. If Roman statesmen had had any real grasp of the agrarian problem, or any sincere desire to grapple with it, here was the opportunity for experiment. But apparently this opportunity was turned to no sort of account. The State seems to have been no more enlightened as an employer of labour than any ordinary private owner, and it is precisely among the cultivators of the public domains that the first signs of agrarian serfdom make themselves manifest. Already in Ptolemaic times compulsion was being resorted to, and the Romans merely carried on and developed this policy. A British Museum papyrus of the year 215 A.D. indicates that

at that date labourers could be transplanted at the pleasure of their rulers from one locality to another, practically implying the principle of bondage to the soil. Free labour and small holdings were gradually supplanted in Egypt, as elsewhere, by serfdom and overgrown estates supporting semi-independent communities. The towns, saddled with municipal burdens, receding in administrative importance and losing their industrial markets, dwindled and decayed; and decline soon became general. In the fourth and fifth centuries the symptoms of disease are no longer to be mistaken; but the germs had been there long before. The evidence on this interesting subject has been recently collected and discussed at length by Prof. Rostowzew in his *Römisches Kolonat*.

Another conspicuous side of the papyri is the juristic. The Ptolemies introduced into Egypt Greek law, upon which was subsequently engrafted the Roman; and both systems obtain from the papyri much valuable evidence and illustration. I have already alluded to the important extracts from the Alexandrian code preserved in a recently edited Halle papyrus. What promises to be an equally valuable document for the student of Roman law is a papyrus lately acquired by the Berlin Museum, but not yet published, which contains a long series of ordinances and regulations compiled for the use of a high Roman official and concerned chiefly with the legal relations of the different nationalities in Egypt, and with the law of inheritance. But apart from texts of such capital interest, the gleanings from isolated contracts, wills, edicts, reports of legal decisions, &c. are by no means to be despised. In the last edition of the well-known handbook, Bruns' *Fontes Juris Romani*, a considerable use has been made of the new material. German and Italian lawyers are particularly active in this field, and few months now pass without the appearance of some juristic monograph dealing with papyri. Many of these contributions to Greek and Roman law are, no doubt, of a highly technical character; but some are of more general import. For instance, the German nation had, I believe, prided itself on having been the first to realise the advantage of the registration of real property, to which the Romans, in spite of their highly developed legal system, were supposed never to have attained. We now know that this is a delusion. The papyri of the Roman period have conclusively proved that registration of land already existed in a highly elaborate form, and that it was instituted not only in the interests of the State, but also—some think even primarily—in the interests of private individuals. That point comes out clearly in an important edict of a first-century praefect, who ordains that contracts affecting real property were not to be drawn up without due authorisation from the keepers of the public archives. These officials had to keep the registers up to date, entering in them all mortgages and other charges, as well as changes of ownership, and they were thus enabled to protect an intending purchaser from oversights and frauds.

But such new legal data are not only valuable in themselves: they are modifying in a remarkable way the attitude of Roman lawyers to the literary sources of their science. They had been accustomed to regard the classical jurists as containing the essence of the legal wisdom of the Roman empire. Now, it is beginning to be realised that those writers are not all-sufficient; that they represent after all a school of law whose outlook was limited, and whose method was scholastic, and not always quite in touch with reality.

For the illustrations of the common life of the day, the material comfort, the culture, religion, habits and amusements of the people, the papyri are an inexhaustible source. Letter-writing, fortunately, was much practised, and there are quantities of letters between persons of all degrees of education and written on all sorts of occasions. We may read, for instance, the encouragement and good advice sent by parents to absent sons, or may recognise familiar types of character in the answering effusions of children to parents—the spoilt boy who scolds his father for having left him at home instead of taking him to the capital; the well-conducted youth who complacently assures his relatives that he is getting on very well, combining study with recreation; and the prodigal son who writes to beg his mother's forgiveness and confesses that he has brought himself to destitution. We have formal invitations, couched like those of the present day in the third person, to dinner-parties (Plate X, Fig. 1) and weddings, and lists of the things that were eaten; accounts of dining-clubs, of the second century B.C., with a record of the number of members and guests present and the amount spent on wine, bread, and garlands. There are contracts with reciters and musicians who were engaged to perform on such festive occasions; an order for an inquest on a slave who had fallen off the roof of a house in his anxiety to secure a good view of some dancing-girls; an announcement of some approaching athletic sports at Oxyrhynchus; athletic diplomas and lists of winners; repeated allusions to horse-racing, which became quite a rage in the Byzantine period. I might quote a list of articles which had been left with a local pawnbroker; or a letter of the year 41 A.D., warning a person in financial difficulties not to fall into the hands of money-lenders. Domestic troubles in the fifth century may be illustrated by a curious indictment by a wife of her cross-grained husband, who refused to give her the household keys, and bolted the door when she had gone out to church. There is a delightful letter of the second century B.C. sent from headquarters to officials in the Fayûm, ordering them to have everything ready for the visit of a Roman senator, who wanted to see the sights, and was to be conducted over the Labyrinth and provided with a bun to throw to the sacred crocodiles; another, from a traveller in the upper country, who says he had carved his friends' names on the temple-walls. Illustrations of this kind might be indefinitely multiplied. They supply, as it were, a series of small historical snapshots, by the aid of which we may construct a realistic picture of Graeco-Roman provincial life.

Linguistically, these unstudied records of common parlance have much to teach. They contain the true *koine*, the true vernacular, undiluted with the artificialities of the literary Hellenistic. Their lexicographical contributions are many and various, and the compilers of the future *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, when it comes, will have to spend much time and labour on the papyri and inscriptions. To a limited extent, these are being utilised in the new edition of Passow's *Lexicon*, of which two fasciculi have lately appeared. But it is in their bearing upon so-called Biblical Greek that the linguistic results of recent discoveries have been most far-reaching and profound. The pioneer here has been Deissmann of Berlin, who has been ably followed, among English scholars, by Prof. Moulton. That the Greek scriptures were written in the *koine*, the common dialect, was of course universally recognized; but it was also seen that the scriptural *koine* was very different from the literary *koine* of the period. There is a wide distance between e.g. Diodorus or Plutarch, and even the more cultivated parts of the New Testament. Hence the peculiarities of Biblical Greek were

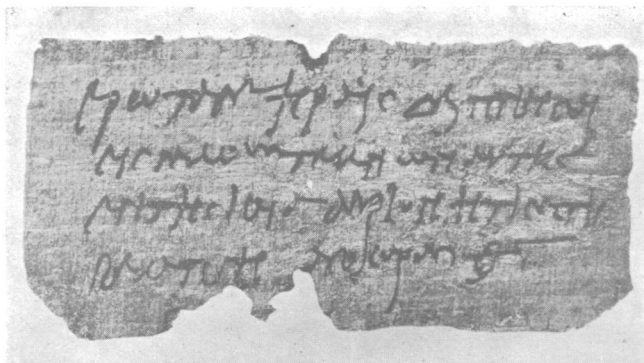


Fig. 1. Invitation to dinner (Pap. Oxyrh. 111). Third Century.

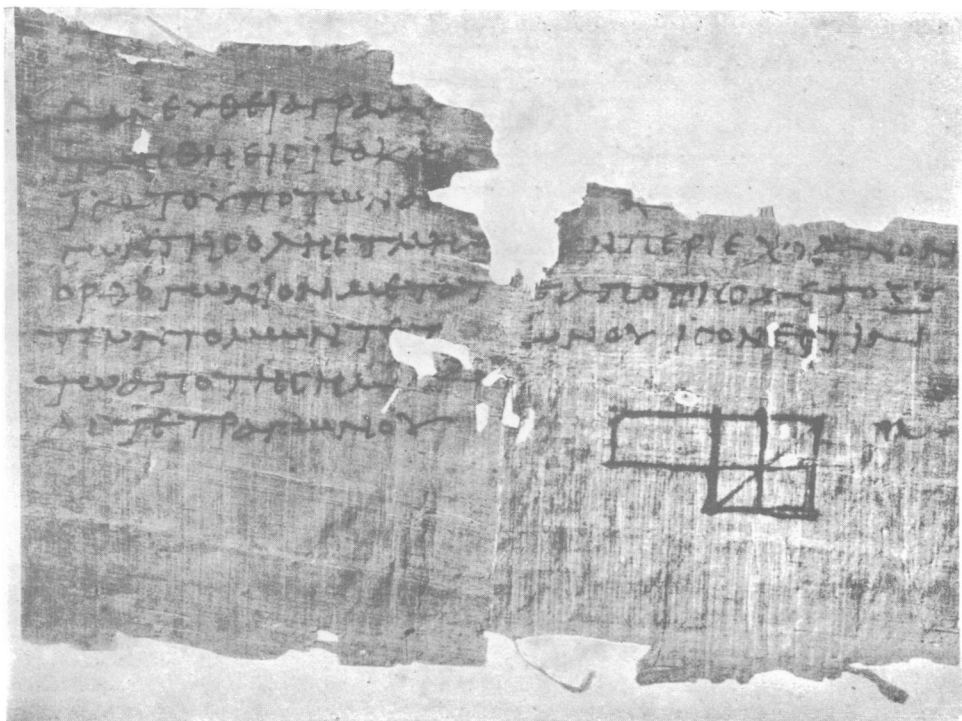


Fig. 2. Euclid II. 5 (Pap. Oxyrh. 29). Third or Fourth Century.

explained as Hebraic. Emphasis was laid on the fact that the Septuagint and certain portions of the New Testament were translations from Hebrew or Aramaic; and it was argued that even where Greek was the original language it was used as a foreign speech and coloured by Semitic thought and idiom. What the papyri have done is to show that the apparent peculiarities of Biblical Greek are not peculiarities at all. Its syntax and vocabulary are, broadly speaking, just those of the vernacular in which these official and private documents were written; and words and constructions previously interpreted as directly due to Semitic modes of expression are found to have been in current popular use. The appeal of Christianity was made to the people in the language of the people.

I can only make a passing reference to the study of numismatics and of metrology, which find in the evidence of the documents an indispensable supplement to that of the coins and the literary sources; or to palaeography, whose debt is obviously great. The development of Greek literary writing can now be traced in a long continuous series of specimens from the end of the fourth century B.C. down to the invention of printing. The genesis of the uncial and minuscule scripts of the vellum codices is to be found in the uncial and cursive hands of the papyri; and the date and provenance assigned to the early vellum manuscripts have sometimes to be revised in the light of these new witnesses. For instance, the value of the Egyptian evidence has been shown in Dr Loew's recent researches into the origin and character of the Codex Bezae; and the analogy of a certain Rylands papyrus strongly suggests that the Codex Sinaiticus was the product of an Egyptian scriptorium. But enough has been said to indicate the many-sidedness of the papyri, and also, I hope, something of their importance and interest.

So much for the past: what of the future? With regard to the prospects of further finds in Egypt, it is dangerous to prophesy, but I am inclined to think that the high-water mark of discovery has been reached. During the last few years there has been less for sale in the market, and excavators have not met with any striking success. It looks rather as if the best sites were getting used up; and though a new productive place may be discovered any day, it may be doubted whether Egypt contains another Oxyrhynchus or another Hermopolis. In the present winter the Egypt Exploration Fund will make trial of Antinoë, an extensive site which seems to offer one of the best chances now remaining. The French archaeologist M. Gayet has been at work for many years on the necropolis, but has almost entirely neglected the mounds of the town, for which we have obtained a concession. Let us hope that the success of Oxyrhynchus may be repeated,—though if the mounds of Antinoë are really very rich, it is somewhat surprising that the native plunderer has not discovered the fact before now. We shall soon see. Failing the emergence of a fresh fertile source, costly excavations may before long be found to be not sufficiently remunerative, and there will be a gradual return to the conditions of the first period of discovery. Isolated finds will of course continue to be made for an indefinite time.

But in any case, many years yet must elapse before the stores already accumulated can all be edited. I am far yet from foreseeing the completion of the publication of the Oxyrhynchus papyri; the nine volumes already issued are likely to be but a fraction of the total number. At the British Museum also, at Berlin and Vienna, at Lille, Hamburg, Strassburg, Giessen, Manchester, to mention a few names only, there are

more or less considerable collections awaiting decipherment and publication. And let it not be supposed that the forthcoming documents will be mainly a dull repetition of what we already have. Some repetition of course is inevitable; but it is only by the accumulation of details that sound generalisations and just views can be obtained; and the critic who maintains, as I have seen it maintained, that the world has had about enough Roman and Byzantine documents from Egypt, merely betrays his ignorance of the subject and of the multitude of problems awaiting solution.

And, secondly, the full understanding and scientific elaboration of this mass of material, when published, will be the work of a far greater number of years. As Wilcken says at the commencement of his Introduction, to which I have already referred, 'Wir stehen erst im Anfang': we are still only at the beginning. On a variety of subjects, the new data lie yet unsifted and undigested; and Wilcken and Mitteis repeatedly have to lament their inability to summarise results, because as yet the results have not been extracted and put together. One of the objects of their suggestive book is to indicate how much remains to be done, and to attract more workers into the field. It behoves English researchers to bear their part.

Even if, then, it should turn out that we have had the chief sensations, we may look forward for a long time to come to a steady output of new texts as well as to the fruits of their systematic and intensive study. We may regard the past with satisfaction, and turn with hope to the future.

GRAECO-ROMAN LEADEN TESSERAE FROM ABYDOS

BY J. GRAFTON MILNE, M.A.

[See Plate XI]

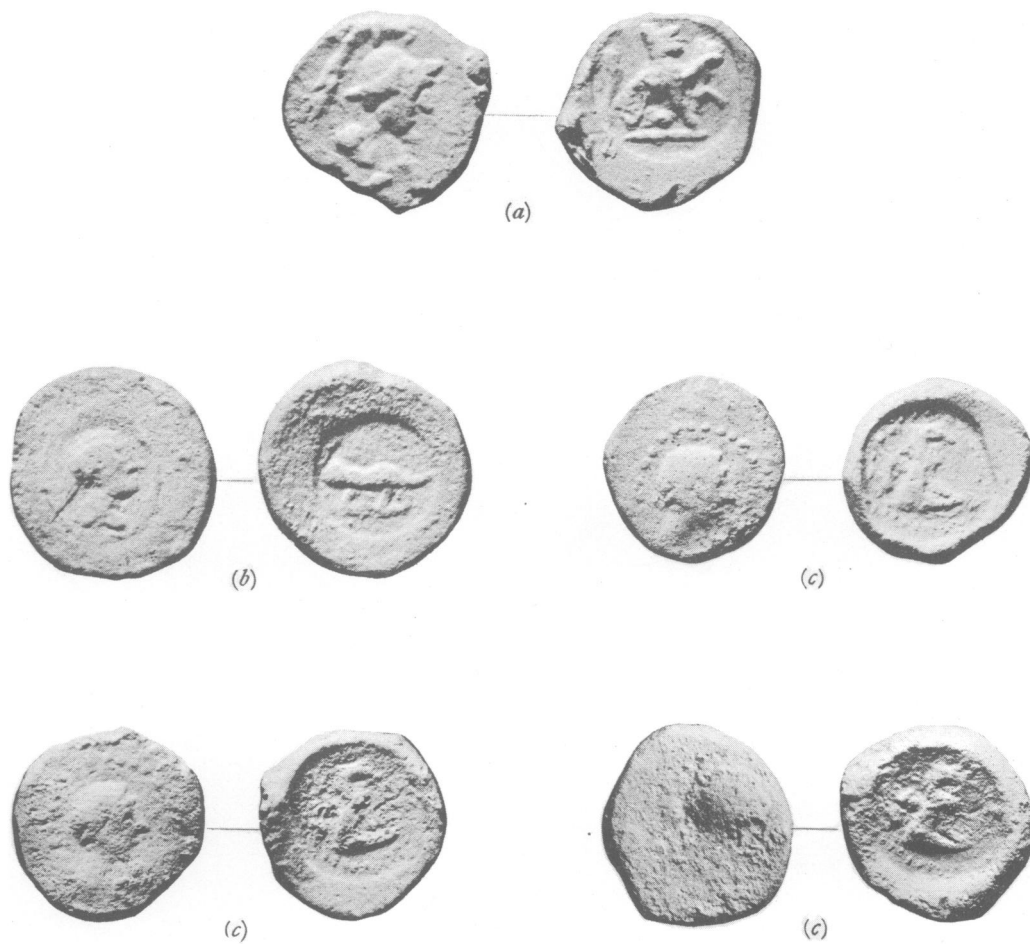
AMONGST the objects found in a tomb (D. 221) excavated by Mr Peet at Abydos during the season 1912-13 were a few small stamped pieces of lead which possess rather exceptional interest. The tomb in question had originally been a vaulted brick one of a common Ptolemaic type, but the vault had been destroyed and the walls only remained to the height of about a foot. Over it a house had been built, presumably in Coptic times: and a number of small articles which had formed part of the tomb-furniture appear to have been left in odd corners when the foundations of the house were being laid and were found, partly under the floor of the house, partly in a narrow space between the foundations of the north wall of the house and the remains of the north wall of the tomb.

There can be little doubt as to the date of the tomb. Under the floor of the house there were eight bronze coins of late Ptolemaic and early Roman date, as follows:—*Ptolemaic*: Svoronos 975, 1424, and 1426 (four specimens), (the first of these types is attributed by Svoronos to Ptolemy III and the others to Ptolemy VI, but in the latter case at any rate I am certain his dating is too early); *Roman*: Dattari 29 (year 41 of Augustus) and 156 (year 13 of Claudius). The last-mentioned coin gives an upper limit of date in 52-3 A.D. The other objects found—a small leaden bowl, a bronze ornamental knob, a bronze nail and arrow-head, some pieces of egg-shell, several shells, including two cowries, and some large spherical beads of carnelian and poor blue glaze—are typical of Ptolemaic tombs, and would suggest that the date was not late in the Roman period, probably not long after 53 A.D. With these, in the space between the walls, were associated the leaden pieces.

These are five in number, of three types:—

- (a) *Obv.*—Bust of Athene r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet.
Rev.—Animal seated r., with tail erect and l. forepaw raised: under paw, head of ibis r.: whole in circular incuse. *Size* 14 mm.
- (b) *Obv.*—Beardless male head r.: line border.
Rev.—Animal walking l.: in circular incuse. *Size* 15 mm.
- (c) *Obv.*—Male head r., apparently wearing diadem and ceremonial beard: border of dots.
Rev.—Ibis standing r., with flail across shoulder: border of dots: whole in circular incuse. 3 specimens. *Sizes* 14, 13, 13 mm.

The execution of these is so poor that it is difficult to say with certainty what



Leaden Tesserae from Abydos.

Enlarged 2:1.

creatures are represented. There can be little doubt, I think, that (c) is intended to show an ibis, though the bird is tilted back on its tail in a very unnatural manner: and the ibis head on (a) is clear. The animal on (a) is more puzzling: its attitude is typical of a griffin, but it hardly looks like a normal griffin, and I am inclined to call it a cat. The animal on (b) would also do very well for a cat: the alternative would be an ichneumon. We appear therefore to have on the reverses representations of sacred animals.

Of the obverse types, that on (a) is clear: it is Athene, who is found in the miscellaneous assortment of identifications of Graeco-Roman times in Egypt as the equivalent of two native goddesses—Neit and Taurt. The head on (b) has no visible characteristics. But that on (c) is more interesting: the engraver seems to have intended to give it the beard of an Egyptian king and the Greek royal diadem: and I think we may see in this a head of Osiris produced under Greek influence. The obverse types would accordingly be of deities, although not of deities normally associated with the sacred animals on the reverses.

The purpose of these little objects is also a puzzle. In the latter part of the second century A.D. and probably most of the third, leaden tokens were in all probability used in many districts of Egypt as currency of low values (see my article on the leaden token-coinage of Egypt under the Romans in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1908, p. 287): but those tokens are distinctly of a later style than the Abydos pieces: and the economic reasons which led to the use of a token-coinage did not apply in the middle of the first century. The bulk of the leaden tokens, also, suggest that their designers had in view their use as coins, and are reminiscent of the regular coinage of the Alexandrian mint: the Abydos pieces bear no resemblance whatever, in style or types, to any coinage current in Egypt. A number of leaden imitations of coins of Ptolemaic date are known: but they are all exact copies of current silver or bronze currency, and obviously intended for fraudulent purposes. No one could have been induced to imagine that the Abydos pieces were the equivalent of any coins circulating in the reign of Claudius: and, as Egypt was then well supplied with coins of all needful denominations, there was no call for a token-currency for low values. I think that there is practically no reason to suppose that our leaden pieces were intended for a token-coinage.

The character of the reverses seems rather to be reminiscent of seal-impressions than of coins: and this might suggest that the stamped lumps of lead were intended to serve much the same purpose as the lumps of clay bearing impressions from signets which have been found in several localities amongst remains of Graeco-Roman date in Egypt, and were attached to goods as marks of ownership. There is a leaden tessera described and figured in Signor Dattari's catalogue of his collection (no. 6506, plate XXXVII) which is shown by the inscription upon it—*Μεσσαλίνης κτήσις*—to have been such a mark: it has as types a standing figure of Messalina, copied with slight variations from the reverse of tetradrachms of her husband Claudius, and a cynocephalus baboon. But, though its date must be fairly close to that of our Abydos pieces, the style is very different. It is possible that the Abydos specimens may have been intended as owner's labels, and, if so, having regard to the religious nature of the types, I should be inclined to regard them as having been used to distinguish temple-property.

On the whole, however, the circumstances of their discovery seem against this supposition: temple-property was not likely to have been buried in a grave, and there would not be much point in detaching the labels from such property and putting them amongst the grave-furniture. The most probable explanation that occurs to me is that these may have been issued by temples as a kind of worshipper's tokens, possibly for use as amulets. Mr Quibell suggested to me some years ago that the little limestone figures which he found in and about the shrine of Bes at Saqqara, and which he proved to have been executed in the precinct (see his *Excavations at Saqqara*, 1905-1906, p. 13), may have served such a purpose: and, if this be accepted, it would be quite natural that the tokens should be placed in the grave, whether as amulets or merely as certificates of worship performed at a temple. In this connexion it may be noted that Dr Otto placed the whole series of Egyptian leaden tesserae in possible relation with temples in his view that they were *σύμβολα*, or tokens entitling the holder to rations, such as are mentioned in the Serapeum-papyri as having been issued to the twin girls serving in that temple to enable them to claim an allowance of oil (*Priester und Tempel*, II. 131 and note 4). For the reasons briefly set forth in the postscript to my article mentioned above, I am unable to accept this view as regards the bulk of these tesserae: but it is of interest that he should have suggested the possibility of their issue by the temples, which I regard as probable, although for a different purpose, in the case of the specimens from Abydos.

THE SANATORIUM OF DÊR-EL-BAḤRI

BY J. GRAFTON MILNE, M.A.

[See Plates XII, XIII]

IN Ptolemaic times the upper terrace of the temple of Hatshepsut at Dêr-el-baḥri was given up to the worship of two Egyptian deified heroes—Amenhotep, the son of Hapu, a sage of the Middle Kingdom, and Imhotep, according to legend a son of Ptah: and under Ptolemy Euergetes II the sanctuary leading out of the middle of the west wall of the upper court was enlarged by the addition of a third chamber, on the walls of which these heroes figured. Their special importance, at any rate in this period, was as patrons of healing; and in this connexion Imhotep was identified by the Greeks in Egypt with their own god of medicine, Asklepios. Under their auspices Dêr-el-baḥri seems to have become a regular place of resort for invalids, if we may judge from the numerous records which have been left by these ancient visitors in various parts of the precinct.

Most of these records are of a very summary nature. There is one monument of a substantial kind, now in the Cairo Museum (no. 9304: *Cairo Catalogue, Greek Inscriptions*, p. 37), in the shape of a columnar stela dedicated to Amenothos, the Greek form of the name Amenhotep, by Leon and Lysandra for their child: this is approximately of the same date as the work done in the sanctuary under Ptolemy Euergetes II, about the middle of the second century B.C. But the commonest method of recording their attendance at the temple adopted by the visitors was to scratch or paint their names on the walls; and it is these *graffiti* which furnish us with the bulk of our information.

The upper terrace of the temple backs up against the cliffs on the west side. In front, however, the east wall of the court is not on the edge of the terrace, but has a broad walk running along outside it, which was originally covered in as a colonnade. This colonnade seems to have been a convenient lounge for the ancient visitors, who scratched their names on the outer face of the wall, in many cases over the Egyptian reliefs. There is no suggestion in any of the *graffiti* on this side of the wall that the writers had come to worship or to seek healing: nothing is inscribed except a name, or in one or two cases a date. A good many of the scratches are rather low down on the wall, as if they had been made by men who were sitting on the ground: and we may picture the colonnade in Ptolemaic times as occupied during the heat of the day by loafers who found in it a grateful shade and recorded their visit by inscribing their names on the wall against which they had propped

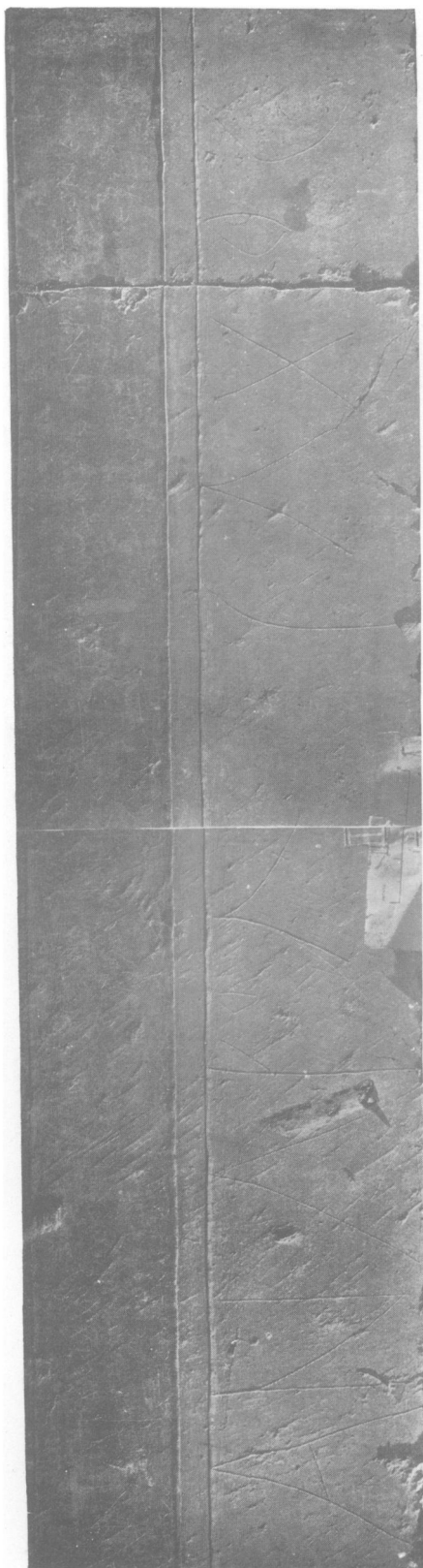


Fig. 1. Andromachos Graffito.

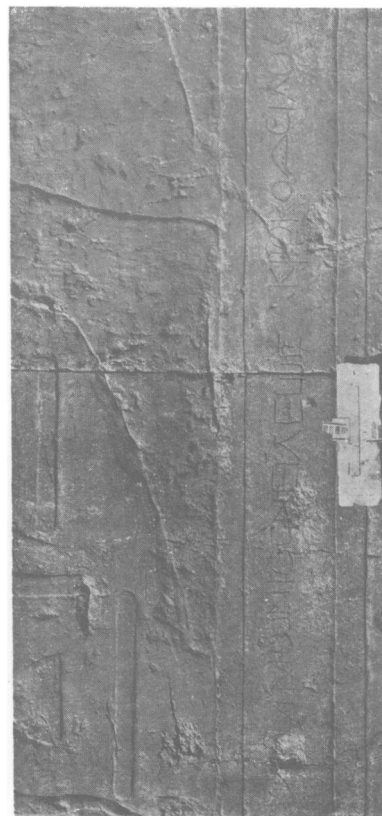


Fig. 2. Graffito of Ammonios "the Crocodile."



Fig. 3. Graffito of Eugraphios with later comments.



Fig. 1. Painted Graffiti (Ptolemaic Porch).



Fig. 2. Painted Graffiti (South hall).

themselves. In one case there is a relic of ancient humour: Ammonios, the son of Neileus, having written his name on the wall, a later loungee added the epithet *κροκόδειλος*. The sole instance where a profession is mentioned is noteworthy: Zoilos records himself as a physician—perhaps one who had come to investigate the cures wrought by the priests: but he would not be wanted inside the precinct, and was left in outer darkness.

When we have passed through the gateway into the great court, however, we find much more information on the walls. There are a few stock formulae—"the homage of M. to the lord god Asklepios," "N. came to worship the great god Asklepios"—usually with the addition of the name of Amenothos, and often with that of Hygieia, to Asklepios: and sometimes the writer associated his wife, his family, or his friends, in his act of worship. But here and there the records are more explicit: just inside the gateway there is a long inscription setting forth how "Andromachos, a Macedonian, a worker for hire, came to the good god Amenothos: he was sick, and the god succoured him on that very day. Farewell." Further on, on the south wall, there is another *graffito*, which gains additional interest from having been twice improved upon by later commentators: the first entry ran "Eugraphios offers his homage before the lord god Asklepios and Amenothos and Hygieia: be mindful of us and grant us healing": at the end of this, one Pesubis, presumably a Gnostic who desired some credit to be ascribed to the weird spirits whom he worshipped, wrote "with the help of Cherstapane and Phritob": finally a Christian, grieved to find so many deities invoked, added his correction above the errors of previous centuries "It is the one God who helps you."

Eugraphios repeated his homage, practically in the same terms, on the porch which the Ptolemaic builders had added in front of the sanctuary: but here, instead of cutting it, as on the south wall, he wrote it in paint. It is noticeable that the inscriptions round the entrance to the sanctuary and in the sanctuary itself are as a rule painted, while nearly all those on the outer walls of the court are engraved: the priests apparently did not mind the old reliefs of queen Hatshepsut being scratched, but objected to any such damage being inflicted on the very inferior work of their own period. Consequently the inscriptions on the porch are in a very fragmentary condition, owing to the flaking off of the paint: which is to be regretted, as some of the worshippers became more communicative as they approached the god. One enthusiast wrote a long paean in honour of Amenothos, so far as can be made out from the stray words which remain: and there are many other tantalizing fragments.

The *graffiti* in the porch are mostly about six or seven feet above the original floor-level of the court, which suggests that two or three feet of rubbish had already accumulated there. The north side of the court has no *graffiti*: and probably this, with the north hall of offerings, was choked up by falls from the cliffs. But the south hall of offerings was still in use, and contains a good many inscriptions, painted, like those round the sanctuary: so that it may have been a sort of side-chapel.

There is one inscription which deserves notice, though it is not directly connected with the worship of the healing gods. In a niche at the south end of the west wall there is painted in large characters the Greek alphabet: and here we may perhaps place the local Elementary School.

It is difficult to say how long the priests of Imhotep-Asklepios and Amenhotep-Amenothos enjoyed the popularity of their sanatorium. Many of the inscriptions are certainly of the second century A.D.: but I do not think that any could be dated palaeographically as of the third century: and probably the increasing insecurity of life in Upper Egypt during that century stopped the supply of patients. The raids of the barbarian tribes of Nubia, which in the middle of the third century were pushed far north into Middle Egypt, would certainly frighten away any invalids: and we may assume that Dêr-el-bahri ceased to be a health-resort for the Greeks and Romans about 200 A.D.

[A selection of the *graffiti*, including several of the most interesting, was published by Mr C. R. Peers in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (xix, p. 13). Unfortunately, they are perishing rapidly: those which were inscribed in paint (usually red) are already in great measure illegible, and a touch will bring off flakes of paint: while those that were scratched disappear with the slightest weathering of the surface of the stone. In 1905-6 I copied all that I could discover, and the copies will be utilised for M. Seymour de Ricci's *Corpus of Greek Inscriptions of Egypt*.]

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA ?

By J. GRAFTON MILNE, M.A.

[See Plate XIV]

THE sketch on jar 1022 from the Ibis-cemetery at Abydos (Brit. Mus. No. 52929), which is reproduced on Plate XVII of *The Cemeteries of Abydos Part III* (Thirty-fifth Memoir of the E. E. F.), seems to deserve some attention, in spite of its crudity of workmanship. It depicts a woman with Egyptian headdress and a man wearing a fillet round his head, both nude, facing one another and each raising one hand: between them is a branch of ivy. The intention of the artist was presumably satirical, and it is possible to suggest who were the objects of his satire. The date of the Ibis-cemetery is probably late Ptolemaic and early Roman. At this period, the old Egyptian headdress in such a sketch may be taken as showing that the wearer was intended to be represented as a lady of high station: while the fillet would similarly indicate a person of princely rank according to Greek ideas. The artist clearly wished to reflect on the relationship between an Egyptian princess and a foreign ruler: and the persons who most closely suit the conditions of the case are Cleopatra and Antony. It would be natural to distinguish Cleopatra as an Egyptian by the national headdress; even if she did not on occasion appear in it, as she very probably did, there are precedents in temple reliefs: while, though the fillet was more Greek than Roman, an inhabitant of Abydos might be excused for regarding Antony as a Greek prince; it has been pointed out that Antony was a leader in the introduction of Graeco-Oriental ideas to the West¹. The branch of ivy also, as an emblem of the cult of Dionysos, would aptly refer to the Dionysiac rôle assumed by Antony. The only alternative identification which suggests itself is Cleopatra and Caesar: but Caesar would not be so likely as Antony to be depicted crowned with a fillet: the ivy would have no connexion with him: and his *liaison* with Cleopatra would not be so notorious in Upper Egypt as Antony's. Caesar never became domiciled in Egypt, as Antony did: the revels of the Society of the Inimitables, founded by Antony, and mentioned by Plutarch², are recorded in a dedication to Antony by one of his boon-companions now in the Alexandria Museum³. The satirist of Abydos may possibly have obtained his inspiration for his sketch of Antony and Cleopatra at Abydos itself.

¹ Poland, *Gesch. des Griech. Vereinswesens*, p. 529.

² Plut. *Ant.* 28.

³ Breccia, *Iscriz. Gr. e Lat.* no. 42.



Ibis Jar, with sketch of Antony and Cleopatra (?). Abydos.

NEW LITERARY WORKS FROM ANCIENT EGYPT

(continued from page 36)

BY ALAN H. GARDINER, D.LITT.

II. PAP. PETERSBURG 1116 B, *recto*.

THE Egyptians were the greatest formalists the world has ever known; their literature, their art, nay even their history seems to crystallize in given types from which individual variations are few. Just as the composition translated in my previous article was shown to fall naturally into a familiar literary category, so too the second new text to which M. Golénischeff's book introduces us.

It has been much discussed of late, with an eye to possible borrowings or imitations how far the Egyptians can be said to have possessed a prophetic literature; and as was almost inevitable critics have misunderstood one another over the meaning assigned to the term "prophetic." Professor Breasted has very properly pointed out that prediction is by no means the whole, nor even necessarily a part, of prophecy as exhibited in the prophetic writings of the Hebrews¹; and in order that there may be no confusion of issues henceforth, it will be well to employ the word prediction wherever the foretelling of future events is in view. Now hitherto several texts have been known which fairly deserve the name prophetic, insofar as they describe in elevated and poetical style certain social and political evils, and hint at possible remedies; but none of these texts is definitely predictive². On the other hand at least one instance of a prediction can be pointed to in a literary work of the Pharaonic period, namely that in the Westcar papyrus³, where the magician Dedi foretells the coming of the kings of the Fifth Dynasty; here however the context is not prophetic in the sense that we have agreed to understand the term. What is really new about the Petersburg papyrus is the fact that not only does it contain a specific and indubitable prediction relating to the King Amenemhêt I of the Twelfth Dynasty, but that prediction is the culminating point of a pessimistic passage of the true prophetic type.

¹ *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, p. 212, footnote 1; I entirely agree with Professor Breasted's point of view, but still think he has read into my remarks more than I intended, or than my words warrant.

² The chief of these are the *Admonitions of Ipuwer*, the *Reflexions of Khékheperresonbu* and the *Dialogue of the Misanthrope and his Soul*; a readable account and a bibliography in BREASTED, *op. cit.* lectures VI and VII.

³ *Westcar*, 9, 10-11.

It is not until Graeco-Roman times that we again find prediction and the genuine prophetic style in combination. The late Professor KRALL translated some fragments of a demotic papyrus in the collection of the Erzherzog Rainer which answer this description; it is the legend of a prediction to which a lamb is supposed to have given utterance in the reign of King Bokkhoris¹. Still more closely allied to our text is the *Prediction of the Potter before King Amenophis*, a Greek translation of a native Egyptian text first published by Professor WESSELY²; here we find much of the characteristic stock-in-trade of the Egyptian prophet, for example references to foreign invaders, to scanty Niles and to a veiled or eclipsed sun.

Affinities to the Petersburg papyrus can be discovered also in a quite different direction. No commoner exordium to Egyptian historical stelae can be found than the theme exemplified in the beginning of our prophecy. In this theme the Pharaoh is imagined as sitting in his Palace, either pondering some problem or desirous of counsel or amusement. In his difficulty he summons to his aid his counsellors³ or, it may be, the Queen⁴, or the Royal Princes⁵; and by their help or, as it occasionally happens, in spite of it⁶, the requisite end is obtained. So popular was this opening that it is even found in one mythological text, that in which the aged god Rê calls upon the other gods to help him in combating his rebellious human subjects⁷.

Before proceeding to the translation of the papyrus it is necessary to say a few words as to the subsidiary sources. In Liverpool there is an ostracon containing a few of the introductory sentences. Professor Petrie's collection has produced also a fine limestone fragment duplicating a section in the middle of the text. Last of all, a writing-tablet in the Cairo collection contains a considerable portion of the latter half of the prophecy. Notwithstanding this external aid⁸, which points to the popularity of the work, its text is far from established. As regards translation, M. Golénischeff's paraphrase, with quotations, on pp. 6-7 of his publication greatly improves on his earlier and shorter account, *Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache* 14 (1876), pp. 109-110; in a note in the *Recueil de Travaux* 15, p. 88 he had already recognized the prophetic character of the book. Professor Ranke's courageous attempt to translate the defective text of the *Cairo Tablet* (in GRESSMANN'S *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, pp. 204-6) seems to me deserving of the highest commendation.

TRANSLATION.

(1) Now it happened when King Snofru the deceased was beneficent King throughout the land; in one (2) of those days it happened that the magistrates of the Residence entered the Great House to perform their duty⁹. And they (3) went

¹ A short account in RANKE-GRESSMANN, *Altorientalische Texte*, pp. 206-7.

² *Ibid.* pp. 207-8.

³ Examples: Stele of King Neferhotp (BREASTED, *Ancient Records* I, 332); of King Rahotp (PETRIE, *Koptos* 12); of Ramesses II at Kubân (BREASTED, *op. cit.* III, 118).

⁴ *Stele of Queen Tetisheri* in SETHE, *Urkunden* IV, 26-9.

⁵ The lost beginning of the *Westcar Papyrus*, which must closely have resembled our text in form.

⁶ *Carnarvon Tablet*.

⁷ NAVILLE, *La Destruction des hommes*, in *Trans. S.B.A.* IV, 1-19.

⁸ The ostraca and tablet are published in M. GOLÉNISCHEFF'S book.

⁹ From NEWBERRY, *Life of Rekhmara* 2, 5 it is known that the officials of the Residence reported to Pharaoh every morning on the state of affairs within their own administrative provinces.

forth again in order that they might perform their duty¹ according to their daily observance.

Said His Majesty to the chancellor (4) who was at his side²: "Haste and bring to me the magistrates of the Residence who have gone forth hence in order to perform their duty on this day." Audience was given to them³ (5) forthwith, and they lay on their bellies in the Presence of His Majesty a second time.

Said His Majesty to them: "My friends, (6) I have caused you to be summoned in order that ye may seek out for me from your sons one who has understanding, or from your brothers one who excels, (7) or from your friends one⁴ who has achieved some noble deed, that he may⁵ speak to me some beauteous words, choice (8) speeches in the hearing of which My Majesty may find diversion."

Thereupon they laid <themselves>⁶ on their bellies in the Presence of His Majesty yet again, (9) and spoke before His Majesty: "There is a Great Lector of Ubast, O King our Lord, whose name (10) is Neferrohu⁷, a commoner valiant with his arm⁸, a scribe excellent with his fingers⁹, a wealthy man great of possessions (11) beyond all his equals. Would it [might be vouchsafed to] him to see thy (?)¹⁰ Majesty."

Said His Majesty: "Haste and bring him to me," and audience (12) was given to him forthwith, and he lay on his belly in the Presence of His Majesty.

Said His Majesty: "Come now, Neferrohu (13) my friend, and speak to me some beauteous words, choice speeches in the hearing of which My Majesty may (14) find diversion."

Said the Lector Neferrohu: "Shall it be of things past or of things future¹¹, O King my Lord?"

(15) Said his Majesty: "Nay, of things future; today (a thing) happens and is past (?)¹²." Thereupon he¹³ stretched forth his hand to the box holding the (16) writing materials, and took him a scroll and a reed, and put (what was spoken) in writing.

¹ The phrase *nd hrt* is very clumsily used in this passage. In l. 2 it certainly refers to the report made by the officials before Pharaoh, and in l. 4 it refers equally certainly to their functions outside the Palace. Here one may be in doubt; with the existing text one must interpret as in l. 4, but *nd-<n>-sn* might be a better reading "after they had performed their duty," i.e. made report (cf. l. 2).

² Cf. *Stele of Kuban* 12.

³ Both the papyrus and the *Liverpool Ostrakon* are corrupt; cf. ll. 11-12 and emend *st'-in-tw-sn nf*, or with omission of the suffix *st'-in-tw nf*, as *Stele of Kuban* 12.

⁴ Emend <*m*> *wd*.

⁵ Lit., "who shall speak."

⁶ <*St*>.

⁷ The last signs of the name (also ll. 12, 14, 17) are probably the man and woman above the plural strokes, which latter are distributed between the two superimposed signs in a way occasionally found in the XVIII. Dyn., see MÖLLER, *Paläographie*, vol. II, Anhang, no. LXIX (Gurôb); so too several times in the *Petrie Ostrakon* containing a duplicate of part of this text. For the name cf. LIEBLEIN, *Dict. des noms propres* 1443, an isolated instance; for *rhw* in proper names see *Rec. de Trav.* 9, p. 57, n. 2.

⁸ *Nds kn n g'b-f*, cf. *Urk.* IV, 414 (DÉVAUD).

⁹ *Ss ikr n db'w-f*, cf. *Shipwrecked Sailor* 188.

¹⁰ Emend *k* for *f*.

¹¹ Emend *hpr-ty-sy* both here and in the next line, where the reading is nearer the original.

¹² Obscure; *min is* must be adverbial as elsewhere, see VOGELSANG, *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern*, p. 147.

¹³ Apparently it is the King himself who writes, an unexpected and interesting trait.—*Hr(t)-'*, cf. *Medum*, 13; BRUGSCH, *Dict.*, 1126.—*Ddt hr-hb* etc. in 16 is the title to the whole prophecy; so Prof. Sethe, with whom at the last moment I have had the great advantage of being able to read the text.

What was spoken by the Lector (17) Neferrohu, that wise man of the East, who belongs to Ubast at her rising, that native of the Heliopolitan nome, as he (18) was brooding over what should come to pass¹ in the land, and conjuring up the condition² of the East, when the Asiatics approach in their might (19) and their hearts rage against those who are gathering in the harvest, and they take away (their) kine from the ploughing. (20) And he said:—

“Up³, my heart, and bewail this land whence thou art sprung. He who is silent is a transgressor(??)⁴. Behold, that exists whereof men spoke (21) as a thing to be dreaded(??). Behold the great one is fallen <in the land>⁵ whence thou art sprung. Be thou not weary. Behold, these things⁶ are before thee; (22) rise up against what is in thy presence. Behold, princes hold sway in the land, things made are as though they had never been made. Day begins in falsehood(??)⁷. (23) The land is utterly perished, and nought remains; never did a finger-nail complete.....(??).

(24) Perished is this land, none there is who meditates upon it; none speaks, none acts. Thou weeper(?), how fares this land? The sun is veiled (25) and shines not <in> the sight of⁸ men. None can live, <when the sun(??)> is veiled <by(??)> clouds(?)⁹. The sight of all is¹⁰ dulled(?) (26) through the want of it.

I will speak of what is before me. I prophesy not that which is not yet come¹¹.

The river is dry, (even the river) of¹² Egypt. Men cross over (27) the water on foot. Men shall need water for the ships and for the sailings thereof. Their course is become a sand-bank. And the sand-bank (28) shall be stream,..... The South wind shall blow against the North wind, the sky shall not have (29) one wind alone¹³. A fearsome bird¹⁴ shall be born in the swamps of the Delta; it makes a nest on (30) either side; the people have caused it to approach through want of it.

Perished are those good things (of yore), the ponds¹⁵ of those(?) (31) who slit fish¹⁶, teeming with fish and fowl. All good things are passed away. The earth¹⁷

¹ Here again emend *hpr-ty-sy*, see above, p. 102, note 11.

² *Kni n* is obviously a corruption for *kī n* “the form of”; the same error *Sall.* I, 6, 2 = *Anast.* v, 15, 7.

³ *Hws* seems to mean (1) “to build,” (2) “to do a thing well,” cf. *Urk.* IV, 28. Here apparently imperative.

⁴ The construction of this sentence is doubtful; for *wḥ* see the examples collected *Ä. Z.*, 26 (1888), 84.

⁵ Insert <*m t'*>, cf. l. 20; *t'* is displaced.

⁶ Lit., “it.”

⁷ Read *grg* with the determinatives of evil(?).

⁸ Emend <*r*> *m*; cf. *Proc. S.B.A.* xxxiv, p. 259, note 9.

⁹ Emend <*w itn*> *ḥbs* <*m*> or something of the sort.

¹⁰ Omit *s*.

¹¹ This sentence is not meant to be understood literally, for that Neferrohu is really describing future events is evident from the whole tenour of the book; however he sees them as things present, as though they were taking place before his eyes.

¹² For the writing of *n* cf. below ll. 36, 64 etc.

¹³ The *Ostrakon* wrongly makes the sentence affirmative. For the expression cf. *w t' pt m r-s nḥt*, *Pap. Leiden* 350 verso, 5, 11.

¹⁴ For *drdr*, which seems to imply both “hostile” and “foreign,” see my note on *Sinuhe* B 202. Are the foreign invaders hinted at in this expression?

¹⁵ *Š[ī]-w k'ḥ* seems to be a special phrase for fish-ponds, cf. *Kuban Stele* 30 = *Rec. de Trav.* 14, 97. Is *k'ḥ* in *Urk.* IV, 659 related in any way?

¹⁶ *Wgs* means “to slit open” fish for drying; since the ponds can hardly be full of slit fish, it seems necessary to take *wyḡw* as a genitive. In the text I have adopted the reading of the *Petrie Ostrakon*; the papyrus reading should perhaps be rendered “of those who carry slit fish.”

¹⁷ Omit *m* with the *Ostrakon*.

is (32) fallen into misery for the sake of yon food of the Beduins who pervade the land. For foes (33) are in the East, and Asiatics shall (?) descend into Egypt.is in want, though (?) another is beside him; no protector hears. (34) Men shall delay..... in the night. Men shall enter the strongholds(?), sleep shall be banished(?)¹ from my eyes, (35) (so that) I pass the night² wakeful.

The beasts of the desert shall drink from the rivers (36) of Egypt, and take their ease on their sand-banks in the lack of (any) to scare them away(?). (37) For this land shall be (?) in perturbation(?)³; none knows the issue that shall be. Hidden(?).....(38) seeing(?), hearing(?). Men are deaf(?), silence is before (men's) faces(?).

I show thee the land upside down⁴, (39) happened that which never (yet) had happened. Men shall take weapons of warfare; the land lives in (40) uproar.

Men shall fashion arrows of bronze; they crave for the bread (41) of blood. Men laugh with the laughter of pain. None there is who weepeth because of death. (42) None spends the night hungry because of death. (Every) man's heart careth for his own self. No dishevelled (?) locks⁵ are made (43) today. Hearts are entirely..... A man sits in his corner (44) careless(?) while one slayeth another. I show thee the son as enemy⁶, the brother as foe, a man (45) slaying his father.

Every mouth is full of 'Love me!' All good things have departed⁷. Destruction(?) (46) of the land, laws are decreed concerning it. There is a paucity (?) of things done; men are bereft of what was found (existent); things made are (47) as though they had never been made. Men take a man's possessions from him; they are given to him who is a stranger. I show thee the possessor as one needy(?), while the stranger is satisfied. (48) He who never was one who filled for himself is one who is empty. Men [regard(?)] fellow-citizens(?) as to be hated, so as(?) to silence the mouth that speaks⁸. A word is answered, and (49) an arm goes forth with a stick; people speak, 'Slay him not!'

The discourse of speech in (men's) hearts is as a fire. (50) No utterance of the mouth is tolerated. The land is minished, its rulers are multiplied. Lacking is any rich in his produce(?)⁹. Little is the corn, (51) great the corn-measure; (yet) it is measured to overflowing. Rê removes himself from men. (If) he shines, it is (but) an hour(?). None (52) knoweth that midday is there; his shadow is not discerned. Not dazzled is the sight when he is beheld; the eyes are not moist¹⁰ (53) with water. He is in the sky like the Moon; his accustomed(?) season fails not¹¹, for in sooth (54) his rays are in (men's) faces after his former wise.

¹ *Snb-t* seems a new word; in the *Ostrakon* it is determined with the wing. Is it connected with *snb* (*s[ʔ]nb*) "to overthrow a wall"?

² Delete *hr*.

³ *It in* is, as Prof. Sethe shows me, an expression for disorderly movement with various *nuances*; examples, *Urk.* IV, 365, 710; BRUGSCH, *Wört. Suppl.* 1345. The *Cairo Tablet* has rightly *r itt* [*int*].

⁴ This sentence is repeated below, l. 54. For *di-i nk* cf. also ll. 44, 47. *Sny-mny*, a jingle like our "topsy-turvy," see GARDINER, *Admonitions*, p. 103.

⁵ *S;m-t* apparently only *Todtenbuch* ed. NAV., 50, 3.

⁶ Cf. *Admonitions* I, 5.

⁷ As above, l. 31.

⁸ The sense of these sentences is very obscure.

⁹ So the *Cairo Tablet*; the papyrus determines the word as though it meant "servants."

¹⁰ *'Ibh* "to be wet," cf. *Ebers* 100, 9. 13 quoted by LORET, *Sphinx* 5, 149.

¹¹ *Nw-j n šš*, "his time of experience," i.e. his accustomed season; for the sense of *šš*; cf. *šhrw*

I show thee the land upside down; the man weak of arm is (now) the possessor of an arm; men (55) do the bidding of him who (once) did (other men's) bidding. I show thee the undermost uppermost..... Men live in the Necropolis. (56) The poor man will make (his) hoard..... The pauper eats (57) offering-bread. Servants are..... The nome of Heliopolis will not be the land of birth (?) of any god.

There is a (58) King shall come from the South, whose name is Ameny, son of a Nubian woman, (59) a child of Chen-khon¹. He shall receive the White Crown; he shall assume the Red Crown²; (60) he shall unite the 'Two Powerful Ones'³; he shall propitiate Horus and Seth with what they love, the "Surrounder of fields"⁴ in (61) his grasp, the oar.....

The people of his time shall rejoice, (this) man of noble birth (62) shall make his name for ever and ever. Those who turn to mischief, who devise rebellion (63) shall subdue their mouthings through fear of him. The Asiatics shall fall by his sword, the Libyans (64) shall fall before his flame, and the rebels before his wrath⁵, and the froward before (65) his majesty. The Uraeus that dwelleth in front shall pacify for him⁶ the froward.

(66) There shall be built the 'Wall of the Prince', so as not to allow the Asiatics to go down (67) into Egypt, that they may beg for water after (their) wonted wise, (68) so as to give their cattle to drink. And Right shall come into its place, (69) and Iniquity be cast (?) forth. He will rejoice who shall behold (70) and who shall serve the King. And he that is prudent shall (71) pour to me libation when he sees fulfilled what I have spoken.

It has come to a successful end. (Written) by the scribe [Mahu].

It remains but to add a few words on the historical bearings of this prophecy. The King Ameny to whom allusion is made is evidently Amenemhêt I⁶, for that monarch is named in the *Story of Sinuhe* as the author of the *Wall of the Prince* "which was made to repel the Beduins, and to crush the Nomads." No trace of the Wall has been discovered hitherto, though if it was a construction at all on the scale of the Assuan-Shellal wall some remains of it ought certainly to survive. From a careful study of the geographical data in the *Story of Sinuhe* Dr Küthmann concludes (*Die Ostgrenze Ägyptens*, p. 34) that the Wall must have been situated near Tell er šš;w below, l. 67. This sentence is very obscure, but must, I think, mean that men's knowledge of the time when the sun should shine alone enables them to distinguish it from the moon.

¹ *Hn-hn*, according to BRUGSCH, *Dict. Géogr.* 599, a name of Upper Egypt; cf. *Piankhi* 6 (Sethe); for *n Rs* above cf. *Urk.* IV, 5 (Sethe).

² Cf. PETRIE, *Koptos* 8, 8.

³ *Šhmti*, epithet of the two goddesses, Buto and Nekhebt, who preside over the double crown; hence *p' šhmti*, Gk. ψχεστ, as a name of the latter (*Rosettana*).

⁴ I suspect that *phr-lh* is the name of some cult-object, and that allusion is here made to the rite often depicted on the temple-walls, the King running with an oar in one hand and some other object in the other hand.

⁵ Read *dndn* with the *Cairo Tablet*; if *ndnd*, the reading of the papyrus, means anything it means "counsel," which is here out of place.

⁶ Read *nf* with the *Cairo Tablet*.

⁷ 'Inb hē; cf. *Sinuhe R* 42=B 17.

⁸ Prof. Ed. Meyer (*Geesch. d. Altert.*² II, § 280) seems to have been the first to draw this obvious conclusion. On the abbreviation 'Imny for 'Imnmh;t see GRIFFITH, *Proc. S.B.A.* XIV, 39-40.

Retabeh, at no great distance from the mouth of the Wady Tumulât. It is of considerable interest to note that the culminating point of the prophecy is the building of this wall, which in the mind of the author ushers in a new era. This fact demonstrates beyond all possibility of contradiction the thesis that I have now frequently upheld, namely that the period between the Middle and New Kingdoms witnessed considerable and historical Asiatic incursions into the fertile and therefore much-coveted Valley of the Nile. At the same time it should be remembered that Neferrohu speaks avowedly only in reference to the Eastern Delta, so that the Asiatic aggressions might, so far as the evidence of this papyrus goes, have been confined to that region.

Since the text ends with a panegyric of Amenemhêt I it is by no means improbable that it was composed in the course of his reign. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary the burden of proof must rest on those who favour a later date.

POSTSCRIPT.

At the last moment I have chanced upon a fragment of yet another duplicate of our prophecy. The small writing-board, Brit. Mus. 5647, dating from the earliest times of the Eighteenth Dynasty, has claimed the attention of scholars on account of a few Keftiu proper names that occur on the *recto*. The hieratic text is published in facsimile by W. MAX MÜLLER, *Studien zur vorderasiatischen Geschichte* (= *Mitt. d. vorderas. Ges.*, 1900, 1). On the *verso* are a number of names and memoranda, and towards the end what hitherto appeared to be some wholly incoherent phrases. A closer inspection shows the last to be a partly deleted duplicate of *Pap. Petersburg 1116 B, recto*, 9-12. The variants are of little or no importance, and the identification is of more value for the interpretation of the writing-board than for that of the papyrus. Still, it is not without interest to have more evidence of the popularity of the prophecy of Neferrohu.

We have here yet one more proof how limited was the number of books that formed the standard literature of the Theban period; the "classical education" of the Egyptian schoolboy seems to have consisted of some dozen books, fragments of which recur again and again on ostraca and papyrus fragments. There is now no doubt that both the compositions with which the Petersburg papyrus has made us acquainted are to be included in that number.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON PAP. PETERSBURG 1116 A, *recto*.

My friend M. Dévaud has pointed out to me that several instances of the phrase *pds-wt nt š* (l. 82) are quoted by BRUGSCH (*Dict., Suppl.*, 494; *Dict. Géogr.* 94). From the contexts in which these instances occur it is obvious that some lake-country in the extreme North of the Delta must be meant. When therefore the King says "I pacified the entire West, as far as the stretches of the Lake-district," the latter expression must refer not to the Fayûm, but to the region about Lake Mareotis. This gives a far better sense than that conveyed by my former translation.

An apt parallel for *nm'-f n nb db;w* (l. 44) occurs on a New York stele that has just been published; there we find the epithet *tm nm' n nb db;w* "not showing partiality to the possessor of rewards" (RANSOM, *The stela of Menthu-weser*, l. 14). For this quotation I am once again indebted to M. Dévaud.

SOME NEW EXAMPLES OF EGYPTIAN INFLUENCE AT NINEVEH

BY LEONARD W. KING, M.A., F.S.A.

[See Plate XV]

IT is a striking fact that during the excavations carried out on the site of Nineveh not many objects have been recovered which show traces of Egyptian influence. Yet as early as the fourteenth century we have evidence of direct intercourse between that city and Egypt, which must have been accompanied by an exchange of products. If Tushratta of Mitanni could send the holy statue of Ishtar of Nineveh into Egypt for the benefit of Amenhetep III, we may be sure that the goddess, with her priests and votaries, brought back with her rich loads of Egyptian furniture, vessels and jewelry. In view of Sennacherib's entire reconstruction of Nineveh, it is not surprising that any remains of the city of Tushratta's age, which may have survived into the seventh century, should have been removed. But on Sennacherib's own palace-mound, in the building of his grandson, the conqueror of Egypt, we might perhaps have looked for some remnants of the sack of Thebes. Strong Egyptian influence may certainly be detected in the carved pavement-slabs from the palace corridors and entrances, with their beautiful papyrus borders. But at Nineveh there has been no find of ivories or bronze bowls as at Nimrûd, where in many cases the influence of Egyptian models is obvious. That Egyptian works of art were imported into Nineveh by the later Sargonids is clear from the records of the Egyptian campaigns; and Shabaka's famous clay sealing, which was found during excavations in the palace-mound some thirty-three years ago¹, evidently secured the cording round a bundle of presents, sent by the Nubian King to Nineveh perhaps on Sennacherib's accession. The comparative scarcity of smaller objects of artistic or archaeological interest at Kuyunjik is evidence of the very thorough manner in which the palace-buildings were sacked before their destruction. Hence the recovery of any new objects of this class has some importance as supplementing our knowledge of Assyrian art during the later period, derived, as so much of it is, exclusively from the sculptured bas-reliefs. Of such objects those must have a special interest which in any way exhibit the play of foreign influence upon native ideals, which was a natural result of Assyrian political expansion.

In the recently published *Supplement* to the Kuyunjik Collection some additional evidence has already been noted of Egyptian influence at Nineveh². We have a couple of

¹ Brit. Mus., 81-2-4, 352; Nineveh Gallery, Case I, No. 32.

² See King, *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum: Supplement* (1914), Introduction, p. xxviii f.

scarabs, the one dating from a period as early as the eleventh or tenth century and commemorating a visit to Thebes made by some Assyrian merchant or traveller¹; the other, manufactured in Egypt during the Sargonid period and inscribed, like so many hundreds of its class, with the prenominal of Thothmes III². There is also a contract-tablet, recording the receipt of four homers of barley from a well-known Assyrian corn-factor, which the borrower, probably a Syrian or Aramean merchant at Nineveh, has sealed twice with a scarab; this shows the prenominal of Thothmes III within a cartouche, above the *neb*-sign, and between two *nefer*-signs and two uraei wearing the White Crown³. These three examples are evidence of direct importation; and it is surprising that so few scarabs and scarab-impressions have been found. More interesting is the cartouche of blue paste, carved with the garbled form of the Egyptian royal name Seti⁴, since we here have evidence of an Assyrian craftsman deliberately copying an Egyptian original,—and not very successfully, so far as the hieroglyphs are concerned. The cartouche was doubtless employed for inlaying an ivory ornament of the same class as the Nimrûd panel 48-7-20, 20⁵.

Although three of the objects just referred to do not fall under the category of "cuneiform tablets," they were included in the *Supplement* to the Kuyunjik Catalogue inasmuch as they bear inscriptions. But among the objects other than inscriptions, which have been added to the Collection, are a few which, in artistic treatment, betray a strong Egyptian influence. And it is the aim of the present paper to give some account of these, accompanied by photographic reproductions. The first has some novel features, for, either it was the product of an Egyptian artist working for the Assyrian market, or it gives evidence of a very exceptional sensitiveness, on the part of an Assyrian or other Asiatic craftsman, to the influence of Egyptian design and technique.

I. An ivory figure of Ishtar as an Egyptian goddess.

The ivory photographed on Plate XV was found, with one or two other objects of a similar character, in the course of clearing one of the chambers of the "South-West Palace" at Kuyunjik⁶. At first sight it gives the impression of having formed part of the ivory handle of a mirror, but an inspection of the back reveals the fact that it is carved from only a segment of the tusk, the edges having been shaved down so that it could be fitted to a flat surface. If it was the central figure in a larger composition, we may conjecture that this must have taken the form of an inlaid panel similar to those found at Nimrûd. The Egyptian character of the figure leaps to the eye. The wig, the treatment of the ears splayed prominently in front of it, the necklace, and the light diaphanous garment, revealing the figure and with its skirt projecting to the front, are all typically Egyptian, while the hole in the wig was evidently bored

¹ No. 414, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

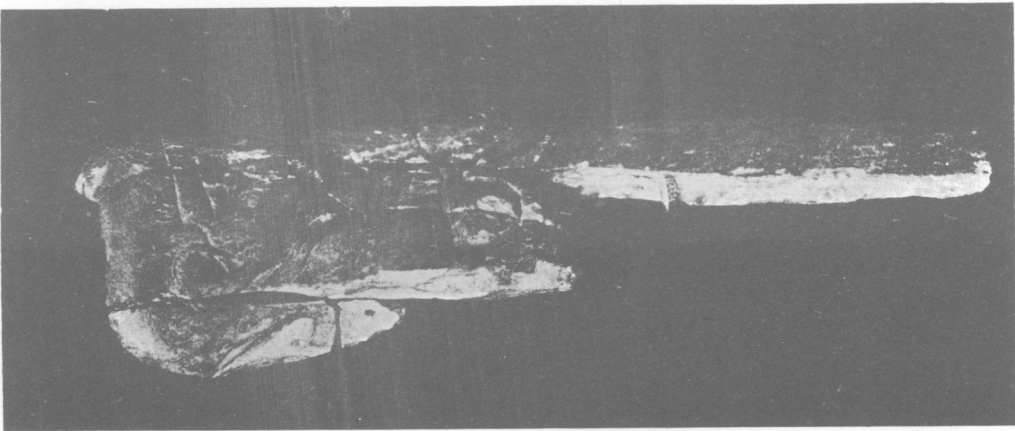
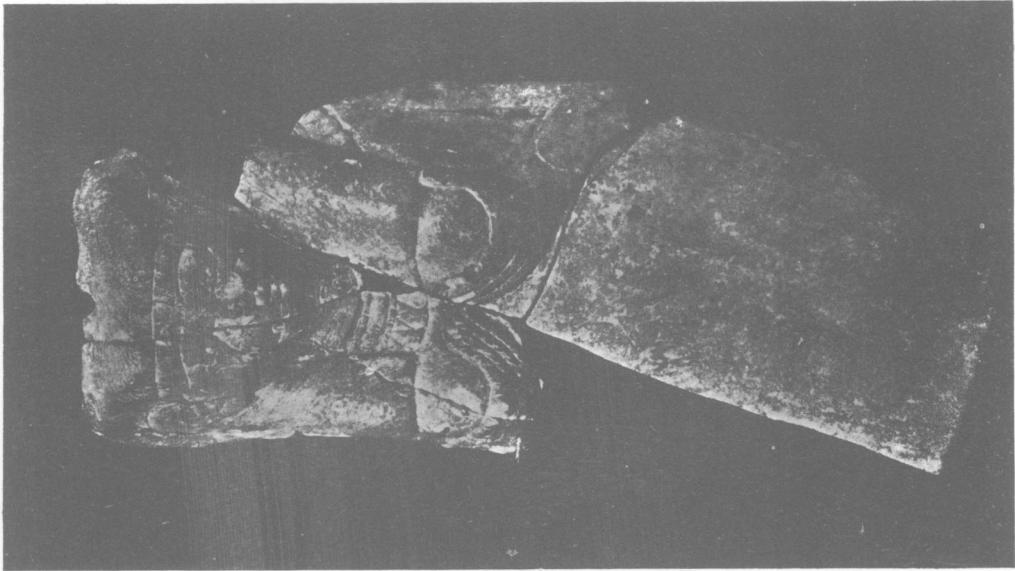
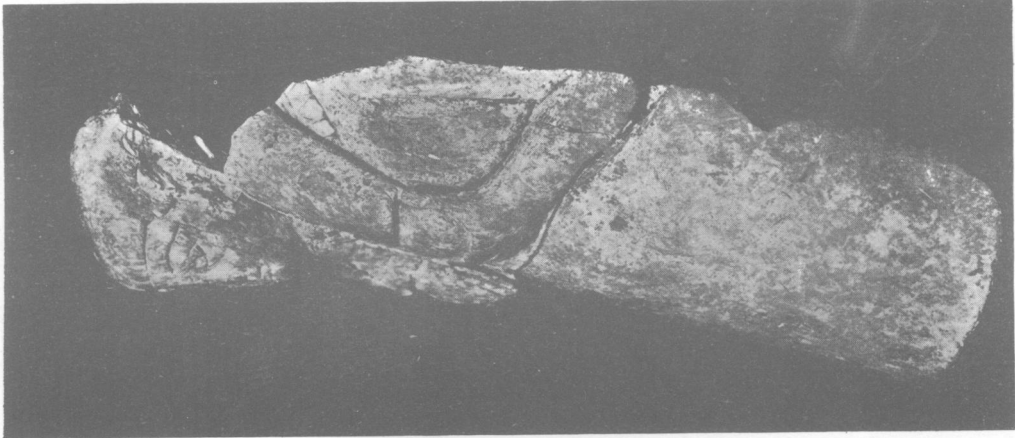
³ No. 93, *op. cit.*, pp. xxviii, 17.

⁶ Brit. Mus., Nimroud Gallery, Case F, No. 69.

² No. 627, *op. cit.*, p. 66 f.

⁴ No. 413, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

⁶ It was found in three pieces, now joined together; these bear the Registration Nos., Ki. 1904-10-9, 426, 428 and 429. Ki. 1904-10-9, 427 is another fragment of ivory, probably from the same figure but it does not join and its position in relation to the other three fragments is difficult to conjecture. The three joined fragments are photographed, actual size, on Plate XV. The yellow tints of the ivory have given the figure in the photographs a rather discoloured appearance, which is not shared by the original.



Ivory figure of Ishtar as an Egyptian goddess.

for the insertion of a metal uraeus. In fact, everything about the figure is Egyptian with one exception—the position of the hands. The fact that the goddess holds her breasts at once betrays her Asiatic character.

It is scarcely necessary to point out that this attitude is quite un-Egyptian. Some rude clay figures of the nude goddess, with hands on breasts, are found occasionally in Egypt, but they are either importations or were manufactured in Egypt under foreign influence¹. The type in fact is characteristic of Western Asia and extends also into the Aegean area². For our purpose it is sufficient that in the later period it was the recognized form of Astarte in Syria and Cyprus, while in the Mesopotamian region it represented Ishtar in her character as the goddess of love.

One unique feature of the ivory is that the goddess is here not nude: her light garment covers the whole figure from the neck downwards, a characteristic in favour of Egyptian workmanship. The hands do not contradict this possibility, for it is the attitude only, not the treatment, which is Asiatic. The showing of all four fingers, symmetrically curved, is thoroughly Egyptian and may be paralleled by countless examples, where an open hand is represented supporting a vase, a libation-pot, or the like. It is true that in these cases the thumb is placed conventionally above the fingers, but, given the problem of representing the support of a spherical object with the open hand, the Egyptian method would inevitably be that adopted in the Ninevite ivory³. This convention is in striking contrast to the more naturalistic (and often awkward) treatment of the hand in Assyrian sculpture, and in ivories of the nude goddess from Syria and Mesopotamia, which reflect Egyptian influence, but are obviously of local manufacture⁴. The treatment of the hands on our ivory of the seventh century was afterwards stereotyped, if we may judge from its recurrence upon late, and rather gross, clay figures, possibly of the Seleucid epoch, which have been found at Susa⁵.

¹ Cp. Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, Pl. XXVI n. 6, *Tanis II (Nebesheh)*, Pl. VII, No. 12; Quibell, *Ramesseum*, Pl. XXX A, No. 6; Capart, *Rec. de Mon. Ég.*, Deux. Sér., Pl. LXV. We may certainly group with these the clay vase in the form of a woman holding her breasts, purchased by M. Naville at Luxor and now at Geneva (*Rec. de trav.* xxi, p. 212 f., Pl. I; and cf. Capart, *Débuts*, pp. 144, 171). The Egyptian predynastic figures do not show this attitude.

² It is still uncertain, whether the nude goddess is to be traced to a Babylonian, Anatolian or Aegean source, and to what extent types, perhaps originally distinct, have been later on assimilated. Among the earliest examples of the type under discussion is that found in the "Second City" at Hissarlik. A useful collection of material is given by Contenau, *La déesse nue babylonienne* (Paris, 1914), but some of his dated specimens require scrutiny.

³ It will suffice to quote two Egyptian parallels: the nude female figure on the handle of a wooden toilet-spoon of the XVIIIth Dynasty in the Louvre (cf. Capart, *L'Art Égyptien*, I, p. 27, Pl. 79), and the male figure carrying a basket of fruit, on an ivory panel, probably of the Saïte period, in the MacGregor Collection (*op. cit.* II, p. 66, Pl. 191). In both cases the hand is half open, but the curve and treatment of the four fingers and their symmetrical junction with the thumb are precisely the same as in our ivory. The figure on the spoon is particularly valuable for comparison.

⁴ Compare, for example, the small ivory from N. Syria, Brit. Mus., No. 37148, Fourth Egyptian Room, Case A, No. 215, or that from Nimrud, Nim. Gall., Case E, No. 10.

⁵ See Brit. Mus., Nos. 91822-33, Bab. Rm., Wall-Case 35 f., Nos. 969-980.

(To be continued)

THE RELATIONS OF AEGEAN WITH EGYPTIAN ART

By H. R. HALL, M.A., F.S.A.

[See Plates XVI, XVII]

THE following lecture was delivered before the members and subscribers of the Egypt Exploration Fund on April 22, 1913. I have expanded it and added to it somewhat in further elucidation of the subject, besides giving references. I cannot hope to have exhausted all the evidence within the compass of a single lecture, but have endeavoured to recapitulate everything of material importance. Sir Arthur Evans has been kind enough to read my proof-sheets, and has communicated to me his latest views on the earliest relations of Egypt and Crete, which I have included, noting in every case his authority.

I have chosen the convenient term "Aegean" to describe the art of Prehistoric or Heroic Greece, because the use of the term "Greek" may perhaps be misleading. It is a moot question whether the word "Greek" may be used territorially as well as racially. Personally, I think that we may so use it, especially since I believe that there was in the blood of the classical Greeks and is in that of the modern Greeks a very large proportion indeed of that of the prehistoric race of Greece. Pre-Hellenic this race was, non-Hellenic; but Greek if all were Greeks who lived in Greece. And it may be that a very great deal of the character which we know as Greek in the people of classical Hellas was an inheritance from the older people, who were quite as "Greek" as the invading Indo-Europeans who gave Hellas her classical polity and the groundwork of her language (much of its vocabulary being probably an inheritance from older people who had absorbed its conquerors). Still, to avoid misinterpretation, I avoid the word "Greek," and use "Aegean" instead.

The word covers the terms "Mycenaean," which we used to use for the whole prehistoric culture till the recent discoveries in Crete, but now confine to the culture of the mainland of Greece, and "Minoan," which Sir Arthur Evans has introduced to designate the prehistoric Cretan civilization. It is confined to the culture of the Stone and Bronze Ages, as when iron comes in we may surely be allowed to speak of "Greek civilization," since the Aryan Greeks probably brought the iron with them.

The Stone Age hardly concerns us, for we can hardly, as yet, speak of relations between Egyptian and Aegean art in Neolithic days, though it is by no means certain that such relations did not then exist, especially since there is a probability that the Aegean civilization was ultimately derived, in far-away Neolithic times, from that of Egypt, or rather from one of the primitive elements which went to form Egyptian culture¹. This, however, is at present only conjecture: but with the Old Egyptian Kingdom actual relations are certainly predicible.

¹ Cf. HALL, *J.H.S.* xxv. (1905), p. 337.



Fig. 1. L. M. I Vase from Erment: British Museum.

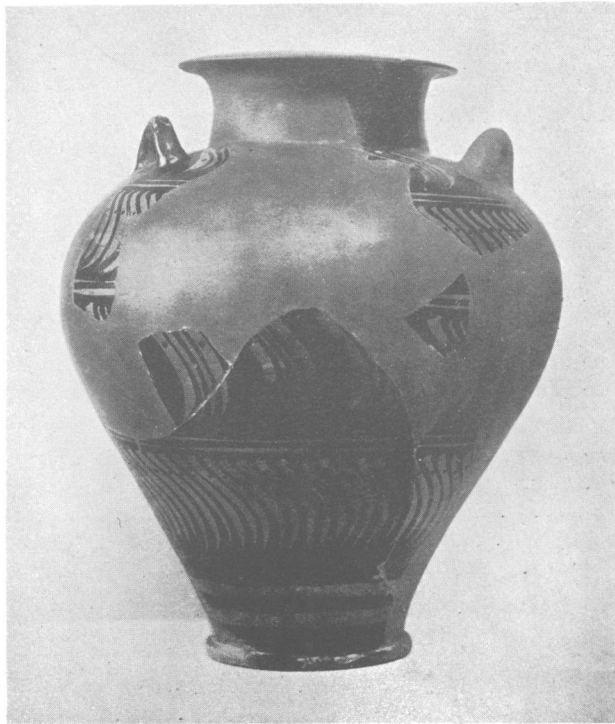


Fig. 2. L. M. II Vase from Thebes (de Garis Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, Plate XLI).


MINOAN VASES FOUND IN EGYPT.

The first great fact (already guessed before) which the Cretan discoveries have proved is the continuity of the Aegean culture. It was a single civilization that grew up and developed on the same ground. We are not dealing with the remains of successive immigrations and disconnected cultures. So far as we know no great irruption like that of the Indo-European Greeks ever deflected the course of Aegean civilization, in Crete and the islands at any rate. As regards continental Greece the case may have been, and probably was, different; there the Aegeans were themselves invaders, and contended with other tribes, either autochthones or invaders from north and east, with Thessalian non-Aegean stone-users in the north and makers of grey "Minyan" pottery in Central Greece. But in its own home, Crete and the islands, and especially Crete, the Aegean culture and art developed itself unaffected by any general catastrophe till the northern flood bore down all obstacles, and Illyrian or Thesprotian "Dorians" and Thessalian "Achaians" and "Hellenes" swept over the Aegean world as far as Cyprus. The Aegean culture is in its origin specifically Cretan and "Minoan": in Crete it first developed, then spreading northwards it absorbed the kindred culture of the islands and, perhaps, the Peloponnese, then it won Central Greece north of the Isthmus from its probably alien aborigines, becoming there "Mycenaeen," and finally, when its own end was near, forced its way into Thessaly, having already reached the Troad in one direction, Cyprus (and Philistia later) in another, Sicily and Messapia in another.

The geographical position of this culture naturally brought it into relations at an early period with the great civilization of Egypt to the south of it. This period was early not only in the history of Crete but also in that of Egypt. The second great fact which the Cretan discoveries have proved is the great age of the Aegean or Minoan culture. With the help of Egyptian synchronisms we know that the Minoan civilization was nearly, if not quite, as old as the Egyptian. Precise dates cannot be given for this age before the seventeenth century B.C., when both cultures already counted their antiquity by considerably more than a millennium; by about three millennia if Professor Petrie's dates for the Old and Middle Egyptian kingdoms are accepted. If, however, with the majority of Egyptian archaeologists, we prefer to believe that such a period as 1600 years between the Fifteenth and Eighteenth Dynasties is impossible on the face of it, and not necessitated by the archaeological evidence, we may be content with nearly two millennia. If we date the beginnings of Egyptian history about 3500 B.C., we have not long to wait before we find indisputable traces of connexion between Egypt and Crete. Sir Arthur Evans has arrayed the "pre-history" of Crete in three main periods, Early, Middle, and Late Minoan, each of which is divided into three, First, Second, and Third. This chronology is ultimately based for its dates on Egyptian synchronisms, though for itself it relies upon the evidence of the excavations themselves. The first and latest synchronism, of the Late Minoan period with the Eighteenth—Nineteenth Egyptian Dynasties (*circa* 1580—1200 B.C.), has always been known since Schliemann's time from the Egyptian finds at Mycenae and Ialysos. These were confirmed by the discoveries at Enkomi in Cyprus, and the date finally proved beyond a doubt by the Cretan work. The second, and middle synchronism, of the Middle Minoan period with the Middle Kingdom of Egypt (Eleventh—Seventeenth Dynasties) was proved from Crete alone, the Minoan culture having then not yet reached continental Greece, from which, with it, Egyptian remains of prae-Mycenaeen (= prae-Late Minoan) date are absent. This synchronism

was more than suspected from Egyptian evidence also, but it was not till Mr J. L. Myres discovered the polychrome pottery in the cave of Kamárais in Crete that the Aegean and specifically Cretan origin of the similar pottery found by Prof. Petrie in Twelfth—Thirteenth Dynasty deposits at Kahun in Egypt was clear. The third and earliest synchronism is also Cretan. It is derived from various pieces of Cretan evidence which go to show the contemporaneity of the Early Minoan period with the Old Kingdom, and more especially that of the E. M. II—III with the Sixth Dynasty, which reigned perhaps about a thousand years after the foundation of the kingdom¹.

We now essay to trace these connexions from the time of the Old Kingdom up, and to see what traces of interrelation between the arts of the two countries they show.

Prof. Newberry has recently published² some very interesting speculations as to possible early connexions between Egyptian and Minoan religious representations which seem to go back to the beginning of things. He finds in the cults of the Delta the Bull, the Double-Axe and the Horned Altar (the Horns of Consecration), and compares the peculiar Cretan figure-of-eight shield under the (probably) Libyan form of shield borne by the goddess Neith. The present writer has also compared³ the two birds placed on tree-trunks(?), which are seen one on each side of the great bowl into which a priestess is pouring libations on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus, with the two hawks mounted on the -sign which we see associated with the North-Egyptian god Ptah on scarabs of the Nineteenth Dynasty. The way in which spots have become stars on both the hide of the Egyptian Hathor-cow and the Cretan Zeus-bull is also noticeable. But these representations are all comparatively late, and it is impossible to say whether, for instance, the very Egyptian appearance of part of the funeral rites on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus (the man standing in front of his tomb like the Egyptian mummy before the tomb-door in vignettes of the Book of the Dead)⁴ is to be ascribed to very ancient connexion or even to ultimate common origin of religious ideas, or to later adaptation of an Egyptian religious representation (the sarcophagus is of the Third Late Minoan period). The considerable divergence of the adaptation in the case of both representations on the sarcophagus (the birds on the tree-trunks and the dead man before his tomb) is rather in favour of an ancient date for it.

There is another curious thread of connexion between Minoan and Egyptian religious iconography in the remarkable water-demons of Mycenaean seals⁵ (Fig. 1), bronzes⁶, and frescos⁷, which, though they sometimes look rather like locusts with asses' heads, are pretty certainly derived from the Egyptian hippopotamus-goddess Taueret (Thoueris). Is this due to some ancient Cretan remembrance of the great animal of

¹ Sir Arthur Evans notes: "The Second Early Minoan Period according to my present classification covers the Fourth to the Sixth Dynasty inclusive. E. M. III I regard as covering the Dark Egyptian Age from the Sixth to the Eleventh Dynasty."

² *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, xxviii. p. 73; *Liverpool Annals of Art and Archaeology*, i. p. 24 ff.

³ *P.S.B.A.* xxxi. p. 144 ff.

⁴ HALL, *Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 53, n. 7.

⁵ EVANS, *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 3, Fig. 1. See Fig. 1, next page.

⁶ MARKIDES, *Annual of the British School at Athens*, p. 95 ff., pl. viii.

⁷ SCHUCHHARDT, *Schliemann's Excavations*, Fig. 287.

the waters which the Minoans had known in the primeval time of their emigration from the Nile Valley?

But these possible resemblances on religious custom belong rather to the realm of general history than to that of art in the restricted sense to which I propose to confine myself.

We may leave on one side certain finds of pottery by Prof. Petrie in tombs of the First Dynasty at Abydos¹, and by Prof. Steindorff at Abûsîr, the Aegean character of which is not conclusively proved. They may have come from Asia Minor.

Attention has also been directed to the remarkable general resemblance of certain Cretan figurines of the Second Early Minoan period, found at Koumâsa in the Messarà by M. Xanthoudides (Plate XVII, Fig. 1), to the primitive clay figurines (of a considerably earlier period) which were made by the predynastic Egyptian potters of Naqada, found by Prof. Petrie². These are more likely to owe their resemblance to a common tradition derived from a common source than to imitation by the Cretans of Egyptian originals.

One of the earliest objects that prove connexion between the Aegean area and Egypt has been brought to my notice by Mr E. J. Forsdyke. It is a small vase of incised brown pottery, from the island of Antiparos, which is now in the British Museum. It was found by Mr Bent with other objects in tombs of the chalcolithic period (Early Cycladic). That is to say it is contemporary with the middle dynasties of the Egyptian Old Kingdom. And, at a time when designs of this kind, taken from natural objects, were unknown to native pottery, it bears incised upon it a design of intersecting lily-petals which is undoubtedly Egyptian. Attention has not previously been drawn to this most interesting object, which certainly shows connexion with Egypt at this early date (Plate XVII, Fig. 2).

The fragments of vases of Egyptian Old Kingdom shape, made of liparite from the Lipari Isles, which were found at Kuossos by Sir Arthur Evans³ seem to have come from strata (M. M. I) somewhat later than those which would be contemporary with the Old Kingdom. Their carinated form is distinctively that of the typical Egyptian bowls of the Third and Fourth Dynasties, and their material is that used by the Egyptians for the manufacture of such bowls. They were either long in use or are instances of the survival in Crete of a form derived from Egypt at the time when it was fashionable there, the time of the Third and Fourth Dynasties. The type was imitated in pottery, the appearance of the liparite being represented by dark spots on the buff pot (Plate XVII, Fig. 4).

In this case we have either an Egyptian importation or direct imitations of Egyptian forms, most probably the former. An Egyptian syenite bowl found at Knossos is, Sir Arthur Evans tells me, of "pre-Palace" date and is, therefore, a very early importation. It belongs to the early dynastic period⁴. And the Egyptian black porphyry



Fig. 1. Intaglio Seal: Water-Demons (EVANS, *Myc. Tree and Pillar Cult*, Fig. 1).

¹ *Royal Tombs*, ii. p. 46, pl. liv; *Abydos*, i. p. 6, pl. viii; ii. pp. 28, 38, 48, pl. xlii.

² *Naqada and Ballas*, pl. lix.

³ *Essai de Classification des Époques de la Civilisation Minoenne*, p. 5.

⁴ On this bowl and on the carinated bowl-fragments; see also *J.H.S.* xxv. p. 321.

vase of primitive shape, found in the M. M. III—L. M. I Royal Tomb at Isopata¹ is, he writes, "certainly an heirloom. It had been adapted to Cretan use by means of vertical perforations for suspension, and therefore probably in Early Minoan times [when these vertically perforated 'suspension-handles' were used]. In Middle Minoan or L. M. I times these perforations had in turn been stopped up. The 'life-history' of this vessel is very suggestive." It had evidently been imported into Crete in the time of the Old Kingdom (Early Minoan period), and been handed down from generation to generation till finally buried at a time corresponding to the end of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom.

The native Cretan stone vases of the early period, found in strata and with other objects of the early period, often show a considerable general resemblance to other Egyptian stone vases of the Pyramid period or even an earlier epoch. And in some cases the resemblance amounts to identity of form, as in the case of the carinated bowls. At Mochlos, among the many beautiful little stone vases of the Second to Third Early Minoan period found by Mr Seager, is one² that is exactly the same shape and size as a well-known Egyptian form of the Sixth Dynasty. Its stone, too, looks Egyptian; only expert geological examination can tell us that it is not, as it looks, an importation from Egypt. Prof. Myres has recently drawn attention to the fact that the Egyptian vases are all of hard stone, the Aegean ones of soft stone. It would look, therefore, as if the Aegeans, while making their own vases of their own types, also imitated in their soft stone types imported from Egypt. In both countries the acquisition of metal seems to have been followed by a degeneration of pottery and a sudden development of stone carving. No doubt the new possibility of carving stone which was opened up by the introduction of copper and bronze led to the same effects in both countries: the ancient potter's art fell into temporary desuetude, and the new art of making vases of stone became popular. Pottery came again into its own in both countries with the invention of the potter's wheel and the baking furnace.

These were known first to the Egyptians, and were probably invented by them some time before the Fourth Dynasty, when a splendid wheel-made and evenly baked red pottery came into use, which is distinctive of the Pyramid period. It is at least probable that Crete, where they appear about the time of the Fifth or Sixth Dynasty, received these inventions from Egypt, with results that are seen in the extraordinary development of her ceramic art in the succeeding Middle Minoan age.

A peculiar form of Aegean pot in use at this time (E. M. II—III) is the beaked jug, or *Schnabelkanne*. And, as Sir Arthur Evans has pointed out³, this form is very probably of Egyptian origin. Under the Old Kingdom a very common form of copper pot was in use in Egypt which much resembles a modern kettle without a lid (Plate XVII, Fig. 5). Its long curved spout was often double. This shape was imitated in stone (*ibid.*) and in pottery⁴. The resemblance to it of the contemporary Cretan

¹ *Prehistoric Tombs*, Fig. 124.

² *Excavations in the Island of Mochlos*, p. 80, pl. ii, M 3. Sir Arthur Evans groups with these stone vases others resembling Sixth Dynasty types from another site, Porti.

³ *Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos (Archaeologia, lix.)*, p. 149.

⁴ A fine pottery vase of this type, with its attendant bowl, was found in a Sixth Dynasty grave at Abydos in 1910, and is now in the British Museum (No. 49329). It will be published by Mr Peet in the forthcoming first volume of the Fund's memoirs on *The Cemeteries of Abydos* (Plate II, Figs. 5, 8).

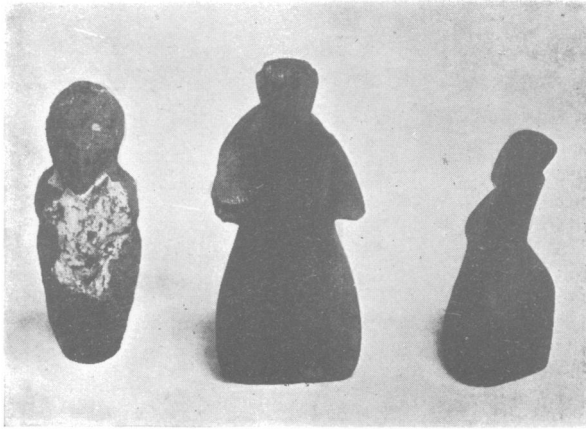


Fig. 1. Figurines from Koumása: E. M. II.

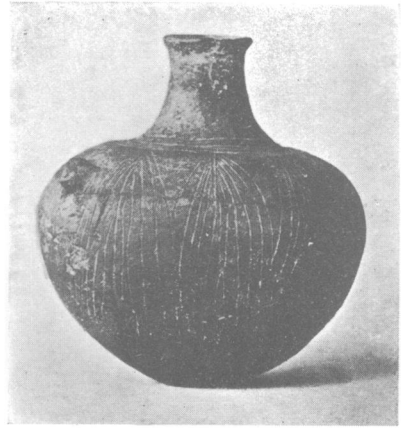


Fig. 2. Early Cycladic Vase: British Museum.

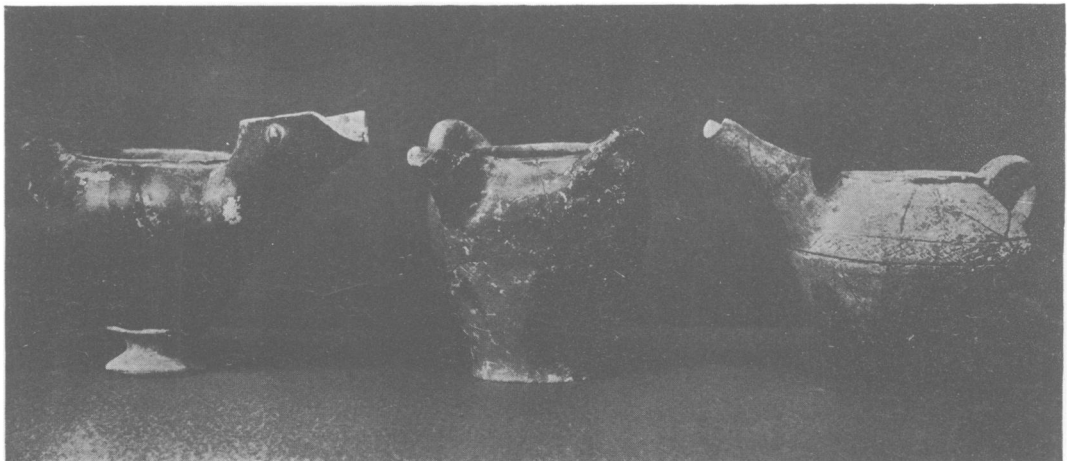


Fig. 3. E. M. II—III *Schnabelkannen* and Hole-spout Vase: British Museum.

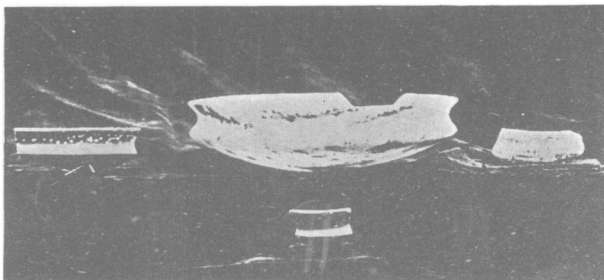


Fig. 4. Egyptian Carinated Bowl from Hierakonpolis and fragments of similar bowls from Knossos.

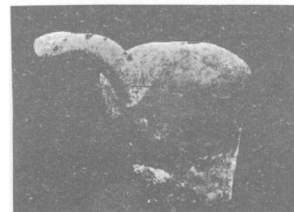
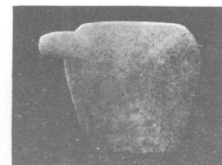


Fig. 5. Egyptian alabaster and copper vessels: Old Kingdom.

Schnabelkanne is evident from Plate XVII, Fig. 3; and we can hardly doubt that the *Schnabelkanne*, which probably came into use later than the Egyptian form (if E. M. II = Fifth—Sixth Dynasty), was derived from it. The *Schnabelkanne* developed into the well-known "hole-spout" type (Fig. 3).

Another proof of connexion between Crete and Egypt at this time (E. M. II—III = Fifth—Seventh Dynasties) is seen in the close resemblance of the Cretan seals of the Second and Third Early Minoan periods to certain Egyptian seals of the Fourth to the Sixth Dynasty. The peculiar "button-seals", of steatite, bone, or ivory, are only found at the end of this period, evidently contemporaneously, in both countries². The form does not seem native to Egypt³, where the cylinder appears to be the indigenous form of seal. In the Aegean area, however, these button-seals may well have been the native form: the ordinary cylinder, perforated lengthways, was certainly unknown to the early Minoans⁴. Sir Arthur Evans has also pointed out⁵ the resemblance of other Aegean seal-forms and seal-designs to Egyptian ones of the Old Kingdom, in some of which the designs seem to be of Egyptian origin; "the early figures on the class of black Egyptian cylinders (proto-dynastic) affect," he says, "Cretan seals in the E. M. period." But in the case of the form of the button-seal we may perhaps have a return influence from the Aegean upon Egypt.

That this may well be the case seems to be shown by the history of the spiral ornament on Egyptian seals. The developed spiral appears suddenly in Egyptian art, on seals and (rarely) in painting, at the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty or shortly before. It was unknown in Egypt before. It is true that the predynastic potters ornamented some of their pots with designs of little spiral whorls, apparently in imitation of nummulitic limestone, as Petrie and Schweinfurth have observed⁶. But these spirals never developed into any regular system of connected volutes: they died out, and the elaborate system of connected spirals on the Twelfth Dynasty scarab-seals is a new and sudden introduction into Egyptian art at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, that is to say, at the end of the Third Early Minoan or beginning of the First Middle Minoan period in Crete. In the Aegean, however, the connected spiral had been known for some time. We see it beginning on pottery of the Second Early Minoan period in Crete, and in the fully developed form on the perhaps contemporary stone pyxides from the cist-graves of the Cyclades⁷. Also it occurs in gold wire-work in the pins from the Trojan "Treasure of Priam", which, since it comes from the Second City of Troy, is contemporary with the E. M. II or E. M. III period of Crete. This date has been fully borne out by the similarity of the general style of the gold-work found by Seager at Mochlos (E. M. II—III)⁸ to that of Troy II, though spirals analogous to those of the Trojan pins do not occur at Mochlos.

¹ NEWBERRY, *Scarabs*, p. 56 ff.; HALL, *Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Scarabs*, i. p. xiii.

² Sir Arthur Evans writes: "the button-seal types seem to come into Crete about the time of the Seventh Dynasty (E. M. III)."

³ To this conclusion Sir Arthur Evans demurs, and thinks that the button-seal was more at home in the Delta than in Crete.

⁴ Sir Arthur Evans notes that the *side-perforated* cylinder was a common E. M. type. This, however, was not native to Egypt.

⁵ *Scripta Minoa*, p. 121 ff.

⁶ See CAPART, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, p. 114.

⁷ TSOUNTAS-MANATT, *The Mycenaean Age*, Figs. 133, 134.

⁸ SCHUCHHARDT, *Schliemann's Excavations*, Fig. 73.

⁹ *Excavations in Mochlos*, Figs. 8, 9, 20, 25, 41—43.

It seems highly probable that, as Much pointed out¹, the spiral design originated in metal wire-work, and we may well suppose that it was an invention of early gold-workers in Lydia that reached Troy, was in the Cyclades translated into stone-carving, in Crete transferred to pottery and to the designs of button-seals, and as a seal-design came to Egypt, where it was promptly adopted as the characteristic decoration of the new form of seal that had as suddenly become popular in the Nile-land, the scarab.

Under the Twelfth Dynasty the design became popular, and it was combined by the Egyptian seal-engravers with a characteristic motive, the lily-flower. On scarabs we soon see a little lily springing out of the point of junction of two spiral volutes. This addition to the design was admired by its Aegean originators, and in the riot of designs shown us by the Cretan vase-painters of the contemporary Middle Minoan period one of the most conspicuous is that of a splendid vase found by the Italian explorers at Phaistos, which shows us, in the white paint on the black slip of the vase characteristic of the period, this Egyptian scarab design of the interlacing volutes with the lily springing



Fig. 2. M. M. Vase with Egyptian lily-spiral design (*Mon. Ant.* xv. (1905), tav. xxxv, b).

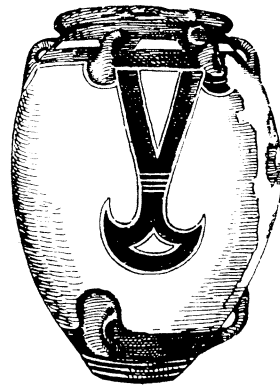


Fig. 3. M. M. Vase with Egyptian lily-pattern, reversed (*Mon. Ant.* xv. (1905), tav. xxxiv, a).

from their points of junction. Here is a direct piece of imitation of Egyptian art by a Minoan painter (Fig. 2).

On another vase, a *pithos*, of the same period from Phaistos (Fig. 3) we see another Egyptian design, this time purely Egyptian. One of the most characteristic motives of Egyptian decoration under the Old Kingdom was that of two lilies on their cut stalks, bound together immediately beneath the flowers, which hang outwards above the tie. We see it in the stonework of tombs and also carved in wood: originally it was a wood-carver's motive, and was transferred with the general imitation of wood-construction to the stone tombs of the Fourth Dynasty. It remained a favourite motive of Egyptian art. And here we see it on this Middle Minoan vase, an unmistakable copy of the Egyptian original, but upside down. The Egyptian stood the two lily stalks upright on their cut ends, but the Minoan chose to hang them head downwards from a band which runs round beneath the rim of the vase. Here we have one of the first instances of the free use of an Egyptian design by the Minoan artist. He takes the ornament, but puts it in as he likes.

¹ *Die Kupferzeit*, p. 55.

Another somewhat later instance of direct borrowing from Egypt is seen in the papyrus-plant designs on the robes of the faïence figures of the snake-goddesses found by Sir Arthur Evans at Knossos¹. These are of the Third Middle Minoan period. The design is a well-known one in Egyptian art, and is taken over practically without modification.

These figures are the first important examples of the Minoan faïence, which seems to have been borrowed from Egypt. In Egypt it was probably an indigenous invention. We see it already used under the First Dynasty, as it continued to be used throughout the whole life of Egyptian art, a blue copper-frit glaze on a sandy base, probably held together by some gummy admixture, with designs or hieroglyphs often laid on in a brown-black manganese glaze. It is hardly a true faïence, but the word must be used for it in default of a better. Stone was also glazed in the same way, even at an earlier period, the soft steatite being generally used, but also the hard white quartzite, first for beads, then for larger objects. This art of glazing pottery or stone is obviously a peculiar one, likely to have been invented in one place only, and when we find it in use in Crete some time after it was first used in Egypt, and since we know how other evidence shows constant connexion between Crete and Egypt, at least from the time of the Sixth Dynasty, we can hardly err in attributing the derivation of the Cretan glazing from Egypt. At Mochlos under the Third Early Minoan period (= Sixth Dynasty) we find blue glazed stone beads. Then in the Third Middle Minoan period we find blue and brown glazed faïence figures and other objects, including vases, like the snake-goddesses from Knossos and the groups of goats with young, the bivalve shells, and the small vases that were found with them. The blue and brown colours—copper and manganese—confirm the Egyptian origin of this glaze. The blue, too, is of the pale colour peculiar to the early Egyptian glaze: under the Twelfth Dynasty, though the pale glaze was still used, a full blue colour of great beauty had already come into use in Egypt. We do not see this in Crete, where the pale blue originally imitated continued to hold the field. Later Egypt, in the time of the Saïtes, returned to the old pale blue colour in pursuance of the archaizing artistic ideals of the time.

We can regard, then, this art of glazing as an art borrowed by the Aegeans from Egypt towards the end of the Old Kingdom. It reached its full development in the Middle Minoan period, but continued to be used, still with its pale blue but with a more lavish use of brown than was common in Egypt, till the end. The late Mycenaean artists of Enkomi in Cyprus made beautiful rhytons of blue and brown glaze, some of which are now in the British Museum; that in the form of a noble horse's head being deservedly famous. The pure white and polychrome glazes, apple-green, pale green, violet, purple, yellow, and chocolate-brown, which were introduced into Egypt at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty and continued to be made till the Twentieth, do not seem to have been adopted by the Aegeans.

That an art of such beauty should have been adopted *en bloc* by the Minoans is not surprising. It is quite evident that during the Middle Minoan period and Middle Kingdom connexion between Egypt and Crete was constant. The artistic products of each country were admired in the other and constantly imported from one into the other. The Egyptians imported the polychrome pottery of M. M. II, and Egyptian nobles prized the fine "Kamárais" pots with their brilliant decoration of red and white on black, so much more showy and effective than their own somewhat dull and

¹ *Annual of the British School at Athens (B.S.A. Ann.)*, ix. Fig. 58.

plain native pottery. In a grave of the Twelfth Dynasty found by Prof. Garstang at Abydos was, with Egyptian objects of blue glaze, a very fine polychrome Cretan vase¹. And Prof. Petrie's discovery of Kamárais fragments at Kahun is well known². Among these are one or two bits of coloured pottery³ of kinds still undiscovered in Crete or elsewhere in the Aegean area. When we come upon anything like them we shall know its date from them.

And the Cretans imported Egyptian objects, such as the little statuette of the Egyptian Abnub, son of Sebek-user (Thirteenth Dynasty)⁴ and the alabastron-lid with the name of the Hyksos King Khian, found by Sir Arthur Evans at Knossos. The connexion is absolutely certain from the archaeological discoveries in both countries, and, this once granted, the borrowing of such decorative motives as the spiral by the Egyptians from the Aegeans and of whole arts like that of glazing by the Aegeans from the Egyptians seems natural enough.

Another art that probably came to Crete from Egypt at this time is that of writing with ink and a pen. The Egyptians devised their own way of writing in this way on the papyrus which the reeds of their river gave them, a method quite different from that of incising on clay with a stylus which was of Babylonian invention. This method was, as is well known from the discoveries at Knossos, also followed by the Minoans, and may have been adopted by them from Babylon through a Syro-Cilician medium. We find it in use in the Middle Minoan period. But the parallel method of pen and ink was also used at Knossos, as we see from the invaluable discovery of two clay cups, inscribed in ink⁵ just as the Egyptians often wrote on pots or sherds in default of papyrus or for unimportant screeds. This may have been the case also in Crete, and we may suppose, since the idea of ink was probably imported from Egypt, that papyrus had also come thence, and was perhaps occasionally used for important documents that have perished in the conflagrations of the palaces or from the comparative dampness of the Greek soil; the method of incision on clay being used for ordinary purposes such as letters and office-dockets and lists (of which the Knossian archives seem to consist), and ink being used on such pots as these found at Knossos for some unimportant note or other.

The Middle Minoan period was then very important in the history of the relations between the two spheres of art. In the succeeding age, which will be dealt with in the second part of this paper, while general relations between the two civilizations were probably much the same as before, we do not any longer find the two art-spheres giving and taking in the large manner that had been characteristic of the earlier periods.

(To be continued)

¹ GARSTANG, *Liverpool Annals*, v. (1913), p. 107, pll. xiii, xiv; HALL, *Oldest Civilisation of Greece*, pl. iii, 1.

² *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob*, p. 9 ff., pl. 1.

³ *Ibid.* pl. i, nos. 1, 2, and 13. The form of the last is paralleled by a Melian vase of the same date or a little later (*Excavations at Phylakopi*; *J. H. S. Suppl. Paper* no. 4, Fig. 88).

⁴ On the reading of the name see HALL, *P.S.B.A.* xxxi. (1909), p. 224, n. 55. I have by a slip written it "Minuser" in my *Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 36.

⁵ EVANS, *Scripta Minoa*, Fig. 12.

THE USE OF NATRON BY THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS IN MUMMIFICATION

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It is generally admitted, I think, that the ancient Egyptians employed the natural soda found in Egypt, which is known as natron, in connection with the burial and preservation of their dead, but a difference of opinion exists as to whether this natron was ever used in the form of a bath in which the body was soaked previous to burial, or whether the bath employed was merely a solution of common salt.

In my opinion the bath in some instances at least was a solution of natron, and I will now endeavour to prove this point. Before doing so, however, I propose to review briefly some of the evidence for the use of natron otherwise than in the form of a bath.

In the first place solid natron has been found both in the tombs and on the bodies of the dead, thus the contents of an alabaster vase and of some large jars found in the tomb of Iouiya at Thebes, which were submitted to me for analysis, proved to be a poor quality of natron and a mixture of natron and sawdust respectively.

Lortet and Hugounenq found that a material examined by them, also from a jar in a tomb at Thebes, though not the same tomb as that previously mentioned, contained 60 per cent. of natron mixed with resinous matter, vegetable matter, sand and clay¹.

Some preservative material from the soles of the feet of the mummy of about the XXIst Dynasty supposed at one time to be that of King Setnekht, I found on analysis to be natron.

Mathey states that a mummy from Deir el Bahari which he examined was covered with a layer of natron².

Schmidt found natron mixed with fatty matter in the mouth and body cavities of various mummies of the XXIst and XXIIInd Dynasties³.

Maspero, writing of the method of preparation of mummies in general, states that "coarsely powdered natron was scattered here and there over the body as an additional preservative⁴."

¹ Lortet and Hugounenq, "Analyse du natron contenu dans les urnes de Maher-Pra," *Comp. Rend.* II, Juillet 1904.

² Mathey, "Note sur une momie anonyme de Deir el Bahari," *Bull. Inst. Egypt.* 1886, Le Caire, 1887.

³ Dr Schmidt, "Chemische u. biologische Untersuchungen von ägyptischen Mumienmaterial," *Zeit. f. allgemeine Physiologie*, Vol. III, Parts II and III, Jena, 1907.

⁴ Maspero, *The Struggle of the Nations*, London, 1896, Eng. Trans. p. 510.

But not only was natron employed in the solid state, but apparently it was also used in the form of a solution, for Pettigrew¹ and Lortet and Gaillard² state that body-wrapping cloths which they examined were impregnated with natron, which would seem to indicate that they had been soaked in a natron solution.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that natron was used by the ancient Egyptians in connection with their dead, certainly in the solid state, and possibly also as a solution. These facts are not generally disputed, but that natron was ever employed in the form of a bath for soaking the body previous to burial is sometimes denied³.

Both Herodotus and Diodorus give details of the method of mummification employed and both state that the body was soaked for 70 days in a bath of "natron," but there is nothing to show whether this material was natron or common salt. My own belief is that "natron" was the natural soda which occurs so plentifully in Egypt in the Wadi Natron. This natural soda is a compound of sodium carbonate and sodium bicarbonate, mixed with varying proportions of sodium sulphate and common salt. In ancient times this natural soda was called in Greek *nitron*, and in Latin *nitrum*. "At a later date the name *nitrum* was given to saltpetre; but up to the fourth century there is no doubt that *nitrum* signified the carbonate of soda originally obtained from the salt lakes in Egypt...⁴"

The principal arguments advanced against the use of natron are, first, that natron is strongly alkaline and would have disintegrated the tissues and not preserved them, and secondly, that if a natron bath had been employed, the body would have absorbed a sufficient amount of the material to be alkaline, whereas the tissues are now acid.

But although some disintegration of the softer tissues is only to be expected if natron were used, yet this disintegration would not necessarily have proceeded so far as to wholly destroy the body as seems to be imagined, especially if the natron solution was dilute. That a small amount of disintegration such as would naturally follow the use of natron did actually occur is certain. Thus, Elliot Smith writing of mummies in general says⁵ "the skin shows unmistakable signs of having been mascerated until the cuticle (together with all the hair except that of the head) had peeled off," and again "Before the body was put into this solution each nail of both the hands and feet was carefully secured by a piece of string wound in a circular manner round the finger or toe, so that when the epidermis peels off it may not carry the nails with it." The same author also speaks of the soft tissues of the body becoming "converted into a loose spongy material which was much too soft and too small in amount to keep the skin distended," and also of the soft tissues being "reduced to a soft pulpy mass which is of fluid or semi-fluid consistency."

Wood Jones writes to the same effect and says⁶ "It is an old observation that the epidermis is commonly not present on mummified bodies" and also "concerning

¹ T. J. Pettigrew, *History of Egyptian Mummies*, London, 1834.

² Lortet and Gaillard, *La Faune Momifiée de l'Ancienne Egypte*, Lyon, 1909.

³ Dr Schmidt, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Roscoe and Schorlemmer, *Treatise on Chemistry*, London, 1897, Vol. II, p. 156.

⁵ Prof. Elliot Smith, F.R.S., "A Contribution to the Study of Mummification," *Mém. Inst. Egypt.* Tome v, Fasc. I, Le Caire, 1906, pp. 10, 18, 19.

⁶ Dr Wood Jones, *The Arch. Survey of Nubia*, Report for 1907-1908, Vol. II, Cairo, 1910, p. 200.

the fact of this peeling of the epidermis there can be no doubt, and very many of our specimens illustrate the process."

In order to ascertain exactly what the effect of a dilute solution of natron would be, I soaked two fowls, after removing the viscera, for 70 days in eight per cent. solutions of two different qualities of natron, subsequently rinsing them quickly in water, and then exposing them to the air to dry. After this treatment the fowls were dry and shrunken, one being practically all skin and bone, while the other retained a good deal of flesh, and although the experiment was made five years ago, the fowls are still in the same state of preservation, and look as though they would last for ever.

A third fowl, placed in an eight per cent. solution of common salt for the same period, was found to be much more disintegrated than either of the two treated with natron.

These experiments prove, I think, that there is no inherent objection to the use of natron as a preservative bath, though naturally the results will vary according to the strength of solution employed.

With regard to the second objection raised against a natron bath, namely, that certain mummy tissues examined were found to have a strong acid reaction, to be brittle and to contain salt, the explanation seems very simple. In the first place it is not contended that the use of a natron bath was common to all the dynasties, or even to all classes of persons in the same dynasty, though Herodotus practically makes this latter claim for "*natron*."

But assuming a dilute natron bath to have been employed, the actual amount of natron absorbed by the body-tissues would be only small and in addition there would be also a small quantity left adhering mechanically to the body. Herodotus, however, expressly states¹ that after the bath the body was washed before being wrapped up, and hence this would materially reduce the amount of natron originally present. The small amount of alkali remaining would readily combine with an equivalent amount of the fatty acids resulting from the decomposition of the body material, and so would cease to exist as such, and the body would still be acid, provided the fatty acids formed were in excess of the natron present, which would most probably be the case, since it is not uncommon to find portions of a mummy so covered with crystalline fatty acids that the appearance is suggestive of an efflorescence of salt.

The quantity of sodium salts (soaps) resulting from the combination of the alkali of the natron with the acids of the body, which it is evidently thought would keep the muscles supple, would be relatively so small, and they would become so dry after several thousands of years' baking in hot sand, that any brittleness of the body presents no difficulty.

As for the salt found, this would be derived from the natron, which generally contains a large proportion of common salt, amounting in some cases to even fifty per cent.

Thus the fact that some mummy flesh is to-day acid and brittle and contains salt, is no proof that the body was not soaked in a natron solution.

But it is not contended that particular mummies examined by others had necessarily been so treated, but merely that there seems positive evidence that some

¹ *Hdt.* ii. 86 (Cary's Trans., p. 126).

mummies have been dealt with in this manner, and that in some instances, at least, natron, and not salt, was used for the preservative bath. The direct evidence for this will now be presented. It may be interpolated here however, that it seems very remarkable that none of the vessels used as the receptacle for the body while soaking in the preservative solution appear ever to have been discovered. If these vessels were of stone they will have been preserved, and if of pottery the fragments will remain, and in fact of whatever material they may have been made, one would think that they would be more permanent than the bodies themselves. Perhaps, however, such vessels have been discovered, and have been attributed to other purposes.

Returning now to the evidence for the use of a natron bath, Pettigrew states that Blumenbach found on some pieces of mummy tissue "true soda or mineral alkali¹"; Pettigrew also says that Granville found minute crystals on both the exterior and interior surfaces of a mummy, which crystals on analysis proved to consist of "nitrate of potash, carbonate, sulphate, and muriate of soda...¹," that is, natron, associated with potassium nitrate.

Pettigrew further says that certain mummies he describes if exposed to the air "become covered with an efflorescence of sulphate of soda¹." This again would seem to point to the use of natron, which as already mentioned generally contains sulphate of soda, and sometimes to the extent of 40 per cent.

Haas found 9.0 per cent. of soda in a mummy together with sulphates and chlorides and concluded that "the use of some mixture such as natron would appear probable²."

The positive evidence I personally have to offer consists of the results of the analyses of one specimen of brain and of various samples of resinous material.

The specimen of brain, for which I am indebted to Professor Elliot Smith, was from the cranial cavity of the boy, sometimes called a prince, found in the tomb of Amenhotep II³.

The total mineral matter (ash) in this brain was 24.5 per cent., while the ash from the brain of another mummy found in the same tomb was only 5.8 per cent., and the mean amount of ash from seven other specimens of brain taken from skulls in cases where no sort of treatment or mummification had been employed was 5.5 per cent. The 24.5 per cent. of ash comprised 6.5 per cent. of alkali calculated as sodium carbonate, 2.6 per cent. of sodium sulphate, and 9.7 per cent. of sodium chloride. A direct water extract of another portion of this sample gave very similar results. Here, then, is very definite evidence that the brain of this particular mummy contained approximately 19 per cent. of mineral matter above the normal, and that this mineral matter consisted largely of sodium carbonate, sodium sulphate and sodium chloride, that is to say natron, and the only reasonable explanation for the presence of this natron is to admit that the body had been soaked in a natron solution.

The difference in the results of the analyses of the brains of the two mummies

¹ T. J. Pettigrew, *Hist. of Egyptian Mummification*, London, 1884.

² P. Haas, D.Sc., Ph.D., "Note on the Inorganic Constituents of two Egyptian Mummies," *Chem. News*, Vol. c, No. 2612, London, 1909; also "The Tomb of Two Brothers," *Manchester Museum Handbook*, Manchester, 1910.

³ Prof. Elliot Smith, "A Note on the Mummies in the Tomb of Amenhotep II," *Bull. Inst. Egypt. Le Caire*, Juin 1908.

from the same tomb is very noteworthy, one showing evidence of treatment in a natron bath, and the other showing no such evidence. A similar phenomenon however has been recorded elsewhere, and of two brothers buried in the same tomb, one had been treated with natron—while the other had not¹.

In addition to the specimen of brain just described, which showed evidence of having been immersed in a natron solution, several samples of resinous material from various mummies gave the same indication. These samples were respectively, myrrh from the cheeks and left arm of Amenhotep III, unidentified resinous material from the mouth of Ramses IV and from the third left rib of the lady formerly described as Setnekht.

The ash of these samples gave the following results on analysis:—

Ingredient	Amenhotep III		Ramses IV	Setnekht Lady
	Myrrh from cheeks	Myrrh from left arm	Resinous material from mouth	Resinous material from third left rib
Sodium carbonate	3·5	2·0	9·1 ²	10·9
Sodium sulphate	0·5	0·6		3·9
Sodium chloride	1·8	2·9		14·2

Direct water extracts of other portions of these samples gave very similar results.

For comparison purposes two samples of genuine myrrh were examined and the total ash soluble in water was only 0·7 per cent. (mean of the two samples).

The above results prove to my mind that not only was a natron solution employed, but that the order of procedure was as described by Herodotus, namely, that the body was treated with resin before being placed in the "natron" bath.

¹ "The Tomb of Two Brothers," *Manchester Museum Handbook*, Manchester, 1910.

² Sample too small for the constituents to be separately determined.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF 1912-13: HELLENISTIC EGYPT

By F. LL. GRIFFITH, M.A., F.S.A.

To supplement the reports on papyrology and epigraphy which are supplied to the *Journal* by the leading authorities on these subjects, it is necessary only to draw attention to the work which has been done for Graeco-Roman Egypt from the Egyptological side and at the same time to point out certain discoveries and investigations in Hellenistic art and archaeology which have been made since the last *Archaeological Report* was prepared.

To the archaeologist in search for material remains Alexandria, the greatest metropolis of the Hellenistic world, has yielded little indeed in comparison with its ancient renown. Since the glorious architectural achievements of the first two Ptolemies fire and sword have ravaged it, city has risen on city, each successive reconstruction inferior to the preceding and using up its materials, until at the beginning of the last century Iskenderia contained hardly a single notable building. The splendid "Pompey's pillar" and the two obelisks called Cleopatra's Needles remained of the ancient adornments of the place, and the foundations of the Pharos (according to Dr BUTLER and TIERSCH the model of the Egyptian minaret) have since been recognised. The excavations of SCHLIEMANN, HOGARTH and the SIEGLIN expedition yielded few results, but the enthusiasm of BOTTI led in 1892 to the foundation of a museum for the reception not only of the antiquities that from time to time were revealed in excavations in the town or its neighbourhood, but also of a large part of the collection of Graeco-Roman antiquities gathered by the Service des Antiquités from Egypt generally. Gradually there has been accumulated in the Museum a very valuable series of antiquities of all kinds, including a magnificent Christian capital worthy to have adorned (as it probably did) the patriarchal church of St Mark. The municipality of Alexandria is justly proud of the Museum and takes a genuine interest in its welfare. Dr BRECCIA, the new director, is not satisfied to accumulate treasures, but also publishes in a systematic manner. The first that appeared of the museum catalogues was that of the Greek inscriptions from Alexandria and other localities, and this has been rapidly succeeded by two volumes which show that (as is often the case where the temples and palaces and other monuments of a great city have disappeared) a harvest of small finds remains in the cemetery. The burial urns and figurines of Alexandria are archaeologically of high importance, as representing local fabrics which would be likely to exercise no small influence by way of trade and imitation throughout the Nile Valley and on the coasts of the Mediterranean.

The two volumes referred to are the Catalogue of the finds from the necropolis of Shatbi (*La necropoli di Sciabti*, published by the Service des Antiquités). The interments at Shatbi, which lies on the east side of Alexandria, are all of Ptolemaic age; they are purely Greek in character, in cinerary urns beneath stone monuments and stelae, and no traces of mummification were found in the excavations carried on from 1904 to 1910. Dr BRECCIA considers that the native burial ground was always on the western side of the city, which later became the necropolis quarter *par excellence*.

In his charming manual of Egyptian art, *Ars una Species mille—Égypte*, Sir GASTON MASPERO devotes a long chapter and an abundance of illustrations mainly to the works of the Hellenistic age, developing out of the Saite style and in the end crudely mingling elements of western art or even entirely forsaking the Egyptian tradition.

A series of 24 coloured photographic plates of the choicest portraits from Prof. PETRIE'S discoveries of 1888 and 1911 has been issued by the discoverer in *The Hawara Portfolio* to complete the publications begun in *Roman Portraits and Memphis IV*.

In *Ridgeway Studies*, p. 192, Prof. PETRIE publishes a large finger-ring of bronze gilt engraved with a portrait head in Greek style attributed to Ptolemy IV.

EDGAR publishes a limestone statue of a Ptolemy in Greek style found at Atfih, and suggests that it may represent Philadelphus. *J.H.S.* xxxiii. 50.

DARESSY, *Rec. de Trav.* xxxv. 46, publishes a remarkable slab sculptured in Hellenistic style with a scene of offering to Isis beneath a portico, which was found built into a mosque in Cairo.

CLÉDAT has found a temple of Zeus Casios at Pelusium, *Annales du Service*, xiii. 79, and at Qar Gheit, a few miles south-east of Qatya beyond the Suez Canal, a Nabataean temple and various Hellenistic objects, *ib.* xii. 145.

KAUFFMANN publishes a large series of Hellenistic terracottas, collected by him chiefly from the Fayûm, representations of deities, sacred animals, votive figures, etc., with an essay on the technique (*Aegyptische Terracotten der Griechisch-Römischen und Koptischen Epoche*).

A paper by ROCHAS written for *La Nature* in 1882 is reprinted in *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, xi. 95, showing two devices recorded by Heron of Alexandria (end of second century A.D.) for doling out holy or ablution water. One was a penny-in-the-slot worked by 5-drachma pieces, the other (which he expressly says was to be seen in Egyptian temples near the portico) an ingenious swivel tap.

BISSING has printed a lecture on the share of Egyptian art in the artistic life of the world, *Der Anteil der ägyptischen Kunst am Kunstleben der Völker*, with a long appendix of references and discussion of the phenomena in individual countries down to the present day.

WIEDEMANN writes a very interesting article on the appearance of subjects derived from Egyptian historical tales, etc., in ancient Greece and Rome and in Early Christian pictures. *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* xxxiv. 298.

SPIEGELBERG publishes a demotic inscription on a limestone statue of Egyptian workmanship in the Louvre, found in Rhodes, according to which it was dedicated to Serapis and Isis by a certain Dionysus of Iasos, *Zeits. f. aegypt. Sprache*, l. 24. The

same volume contains many contributions by the Strassburg professor which would be of interest to papyrologists.

TURATIEFF publishes a terracotta lamp with a group of Bes and a female counterpart, believed to have been found at Olbia. *Publications of the Archaeological Commission* (in Russian), XLV.

M. GUIMET, *Rev. Arch.* xx. 197, publishes some curious-looking terracotta figurines of Osiris moulded from Egyptian bronzes, a ushabti and some Romano-Egyptian figurines, all from Southern France.

MARESTAING in *Les Écritures égyptiennes de l'antiquité classique* quotes and illustrates passages referring to Egyptian writing from Greek and Latin non-Christian authors, excluding Horapollo.

The late Professor REVILLOUT (who died in February 1913) printed an article on the library of the Serapeum in *Revue Égyptologique*, xiv. 101, in which he quotes an unpublished memoir by Père CHAUTARD denying that Orosius imputed the destruction of that library to the Christians when they burnt the Serapeum.

MITTEIS and WILCKEN'S *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde* form a mine of material and suggestion for the Egyptologist and particularly for the student of demotic. The former author as a jurist makes use of several translations of demotic legal documents of the Ptolemaic age. Professor WILCKEN on the other hand, in his "historical section," makes little direct reference to the evidence of demotic, but his profound knowledge and lively interest in every aspect of the Graeco-Egyptian documents gives his work a special value to us.

The works of MITTEIS, MILNE, PARTSCH, PLAUMANN and PREISIGKE show a growing confidence on the part of papyrologists in the readings of demotic. The same may be said of CASTELLI'S discussion of *παράφερα*. The small group of demotists has itself been greatly strengthened by the accession of Professor SETHE and Dr MÖLLER, and the cooperation of the two branches of research has not failed to produce excellent results.

Professor SPIEGELBERG in editing the Hauswaldt demotic papyri from Edfu acknowledges the help of the Greek papyrologists SCHUBART, PLAUMANN and PREISIGKE, while Dr PARTSCH, as a jurist, has contributed to the edition a considerable essay on the legal aspect of the papyri: these are chiefly sales of land with a few marriage contracts, a loan, a mortgage, etc.

Mr MILNE, in publishing Greek ostraca from Dendera, makes full use of the evidence of very large numbers of demotic examples of the first century A.D. in the same collection, which Sir H. Thompson had deciphered but for the most part not published. They refer to the Poll, Bath, Dyke and Dromos taxes; a tax of "the twentieth part," perhaps the Greek *ἐγκύκλιον*, the Wreath, Weaving, Ferry and Transport (?) taxes (*Arch. f. Papyrusforschung*, vi. 125). Sir H. THOMPSON, publishing two demotic ostraca containing data for casting horoscopes, points out the correspondence of the "heavenly houses" in various demotic papyri and ostraca with those collected from Greek and Latin writers by BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* xxxiv. 227. (For other publications by THOMPSON see the review of *Theban Ostraca* below, p. 153.)

In his *Tierkult der Alten Aegypter* (in the popular series *das Alte Orient*) WIEDEMANN, dealing with the history of animal-worship in Egypt, shows how the classical authors misjudged its origin.

JUNKER studying the inscriptions of Philae has found materials for a full commentary on the passages in various Greek and Roman authors—Strabo, Diodorus, Plutarch, Seneca and Servius—which describe the *āḥara* of Philae and Memphis, the sacred burial places of Osiris, and on Strabo's account of the sacred falcon worshipped at Philae, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton* (*Denkschr.*, Vienna Academy 1913), and *der Bericht Strabo's ueber den heiligen Falken von Philae* (*Vienna Oriental Journal*, 1912).

The late P. D. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF in his *Paganism and Christianity in Egypt* (see the review in this *Journal*, I. 75) has gathered evidence as to the religious ideas of Egypt in its latest pagan phases from the end of the Ptolemaic period onwards, with the various foreign influences which affected them.

In the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol VI., we may note Mr MILNE's valuable collection of material from Greek documents in his article on Graeco-Egyptian religion, E. F. SCOTT on Gnosticism, K. SETHE on Heroes and Hero-gods (elaborate and important from the Egyptological stand-point), St G. STOCK on Hermes Trismegistus (from the Greek side only).

ROEDER's elaborate articles in *Roscher's Lexikon der Gr. u. Röm. Mythologie*, Lief. 65-67, on Sobk, Sothis, Sphinx, Sonne und Sonnengott, Sokar, contain many remarks that may interest papyrologists; the same writer has a long article on Horus in *Pauly-Wissowa's Real-Encyclop.* vol. VIII. In the former work HÖFER deals briefly with Snephores, varieties of Sobk such as Socnopaios (also treated by ROEDER and ZUCKER in ROEDER's article), Sononaës, Sorapis and Sos. These valuable articles unfortunately take no notice of evidence from demotic.

Sarapis und die sogenannten κάτοχοι des Sarapis (Göttingen *Abhandlungen*, vol. XIV. no. 5) is an elaborately argued work regarding these much debated questions written by Prof. SETHE with his usual command of sources. Serapis was the Egyptian Osiris-Apis, long an object of worship and made the god of the realm by Ptolemy Soter at least as early as 308 B.C. The reference to this cult in Babylon in the time of Alexander cannot be authentic. The legend of the bringing of the figure of the god from Sinope is to be strictly interpreted as the procuring of the work of Bryaxis as a cult-image for the great temple in Alexandria, and this took place apparently later, at some date from 286 to 278 B.C.

The *κάτοχοι* of the Serapeum appear in a great find of papyri made about 1820 and scattered through the European museums, dating from 169 to 152 B.C. in the reign of Ptolemy Philometor. It has been supposed that they were a kind of recluses, in fact pagan forerunners of the Christian ascetics and monks, and the question has been hotly discussed. SETHE brings forward evidence from the published Greek papyri and from demotic to prove that the *κάτοχοι* were "shut up" on account of debt or crime: WILCKEN, however, drawing from his store of corrected readings of the Greek, while acknowledging the instructiveness and high value of SETHE's work, shows that a distinction must be drawn between the *ἐν κάτοχη εἶναι* of the people in question and the temporary imprisonment for debt which some of them suffered. The *κάτοχοι* in fact seem to have formed a special class in the service of the Serapeum, but it remains for the future to define its nature more closely (*Archiv f. Papyrusforschung*, VI. 184).

PLAUMANN in numerous articles on the eponymous priesthood of Alexander, at Alexandria itself and at Ptolemais in Upper Egypt, makes full use of demotic

material. In *Pauly-Wissowa's Real-Encyclopaedie*, VIII. s.v. Hieris V, he gives a full list of the priests of Alexander and the Ptolemaic kings and queens; in the *Zeitschrift f. aegypt. Spr.* L. 19 he shows that the dating by eponyms is essentially Greek and that the demotic protocols of this kind are translated, sometimes not very successfully, from Greek original forms. In *Klio* XIII. 133 he searches for distinctively Macedonian names, and *ib.* 308 notes dating by the priests of Ptolemais independently of Alexandria; cf. *ib.* 485.

Attention may be drawn to J. REINACH and WEILL'S publication of bilingual stelae in hieroglyphics and Greek from Coptos in *Annales du Service*, XII. 1, and to MÖLLER'S official publication of demotic and Greek mummy-labels in the Berlin Museum (*Demotische Texte I, Mumienschilder*).

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF 1912-13¹: GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

By H. IDRIS BELL, M.A.

As this bibliography is now to appear in the spring of the year, it is possible to bring down the period covered by it to the end of the preceding year, but since this was not the case with the Report for 1911-12, a few works published in 1912 have to be noted here; and one or two references are also given to even earlier publications which were not accessible previously².

I. *Literary Texts.*

The year 1913 was not marked by the publication of any literary papyrus of great importance. The chief collection of such papyri is the second volume of the Società Italiana³, which consists entirely of literary fragments; the numbers, which follow on after those of vol. I., run from 113 to 156. None of the fragments is of outstanding importance; the most notable is a comedy (87 lines) which Vitelli attributes to Menander. A papyrus which might have been of still greater interest is one containing fragments of the Paeans of Pindar; but it is too imperfect to yield much. Some of the fragments belong to Paeans VI. and VII. of P. Oxy. 841, and some variant readings are found; but these new fragments supply disappointingly little towards the completion of what is wanting in the Oxyrhynchus papyrus. A fragment of Sappho has lost its right half; and one of the *Hecale* of Callimachus is imperfect on the left. There are also some Biblical fragments, and the inevitable Homer. A Latin metrical paraphrase of *Aen.* I. 477-493 is curious in itself and palaeographically interesting. Like vol. I. this volume includes some good plates.

P. Hal. I.⁴ (see below) also contains some literary fragments, but they are all small. There are two Odyssey fragments, fragments of Aeschines *c. Timarch.* with some interesting readings, fragments of (probably) a philosophic character which the editors suggest may be a collection of excerpts, but which it seems equally possible to take as a dialogue, a small epic fragment, and one of Sappho, which however does not yield a single complete line.

¹ I am indebted for some references to the kindness of Sir Frederic Kenyon and Messrs J. de M. Johnson and M. N. Tod.

² On the other hand nothing published in 1914 (*e.g.* vol. I. of the Munich Papyri) is included.

³ *Pubblicazioni della Società italiana per la ricerca dei Papiri greci e latini in Egitto: Papiri greci e latini*, vol. II. Firenze, 1913.

⁴ *Dikaiomata*: herausgegeben von der Graeca Halensis. Berlin, 1913.

Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Plaumann have communicated to the Prussian Academy¹ a description of a papyrus codex of the *Iliad* in the collection of the late Mr Pierpont Morgan, which is of unusual extent, containing books 11-16, and almost complete. A collation and a detailed description of the MS. are given by Plaumann, who regards it as the second of three volumes, and dates it about 300 A.D., which, from the facsimile, seems likely to be approximately correct.

J. de M. Johnson of the Exploration Fund makes an entry into the ranks of editors by the publication, with a facsimile, of the botanical papyrus P. Teb. II. 679². The fragments are very small, but they have a special interest from the fact that they contain coloured illustrations. The papyrus is of the second century; the treatise seems to be, at least to some extent, independent of Dioscorides.

In the new number (VI. 1-2) of the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* Körte publishes³, with a facsimile, two fragments of a mime from a second century papyrus in the British Museum. The imperfection of the fragments renders the subject of the mime obscure, but it is of interest as an addition to our knowledge of the provincial theatre. It has obvious analogies to P. Oxy. 413, but is probably neither a fragment of that roll nor part of another MS. of the same piece. An interesting feature of the MS. is the apparent indication, on the *verso*, of the source from which the mime was transcribed.

Körte, in the same number, also continues⁴ his valuable bibliography of literary papyri, begun in the previous part.

Sir Herbert Thompson publishes an ostrakon⁵ containing two sayings of Diogenes. It may be noted that the first appears in a slightly different form in P. Bouriant (Wessely, *Studien*, vi.).

E. M. Walker has published⁶ in a small volume a series of lectures on the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (P. Oxy. 842), in which he deals with the question of authorship. His discussion is of great interest and importance. As almost the only reason for the very improbable attribution of the work to Theopompus is the supposed impossibility of assigning it to Ephorus, it is gratifying to find that Walker makes out a very strong case for the latter. It may be noted that Körte (in *Archiv f. Papyrusforschung*, VI. p. 243) is now to be added to Walker's list of champions of Theopompus.

Heft I. of vol. 48 of *Hermes* contains three contributions⁷ dealing with literary texts recovered from papyri.

Reference may here be made to F. W. Hall's *Companion to Classical Texts*⁸, which deals incidentally in several places with papyri.

¹ *Iliaspapyrus P. Morgan*; see *Sitzungsberichte d. kön. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1912, liii.

² *A botanical Papyrus, with illustrations*, in *Archiv f. d. Gesch. der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik*, iv. p. 403 ff.

³ *Bruchstück eines Mimus*, p. 1 ff.

⁴ *Literarische Texte mit Ausschluss der christlichen*, vol. v. p. 531 ff.; vol. vi. p. 223 ff.

⁵ *A Greek Ostrakon*, in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 1912, p. 197 f.

⁶ *The Hellenica Oxyrhynchia; its Authorship and Authority*. Oxford, 1913.

⁷ B. Keil, *Zu den Persern des Timotheos*, p. 99 ff.; S. Sudhaus, *Perikeiromene*, 96-100, p. 145 f.; H. Schenkl, *Zu den IXNEYTAI des Sophocles*, p. 153 ff.

⁸ Oxford, 1913.

II. *Collections of non-literary Texts.*

The chief item under this head is of course the volume edited by the Graeca Halensis¹, the *pièce de résistance* in which is the so-called *Dikaiomata*. This collection of Alexandrian ordinances is regarded by universal consent as the most important Greek juristic authority yet discovered with the exception of the Laws of Gortyn. The work of the editors leaves nothing to be desired in care and thoroughness, and though, not including a jurist in their number, they expressly disclaim any intention beyond that of furnishing a trustworthy groundwork for future investigations, they have done a great deal even towards the juristic exploitation of the find. The papyrus dates from the third century B.C. and its contents are very miscellaneous. The editors regard it as a collection of authorities made for production in a court of law and so give it the title *Dikaiomata*; but they are compelled to assume that several different processes are involved. A more likely explanation is perhaps that of Vinogradoff², that it is a lawyer's note-book, the extracts in which were not necessarily made to be used in court. Schubart, indeed, in an important review of Lesquier's *Institutions Militaires* to which reference may here be made³, has advanced, in a lengthy foot-note to p. 621, the interesting theory that the papyrus is a collection of ordinances for a hitherto unknown Greek foundation near Edfu, which took its laws mainly from Alexandria. This theory certainly calls for examination.

Besides the *Dikaiomata* and the literary fragments noted above, the volume contains also texts or descriptions of 16 non-literary papyri of the third century B.C. They are all small, but several of them are made by the industry and acuteness of the editors to yield important results. One throws light on the "Court of Ten" (*Zehnmännergericht*), another is the first papyrus of the Ptolemaic period to mention the ἀρχιδικαστής; and to a third the editors attach a valuable discussion of military wills in the Ptolemaic period.

Reviews of, and studies on, the *Dikaiomata* are already numerous. There are somewhat elaborate ones by Wenger⁴, San Nicolò⁵, Kohler⁶, and Partsch⁷, and shorter ones by Haussoullier⁸ and Gradenwitz⁹. Some others, which I have not been able to see, are referred to by Wilcken, *Arch. f. Pap.* vi. p. 269.

J. Maspero, by the publication of the third fasciculus¹⁰, has concluded the second volume of his monumental catalogue of Byzantine papyri. This part consists almost entirely of descriptions of fragments; but under this head are included several complete transcripts, and the part contains facsimiles of many papyri published in Part II. Of special interest among these are the facsimiles of protocols of the "Byzantine" type, which tend to confirm in the main the tentative readings given by Maspero.

¹ See note 4 on p. 129.

² *Klio*, xiii. p. 496.

³ *Götting. Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1913, no. 10, p. 610 ff.

⁴ *Kritische Vierteljahrsschrift f. Gesetzgebung u. Rechtswissenschaft*, 1913, p. 339 ff.

⁵ *Archiv f. Kriminalanthropologie u. Kriminalistik*, 53, p. 342 ff.; 55, p. 248 ff.

⁶ *Zeitschr. f. vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, xxx. p. 318 ff.

⁷ *Archiv f. Papyrusforschung*, vi. p. 34 ff.

⁸ *Revue de l'Instruction Publique en Belgique*, lvi. p. 107 ff.

⁹ *Sitzungsberichte d. Heidelberger Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1913, 8. Abh.

¹⁰ *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire. Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine*, vol. II. Cairo, 1913.

Much, however, remains to be done for their complete elucidation. Maspero's removal to Paris will somewhat retard the publication of vol. III.

P. M. Meyer's catalogue of the Hamburg papyri has also been advanced during the year by the publication of Part II,¹ containing Nos. 24-56, but not concluding vol. I. As before, the editor's bibliographical references are extremely full and his commentary detailed. There are a few Ptolemaic texts and one Byzantine one, but most are of the Roman period. There are six plates. The texts are of a miscellaneous character; among the most notable are No. 31, an *epicrisis* document, No. 39, a long roll containing acquittances for their *κράσις* (= *faenarium*) from soldiers of the *ala veterana Gallica*, and the series of tax-receipts issued by the ex-decurion L. Julius Serenus (Nos. 40-53).

The series of texts edited by pupils of C. Kalbfleisch under his direction and entitled *Papyri Iandanae* is continued by Parts II,² and III,³ edited respectively by L. Eisner and L. Spohr. Part II. consists entirely of private letters of the Roman and Byzantine periods (the latter in the majority); Part III. is miscellaneous in character and also includes texts of both the periods named. The papyri are mostly somewhat fragmentary, and they do not include anything of exceptional importance; but they make useful additions to our evidence on several subjects.

The University of Toronto has issued a collection of ostraca⁴ which contains valuable material. The ostraca are in Hieratic, Demotic, Greek, and Coptic, A. H. Gardiner being responsible for the first class, J. G. Milne for the third, and Sir H. Thompson for the second and fourth. The most noteworthy sections are the Demotic and Greek, which supply important evidence on taxation and other matters.

In this section may be placed two publications by which Preisigke has earned the gratitude of all workers in the field of papyrology. The first⁵ is a collection of all the Greek documents from Egypt which have appeared in periodicals and similar publications or in small volumes issued without indices. The work includes not only papyri but ostraca and inscriptions of every class, and will eventually be fully indexed. Two parts have at present appeared. The other⁶ is a collection of corrections to published papyrus texts. The collections are arranged alphabetically. Two parts have appeared, bringing the work down to P. Leid.

III. *Lesser Publications of non-literary Texts.*

The most elaborate publication under this head is that of a group of Greek and Demotic papyri of the reign of Euergetes II concerning a dispute over an inheritance and now in the possession of the Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft of Strassburg⁷. They

¹ *Griechische Papyrusurkunden der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek*, Band I. Heft 2. Hamburg, [1913].

² *Papyri Iandanae. Fasc. secundus: Epistulae privatae Graecae*. Edidit Leonhardus Eisner. Lipsiae, 1913.

³ *Id. Fasc. tertius: Instrumenta Graeca publica et privata. Pars Prima*. Edidit Ludovicus Spohr. Lipsiae, 1913.

⁴ *Theban Ostraca*. University of Toronto Library. Oxford University Press, 1913.

⁵ *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*. Strassburg, 1913.

⁶ *Berichtigungsliste der gr. Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten*. Strassburg, 1913.

⁷ *Schriften d. Wissensch. Gesellsch. in Strassburg*, 13. Heft. *Ein Erbstreit aus dem ptolemäischen Ägypten*. Strassburg, 1912.

are of great importance for the Ptolemaic process-law. Preisigke and Spiegelberg edit respectively the Greek and Demotic texts, and Gradenwitz supplies a juristic commentary. Excellent plates are given.

Another important publication is that by J. Maspero of the Beaugé papyri¹. These belong, with one exception (No. 4, a letter of the third century), to the sixth century Aphrodito Papyri. One is a petition to the Dux, which combines with Cair. Masp. i. 67010 and which enables Maspero to fix the approximate date and the name of the Dux to whom so many of the Cairo petitions are addressed and to rearrange both the list of Duces of the Thebaid and the biography of Dioscorus, the versifier of Aphrodito. Another is a curiously hybrid document, which seems to partake at once of the nature of an adoption, a deed of apprenticeship and a loan on security.

The New Palaeographical Society begins its second series with three facsimiles of papyri². These are Oxy. 1061, 913, and 1130, dated respectively 22 B.C., 442, 484 A.D. The latter two are specially valuable as adding to our scanty material for the palaeography of the fifth century.

Since the publication of the last Report two numbers of the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, and one of Wessely's *Studien*, have appeared. One number of the *Archiv* concluded vol. v. and consisted entirely of a juristic bibliography by Partsch³, and a literary one by Körte, already alluded to⁴ as continued in the other number, which forms parts I. and II. of vol. vi. In the latter, besides the articles mentioned above, are several items of importance. M. Holleaux publishes⁵ an interesting decree of Cretan auxiliaries of Ptolemy Philometor in honour of a fellow-countryman in Ptolemy's service. Elia Lattes suggests⁶ that the word *claruxies*' in an Etruscan inscription may refer to a *κληρούχος* who had settled in Egypt. E. von Druffel publishes⁷ a Ptolemaic fragment which mentions a *διοικητής* of the Thebaid and therefore proves that there were provincial officials bearing this title as well as the imperial *διοικητής* at Alexandria. Plaumann has an important article on the Alexander cult at Alexandria⁸, in which he gives good ground for believing that the city cult was distinct from the eponymous cult; the latter was of course abolished by the Romans, but the former lived on till the triumph of Christianity. I contribute notes⁹ of a miscellaneous character on some recent acquisitions of the British Museum. They include texts of an important letter by the prefect Minicius Italus on the subject of the *βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων* and a juristically interesting papyrus relating to a distraint for debt. Manigk replies¹⁰ to an unfavourable review by Partsch in the previous volume of his *Gräko-ägyptisches Pfandrecht*, and is in turn answered by Partsch¹¹. J. G. Milne has an article¹² on a collection of ostraca, both Demotic and Greek, from Denderah, which contains some important evidence on

¹ *Bulletin de l'Institut fr. d'Archéol. orientale*, x. p. 3 ff.

² New Palaeographical Society, Series II. part 1, nos. 1-3.

³ *Juristische Literaturübersicht*, 1907-1911, vol. v. p. 453 ff.

⁴ See note 4 on p. 130.

⁵ *Décret des auxiliaires crétois de Ptolémée Philométor, trouvé à Délos*, p. 9 ff.

⁶ *L'epitaffio etrusco del claruxies' e le Bende tolemaiche di Agram*, p. 24 ff.

⁷ *Zum Dioiketen-Problem*, p. 30 ff.

⁸ *Probleme des alexandrinischen Alexanderkultes*, p. 77 ff.

⁹ *Notes from Papyri in the British Museum*, p. 100 ff.

¹⁰ *Pfandrechtlisches*, p. 114 ff.

¹¹ *Erwiderung*, p. 123 f.

¹² *Ostraka from Denderah*, p. 125 ff.

subjects connected with taxation. Martin sketches¹ the administrative history of the Fayum in Roman times, showing that down to about 140 A.D. each of the three *μερίδες* had its own strategus; and he gives a valuable list of the known strategi and basilicogrammateis of all the divisions and of the Hermopolite nome. It is to be noted that the same conclusion as to the three strategi was arrived at independently by Spohr (P. Iand. 27, 1, note), and that the reasoning of these two scholars finds explicit documentary confirmation in one of the papyri commented on in my own article mentioned above. Plaumann, in addition to his article already referred to, publishes², with a good commentary, a Berlin papyrus mentioning the 6475 *ἄνδρες* "Ἕλληνες" of the Arsinoite nome. Wilcken has an important article³, due to his work in preparation for his forthcoming republication of Ptolemaic texts, on the *κάτοχοι* of the Serapeum. He proves, against Sethe (see below), that this *κατοχή* had nothing to do with the imprisonment in temples of defaulting debtors and other offenders. The article includes a republication of Par. 51 which is of extraordinary interest. Among smaller articles are a publication by Kenyon⁴ of an ostrakon dated in the "reign" of the usurper Avidius Cassius, which fixes the date of his revolt; a note on Flor. II. 278 by Stein⁵; some additions by Martin⁶ to the list of epistrategi given in his *Les Epistratèges*; a publication by Plaumann⁷ of some ostraca at Berlin; and notes by Wilcken on an inscription published by Lefebvre (see below)⁸ which mentions a *κυνοβοσκός*, i.e. a feeder of the sacred jackals of Anubis, and on BGU. III. 781⁹. Finally Wilcken contributes his usual invaluable reviews of papyrus publications. These are rather shorter than in previous numbers.

In his *Studien* Wessely publishes¹⁰ a Rainer papyrus containing an application to the *βιβλιοφύλακες ἐγκτήσεων* for permission to sell a slave, thus furnishing further testimony for the registration of slaves in the *βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων*, and probably providing a parallel to Lond. II. 299. He also publishes¹¹, for the interest attaching to its date, a document of the sixth consulship of Licinius. Unfortunately the dating clause offers difficulties which deprive it of much of its value. Wessely's proposed explanation of the discrepancy with regard to the indiction seems very improbable. In another article¹² he publishes a number of new and some previously published tax-receipts issued to Jews of Apollinopolis Magna. Further contributions by him include an obituary notice and bibliography of Revillout¹³; a bibliography of papyrological literature for the years 1905-1912¹⁴; an article on the Glagolitic or Old Slav alphabet¹⁵,

¹ *Stratèges et basilicogrammates du nome Arsinoïte à l'époque romaine*, p. 137 ff.

² *Die ἐν Ἀρσινοίτῃ ἄνδρες* "Ἕλληνες" 6475, p. 176 ff.

³ *Zu den κάτοχοι des Serapeums*, p. 184 ff.

⁴ *The Revolt of C. Avidius Cassius*, p. 213 f.

⁵ *Nochmals zu Comparetti's Militärrurkunden (Mél. Nic. 57 = P. Flor. II. 278)*, p. 214 ff.

⁶ *Supplément à la liste des épistratèges*, p. 216 ff.

⁷ *Einige Ostraka der Berliner Papyrussammlung*, p. 218 ff.

⁸ *Zum Kult des Anubis*, p. 222.

⁹ *Ein römischer Silberschatz in Ägypten*, p. 302.

¹⁰ *Sklaven-Prosangelie bei der Bibliothek der Enktesis*, in *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde*, xiii. p. 1 ff.

¹¹ *Eine Urkunde aus dem 6. Konsulat des Kaisers Licinius*, p. 6 f.

¹² *Das Ghetto von Apollinopolis Magna*, p. 8 ff.

¹³ *Eugène Revillout*, p. 10 ff.

¹⁴ *Literatur der Papyruskunde, 1905-1912*, p. 20 ff.

¹⁵ *Glagolitisch-lateinische Studien*, p. 41 ff.

which he believes to be derived from the Latin cursive; a note on Greek shorthand¹, in which he seems to establish the significance of one or two signs; and notes on Greek infinitives in -οῖν and their influence on Coptic², and on the name "A[μ]μονα Νείλου in a Berlin panegyric³, which he explains, very plausibly, as a fanciful variation of Νειλάμμων. Finally, Viereck contributes an article⁴ on the expression ἀνθ' ου, showing that it cannot be taken, as by Crönert, as indicating an adoptive father.

In order not to break up too much my bibliography of these two periodicals, I have strayed somewhat from the proper subject of this section, but I now return to actual publications. Schubart publishes⁵ two interesting inscriptions of the Ptolemaic period, with a valuable commentary. The first preserves the titles ἐπὶ τοῦ λογιστηρίου τῶν νομαρχικῶν καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐπιστατείᾳ τοῦ ξενικοῦ ἐμπορίου and τῶν ἐφημερευόντων τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν εἰσαγγελέων; the second is a dedication by a σύνοδος νεανίσκων at Theadelphia in the Fayum. He has also published⁶ a curious Latin-Greek-Coptic conversation book of the sixth century. The Greek script is employed for all three languages.

H. F. Allen publishes some mummy-tablets at New York and Ontario, with interesting notes on the names in them⁷. Another tablet, communicated to the American Archaeological Institute by the same scholar, is given elsewhere⁸.

De Ricci has published⁹ two small Latin fragments, which he has very ably identified as from the Digest and book 12 of the Code of Justinian. Of the publication of some inscriptions by Lefebvre¹⁰ I know only through Mr Johnson.

As an appendix to this section reference may be made to the continuation¹¹ of my own translations of the texts in Lond. iv. and to an announcement by Schubart¹² of the acquisition by the Berlin Museum of a number of unusually well-preserved second century rolls. They are mainly tax- and land-registers; but one, which seems destined to take rank as almost if not quite the most important non-literary text yet found in Egypt, contains a sort of small corpus of Roman law compiled for the use of the Idiologus. Its publication will be eagerly awaited. An article by myself¹³ on the British Museum Syene papyri may also be referred to here. Finally, Schubart has published¹⁴ an excellent collection of translations of letters in Greek papyri. It is intended for the general reader, is well produced at a moderate price, and is provided with good plates and a long introduction giving a sketch of life in Egypt. A

¹ *Zur griechischen Tachygraphie*, 2nd part, p. 21 ff.

² *Infinitive auf ου*, p. 3.

³ *Zu dem Berliner Klassikertext*, v. 1, xi. 3, p. 5.

⁴ *Der Gebrauch von ANΘ' ΟΥ*, p. 4 f.

⁵ *Griechische Inschriften aus Aegypten*, in *Klio*, xii. p. 365 ff.

⁶ *Ein lateinisch-griechisch-koptisches Gesprächsbuch*, ib. xiii. p. 27 ff.

⁷ *Amer. Journ. of Phil.* xxxiv. pp. 194 ff., 437 ff.

⁸ *Amer. Journ. of Arch.* xvi. p. 102.

⁹ *Deux nouveaux papyrus juridiques*, in *Études d'hist. jurid. offertes à P. F. Girard*, tome I, p. 273 ff. Paris, 1913.

¹⁰ *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, 1913.

¹¹ *Translations of the Greek Aphrodito Papyri in the British Museum*, in *Der Islam*, iv. p. 87 ff.

¹² *Römisches Recht in griechischen Papyrusrollen*, in *Amtliche Berichte aus den kön. Kunstsammlungen* xxxv. p. 55 ff.

¹³ *Syene Papyri in the British Museum*, in *Klio*, xiii, p. 160 ff.

¹⁴ *Ein Jahrtausend am Nil*. Berlin, 1912.

collection of papyri from Oxyrhynchus for school use, edited by A. Laudien¹, is referred to by Wilcken.

IV. *Monographs on Papyrological Questions.*

There are several useful books to be noted under this head. J. Maspero's *Organisation Militaire*² is an excellent sketch of the military organization of Egypt in the fifth to seventh centuries. The result of his researches is greatly to discount the numbers and worth of the Byzantine troops, and, consequently, of the difficulties overcome by 'Amr in his conquest of Egypt. Reference may here be made to a monograph by Butler³, on the Treaty of Miṣr, in which he replies to some criticisms on his *Arab Conquest of Egypt* and amplifies or corrects his own conclusions.

F. Hohmann, in a work published in 1911 but not noticed before⁴, deals with questions of chronology. A useful feature of the book is a list of dated papyri in chronological order. The author deals with regnal years, indictions, eras, months, *ἡμέραι σεβασταί*, etc.

Another book published in 1911 is O. Viedebantt's *Quaestiones Epiphaniae*⁵. This interests papyrology only indirectly, but inasmuch as some knowledge of metrology is essential to the systematic study of papyri it must be mentioned here. The author rejects the accepted view of the Roman artaba as equal to three and a third Roman modii, since three texts equate it with three modii. A metrological papyrus of the British Museum which will be included in vol. v. of the *Catalogue of Greek Papyri* contains evidence which perhaps explains the discrepancy.

Two important publications have appeared which are of interest for the history of industry in Egypt. The first is vol. i. of M. San Nicolò's *Vereinswesen*⁶. This deals of course with associations generally in so far as they were not purely official, like the colleges of priests and magistrates; but a large part of this first volume is occupied with the "Berufsvereine" or trade-guilds. A large mass of material is collected and classified. T. Reil's book⁷ deals with manufactures specifically and not (like San Nicolò's) primarily from the juristic point of view, but from that of industrial history itself. It is unnecessary to insist upon the importance of such a theme to historical research.

E. Biedermann has devoted a special study⁸ to the *βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς* and his functions; and he gives at the end a list of known officials of this class arranged by nomes.

A. Steiner begins a special study of the Ptolemaic Fiscus and its organization⁹. His first volume is devoted to its officials, the *οἰκονόμοι*, a list of the known *οἰκονόμοι* being given at the end. The book contains a surprisingly large number of misprints.

¹ *Griechische Papyri aus Oxyrhynchus*. Berlin, 1912.

² *Organisation militaire de l'Égypte byzantine*. *Bibl. de l'école d. hautes études*, 201^{me} fasc. Paris, 1912.

³ *The Treaty of Miṣr in Ṭabarī*. Oxford, 1913.

⁴ *Zur Chronologie der Papyrusurkunden (Römische Kaiserzeit)*. Berlin, 1911.

⁵ *Quaestiones Epiphaniae metrologicae et criticae*. Lipsiae, 1911.

⁶ *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer*. Band i. München, 1913.

⁷ *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes im hellenistischen Ägypten*. Borna, Leipzig, 1913.

⁸ *Studien zur ägyptischen Verwaltungsgeschichte im ptolemäisch-römischer Zeit*. *Der βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς*. Berlin, 1913.

⁹ *Der Fiscus der Ptolemaeer*. I. *Seine Spezialbeamten und sein öffentlich rechtlicher Charakter*. Leipzig, 1913.

A monograph by A. Zehetmair¹ deals with the honorary epithets in papyri, such for example as *λαμπρότατος*. They are arranged by officials, classes of persons, public bodies, and cities. The volume is in the main a collection of material, which will be useful for purposes of reference.

E. Majer-Leonhard has compiled from Greek papyri lists² of illiterate persons and also of persons able to write. The lists are well arranged, and give evidence of great industry in the collection of material; but it may perhaps be doubted whether any new conclusions of importance can be established by such lists, drawn from documents which chance and not any selective principle has preserved for us.

D. Cohen devotes a volume³ to the magistrates governing the provincial possessions of the Ptolemies. The work grew out of a scheme for a history of the Roman province of Judæa. Finding it advisable to discover first the organization of the province under the Lagids and Seleucids, he resolved to study, as a preliminary, the provinces of the Lagid empire first, hoping by inference from conditions elsewhere to establish more definite conclusions regarding the province of Judæa, the trustworthy material for that province itself being very scanty.

A good deal of attention has been devoted lately to the judicial procedure of Ptolemaic Egypt. A volume published by G. Semeka⁴, which is only the first of two, is far the most elaborate study which has yet appeared, and it will be an indispensable book of reference. This first volume is largely concerned with general principles and with the constitution of the various courts; but a beginning is made with the treatment of the procedure.

A very important study by K. Sethe⁵ deals with the Sarapis cult and in particular with the so-called recluses (*κάτοχοι*) of the Serapeum. The result of his discussion of the latter subject is to deny the religious character of the *κατοχή* and to regard it as a kind of arrest, whether for debt or for disciplinary purposes. As already mentioned in the account of *Archiv* VI. 1-2, Wilcken has adduced what seem to me convincing arguments against this view.

Cantarelli concludes⁶ his list of the prefects of Egypt, bringing it down to the Arab conquest.

A work by N. Hohlwein⁷ on Roman Egypt I know only from Wilcken's reference to it, and a juristic work by Castelli⁸ only through Mr Johnson. F. Oertel's long-expected study on the liturgies⁹ is included by Wessely in his bibliography as a Leipzig dissertation dated in 1912, but I have been unable to see it, and it is announced for publication in the present year. Presumably it is being re-issued in a more elaborate form.

¹ *De Appellationibus Honorificis in Papyris Graecis obviis. Dissertatio Inauguralis.* Marpurgi Chatterorum, 1912.

² ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ *in Aegypto qui litteras sciverint qui nesciverint*, etc. Francofurti ad Moenum, 1913.

³ *De magistratibus Aegyptiis externas Lagidarum regni provincias administrantibus.* 's-Gravenhage, n.d.

⁴ *Ptolemäisches Prozessrecht.* Heft I. München, 1913.

⁵ *Sarapis und die sogenannten κάτοχοι des Sarapis.* Berlin, 1913.

⁶ *La Serie dei Prefetti di Egitto.* III. *Memorie della R. Accademia dei Lincei.* Serie quinta. vol. XIV. fasc. 7 A. Roma, 1913.

⁷ *L'Égypte Romaine*, 1912.

⁸ Παράφερνα, Milan, Casa Editrice L. F. Cogliati.

⁹ *Die Liturgie. Studien zur ptolemäischen Verwaltung Ägyptens.* Diss. Leipzig, 1912.

V. *Articles, Reviews¹, and Miscellaneous.*

An important item under this head is Preisigke's article on the *βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων*²; in which he defends and elaborates his view of that institution against the conception of its functions held by Mitteis, Eger, and others. The article is very suggestive and valuable; but the question can as yet hardly be regarded as settled.

Cuq³ has published an elaborate article on the institution of *ἀποκήρυξις*, suggested by Cair. Masp. I. 67097 verso (D), which he regards, rightly in my opinion, not as a merely literary exercise but as the draft of an actual document. He adduces much valuable evidence on the nature and history of *ἀποκήρυξις*.

It is good news that the Rainer Arabic papyri are at last to be published. K. W. Hofmeier, who has undertaken the task, contributes to *Der Islam* an interesting article⁴ on the system of tax-reckoning seen in one of the registers of the collection. Becker adds a note on this article⁵ in the following number.

Plaumann has been doing valuable work on the eponymous datings of Ptolemaic papyri. He has an article on the eponymous priesthoods⁶ in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, giving a list of known priests and priestesses, arranged chronologically, with an alphabetical index. In a special article⁷ he develops the view expressed in that last mentioned, that the dating clauses of demotic contracts are in all cases translations from the Greek. In *Klio* he is publishing a series of articles on eponymous datings. One⁸ relates to the occurrence of Macedonians; in another⁹ he publishes, from a transcript by Smyly, two papyrus fragments at Dublin which contain part of a protocol of proceedings in the Senate of Ptolemais; and in another¹⁰ he republishes an inscription which, if his not improbable supplements were accepted, would prove at last the disputed autonomy of Alexandria.

Preisendanz has published two short articles¹¹ dealing with erotic magic in papyri.

A collection of notarial formularies¹² edited by Ferrari from Vat. Gr. 867 is only indirectly of interest to papyrologists; but the formulæ are in many cases analogous to those familiar in late papyri, and Ferrari adds a valuable commentary in which he makes use of the evidence of papyri.

¹ Only the more elaborate reviews are noticed.

² *Das Wesen der βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων*, in *Klio*, xii. p. 402 ff.

³ *Un nouveau document sur l'apokèryxis*, in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, xxxix. p. 181 ff.

⁴ *Beiträge zur arabischen Papyrusforschung*, in *Der Islam*, iv. p. 97 ff.

⁵ *Zu Hofmeier's Papyrusstudien*, p. 313 f.

⁶ Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie*, 1913. *Hierois*. v. *Die Priester im eponymen Herrscherkult (Alexanders u. d. Ptolemäer) des hellenistischen Ägypten (Alexandria u. Ptolemais)*.

⁷ *Die demotischen u. die griechischen Eponymendatierungen*, in *Zeitschr. f. ägyptische Sprache u. Altertumskunde*, 50, p. 19 ff.

⁸ *Bemerkungen zu den äg. Eponymendatierungen aus ptolemäischer Zeit*. I. *Makedonen unter den Eponymen*. *Klio*, xiii. p. 133 ff.

⁹ Do. II. *Ein Ratsprotokoll von Ptolemais*. *Ib.* xiii. p. 308 ff.

¹⁰ Do. III. *Ein Volksbeschluss von Alexandria*. *Ib.* xiii. p. 485 ff.

¹¹ *Sexuelles aus griechischen Zauberpapyri*, in *Sexual-Probleme*, 9, 9, p. 614 ff.; and *Ein Strassburger Liebeszauber*, in *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, xvi. p. 547 ff.

¹² *Formulari Notarili inediti dell' età bizantina*, in *Bullettino dell' Istituto Storico Italiano*, 33, p. 1 ff.

Becker's article on Muhammedan Egypt in the *Enzyklopädie des Islām*¹ is of interest to papyrologists for the earlier period; and the same may be said of his chapters on *The Expansion of the Saracens* in vol. II. of the Cambridge Mediæval History².

San Nicolò has published a short note on P. Oxy. 1186³. The volume containing this document, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. IX., is reviewed by Wenger⁴. Wenger has also published an interesting paper⁵ on the value of papyrological studies for legal history, and another⁶ on the history of Roman law, with special reference, in the latter part, to the papyrus sources. His article on the *Receptum arbitri* in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll is also of interest to papyrology.

Guest has published an interesting review of P. Lond. iv.⁷; and Mitteis-Wilcken's *Papyruskunde* is reviewed at some length by Vinogradoff and myself⁸. Caracalla's famous edict (P. Giss. 40) is discussed at length by M. J. Bry⁹.

B. Keil has a note on the erroneous form *ναύστης* = *ναύτης*, found on a mummy tablet¹⁰. Spiegelberg explains the name *Χεσεβαιήον* found on an ostrakon published by Wilcken¹¹.

Finally, a welcome must be given to Crönert's long-expected revision of Passow's Greek Lexicon¹². Two parts have appeared during 1913, bringing the work down to *ἄλφειον*. The references are on a generous scale, and the lexicon will be of immense service to students of papyri as well as to Greek scholars generally.

¹ *Egypten*.

² Chapters XI and XII.

³ *Zur Prügelstrafe im Altertum*, in *Arch. f. Kriminalanthrop. u. Kriminalistik*, 52, p. 304 ff.

⁴ *Kritische Vierteljahrsschr. f. Gesetzgebung u. Rechtswiss.* xiv. p. 552 ff.

⁵ *Ergebnisse der Papyruskunde für Rechtsvergleichung und Rechtsgeschichte*, in *Archiv f. Kulturgesch.* x. p. 385 ff.

⁶ *Römische Rechtsgeschichte*, in *Essays in Legal History*, Hist. Congress, London, 1913.

⁷ In the *Journ. of the Royal Asiatic Soc.* 1913, p. 437 ff.

⁸ *Klio*, xiii. p. 490 ff

⁹ *L'édit de Caracalla de 212 d'après le papyrus 40 de Giessen*. In the *Études Girard* (see p. 135, note 9), tome I, p. 1 ff.

¹⁰ *ΝΑΥΣΤΗΣ*, in *Hermes*, 48, p. 156 f.

¹¹ *Eine Weihinschrift an Amenophis, den Sohn des Paapis*, in *Zeitschr. f. äg. Spr. u. Altertumsk.* 50, p. 47 f.

¹² *Passow's Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache*. Göttingen.

POSTSCRIPT. I owe to the kindness of Professor J. Bidez the knowledge of a further papyrus publication—*Un nouveau papyrus du Fayoum* by J. Persin, in *Rev. de l'Instr. publ. en Belgique*, 1913, p. 306 ff. This is a papyrus containing on the *recto* a document of uncertain character, perhaps a petition or return, with copies of documents, and on the *verso* rules for calculating various taxes, such as *ναύσιον* and *ἀπόμοιρα*. Both are of considerable importance; but the text requires, and will evidently permit of, considerable improvement.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF 1912-13: GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM EGYPT

BY MARCUS N. TOD, M.A.

THE Greek inscriptions of Egypt and Nubia published for the first time or in a more satisfactory form during the past two years are sufficiently numerous and important to call for a special survey, and all the more imperatively because of the number of books and periodicals over which they are scattered. In the following pages I shall summarize only the inscriptions engraved upon stone, following a geographical order, leaving to the bibliography of papyri the ostraka, mummy-labels and similar objects which lie on the border-line between the provinces of epigraphy and palaeography.

The sumptuous Catalogue of the Greek and Latin inscriptions contained in the Alexandria Museum, published in 1911 by E. Breccia, has placed the study of the texts in question upon a new and surer footing. One of these (No. 164)—a decree, probably of Alexandria—has been more fully restored by G. Plaumann¹, while a second (No. 10) has been independently published by G. Arvanitakis², who sees in this dedication made by two priests of Zeus $\Delta\iota$ Ἵ Ολυμπίῳ καὶ $\Delta\iota$ συνωμοσίῳ a reference to a conspiracy, probably against the regent Berenice, which recalled Ptolemy Euergetes I so hurriedly from his Asiatic campaign. I. Lévy has shown that in an epigram of Alexandria (Kaibel, *Épigr. Graec.* 833), as well as in the Isis-hymn from Ios (*I.G.* xii. 5. 739 App.), we must replace κ' Ἄρποκράτης by Καρποκράτης , a form of the divine name attested by *B.G.U.* II. p. 21³. More important is the publication by W. Schubart⁴ of an Alexandrian text, now in the Academy at Braunsberg, set up in the second century B.C. by a certain Theagenes to Harbaethus and the σύνναοι θεοί in honour of his father. It mentions two officials of Alexandria hitherto unknown, the $\text{ἐπὶ τοῦ λογιστηρίου τῶν νομαρχικῶν}$ and the $\text{πρὸς τῇ ἐπιστατείᾳ τοῦ ξενικοῦ ἐμπορίου}$. The description of the dedicator as one $\text{τῶν ἐφημερευόντων τοῖς βασιλευσιν εἰσαγγελέων}$ is also of interest. The excavation of the temple of Zeus Casius at Pelusium by J. Clédat⁵ led to the discovery of an architrave block containing part of a long dedication in Hadrian's name to Ζεὺς Κάσιος and of two other fragments, one of which mentions Titus Flavius Titianus, prefect of Egypt under that emperor. E. Breccia announces the discovery at Rosetta of an inscription, which still awaits full publication, on the statue-base of an ἀρχιερεὺς of a temple dedicated to Cleopatra (4-5 A.D.)⁶.

¹ *Berl. phil. Woch.* xxxiii. 639 f.

² *Bull. Inst. Égypt.* vi. (1912) 89 f.

³ *Rev. Ét. Grecques*, xxvi. 262.

⁴ *Klio*, xii. 365 ff.

⁵ *Annales du Service*, xiii. 79 ff.

⁶ *Rapport sur le Service du Musée en 1910-11*, p. 15 (known to me only through *Rev. Épigr.* i. 364).

A puzzling document discovered at the village of Sakha near Kafr esh-Shêkh, in the Delta, has been published by G. Arvanitakis¹: it consists of an epigram in two distichs followed by eighteen lines, arranged in two columns, of what appears to be a metrical composition of some sort, below which comes a further poem in two couplets. The whole is purposely enigmatic and may be, as the editor conjectures, Christian.

Several interesting finds have been made in the Fayum. The most notable is a new inscription² from Kasr el-Banât, containing a petition addressed to Ptolemy Auletes and queen Cleopatra Tryphaena III, asking the right of *ἀσυλία* for a temple at Euhemeria which contained *εἰκόνας* of the king's ancestors: the petitioner desires to reconstruct the temple and set up there the *εἰκόνας* of Ptolemy and his consort. The text, which differs in formulae from similar inscriptions³, alone gives us the queen's name, it describes the royal pair in a phrase previously unknown, *θεοὶ φιλόπαποι*, and, most interesting of all, it supplies us with two new epithets or titles of the crocodile god: for the temple is referred to as *ἱερόν Ψόσσαντος καὶ Πνεφερότος καὶ Σόξιτος θεῶν κροκοδείλων*, and of the three titles only *Πνεφερώς* occurs elsewhere. From Theadelphia (Batn Hârît) we have an inscription, now at Braunsberg, relating to a religious society, the *σύνδοδος νεανίσκων ἐκ τοῦ Ὀσiriείου*, the chief officials of which are an *ἀρχιερεύς* and a *προστάτης*⁴, and three recent discoveries published by G. Lefebvre⁵. One of these, dated April 7th, 93 A.D., records the restoration of the *τόπος πολιτεύματος Ἀρθώτου μεγάλου μακαρίτου θεᾶς μεγίστης Σαχύψεως*. The *πολίτευμα* is a religious association founded by the deceased Harthotes for the worship of Sachypsis, who is equivalent to Isis, and *τόπος* apparently denotes all the buildings within the sacred precinct: the same divine name is found, in a slightly altered form, in a dedication on wood addressed *Ἰσιδι Σασύφι*. The third document is a dedication of 127-8 A.D., while T. Flavius Titianus was prefect of Egypt, to the Dioscuri *σωτῆρες ἐπιφανεῖς θεοί*, the first evidence of the worship of these gods at Theadelphia. The same editor has published⁶ two new texts of Philadelphia, one of which records the building of an altar and adjoining constructions of a shrine of Nemesis in Nero's reign, while the other is engraved on a gable-topped stele of the Greek type, on which is a representation of Anubis with a hieroglyphic inscription: the Greek text, probably of the first century B.C., runs *Ἐπερ Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ Ζήνωνος Πασῶς κυνοβοσκός Ἀνούβι εὐχὴν*, in which *κυνοβοσκός* probably denotes the keeper of the sacred jackals of Anubis⁷. Two short inscriptions of Oxyrhynchus published by L. Pareti⁸ form the text of a valuable discussion of the circus-parties in Constantinople under the emperor Phocas and the time of their introduction into Egypt, with special reference to Oxyrhynchus.

Passing to Upper Egypt we must note a group of eight *graffiti* of pilgrims to Abydos⁹, including two which were written on October 25th and 26th, 147 A.D., the

¹ *Bull. Inst. Égypt.* vi. (1912) 90 ff.

² *Ibid.* 171 ff. The editor is wrong, I think, in rendering *ἐπὶ Λεσώνου Ἀρμοδίου τοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδου* (l. 29) 'sous Léson fils d'Harmodius l'Asclépiade.' *Λεσώνης* is a title (see Zucker *Temples immergés de la Nubie. Von Debod bis Bab Kalabsche* III. p. 41 ff.) which also occurs in the form *πλεσώνης* (*Rev. Épig.* i. 146): we must therefore translate, 'when Harmodius son of Asclepiades was *λεσώνης*.'

³ Cf. *Annales du Service*, x. 163 ff.; *Fayum Towns*, 48 ff.

⁴ *Klio*, xii. 374 ff.

⁵ *Annales du Service*, xiii. 87 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.* 93 ff.

⁷ U. Wilcken, *Archiv f. Papyrusf.* vi. 222.

⁸ *Studi Italiani di filologia classica*, xix. 305 ff.

⁹ G. Lefebvre, *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie*, 1913, 465 ff.

only *graffiti* of Abydos which are exactly dated, and an Egyptian table of offering found at Dendera bearing a dedication to Harbaktēs and the other local deities by Herodes who styles himself ἡγεμῶν ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μετάλλων¹. The excavations conducted at Koptos early in 1911 by A. J. Reinach brought to light² a dedication to Antoninus Pius, 'saviour and benefactor of the world,' a limestone *cippus* of 209–10 A.D., erected probably by Palmyrenes, an inscription in honour of one Zabdalas and his son (130–200 A.D.)³ and five names stamped on the stoppers of oil-jars. A. J. Reinach has further published⁴ in full a broken epistyle of 108–9 A.D. bearing the dedication of a well to Isis by Apollodorus, whose name must be added to the list of ἐπιστράτηγοι of the Thebaid given by V. Martin⁵, and his brother, probably the Paδs of Dittenberger, *O.G.I.S.* 132. The same scholar, together with R. Weill, has studied the documents of Koptos, five of which bear Greek inscriptions, relating to Parthenius, son of Paminis, προστάτης of Isis, whose activities extend from the reign of Tiberius to that of Nero⁶. G. Lefebvre has subjected to a fresh and careful examination *O.G.I.S.* 702 from the temple of Ἄμενῆβις at Kasr-Zayân (Oasis of Khargeh) and has published a *graffito* giving for the first time the Greek form Ηβις for the city of Hibis⁷. Finally, G. Arvanitakis has published a short inscription, we are not told from where, dating from Nero's reign⁸.

A number of Egyptian inscriptions now in foreign collections have been published during the two years under review. These comprise (a) a votive stele with two ears in relief dedicated to Isis, which is now in the National Museum at Athens⁹; (b) twenty-four texts in the Hermitage Museum and in the collection of M. Nicolas de Likhatschef at St Petersburg published by S. de Ricci¹⁰, amongst which the most interesting are an almost exact replica of *O.G.I.S.* 82 and a text relating to two unknown martyrs of the period of Diocletian, which the editor regards as the oldest Christian inscription of Egypt (Nos. 1, 10); (c) a late grave-stele in the Museo Civico at Bologna¹¹; (d) five inscriptions in the Brussels Museum, of which three are dedications to Bubastis, to Isis, Sarapis, Horus, Anchoris and all the σύνναοι θεοί, and to Horus of Pelusium respectively, while the remaining two are epitaphs¹²; (e) twenty-one texts (one of them in Latin) in the Braunsberg Academy published by S. de Ricci¹³, including a decree of Ptolemais belonging to the early Ptolemaic period (No. 1) and an interesting, but very faultily published, metrical epitaph (No. 4), of which G. Arvanitakis has given an independent transcription¹⁴.

Graeco-Egyptian inscriptions in general are treated in G. Plaumann's discussion of the dating by reference to the eponymous priests of Alexander and the Ptolemies, which confirms the theory that the demotic datings are translations from the Greek

¹ C. C. Edgar, *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1913, 238.

² *Bull. Soc. Française des Fouilles archéol.* 1912, 47 ff.

³ Republished in *Rev. Archéol.* xx. 461.

⁴ *Rev. Épig.* i. 109 ff.

⁵ *Les Épistatèges*, Geneva, 1911.

⁶ *Annales du Service*, xii. 1 ff.; cf. xiii. 48.

⁷ *Ibid.* xiii. 5 ff.

⁸ *Bull. Inst. Égypt.* vi. (1912) 83 f.

⁹ *Ath. Mitt.* xxxvii. 50.

¹⁰ *Rev. Épig.* i. 153 ff.

¹¹ *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* iii. 239.

¹² F. Cumont, *Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire: Catalogue des Sculptures*, 2nd ed., Brussels: Nos. 146–9, 74. Of these the first and the last two were hitherto unpublished.

¹³ *Rev. Épig.* i. 141 ff., cf. 427.

¹⁴ *Bull. Inst. Égypt.* vi. (1912) 169 ff. It has just been republished by G. Weissbrodt, *Inscripfen in der antiken arch. Sammlung der k. Akademie, Braunsberg*,—a work which is inaccessible to me.

usually made *ad hoc*¹, in M. Lambertz's study of the spread of the surname (*super-nomen, signum*) in Egypt², and in F. Preisigke's *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*³, of which the first instalment has recently appeared: it contains over 1500 texts written upon stone, papyrus, ostraka, etc., with a brief account of the provenance and bibliography of each, but since there is as yet no introduction to indicate the scope of the collection or the principle of classification adopted it will be better to leave an estimate of its value to a future review⁴.

Important work has also been done on the Greek inscriptions of Nubia. The famous Abu Simbel *graffiti* of Psammetichus' Greek mercenaries appear as No. 1 of E. Nachmanson's admirable little selection of *Historische Griechische Inschriften*⁵, where they are attributed to the middle of the seventh century B.C., and A. J. Reinach has conjectured that the *graffito* ΓΑΛΑΤΟΤ on one of the pilasters of the temple of Hatshepsut at Buhen (Wâdi Halfa) may refer to a Galatian in Ptolemaic service⁶. In a considerable volume⁷ F. Zucker publishes with corrections, additions and a valuable commentary the inscriptions found between Debod and Taifa, among which are *O.G.I.S.* 107, *C.I.G.* 5038, *Annales du Service*, x. 17 ff. and a practically unpublished boundary-record from the Dodecaschoenus dated 111 A.D. But the book deals chiefly with the *προσκυνήματα* of Wady Kerdasse, belonging to the first half of the third century of our era: the texts—74 Greek and one Latin, of which fifteen were previously unknown—are preceded by an exhaustive introduction dealing with all the questions raised by them, the main conclusion being that we have here relics of the cult of a divine pair, Pursepmunis and Sruptichis, by a religious association called after the place Γόμος, at the head of which was an annual priest and a *προστάτης* who held office for a longer period. Most of the members belonged to the immediate neighbourhood, though a few were from Ptolemais, and the curious blend of Greek language and Egyptian cult which we find in the inscriptions gives us a characteristic picture of the intermixture of the Hellenic and native elements in the life and thought of the period. The publication of the fifth volume of the text of Lepsius' *Denkmäler*, dealing with Nubia, Hammamat, Sinai, Syria and European Museums⁸, brings some welcome assistance to the student of the Greek inscriptions of Nubia, though it is concerned mainly with topography, architecture and Egyptian monuments and inscriptions: numerous Greek texts are corrected or more exactly located and a series of concordances facilitates the task of finding in the *C.I.G.* the inscriptions copied by Lepsius⁹.

Finally I may note three inscribed Hadra-vases published by R. Pagenstecher¹⁰, and twenty-four stamped amphora-handles (a few in Latin, but most in Greek) found by J. Clédat near Hatieh, on the trade-route between Egypt and Syria¹¹.

¹ *Ztschr. f. äg. Sprache*, 1912, 19 ff.

² *Glotta*, v. 99 ff.

³ Strasburg, K. J. Trübner, 1913.

⁴ On No. 1207 see B. Keil, *Hermes*, xlvi. 156 f.

⁵ Bonn (Marcus und Weber), 1913: 1 M. 75.

⁶ *Rev. Épigr.* i. 245 ff.

⁷ *Les temples immergés de la Nubie von Debod bis Bab Kalabsche*: III. Cairo, 1912.

⁸ *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien. Text.* Herausgegeben von Eduard Naville. v. Band. Leipzig (J. C. Hinrichs), 1913.

⁹ Kerdasse, p. 9 ff., Kalabsha, p. 17 ff., Dakke (Pselchis), p. 62 ff., Abu Simbel, p. 139 f., Hammamat, p. 351 ff., etc.

¹⁰ *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* iii. 238.

¹¹ *Annales du Service*, xii. 165 ff.

NOTES AND NEWS

PROFESSOR NAVILLE has made an extremely interesting discovery at the Osireion—"the remains of a sanctuary which certainly is as old as the Pyramids" and the pool mentioned as "The Well of Abydos" by Strabo. The excavators have made their way into the long-buried building to which Miss Murray's passage, inscribed with hieroglyphs, descends. This building, which consists of two halls separated by an open space, is built of immense blocks of granite and quartzite, many of which are fifteen or sixteen feet in length, and eight feet thick and high. The huge granite pillars support granite architraves fifteen feet long. The massive surrounding wall is about twelve feet in thickness, the outer part being constructed of white limestone while the inner face is of red quartzite. The roofs of the side halls or aisles are made of slabs of stone six feet thick. In the outer walls of these two halls is a series of cells, apparently sixteen in number. "They are not very large; a tall man can hardly stand in them. They were closed with wooden doors; the holes of the hinges are still to be seen." It seems probable that they represent "what the Book of the Dead calls the cells in the celestial abode of Osiris."

The whole building measures about ninety feet in length by sixty feet wide. Unluckily it had been attacked by the ancient quarrier, but not so severely as to destroy its plan. The end wall on the site of Seti's Temple is covered with funerary inscriptions of the time of Meneptah. In this wall was found the entrance to a long chamber, or rather corridor, sixty feet long by fourteen feet wide, with a slanting roof. This is decorated with funerary reliefs of Seti I, and is evidently a hitherto undiscovered part of the great Temple. It is in a perfect state of preservation.

The Osireion then greatly resembles, but has even thicker walls than, the well-known Temple of the Sphinx at Gîzah, and Professor Naville thinks that there is no doubt it is of the same early date as that Temple, "as only at that period was such colossal material used." Should this be the case, Meneptah will only have decorated with his funerary inscriptions the walls of a building of a previous age; but we must await further evidence before this question can be decided.

Meanwhile, we must congratulate Professor Naville on his success. He considers that the corridor of Seti may be the place in the temple where Osiris was supposed to be buried, and adds that the whole erection reminds him of Strabo's description of "the Well of Abydos, a building having a great similarity with the Labyrinth [of Hawara], except that it was on a smaller scale." Strabo says that some of the most striking parts of the Labyrinth were "the covered ways roofed with single slabs of stone of extraordinary size, pillars consisting of a single stone, and walls constructed of stones not inferior in size to these." Professor Naville adds that in the centre of

the enclosure, at a depth of four metres, water was found, which looks as if the building covered a large pool, the "Well" of Strabo.

He describes the newly-discovered temple as "really very striking and majestic"; and as "one of the finest specimens of the gigantic architecture of the first dynasties"; and says that when finally cleared it will be, as is the Temple of the Sphinx, one of the most interesting objects of antiquity in Egypt, and will, like Dêr el-Bahri, always remain a monument of the work of the Fund.

Professor Naville's letter, describing the discovery, appeared in the *Times* of March 6; and from this, and from his report to the Fund Committee, the sentences quoted above are taken.

After the conclusion of the work at the Osireion this season, Professor Whittemore and Mr Wainwright will undertake for the American Committee an independent excavation, which has been financed by a certain number of American special subscribers, in necropoleis situated near Abydos and in the district of Sohâg. The antiquities discovered will be sent to the United States.

Mr J. de M. Johnson reports that he began work at Antinoë on December 10, and is trenching through to the bottom of the mounds in the search for papyri, which has not been unattended by results. A large collection of objects of everyday life in the Roman city—textiles, leatherwork, pottery, and so forth—has been made, which will form a most interesting exhibition in July. A noteworthy find is that of an inscription commemorating a "Platonic philosopher," who was one of the privileged *σιτούμενοι ἐν τῷ Μουσείῳ ἀτελεῖς*—the scholars who received free meals in the Museum at Alexandria. It was originally intended that the excavation should be spread over two seasons: but the havoc made in the mounds by the *sebakh* diggers, whose operations it is impossible, for economic reasons, to suspend, has determined the Committee to allow Mr Johnson to clear the remainder of the site this year rather than risk the loss to science which would attend any postponement.

It is proposed that the Fund's exhibition this year shall be devoted almost entirely to the antiquities found at Antinoë, which, as they represent the daily life of the people of a Romano-Egyptian city in all its varied phases, and with a completeness that has hardly been possible before, should prove a considerable attraction to the general public as well as to archaeologists. A certain number of papyri from Oxyrhynchus will also be shown; as no papyri have been exhibited for several years, this feature of the exhibition will be of unusual interest.

A new volume of the Graeco-Roman Branch, containing another selection (the tenth) of Oxyrhynchus papyri, has just been issued. The documents here edited cover a wide field and will appeal to a variety of interests. For theologians, besides several early pieces from the Septuagint and New Testament, there is a novelty in the shape of some small fragments from an early Christian work which was more probably an

uncanonical gospel than a collection of Sayings of Jesus. In one passage the words "He that is not with you is against you" are combined with the injunction to pray for enemies, and followed up by another Saying not previously recorded. For the classical scholar something of a sensation is provided by some considerable remnants of the poetry of Sappho and Alcaeus, though satisfaction at their recovery will be tempered by regret that fortune has not restored these priceless rolls to us in a less tattered condition. Besides these there is part of a collection of plots of Menander's plays, some small but useful fragments from the dramatist himself, and several columns of a Chrestomathy, which among other historical and mythological information preserve a valuable list of the Alexandrian librarians. Another interesting text included in this section is a highly-coloured account of an audience by the Emperor Trajan in Rome of rival embassies from the Greeks and Jews of Alexandria—a fragment of the Alexandrian anti-Semitic literature of which several specimens have already been published. The extant classical authors represented are Apollonius Rhodius, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato (*Politicus*), Babrius, Achilles Tatius, and Cicero (*Pro Caelio*), of which the three last are especially noteworthy. A varied assortment of official and private papers adds further details to our ever-growing knowledge of the administration and social life of Egypt in the Roman and Byzantine ages.

A. S. H.

The last volume of the Archaeological Survey, Mr de Garis Davies's *Five Theban Tombs*, is one of the most interesting of the publications of that branch of the Fund, and contains some of Mr Davies's best drawings. The fidelity with which the old Egyptian colour is reproduced in the coloured Plates I, III and XXIII is remarkable. This volume should be secured by those who wish to have an authoritative illustrated description of five very typical Theban tombs, of minor rank in point of size, and considerably damaged, but of the first importance in art. The most interesting is, in some ways, that of the vizier Daga, a contemporary of king Neb-hapet-Ra Mentuhetep, of the XIth Dynasty, whose funerary temple, close by, was excavated by Professor Naville and Mr H. R. Hall for the Fund. In one of these tombs Mr Davies found the fragments of a Cretan pot, of the Second Late Minoan period, which is of considerable importance in the history of the connexions between Greece and Egypt (see *Journal*, Part III). It is illustrated by a photograph on Plate XVI. See Review on page 155, *post*.

Mr Blackman's work for the Archaeological Survey was resumed at Meir on November 1, 1913, and continued until January 9, 1914.

He completely recorded the chapel of Senbi's son Ukhhotp (or Ukhuhotep I), and finished the work that still remained over from last season in the chapel of Ukhhotp (or Ukhuhotep II), son of Ukhhotp and Mersi. The débris in the chapel of Senbi, and in the two mentioned above, was cleared out, whereupon interesting architectural features were revealed, which will be fully described in the July number of the *Journal*.

The Department of Antiquities will begin the restoration of the Meir Tomb-chapels in March or April of this year.

The course of Lectures in London has been well attended and has aroused much interest in Egyptian work. Mr Blackman will lecture in May, his subject being "Temple Ritual," and Professor Sayce will describe "Recent discoveries in the Nile Valley" in June. Detailed particulars of these two lectures will be issued shortly.

Most of the lectures will be published in full in the pages of the *Journal*; that which Professor Hunt delivered last December on "Papyri and Papyrology" is printed as the first article in this present number (page 81).

Mr T. Eric Peet lectured on the history of Abydos, and the Fund's excavations on that site, at **Hastings** on February 16th; at **Eastbourne** on the following day; at **Brighton** on February 19th; at **Bolton** on March 2nd; and at **Sheffield** on March 7th.

Mr A. M. Blackman has arranged lectures on behalf of the Fund at the following places: **Norwich** (a course of six lectures) on February 10th, 17th and 24th, March 10th, 17th, and 24th; **Cheltenham**, February 12th; **Birmingham**, February 26th; **Portsmouth**, March 3rd; and **Manchester**, April 28th (see below).

The political relationships, whether of war or peace, that existed for so many centuries between Egypt and the *Kheta*, *Khatti*, or Hittites, make the excavations that are now in progress on the site of the great southern Hittite centre, Carchemish on the Euphrates, of very great interest to all students of Egyptian antiquity. Carchemish is mentioned in Egyptian history first in the reign of Thothmes III, who reached it and defeated the Syrians there in one of his expeditions. It must have been passed by Amenhetep II when he visited the northern confines of his empire and penetrated further north than any other Egyptian monarch, and it surrendered to Rameses II. Rameses III says that he conquered it too, but this is probably merely a "bluffing" imitation of the statements of his predecessors, made *à propos* of the fact that Carchemish was overrun by an outlying horde of his enemies the Northerners of the Isles, the Philistines and others, whom he defeated in Palestine. At any rate the great fortress by the "waters of Naharain" was well known to the Egyptians of the imperial period. And the excavations that have been carried on there prove that it was a fortified city of the first importance, well adapted to be a centre of North-Syrian resistance to Egypt, and, had the Egyptians ever been able to conquer the Syrians so effectually as they did the Nubians, to become a second Napata. When the Hittites came there from Anatolia we do not know, but the Hittite settlement was very ancient; that the excavations have shown. Certain sculptures in hard dolerite were brought thence to the British Museum many years ago (in 1879), and during the last three years, aided by private munificence, the Trustees of the Museum have taken up the work of exploration in earnest. Mr D. G. Hogarth led the expedition of the first year with Mr R. Campbell Thompson as his chief assistant, and since then Mr Hogarth's other lieutenants, Mr C. L. Woolley and Mr T. E. Lawrence, have carried on the work, labouring on the great *tell* for two seasons each year. Mr Hogarth describes the splendid results of the work in the *Illustrated London News* of Jan. 24, and on the same day Mr Woolley published an account in the *Times* of the trophies of the last season's digging. Mr Hogarth gives fine photographs of the major objects described in Mr Woolley's letter, the fragmentary figure of a great Moloch-like

god seated on a throne upborne by grinning lions, with a running eagle-headed figure between them; the relief group of two kings with their wives and children, the latter playing their childish games; the relief of soldiers in crested "Carian" helmets, looking not at all un-Greek in their military equipment; the laver like that in Solomon's temple, carried by two bulls; the slaves carrying animals; the king dining while musicians play to him; and others, all of the first importance in the history of ancient art. Not all of these can go back to the time of the Egyptian connexion; probably that of the king dining is the oldest, and that of the warriors looks older (though perhaps it is not so in reality) than that which shows the two kings with their families: this last belongs to the period of Aramaean domination, when the Hittite lordship had long ceased, and must belong to the ninth century B.C., like the similar work found by Prof. Garstang at Saktjegözü, and that of Sinjirli. The oldest things which Mr Hogarth shows us are the peculiar "champagne-glass" cups from the early tombs, which probably date to between 2000 and 1500 B.C., so that such were probably in use when Thothmes III reached Carchemish and "that inverted Nile" which ran south when it ought to run north, as the astonished Egyptians described it. Important new inscriptions in the as yet unread Hittite hieroglyphs—we say 'unread' till the scholars who have tried to read them, Dr Jensen, Prof. Sayce, and Mr Thompson, are agreed as to their renderings—have also been discovered, and Mr Hogarth shows us photographs of some of these.

Mr Woolley describes the great walls of the city, the postern, the great gate, and the stairway leading up to the destroyed palace on the top of the mound. Of this stairway, from which came the sculptures found in 1879, Mr Hogarth gives a photograph. He describes the remains of the eastern wing of the palace, with its shrine-chamber walled with blue glazed bricks decorated with flowers in relief, and resting on a base of polished limestone blocks. "A single wooden column rising from a plain dolerite drum supported the roof; the door-joints are of dolerite, covered with inscriptions in the Hittite hieroglyphic script. In front of the door stood the altar of burnt sacrifice." Here was found the great laver. Then Mr Woolley describes the reliefs on the walls of another building close by, with the soldiers already mentioned, whose leader carries an olive-branch (just as the Egyptian soldiers do in the reliefs of Queen Hatshepsut's great temple at Dêr el-Bahri), and the other (? later) procession-relief with the royal family, in which we see the king's children playing with whip-tops or knucklebones; the youngest of all is carried in the arms of its mother or a nurse, who leads a pet animal by a string. "Near the head of each figure is inscribed a name or title. These slabs, which technically contrast with Mesopotamian work by the height of their relief and the broad simplicity of their treatment, are worthy to be compared for their artistic merit with the best sculptures of Assyria." Then came the musicians, and on stones alternately black and white, lines of priestesses and the slaves carrying animals for sacrifice, already mentioned. Finally, is the great seated god. The longest Hittite inscription yet discovered was also found here.

There is undoubtedly much more to be found, and "there is no reason to fear that work in the future would prove less remunerative than it has done in the past." Both Mr Hogarth and Mr Woolley express the hope that the work will be able to continue, and they may at any moment come upon a hoard of cuneiform tablets such as those found at Boghâz Kyöi or a bilingual inscription that will give us the long-sought key to the Hittite hieroglyphs. The history of the mound has been traced

back to Neolithic times, and not least in importance among the varied finds is that of the early Hittite tombs (cist-graves) which have given us present knowledge of the Syrian or Hittite pottery of the Early Bronze Age. Later tombs, of the Early Iron Age, have shown us that Greek or Cypriote pottery was imported thus far east as early as the sixth century. Miscellaneous finds are also reported, such as that of a Neolithic potter's workshop, which give us a good idea of the continuous importance of Carchemish in ancient days and promise well for the excavations of the future. For there is still much to be done, and probably much to be found, at Carchemish.

H. H.

The excavations conducted by Mr R. Campbell Thompson for the Byzantine Research and Publication Fund at Wadi Sarga (Dêr el-Ganadla) were brought to an end on January 28, after a season of nearly eleven weeks. A plan of the site was prepared by Mr F. A. Richards, who was with the expedition for a fortnight. Many Coptic buildings were cleared, the most important objects in which were the frescoes of a villa, including a scene of the Three Holy Children in the fire, SS. Kosmas and Damian, and a remarkably fine picture of a peacock. Large numbers of objects of everyday life, six hundred ostraka, and many fragments of papyri were discovered, also carved stone capitals, parts of friezes, &c. A complete tracing in colours was made of the fresco of The Lord's Supper in the quarry-caves, in one of which was found a previously unknown sculptured relief of a Roman Pharaoh before the god Antaeus. One Pharaonic and two Coptic cemeteries were investigated.

The excavations of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt have been actively carried on at Lahun and Harageh. The whole of the surroundings of the pyramid of Senusert II, near Lahun, are being cleared and searched by Professor Petrie and his staff. Certain features of the construction are new. Around the pyramid was a large trench, with sloping sides, full of clean sand covered over with a deep layer of pebbles, no doubt to absorb rainfall; and this was enclosed by a stone wall, panelled on the outside. Beyond this were the tombs of the royal family; on the north, a pyramid and eight great rock mastabas, still waiting to be opened; on the south, four tombs in deep shafts, two still containing their red granite sarcophagi. The whole of the royal sepulchres were enclosed by a brick wall 16 feet thick, and around this, except on the north, was a line of trees, 42 on each side. The interior of the pyramid is being searched. What was, apparently, a storm-water pit has been cleared to 25 feet below water-level; while another passage southwards is being opened. A great steering-oar, painted blue, from the king's funeral barge (?) was found in a distant heap of chips, as also some boxes of offerings sealed by officials; and another such box, duly sealed, was found in a small pit under the pyramid sand-bed, with offering dishes alongside of it. The skeleton of an infant was found inside, apparently a human sacrifice at the building.

At Harageh, Mr Engelbach and others have been working for the School on a group of cemeteries, varying in date from Pre-dynastic to Coptic times, but chiefly

of the latter half of the XIIth Dynasty. Many fine objects have been found, and this year's exhibition will be one of the best the School has held.

G. B.

The Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society has organized the following series of lectures which have been or will be delivered in accordance with the following programme: Jan. 14, "Sinai as known to the Egyptians," by Mr T. Eric Peet, M.A.; Feb. 20, "Tigranokerta re-discovered," by Prof. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, Ph.D.; March 10, "The Jews as Builders," by Prof. A. C. Dickie, A.R.I.B.A.; March 24, "Greek Monasteries," by Mr H. R. Hall, M.A., F.S.A.; April 28, "The Painted Tombs at Meir, Upper Egypt," by Mr A. M. Blackman, M.A. The list shows a commendable catholicity of taste which is characteristic of the wide interests of the members of this Society, which are by no means confined to Egyptian matters. And the Society's *Journal*, of which the second number was issued last year, shows a very high standard of scientific work. A full description and history of this admirable association, which is meant to foster interest in the study of ancient Egypt and the East and support in any way possible the work of the Fund, the British School, and other excavating organizations, will appear in our July number.

In a summary of the results of the German work in Egypt in the season of 1912-13, published in the current number of *Klio*, Dr Borchardt gives a most interesting description of the discoveries at Tell el-Amarna.

The work there was carried out by him for the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft at the cost of Dr James Simon. The town of Akhetaten, Akhenaten's Utopia or rather Laputa, is being steadily excavated and restored to the light of day. It is in quite good preservation, so far as the lower parts of the walls are concerned, and bids fair to be an Egyptian Gournià or even Pompeii. While the side-streets are crooked and incredibly narrow, like those of most ancient towns, the main ways would be fine and broad even in a modern town. Of one great street, the so-called "High-Priest's Way," about 400 metres length was cleared during the season, and 60 houses. Of these several were investigated, especially those of the sculptor Thutmase, an officer named Nebemheb, and an overseer of the cattle of the Aten, whose name is destroyed. The formal gardens of the last personage were completely made out, and not less than 76 trees and plants, preserved through the ages beneath the sand, were found in their original positions, so that it will be perfectly possible to reconstruct an ancient Egyptian garden with complete accuracy. In the sculptor's studio a remarkable series of unfinished works of art, models, masks, casts and so forth were found. Most of the portraits seem to have been of members of the royal family, and another discovery makes it really look as if not only the king but also his wife and daughters received collectively divine honours. This is the finding of small house-altars for the domestic veneration of the royal family, apparently as tutelary deities. Small stelae seem to have been used, on which were sculptured relief representations of the royalties, in triptych form, with folding doors to protect the relief. The effect produced must have been very similar to some Chinese or Japanese house-altars.

H. H.

According to letters received from Professor Sayce, Professor Garstang has found on a site near that of Meroë two of the finest and longest Meroitic inscriptions yet discovered. These, Professor Sayce states, will considerably advance our knowledge of the Meroitic language, and possibly will lead to its complete decipherment.

In a letter published in the *Times* of August 12 of last year Mr Somers Clarke commented with emphasis on the fact that, although the work of conservation at the Temple of Karnak has been going on since the year 1895, and since 1899 the sum of £2000 has been spent yearly on it under a special budget distinct from the general budget of the Department of Antiquities, no regular publication of the results has yet been made. Mr Somers Clarke noted that whereas other work carried on by the *Service*, such as Mr Quibell's at Sakkarah, Mr Weigall's in Nubia, and that carried on under the general direction of Sir Gaston Maspero on the submerged Nubian temples, has been and is being published *in extenso*, nothing has transpired with regard to M. Legrain's labours at Karnak save a few scattered papers in the *Annales*, although M. Legrain has all the material for such publication prepared and ready to hand. Mr Clarke considered that this publication was long overdue, and stated that, in his opinion, the archaeological world demanded:

1. Complete plans, sections, and elevations of the monument up to date.
2. A short but complete description (with dates) of the course of the excavations.
3. A detailed account of the Temple of Osiris, which is unique.
4. A detailed account of the objects found in the course of the excavations.

These demands were republished in the *Egyptian Gazette* of August 22; with comments or answers from a "prominent archaeologist," which were understood to represent the view the Department of Antiquities takes of the matter. This authority stated that "to publish a full description of Karnak at present is out of the question: before that can be done, the excavations and other works being carried on at present must be finished; and they cannot be printed for some considerable time yet." The matter of expense was also stated to be a bar to complete publication, none of the budgetary provision for Karnak being intended to be used on publications. "The publication of such a huge work can only be commenced when the Egyptian Government grants the necessary funds." The *Gazette* adds that for a considerable time "Sir Gaston Maspero has had the intention of publishing complete descriptions, not only of Karnak, but of all the other great monuments of Egypt; and when his budget is sufficiently augmented, and the information at his disposal sufficiently complete, this will be done. In the meantime, as regards Karnak, M. Legrain has prepared a volume of considerable size for the use of tourists and others. This volume contains numerous illustrations and a complete *résumé* of all that is at present known about Karnak. It is expected to appear shortly and will, we venture to anticipate, serve its purpose excellently well. Later on the complete publication which Mr Somers Clarke asks for, and which Sir Gaston Maspero has always intended to bring out, will appear."

To this Mr Somers Clarke replied in the *Egyptian Gazette* of Sept. 13 that the statement that the excavations and other works at Karnak *must be finished* before a description is taken in hand is one "at which one can but smile. It is equivalent to telling us that the description will never be undertaken." Excavations, he says, not

only should be, but can be, fully described while the work is still going on, and as a proof of this, he instances the Egypt Exploration Fund's publication of the great Temple of Dêr el-Baḥri, which, though "small as compared with the vast temple-group at Karnak, is still a large mass of buildings and covered with sculptures; nevertheless full and detailed descriptions and drawings of the sculptures together with plans, elevations, and sections were published as the works proceeded.....We are told," proceeds Mr Somers Clarke, "of marvellous projects which Sir Gaston has in his mind for publishing at some future time 'complete descriptions, not only of Karnak, but of all the great monuments of Egypt'.....To tell us of all this is beside the question. Sir Gaston, very remarkable man that he is, cannot, alas, go on for ever. He is now but two or three paces from accomplishing his three-score years and ten; nor will M. Legrain go on for ever. Let us not concern ourselves about these very extensive schemes, but confine our attention to Karnak and ask the Government and the Department of Antiquities to see to it that present opportunities be not lost whilst they vainly gaze into an impossible future."

In a further letter to the *Gazette*, published on Dec. 19, Mr Somers Clarke asks, after renewed personal examination of the excavations at Karnak, whether another forty or fifty years will "see the finishing of the undertaking, for which we are told we must wait.....It is not suggested by me that the present rate of progress is slow. Hurry in these matters is fatal. It not only leads to superficial work, but to the loss of many things by oversight.....But whilst the publication of the works at Karnak is delayed *sine die*, we are embarrassed with the information that the Director of the Department of Antiquities has the intention of publishing complete descriptions, not only of Karnak, but of all the other great monuments of Egypt." Mr Clarke then proceeds to criticize in detail various publications of the *Service* that have already appeared, premising that he does so not from the point of view of the Egyptologist (which he says, he does not presume to take as he is in no way equipped for the purpose), but confining himself only to matters of architectural archaeology.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

University of Toronto Studies. *Theban Ostraca*, edited from the originals, now mainly in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto, and the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Part I, Hieratic texts : by ALAN H. GARDINER ; Part II, Demotic texts : by HERBERT THOMPSON ; Part III, Greek texts : by J. G. MILNE ; Part IV, Coptic texts : by HERBERT THOMPSON. University of Toronto Library, London : Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1913. 15s. nett.

This is a selection from a large and miscellaneous collection of ostraca purchased by CURRELLY and MILNE at Thebes in 1906. As usual most of the hieratic texts (31 in all) are written on flakes of limestone and date from the Ramesside period. Such ostraca often contain extracts from literary compositions and they have contributed readings to several editions of important texts which have appeared recently, such as GOLÉNISCHEFF's papyri of the Hermitage, GARDINER's story of Sinuhe and the Papyrus Anastasi I in GARDINER's *Hieratic Texts*. The present series would have contained little of value if it had not been reinforced by a very fine limestone ostrakon, inscribed with a group of four model letters of the Ramesside period, added later to the Toronto collection. The text of the letters is corrupt as usual. They are addressed to the vizier Khai and amongst the salutations is the wish that the recipient may have "the prolonged existence of the mountains, the sky and the water." All the ostraca, including some accounts and a curious magical text, are edited with Dr GARDINER's usual mastery of Egyptian vocabulary and script, and are accompanied by a facsimile of the letters.

Mr MILNE's substantial contribution consists of 146 Greek ostraca with important introductions, comments and elaborate indexes ; he acknowledges Professor HUNT's valuable aid. These ostraca are to be taken as supplementary to the corpus of 1600 ostraca from Thebes, Elephantine and other sites in Egypt published by Professor WILCKEN in 1899, and like them for the most part are receipts for taxes. Thirty-one date from the Ptolemaic age, the rest are Roman.

Coptic ostraca from Thebes like the hieratic are often written on flakes of limestone. Many have already been edited by Mr CRUM for the Egypt Exploration Fund, by Mr HALL, and by others abroad. Sir HERBERT THOMPSON here publishes 48 with a short index. They comprise receipts for taxes and other payments, letters and accounts.

But the most welcome part of the whole publication to an Egyptologist is the same scholar's edition of 44 demotic potsherds with photographic facsimiles, being the cream of a collection of three hundred legible specimens. THOMPSON is the first of recent demotists to make a serious study of ostraca and to publish them in photographs, and they promise to be at least as instructive as the Greek, apart from the large harvest of proper names, words, and idioms that they yield to the demotic lexicon. As might be presumed they belong to the lives of the native population and a considerable proportion of them is unparalleled or rarely to be paralleled from the Greek series. Thus while tax-receipts are frequent, there are also lists of priests, temporary transfers of priestly duties along with their emoluments, oaths by the native deities prescribed by the law-courts, letters and various memoranda. One receipt is dated in 110 B.C. and other dates range from Augustus to Caracalla. These choice firstfruits of THOMPSON's work among the ostraca were prepared for publication some years ago : meanwhile the results of his researches have not been allowed to lie idle. The Society of Biblical Archaeology publishes in scanty dribblets month by month photographs and commentaries on specimens from various sources : the article on horoscopes in *Proceedings*, vol. xxxiv, and that on a healing oracle of the deified scribe Amenhotp in vol. xxxv, p. 95 may be pointed out

as of special interest. THOMPSON'S MS. translations of a large collection of tax-receipts from Dendera are analysed by MILNE in an article printed in WILCKEN'S *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, vol. VI, and add a number of new facts about taxation to those hitherto known: samples of these ostraca also are appearing in facsimile in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archaeology. It is to be hoped that even if Sir Herbert's energies are diverted into other channels of Coptic and demotic research, his success here will incite some qualified person with fewer occupations to the worthy task of forming a corpus of demotic ostraca. The preliminary treatment of the subject having now been sufficiently done, the lines which such an undertaking should follow are clear enough.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

A Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs at Thebes. By ALAN H. GARDINER, D.Litt., and ARTHUR E. P. WEIGALL. pp. 45, 15 plates. London: Quaritch, 1913. 10s. nett.

Five Theban Tombs. By N. DE GARIS DAVIES. pp. xii + 49, 43 plates. Egypt Exploration Fund: Archaeological Survey of Egypt, 1913. 25s. nett.

To most visitors to Thebes the private tombs of the Western Bank mean only those of Shêkh 'Abd el-Kûrnah; the famous "*Khamsa-wa-telatîn*" (the tomb of Rekhmara), the "Tomb of the Vines," the beautifully painted little tomb-hall of Nakht, the sculptured doorway of that of Ramôse (I use here Dr Gardiner's transliteration in order to avoid confusion), and perhaps the conspicuous corridor front of "Wilkinson's House," while the raised brick pylons which mark the great subterranean sepulchres of Mentemhêt (Mentuemhat) and Pedamenopet (Petuamenapt) in the 'Asâsîf momentarily attract their attention as they ride to Dêr el-Bahri. They ignore (in both the French and the English sense) the great number of other tombs, of great and little importance, that cover the desert hillsides from Kûrnet Mar'at in the south to Dra' Abu'l-Nega in the north. These are reserved for the archaeological student to appreciate, and for his use this admirable catalogue has been drawn up. Its preparation has only been rendered possible by the work which Mr Robert Mond has in the last few years taken up of carrying out thoroughly the exploration and conservation of all the Theban private tombs. This work was tentatively begun some years ago by Prof. Newberry and Mr Howard Carter, the former exploring, the latter, as Chief Inspector of Antiquities for Upper Egypt, beginning the work of conservation by the fixing of iron doors to the chief tombs. Mr Mond soon after took up the exploring work, and then, after Mr Weigall had succeeded Mr Carter as Chief Inspector, and had carried on energetically the work of conservation initiated by his predecessor, Mr Mond took up the whole matter systematically, with the result that most of the tombs are now preserved from further possibilities of vandalism, and their study has been undertaken by Dr Gardiner. The work of conservation is being carried out for Mr Mond by Mr Eric Mackay.

The "tombs" in question, which are often so beautifully decorated, and contain on their walls material of so much importance to archaeology, are not the actual tombs or burial-chambers themselves, but the outer halls, in which offerings were made. The tomb itself lay at the bottom of the shaft or pit that descended from the hall. Only the hall was decorated at the time when most of the Theban tombs were made, though at an earlier time (XIth Dynasty) the actual burial-chamber was also decorated sometimes, as we see from the grave of the priestess Kemsit at Dêr el-Bahri (NAVILLE and HALL, *Deir el-Bahari*, XIth Dynasty, III. p. 9; Plates II, III). The royal tombs in the Bibân el-Mulûk were fully decorated with appropriate scenes from the *Book of the Dead*, but private persons did not aspire to decorated tomb-chambers under the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties: they were content with embellishing their tomb-halls with representations of their daily life, as the kings decorated their funerary temples, which corresponded to the tomb-halls of private persons, with pictures of their prowess in war. It is, however, usual to speak of the tomb-halls as if they were "tombs," and in this sense we must here use the word.

The catalogue contains 252 numbered "tombs." The old incomplete and divergent systems of numeration have had to be superseded by a new and complete scheme, which will be regularly used in future. Thus the old No. 35 ("*Khamsa-wa-telatîn*"), Rekhmara's tomb, becomes No. 100. The new numbers could not be arranged in topographical order, owing to the constant discovery of new tombs in the course of the work. This is a minor drawback that could not be avoided: there are

still many more tombs to be discovered to which will be allotted numbers when found: some of these used to be known but have now been buried again and all trace of their position has been lost. Reference to the position of all the tombs is facilitated by the very clear photographs of the whole area of the Necropolis from south to north which are contained in the plates: in these each tomb has its number clearly marked against its position.

Three indices, of names and titles of the ancient owners of the tombs and of their dates, are given. That of the titles is arranged according to their hierarchical position, and will be very useful. Finally, the generosity of Mr Mond has allowed the book to be published at a price that will bring it within the reach of all students.

Dr Gardiner refers in his introduction to the policy which should be followed with regard to the production *in extenso* of the Theban tombs. One he is preparing for full publication himself, and others will be published by him later. It is obvious that it is impossible to print all in full, nor is it necessary to do so; but many ought to be so produced which, it is probable, never can be. Meanwhile, an admirable example of such publication has been lately issued by the Fund in the case of Mr de Garis Davies's *Five Theban Tombs*. Mr Davies, as he says in his preface, has been since 1907 employed at Thebes for the purpose of copying tombs for the Metropolitan Museum of New York. In the course of his leisure hours he had collected a number of copies which by the goodwill of the Museum authorities he was able to complete and present to the Archaeological Survey. The tombs in question are those of Mentuherkhepeshef, User, Daga, Nehemaway, and Tati. These are of various degrees of importance, perhaps the most interesting in some ways, though by no means the most complete, being that of Daga, one of the ministers of king Neb-hapet-Ra Mentuhetep, the builder of the XIth Dynasty Temple at Dêr el-Bahri. Mr Davies thinks there were two Dagas, since the stone sarcophagus found in the tomb of the minister does not bear the ministerial titles, but those of a lower rank. And while a block was found in the temple bearing the full ministerial titles, a small fragment of relief, also found there (Brit. Mus. No. 43123), has the name Daga with the same lower title (*mr rurit*) which is on the sarcophagus. He supposes that this inferior Daga was a relative, perhaps the father, of the minister, in whose tomb he was given burial. But it seems to me not impossible that the sarcophagus may have been prepared for Daga when he was not yet minister, but simply *mr rurit*; the small fragment from the temple will then also have been sculptured before his promotion. Then there will only be one man of the name in question. The tomb must have been originally a most imposing one, with its great exterior colonnade, now entirely ruined. The idea of the colonnade Mr Davies (with great probability) thinks was taken from the colonnades of his master Mentuhetep's temple, only a few hundred yards away.

The scenes of all these tombs are copied with Mr Davies's accustomed accuracy, and it is no small help to him that he is an accomplished Egyptologist as well as draughtsman. The coloured plates too, from the hand of Mrs Davies, are remarkable in their fidelity to the originals.

One of Mr Davies's most interesting finds in these tombs was the fragmentary Cretan (L.M. II) pot already referred to in this number of the *Journal* (p. 146), and illustrated on Plate XVI. This, restored, is now amid appropriate surroundings in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, and is one of the best memorials we possess of the connexion between Egypt and Greece at the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty. It was found in the tomb of Mentuherkhepeshef, but probably belongs, with other funeral furniture found in this tomb, to the burial of a certain Amenmes, who seems to have lived about the time of Hatshepsut and Thutmes III. This funerary furniture includes the equipment of a tomb painter, composed of a bundle of the bruised or chewed sticks tied round with string which the Egyptians used to paint with, a sherd filled with blue paint, and a plasterer's float and brush.

Publications of this kind are always of the greatest interest. Mr Gardiner hopes that "a carefully selected list of representative tombs should be drawn up and reserved for separate monographs," and says that "Mr Mond's projects include the making of a complete photographic survey, whence prints will be supplied to scholars who may require them for scientific purposes."

H. R. HALL.

L'Organisation Militaire de l'Égypte Byzantine. By JEAN MASPERO. Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1912.

M. Jean Maspero has furnished in his treatise a very useful summary of the information at present available with regard to the organisation, distribution, and composition of the military forces in Egypt during the last two centuries of "Roman" rule. The details are largely drawn from the Byzantine papyri at Cairo which he himself has edited and from the collection of the British Museum, and the fresh evidence obtained from these sources has enabled him to place the Arab conquest of Egypt in a new light, so far as the numbers and character of the forces opposed to the invasion of 'Amr are concerned. According to M. Maspero, it would appear that there was no organised army available to stop the Arab advance: the so-called imperial troops were merely local bodies of military police, under leaders who were practically civilians: even in numbers they were not greatly superior to the invaders, and their fighting value was nothing. At the end of his last chapter—the whole of which is a most interesting estimate of the character of the Byzantine military system in Egypt—he ascribes the downfall of Byzantine rule there mainly to the incapacity of the army, after all allowance had been made for the exhaustion of the empire after the Persian campaign, the religious quarrels, and the hatred between Copts and Greeks. Perhaps he rates the fighting material to be found in the Egyptian peasant rather too low: the responsibility for the collapse before the Arabs, so far as contemporary accounts show, rested more with the leaders than with the rank and file, who seem to have done fairly well when decently commanded: and, after all, the Byzantine army in Egypt did not cut a much worse figure than most other Byzantine armies against the Arabs and later Muslim troops, who were only effectually checked by the Mickleward—Byzantium itself. But, though we may draw from M. Maspero's facts conclusions which differ somewhat from his own, we owe him a great debt of gratitude for his thorough and systematic presentation of these facts, which will be of value to future workers in this field of history.

J. G. MILNE.

Forged Egyptian Antiquities. By T. G. WAKELING. pp. 155, 16 plates, 14 figures in text. London, Adam and Charles Black, 1912. 5s.

This is a very entertaining and interesting little book, instructive too to those whose great desire it is to possess some supposed trophy of Ancient Egypt. The ways of the wily native forger are well described, and the rather alarming proficiency to which he has attained of late years is pointed out. The would-be buyer of *antikas* is indeed more than likely to be imposed upon if he insists, as is usually the case, on buying things from donkey-boys and dragomans and inferior dealers instead of from well-known dealers with a reputation to lose. The summer-industry of forging antiquities to sell to the winter tourist has long been well-established at Thebes, and forgeries were made even in the days of Wilkinson. The humours of the traffic are commented upon by Mr Wakeling with considerable enjoyment, and he seems to have derived considerable amusement from his hobby of collecting forgeries. One may however warn him against always pronouncing a scarab to be a forgery because it is badly cut: plenty of badly cut scarabs were made under the XVIIIth Dynasty, for instance, and, unless he positively knows them to be so, one would be inclined to doubt whether, for instance, Nos. 26 and 27 of his Plate VIII are not genuine.

Cairo of To-Day. By EUSTACE REYNOLDS-BALL, F.R.G.S. pp. i—iv+268, with maps, plan of Cairo and illustrations. London, Adam and Charles Black. 1914. 2s. 6d.

Mr Reynolds-Ball has written a concise and good, as well as a practical, guide to Cairo and the Nile. The information as regards both modern and ancient Egypt is given with point. There is a convenient summary of recent archaeological research, and a useful bibliography of recent works on Egypt. The maps are excellent.

Messrs Hutchinson and Co., 34—36, Paternoster Row, E.C., send us the first two numbers of their new serial *History of the Nations*, published in 7d. parts. It is described as a popular, concise, pictorial, and authoritative account of each nation from the earliest times to the present day; written

by the leading historians. Prof. Petrie leads the way with Ancient Egypt, and it is evident that he has taken very considerable pains to see that his artists shall interpret their subjects correctly. We never remember to have seen drawings of ancient Egyptian scenes so accurate and true to our knowledge of niceties of costume and custom as Mrs Brunton's. In the second part there is a delightful picture by this artist of Akhenaten composing his hymn to the Sun-god; the portrait is very good. The other illustrators have done their best to be accurate, but we notice that in one block, showing a *défilé* of Libyan prisoners before a pharaoh, the Egyptian guards are impossibly dressed: one of them even wears the royal uraeus! Prof. Petrie in his letterpress of course remains faithful to the high dates in which he believes, though no other prominent student of Egyptian history appears to follow him in this respect, the lower dates advocated by Prof. Eduard Meyer seeming to be those most in favour at the present time.

Messrs T. Nelson and Sons, 35 and 36, Paternoster Row, E.C., send us a reprint of Sir Auckland Colvin's book *The Making of Modern Egypt*, price 1s. This valuable work is now placed within the reach of everyone.

Volume I. Part III.


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CONTENTS

	PAGE
EXCAVATIONS AT ABYDOS: THE GREAT POOL AND THE TOMB OF OSIRIS ...	Professor Edouard Naville, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A. ... 159
ANTINOË AND ITS PAPYRI	J. de M. Johnson, M.A. ... 168
THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY: REPORT FOR 1914... ..	A. M. Blackman, M.A. ... 182
THE BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN EGYPT	H. F. Petrie 185
THE BYZANTINE RESEARCH FUND: EX- CAVATIONS AT WADI SARGA ...	R. Campbell Thompson, M.A., F.S.A. 187
EGYPTIAN MUMMIES	Professor G. Elliot Smith, F.R.S. 189
THE RELATIONS OF AEGEAN WITH EGYPTIAN ART (<i>concluded</i>)	H. R. Hall, M.A., F.S.A. ... 197
Ελλην IN COPTIC	S. Gaselee, M.A. 207
AN UNRECOGNIZED MEANING OF THE VERB 	T. Eric Peet, B.A. 209
NOTES AND NEWS 212
NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS 224

Communications to the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* should be sent to the **Editor**, the Rev. F. G. Walker, M.A., 114, Stanford Avenue, Brighton, or to the **Honorary Secretary of the Egypt Exploration Fund**, H. R. Hall, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., 37, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.

Books intended for review should be addressed to the **Editor**.

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ANTINOË AND ITS PAPYRI

EXCAVATION BY THE GRAECO-ROMAN BRANCH, 1913-14

BY J. DE M. JOHNSON, M.A.

[See Plates XXII—XXVI]

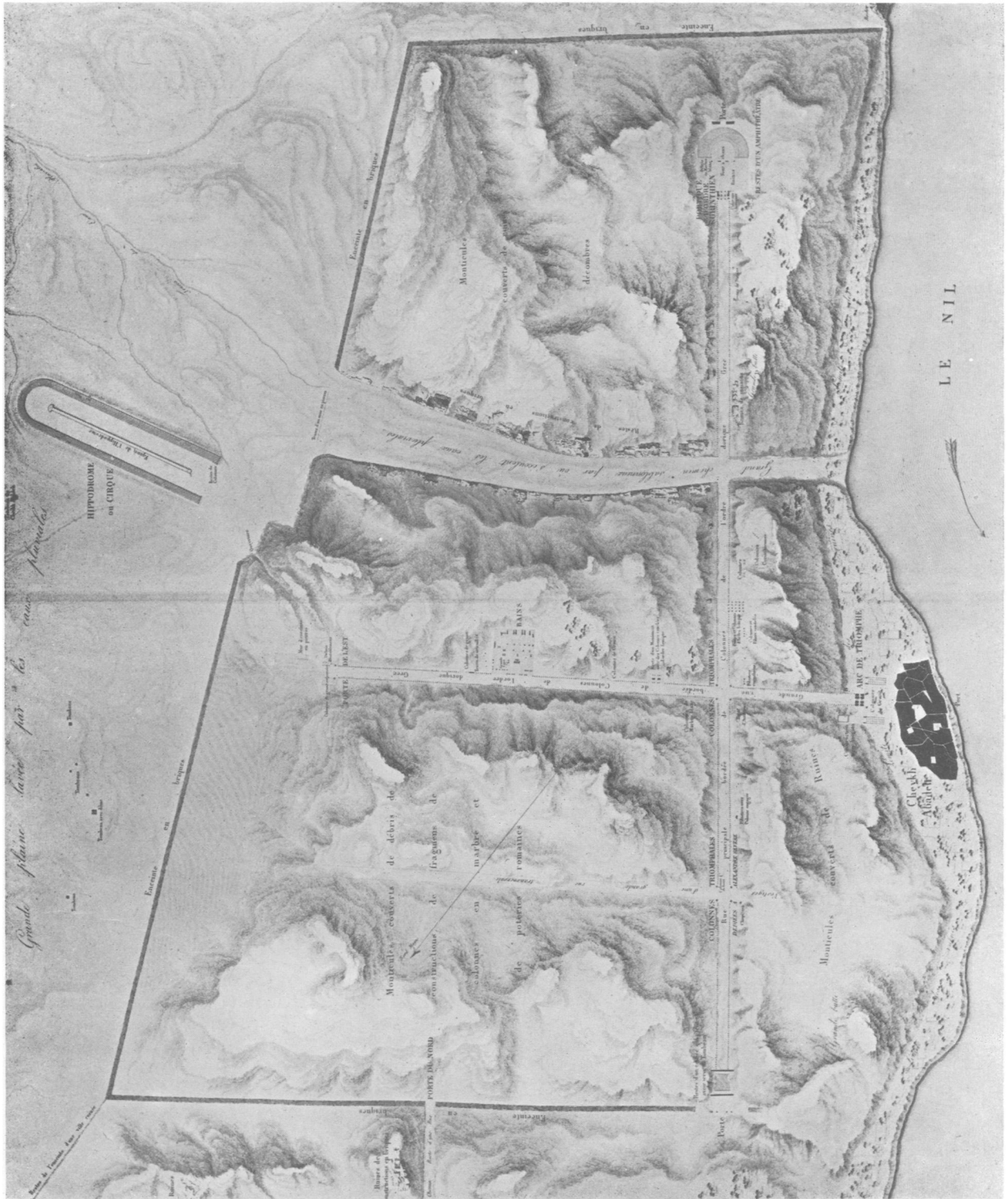
SINCE Oxyrhynchus was finally abandoned in 1907, the work of excavation has, with one brief and unproductive interlude on the mounds of Heracleopolis (*Ahnasia el Medîna*), been confined to the quest for and exploration of Ptolemaic cemeteries in the Valley of the Nile. This year represented a not unwelcome return to the Roman period and the excavation, widely different in methods and conditions from that of cemeteries, of town rubbish mounds. The site chosen was that of the ancient Antinoöpolis (*Sheikh Abâda*). Situated in Middle Egypt near the boundary line between Minia and Assiût provinces it is the southernmost point to which the Graeco-Roman branch has yet pushed its search for papyri, though to the north across on the western desert side I could dimly see Balansûra whither two years previously I had tramped through the tangle of sand-dunes in the hunt for cemeteries. Hermopolis (*Ashmunên*), however, which ranks with Oxyrhynchus in its lavish yield of papyri, and which has been dug by German and Italian expeditions and largely also exploited by dealers, lies only a few miles away to the south-east.

Antinoöpolis, or Antinoë (in Greek usually Ἀντινόου πόλις or for short Ἀντινόου), was founded in the latter part of the year 130 A.D.¹ while Hadrian, in the course of a state visit to Egypt, was voyaging down the Nile. The immediate cause of the foundation was the loss by drowning near by of the Emperor's favourite, Antinous. Details of the incident are scanty and obscure²: whether for instance his death was accidental or voluntary to bring fulfilment of a prophecy of the seers is not clear; but there is little doubt that the occasion served as a pretext to Hadrian for adding to his list of creations on the Greek model and thereby of stiffening his ideal of Hellenism in the East³. In the modern or comparatively modern records of its importance Antinoë has been fortunate. At a time when the topographical evidence of the ruins was far more abundant than it is to-day and the state of the buildings still attested their former magnificence, Jomard, a member of the commission of savants who accompanied Napoleon on his expedition of 1798-9, made a series of drawings and plans of the site which were published in the *Description de l'Égypte*,

¹ KÜHN, *Antinoopolis*, pp. 7-8.

² See MILNE, *A History of Egypt under Roman Rule*, p. 59, and Note xiii, Appendix IV; KÜHN, *op. cit.* p. 5, n. 1.

³ *Op. cit.* pp. 6, 84.



Plan of Antioch from *Descr. de l'Égypte*, Vol. iv. Plate 53 (reduced).

and must remain the basis of all subsequent work. Furthermore, for the last eighteen years M. Gayet has concentrated the attack of another French expedition on the cemeteries and temple, his work finding publication from time to time in the *Annales du Musée Guimet* and elsewhere. At the present day, on the historical side, Dr Ernst Kühn, who paid me a very welcome visit on the work, is engaged in collecting all available evidence about the site from literature, inscriptions, and papyri, and stating the problems and conclusions in a monograph, the first two chapters of which have already appeared¹. To him as the historian of Antinoë I may here suitably express my sense of obligation for many of the details which follow.

The city is situated on the east bank of the Nile where the river makes a wide bend to the south-east. The sandy plain which stretches between the Nile-bank and the high cliff-wall of the desert is filled to half its width by the ruins. To the north and north-west the site is sheltered by the desert cliff which at this point swerves abruptly westwards till it nears the Nile. The panorama (Plate XXIII, Fig. 2) published here together with the reproduction of Jomard's plan (Plate XXII) will suffice to give the perspective of the whole. It was taken from the summit of the desert wall, and embraces the whole visible stretch of the valley from north to south. The course of the Nile can be picked out along its length where not screened by palms. The dark confused expanse on its hither side is Antinoë. To the north is the embaying spur of the higher desert. To the south the plain itself is seen to rise, and both the panorama and Plate XXV, Fig. 3 show the point where the city wall climbed to the higher level and, this gained, bent away westwards to meet the Nile. A mile or two still further southwards the Nile is visible, abandoning its south-easterly course and sweeping away with its line of attendant desert directly to the south. The ancient cemeteries flank the site to the north and south, on the north running out to the foot of the high desert and enveloping the city also for some distance on the east, on the south extending to a curiously shaped detached hill, its foot seen in the panorama, which retains a quasi-religious significance amongst the peasants of to-day². The modern cemeteries—more than twenty villages from the east of the Nile bury here—lie stretched in the foreground of the photograph, the graves showing like pebbles from below and the large buildings devoted to family burials giving almost the appearance of clustered villages. A natural feature of some importance and visible in several of the photographs is the torrent bed, which, emerging from a picturesque gorge in the line of the desert wall, flows in wide rivulets across the intervening plain, and then in a more circumscribed course bifurcates the site in its passage to the Nile. To-day water passes down it on an average only once in a period of five years, and then only for a day or two, so that, though desiccation has perhaps advanced, it must in ancient as in modern times have served the purposes of a road.

Of the earlier settlement which existed on the spot little trace remains except the temple of Rameses II, excavated by Gayet (Plate XXIII, Fig. 4 and XXIV and, for its position, plan on p. 173), and there seems little doubt that Hadrian's foundation was to all

¹ *Antinoopolis, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Hellenismus im römischen Ägypten, Inaugural-Dissertation.* It is this preliminary publication to which reference is throughout made.

² Childless women come from long distances in order to roll down the southern face of this hill. The act is repeated seven times and each time a certain stone must be reached, failures not counting in the series. To what period of antiquity this practice reaches back I am unable to say.

intents and purposes a new creation¹. The orientation of the town was influenced by the natural features of the line of the Nile and of the torrent bed, and the two main streets (see Jomard's plan) with their colonnades of Doric pillars, on which the plan was based, ran roughly parallel to these². On the sides of these streets were clustered the principal buildings of the town, and the columned vista of the avenue running north and south (Plate XXIII, Fig. 5³) was closed on the south by the portico and theatre (Plate XXIII, Fig. 3), on the north by a building supposed to be the tomb of Antinous; while the main cross-avenue led from a triumphal arch on the waterside, skirted the baths on its right, and ended in a terminal arch and a temple of Isis(?)⁴ to the extreme east. Traces of a second main avenue, but without pillars, were noticed by Jomard further to the north (see plan). The two crossways where the main streets intersected were marked with more massive columns, surmounted apparently by statues, dedicated in the one case to Alexander Severus, in the other perhaps to the founder Hadrian⁵. Radiating from the main avenues, at right angles to them, branched narrower streets, themselves intersected with others till the whole city fell into quarters subdivided into blocks, the larger districts (*γράμματα*), as at Alexandria, alphabetically named, while their subdivisions (*πλιυθεία*) were classed numerically and geographically (*βόρειον* or *νότιον*)⁶. The city was enclosed on three sides by a wall, more than three kilometres in circuit, which unhappily during the last century was carried away to build factories on the east⁷, though the excavation of its foundations has left its line clear, like that of a great dry moat, encircling the town (Plate XXV, Fig. 3)⁸. On the eastern face it is noteworthy that the ruins and mounds while abutting on the wall towards the centre recede at either end, the town site curving away naturally and paying little heed to the terminal angles of its walls (Plate XXIII, Fig. 2)⁹. Outside the circuit to the east is visible the site of the circus or hippodrome, although its walls have shared the same fate as those of the town and no trace of its pillared colonnades remain¹⁰.

The details we glean of the peopling of the new foundation are scanty, but it appears that colonists of Greek descent were enrolled in it from other Greek cities

¹ KÜHN, *op. cit.* p. 20.

² The streets therefore run roughly north-west to south-east and south-west to north-east. The modern villager, disregarding the compass, adopts the conventional use of the direction of the Nile for north and south. For convenience (cf. Kühn, *op. cit.* pp. 21-2) we are content to do the same.

³ This photograph, in which some of the paving is visible, shows how far the devastation of the site has gone since Jomard's day.

⁴ Excavated by Gayet and identified provisionally as a temple of Isis.

⁵ JOMARD, *Description de l'Égypte*, p. 237.

⁶ KÜHN, *op. cit.* pp. 24-8.

⁷ Information given me locally by the villagers.

⁸ The date of the building of this wall is uncertain (*op. cit.* pp. 22-3). At first I was inclined to think it late, on the ground that the curious angle opposite the Hippodrome had been caused by the necessity of skirting the mounds which here projected from the southern line, and which were, I judged, late. This conclusion was vitiated by the fact that many of these mounds contain earlier houses buried at their base (see below, pp. 177, 179). The question can only be settled by a more thorough excavation along the line of the wall.

⁹ The drawing of the mounds in Jomard's plan (Plate XXII) is in this respect inaccurate.

¹⁰ The fable quoted by Kühn (*op. cit.* p. 62) from the Arab author Maqrizi that this building had served as a kind of Nilometer is somewhat parallel to a modern belief locally held that it was used as a water-reservoir.

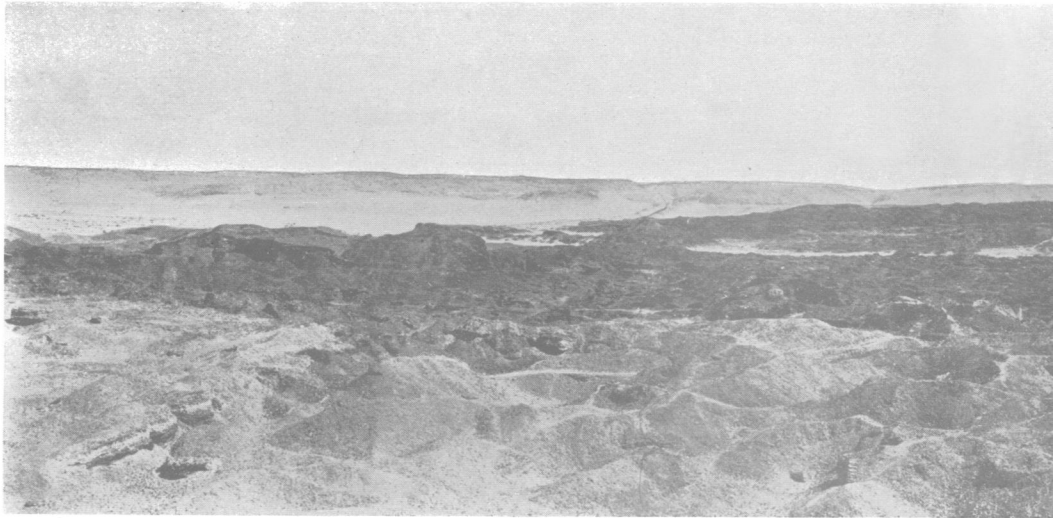


Fig. 1. Panorama of Antinoë, looking west.

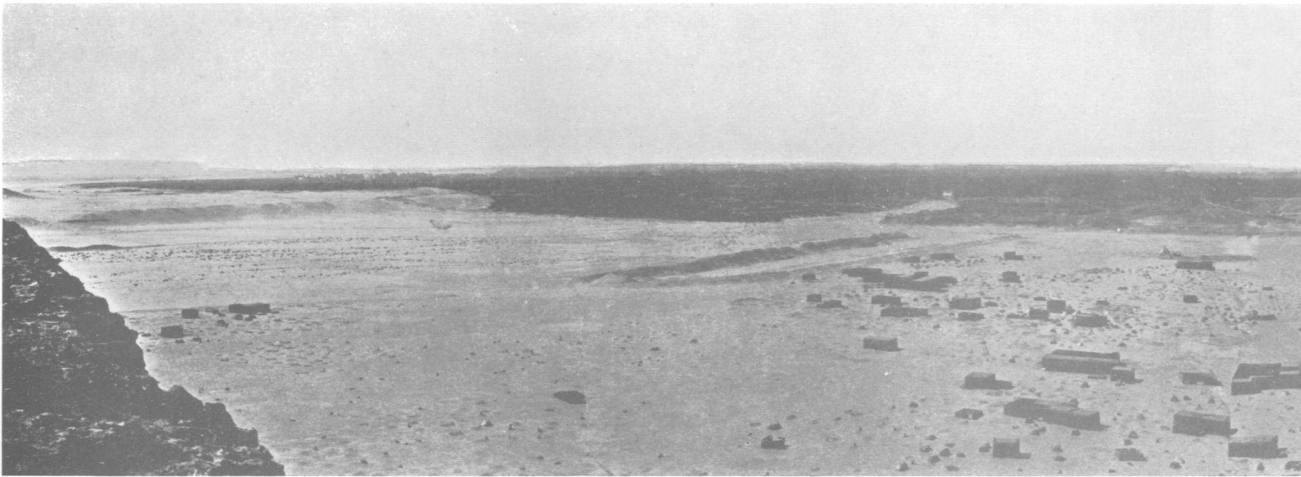


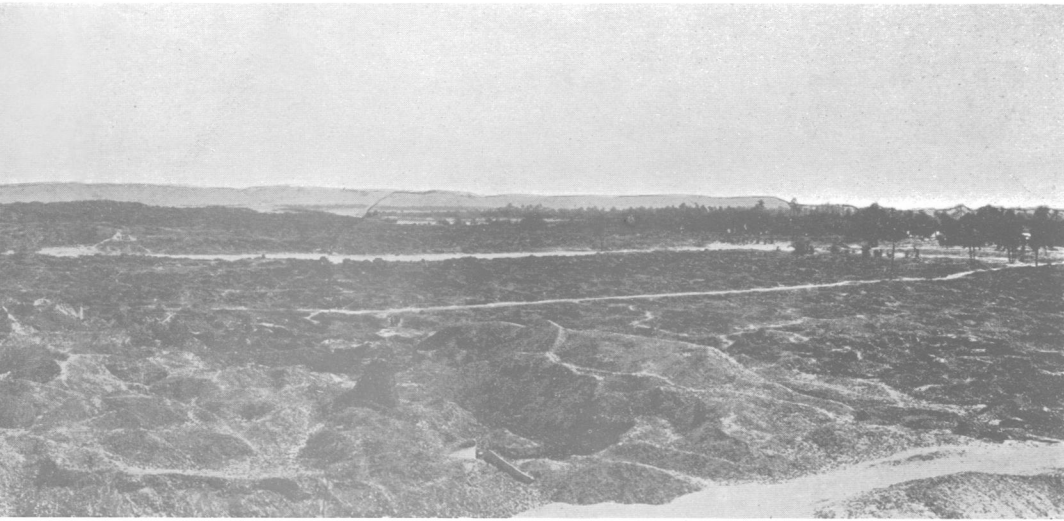
Fig. 2. Panorama of Nile Valley.



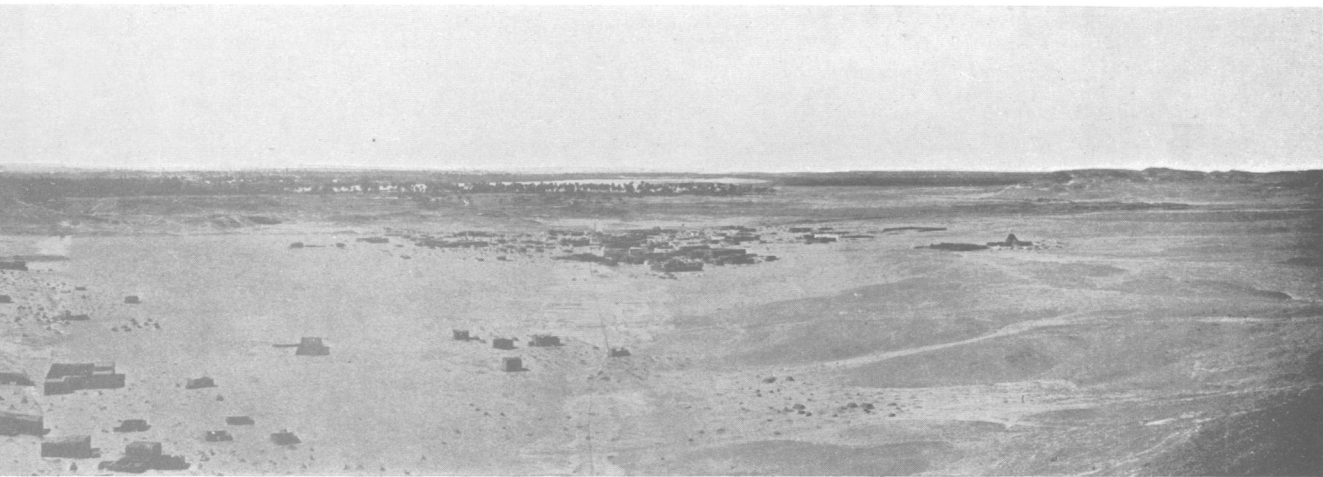
Fig. 3. Site of Theatre.



Fig. 4. Temple of Eros.



Antinoë, looking southwards from Mound P.



View of Nile Valley showing Antinoë.



Temple of Rameses II.



Fig. 5. Main N.-S. Avenue, looking towards Theatre.

or nomes, e.g. Ptolemais¹ and the Arsinoite nome², that the process was a continuous one inasmuch as veterans passing out of the service under Antoninus Pius were added to the list³, and that the traditional practice was adopted of granting holdings (*κλήροι*) to the settlers⁴, such holdings not necessarily situated in the Antinoïte nome. The constitution was parallel to that of other Greek autonomous cities, Naukratis, Alexandria and Ptolemais, the fundamental laws adopted being actually those of Naukratis⁵. For Antinoë, however, Hadrian as its founder created certain privileges, including the right of *ἐπιγαμία* (*connubium*) with Egyptians⁶ and that of exemption from all forms of liturgic service outside the nome⁷, while like the Alexandrians but unlike the Greeks of Naukratis the citizens were organized in tribes and demes⁸. Moreover like Alexandrians and Romans resident in Egypt they paid no poll-tax⁹.

Antinoë was thus an autonomous Greek settlement having its corporation of privileged citizens with their tribes and demes (*Ἀντινοεῖς Νέοι Ἕλληνες*), its municipal officers (*ἄρχοντες*) and council (*ἡ βουλή ἢ Ἀντινοέων Νέων Ἑλλήνων*), but it was also at the same time the metropolis of an Antinoïte nome¹⁰, carved out of the adjacent Hermopolite nome, and administered by the usual representatives of the central executive, the strategus, royal scribe and the rest, with their governorate and offices in the city. The duality of position involved in such a case is curious and the question as to the precise interrelation of the municipal officers of the city and the state officials of the nome, whether for instance the municipality was in any sense subordinate to the jurisdiction of the strategus as the delegate of an outside control, is not yet fully clear¹¹. In recent discussions the tendency has been to deny the competence of the resident strategus while admitting the jurisdiction of a higher and non-resident official—the epistrategus¹². But this with the answer to many other questions awaits definite proof.

¹ WILCKEN, *Chrestom.* no. 26 and introd.

² An unpublished Berlin papyrus (P. 11664) quoted by KÜHN, *op. cit.* p. 88. ³ *Op. cit.* pp. 80 sqq.

⁴ P. Brit. Mus. 383. 2-3 (ii. p. 117) *ναυβίου ἰδαφῶν κατακληρουχθέντων Ἀντινοεῦσι.*

⁵ WILCKEN, *Chrestom.* 27. 17-23. *ἡ ἐπιγαμία ἐδόθη ἡμῖν πρὸς Αἴγυπ[τ]ίου[ς] κατ' ἐξάιρετον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ, ἥνπερ οὐκ ἔχουσι Ναυκρατεῖται, ὧν τοῖς νόμοις χρώμεθα,* KÜHN, *op. cit.* pp. 95 sqq., 118 sqq.

⁶ See passage quoted in preceding note. This privilege was probably designed to promote the more rapid growth of the new Greek foundation.

⁷ B. G. V. 1022. 6 sqq., P. Oxy. 1119. 15 sqq. (where the privilege is classed under *τὰ ἐξάιρετα δικαιώματα*), KÜHN, *op. cit.* pp. 153 sqq. With a composite population of colonists, who would retain their lands in the districts from which they were drawn, some such exemption from the obligations inherent in possession must have been essential.

⁸ WILCKEN, *Grundz.* pp. 13, 15 sqq.; KÜHN, *op. cit.* pp. 123 sqq.

⁹ WILCKEN, *Archiv.* iii. pp. 554-5; KÜHN, *op. cit.* p. 153.

¹⁰ It is curious that although Ptolemy the Geographer (iv. 5) speaks of the nome as the *νομός Ἀντινοίτης* this phrase does not appear to have been used in documents till later, *Ἀντινοῦ* and *Ἀντινοῦ πόλεως* being at first loosely used both for the city and the territory of which it was the metropolis. So in P. Ryl. 78. 32 the strategus himself is called *Ἀντινοῦ*, and a village is similarly described in *ibid.* 170. 1-2, *ἐν κώμῃ Σερινήθ[ε] τῆς Ἀντινοῦ [πόλεως]*, while the use in the title *νομάρχης τῆς Ἀντινοῦ πόλεως* (KÜHN, *op. cit.* pp. 143 sqq.) is without doubt parallel. The earliest instance that I know of the use of *νομός Ἀντινοίτης* is in a 4th cent. document from the excavations this year.

¹¹ The publication of P. Ryl. 77 will throw new light on the powers of the strategus in the election of *ἄρχοντες* in an ordinary Greek municipality (Hermopolis). But Antinoë of course was autonomous in a special sense.

¹² WILCKEN, *Ost.* i. p. 467, *Grundz.* p. 52; KÜHN, *op. cit.* pp. 139 sqq., 149 sqq.

Antinoë seems to have increased continually in importance. Under the reforms of Diocletian in 297 A.D. the new tripartite division of Egypt came into being, by which Aegyptus Jovia fell under the direct administration of the *praefectus Aegypti*, responsible ultimately to the *comes Orientis*, while Aegyptus Herculia (the old Heptanomia) and the Thebaid were administered by praesides subordinate to the praefect¹. At the same time the Antinoëite nome which had hitherto been attached to the Heptanomis was added to the Thebaid and became the capital and seat of its praeses². In the middle of the 5th century the Thebaid itself fell into an Upper and Lower region with a *Comes et Dux* in supreme military and civil control but dealing directly only with the Upper district and in the Lower delegating his civil jurisdiction to a praeses³. Evidence is here lacking, but it is probable that Antinoë remained the seat of the latter⁴. At any rate in the last reorganization of the Roman period, under Justinian, when both the Upper and Lower Thebaid were directly administered by a *Dux et Augustalis*, responsible ultimately to the *praefectus praetorio Orientis*⁵, Antinoë was not only the capital of the Lower region but was the seat of the *Dux et Augustalis* himself⁶.

Probably it was on its privileges and its position as a seat of successive forms of government rather than on natural advantages that this growth depended. There can have been little reason for another great centre of population so close to Hermopolis which was still flourishing, and if the whole Antinoëite nome was, as Ptolemy states it to have been, on the east of the Nile, agriculturally and commercially it can have been of little importance, since the cultivable strip is never wide and as often as not the desert runs up to the Nile. The photograph (Plate XXV, Fig. 4), taken near the site of the theatre, shows how narrow to-day is the width of cultivation possible at Antinoë itself, and with the plot in question natural difficulties had defeated the owner. Possibly further evidence will show that the nome was not confined to the east but at any rate in later times embraced fertile areas on the other bank. However this may be, it is clear that Hadrian in creating the city had anticipated this difficulty, perhaps by his grant of wide privileges, certainly in his construction of a road from Antinoë, running across the desert and debouching on the Red Sea at Berenice, by which he designed, apparently without much success, to divert the Indian traffic from the older route by Coptos⁷.

It was to Antinoë, therefore, as a centre of Hellenism, municipal life, and provincial government that the efforts of excavation were this year directed. The recent history of the site did not give much ground for hopefulness. Antinoë papyri already published have in the main had their provenance elsewhere⁸, a fact perhaps having its root in the extraction of the city's colonists from other nomes and in the retention by these of inherited lands, or even *κλήροι*, there. The site moreover had suffered severely. The bricks of the walls had been carried away, and not only did a derelict powder factory, standing as at Ahnasia to the north of the site, bear witness to the use of the mounds for the extraction of nitre, but at Antinoë as at

¹ GELZER, *Stud. zur Byz. Verwaltung Ägyptens*, p. 5.

² Kühn's arguments (*op. cit.* pp. 163 sqq.) are conclusive.

³ GELZER, *op. cit.* pp. 20-1.

⁴ KÜHN, *op. cit.* p. 171.

⁵ GELZER, *op. cit.* pp. 35-6.

⁶ KÜHN, *op. cit.* pp. 171 sqq.

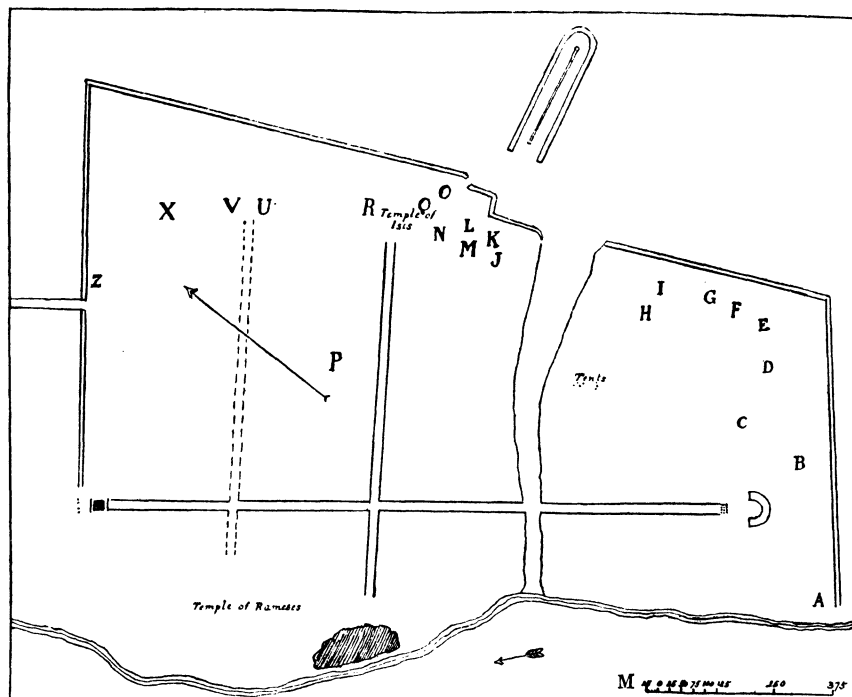
⁷ MILNE, *History of Egypt*, p. 59.

⁸ *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, i. p. 70.



Temple of Rameses II.

all other sites concessionaires¹, large and small, had for years been engaged in carting away the nitre-laden dust (*sebâkh*) of the mounds and house-fillings as manure for the fields. In the large panorama (Plate XXIII, Fig. 2) the blacker outline of the southern portion of the site attests the extent of their ravages, and the further photograph



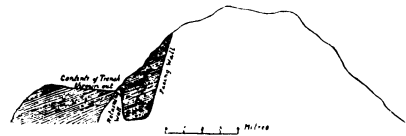
Plan of Mounds.

(Outline based on Jomard's Plan, see Plate XXII.)

¹ For those ignorant of Egyptian conditions it may be added that the *sebâkh* digger is the most prominent figure in the modern history of papyrus sites, more prominent even than the excavator, since his activities are unceasing. The most ignorant of the population, his every method running directly counter to the principles of archaeology, he is yet an economic necessity, and any effort to curtail his energies would be met by the united protest of the Ministries of Interior, Finance, Agriculture and Public Works. The manurial value of *sebâkh* from different sites and from different areas in a single site differs greatly, and until the agriculturalist can be taught the value of analysis the test of its utility will be his own experience. It is common on a site to see a mound half cut away and abandoned, and a question will elicit the answer that the dust from this point has proved valueless or even injurious to the soil on which it was thrown and the source has been abandoned. The licenses granted by the government vary from those given to the small licensee with a few donkeys or camels to the large contractor with a line and trolleys and large gangs of workmen (cf. Hermopolis, Antinoë, and to-day at Socnopaei Nesus). The payments made to the government for the privilege are used to maintain a service of temporary watchmen (*ghufara zuhurât*) whose duty it is to stand over the work and to hand over to the government the antiquities found. Too often watcher and watched merely share profits, and the finds pass on to the dealers, this law, as so much of Egyptian legislation, breaking down on the rock that the code of a policeman or watchman cannot greatly exceed that of the stratum from which he is drawn. Papyri are so delicate that the loss through rough handling is especially heavy, to which must be added the neglect of small fragments and the dispersion of finds when the spoils are shared.

of the site looking southwards from *P* (Plate XXIII, Fig. 1) gives a typical modern view of ruins which have suffered for years under the scourge. The sight of a part of the city so thoroughly ransacked, added to the knowledge that little if any papyrus had been passing thence through the hands of the dealers, was a bad augury, for papyrus has been too long in the market for the humblest villager not to know its value. Conversation with the *sebakhîn* yielded little encouragement. Papyrus there was, but in slight quantities, so broken and so small that they were accustomed to throw it away behind them in the heaps of sifted sherds¹. All, however, alike pointed to an area to the south (*C* on mound-plan) whence they said years before papyrus, very white in colour, had poured at a time when sherds were being carted away to the great dam at Assiût, then building. Of the area in question little remained, and all indications pointed to its being late Byzantine. I determined, therefore, at first to test thoroughly the northern half of the site where in recent years at any rate no *sebakh* digging had been permitted.

Before I proceed, however, to give an account of the actual excavation, the method employed in this specialized form of digging may be briefly explained. A typical rubbish mound is seen in Plate XXV, Fig. 1, but by no means all mounds yield papyri; and though in this respect sites differ widely, the proportion of mounds in which papyrus is present to those which are barren is usually low. Mounds may contain builders' refuse, with lime and sand, or cinders and ashes, or sherds, or for instance at Antinoë there was a mound of earth thickly interspersed with wool-refuse (*V* on the mound-plan), obviously the waste heap of the wool-workers. The papyrus-bearing strata declare themselves quickly and are usually what the natives call *'afsh*, earth intermixed with vegetable matter, commonly twigs and straw. The *'afsh* itself differs widely in its properties and its power of preserving papyri². Obviously little is to be inferred externally in an unplundered area, though a mound superficially containing lime and sand will be lighter in colour and hard to the tread, while another whose upper layers are *'afsh* will have a marked resilience under foot. The first step, therefore, is to cut a section of a mound and to lay bare the seams of which it is composed. The workmen are spread along a face in a long line (see Plate XXVI, Figs. 1 and 2) distributed in gangs, each gang responsible for a measured length³. The further process is shown by a cross-section of a trench. The side of the hill is carved away in sections, till with the completed trench a high facing wall is left to the front and to the rear a low retaining wall sufficient to uphold the weight of the earth thrown out. When the desired depth is reached, a fact governed by the damp level or the continued absence of papyri, the last act is to undercut the



Cross-section.

¹ I had occasion later to confirm this statement in removing some piles of sifted sherds, when I found a fragment of Homer, &c.

² "Good *'afsh* must not be too hard, for coagulation is somehow fatal to the preservation of papyri, nor yet too soft, for then it tends to become *sebakh*, i.e. fine, powdery earth in which any fragile substance such as papyrus has decomposed." GRENFELL and HUNT in *Fayum Towns*, introd. p. 24.

³ Four men is a good unit for a gang, in which case a length of two metres is ample. Thus with a hundred men (25 gangs) the trench would be 50 metres long.



Fig. 2. Small trial-trench (Mound K).

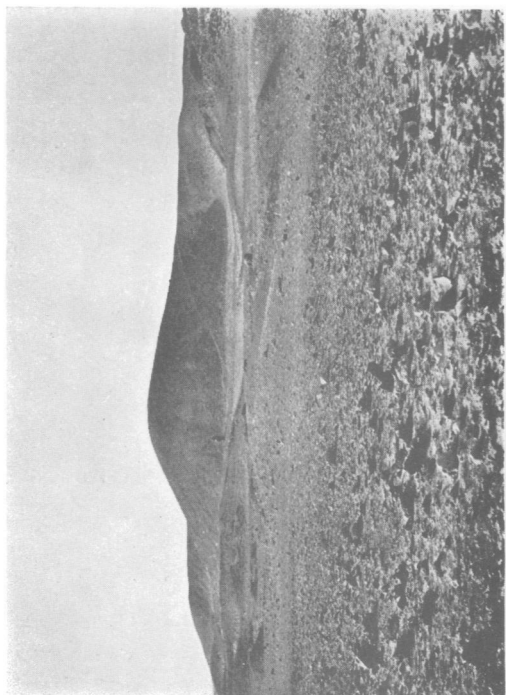


Fig. 1. Rubbish-mound (O).

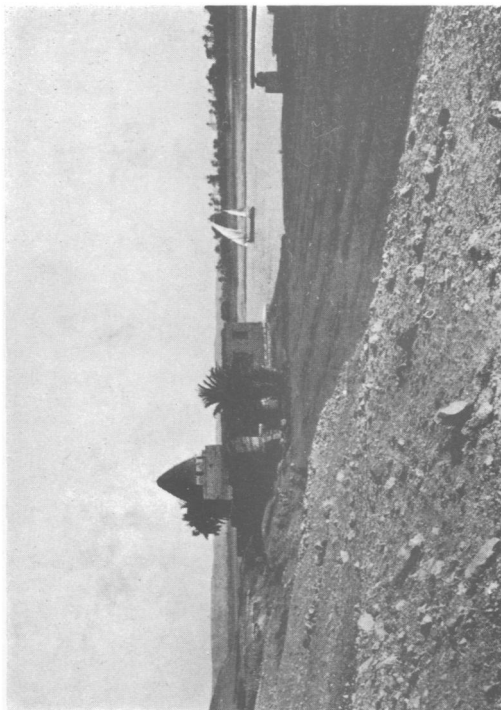


Fig. 4. View near Theatre.



Fig. 3. Eastern edge of city showing line of wall, looking southwards.



Fig. 1. Work on Mound Z.



Fig. 2. Beginning a trial-trench on Mound P.

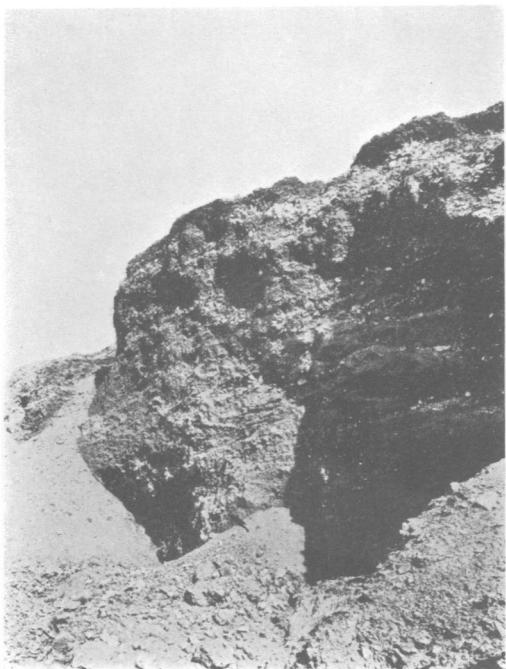


Fig. 3. Face of mound worked by *sebakhin*.

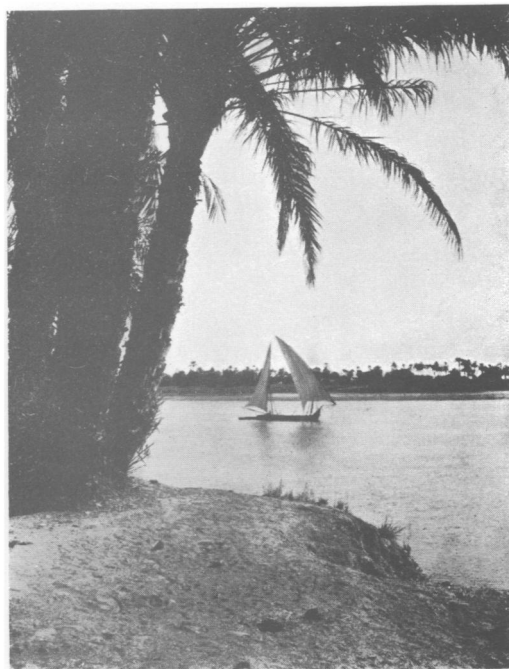


Fig. 4. The banks of the Nile at Antinoë.

retaining wall and to examine its contents as it falls. A trench such as that of which the section is shown would constitute an admirable *sondage*, and if the mound were approved by the presence of papyri, the same process would be repeated in further trenches until the strata or mound was exhausted. Mounds are usually composite, and on an exposed face the veins of sand, 'afsh, or sherds are clear in their straggling courses and varying depths across the face, and even where the material of a mound is the same, the accumulations of different ages tend to fall apart into seams by their differences in colour¹. In the photographs (Plate XXV, Fig. 2 and Plate XXVI, Fig. 3) these veins are clear.

Beyond the general supervision of the work and the objects coming out and a constant arbitration as to the lines of division between gang and gang, the one ever-present danger is that of undercutting the facing wall and engulfing the workers in the trench. A wall with an admixture of sand is fickle and demands an exaggerated slope, and the same is true of sherds, while in 'afsh with its straw lending cohesion to the whole a face nearing perpendicularity is free from danger. The *sebakhîn* ignore this, witness the towering and overhanging face in the photograph (Plate XXVI, Fig. 3), and almost yearly each site gathers in its toll of victims².

When I arrived at the site on Dec. 9, I brought with me two dozen men from the Fayum, old hands most of them, with a stiffening of a few who had served through the years of Behnesa. These were to provide the nucleus of efficiency and honesty round which I could build the labour locally engaged. The first few days I was content to employ them alone in a rather cursory examination of the northern part of the site. The areas attacked (*P*, *J*, *Z*) yielded the same result, Byzantine fragments occurring on the surface in poor layers of 'afsh intermixed with sherds but disappearing a few feet down in strata of pure dust (*turâb nâ'im*), in which papyrus will not live. The condition of the fragments from even the superficial layers of *P* was almost hopeless, a result particularly disappointing, since here were the largest accumulations now remaining. Indeed now that so much has been dug away on the flanks of the site, this great central mound or rather group of mounds is like an earth citadel dominating the whole. But from whatever side I directed the attack, the result was the same. Mound *J*, to which I gave several days, and *Z* yielded papyrus in slightly better condition but as yet too fragmentary to be of use.

I now doubled the gang, adding an equal number of men locally recruited, and transferred the work to *M*. Here I was destined to realize in some small measure the dream common to all diggers for papyri, and if bronze may be compared with gold, Dec. 17 was to me what January 13, 1906 had been to Grenfell and Hunt at Behnesa³. For on this day the mound began to yield the tattered fragments of what must once have been a small Byzantine library. Unhappily the overlying strata of 'afsh were almost barren, and the seam in which the fragments were found was made of layers of potsherds (*shaqf*)—the worst bed in which papyrus can lie and live—imparting an intense dryness and brittleness both to papyrus and vellum and often

¹ The seams the natives call *sîll* (torrents), seeing a picturesque resemblance in their lines to the wandering tracks made by the torrents in their course over the desert to meet the Nile.

² The mound photographed had buried and of course killed a man in the year preceding.

³ This was the day of the greatest literary find at Oxyrhynchus. See E. E. F., *Arch. Rep.* 1905-6, p. 10.

destroying the ink. The productive area was some 20 × 10 metres and varied greatly in depth. The hands represented in the fragments I roughly estimated to be a score; drama, both tragedy (Eurip. *Phoenissae*) and comedy, was there, history, theology, grammar, medicine, Homer (both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*), and also numerous tiny scraps of Theocritus. The value of the find, however, was largely impaired by the small size of the fragments. With one exception. From a small patch of ashes in the interstices of the sherds emerged a large lump of the Theocritus, as dry and brittle as the rest—indeed scarcely admitting the touch—which later under treatment by moisture yielded some 10 pages more or less complete of the *Idylls*. With it was found a page of an illustrated botanical work, probably Dioscorides. The Theocritus is part of a late 5th or 6th century papyrus book. There are a fair number of corrections which increase its value, and accents have been added by another hand. Moreover a sprinkling of notes is inserted in the margin. The pages are large, containing an average of nearly 50 lines, so that the total saved may well reach 600 lines. If a small fragment from Oxyrhynchus be excepted, and some broken vellum fragments in Berlin, Paris and Vienna, this is the only example of a Theocritean MS. which Egypt has yet provided, and the fact that it is at least seven centuries earlier than the earliest of the mediaeval MSS. makes it a find of considerable importance to scholars. Among other fragments those of the grammatical work are noteworthy, containing as they do not only a Latin alphabet with the letter names in Greek, e.g. *f ιφφε, r ιρρε*, but lists of words with their shorthand equivalent, the latter a considerable addition to our knowledge of Greek tachygraphy. Scraps of Latin on vellum and papyrus were of smaller value. Coptic naturally was not unrepresented in so late a mound and there were a few rather fine literary fragments in heavy script, besides one or two small pages of vellum. Documentary evidence of value was slight, but besides one large roll in fair condition, containing a letter, and part of a deed of loan in which an Oxyrhynchite was concerned, a ball of papyrus which had served as a jar stopper yielded both a Latin literary fragment and the remains of a land register of *γη βασιλική* and *ιδιωτική*.

Only half the mound was dug, the remainder having been carried away some years before for the needs of agriculture, and as the precious stratum passed out where the mound was cut away I was left to look back with mixed feelings, relief that the half had been spared coupled with curiosity as to how much of the library had lain in the part that had vanished. At any rate this initial stroke of fortune added a zest to the work, though in anticipation it must be added that the remainder of the season yielded nothing to equal the Theocritus in interest or value.

Already, some days before I finally abandoned *M*, feelers had been stretched in the guise of spare gangs to an area due north (*N* on mound-plan), contiguous with *M* but obviously of separate growth, and papyrus was beginning to come out. The part now attacked was the western shoulder and was much lower than the main mound which lay behind it. The first trench—seldom the most productive—yielded a quantity of Byzantine fragments, nothing of much value, but sufficient to justify the systematic continuation of the work.

N was remarkable throughout for what is often a feature of late mounds, the quantity of blank papyrus it provided. In this case sacks might have been filled. This blank papyrus is carefully torn into small fragments before being given to the

winds so that material shall not be added to the store of the papyrus forger. At the risk of a further digression a note may perhaps here be inserted on the methods of the latter. Most papyrologists are familiar with his work, fewer know the forger himself. Hufuta, an uneducated fellah of the Fayum, formerly of Hawâra but now living and plying his trade in the Medîna, is an amusing and not wholly unattractive character. In stature and appearance he resembles somewhat his notorious counter-type, Islam Akhun, the forger of central Asian books¹, and his work, like Islam Akhun's, has won the distinction of being published with facsimile in a serious book². His methods are roughly threefold. Blank sheets of papyrus from the mounds, cut into uniform pages and inscribed in red or black ink with a sequence of meaningless signs resembling somewhat pothooks and hangers, are sewn together and bound in thicker sheets of papyrus which are covered with mummy-cloth. The second method is similar but relies on skin in imitation of vellum as its medium, this being bound in skin with strips of mummy cloth or even with an elaborate arrangement of copper corners linked with wire and beads. By his third method, perhaps a more deceptive one, numerous tiny fragments of genuine inscribed papyrus, too small to find a sale, are glued together till they form a sheet, a strange literary mosaic in which the lines are inconspicuous and Ptolemaic rubs shoulders with Byzantine, and this is then tightly rolled. The smell of the oil in which his productions are soaked before being buried is often a sufficient test for those who do not happen to be scholars.

In all twelve days were devoted to the excavation of *N*, and of the four trenches dug the second and third, which accounted for the kernel of the spur, were the most productive, the western end of the trenches being prolific in 'afsh interspersed with sherds, which, however, died away towards the east. The remains of earlier house-walls were found in piercing the bottom of the trenches, a fact on this site not necessarily indicative of a very late date for the superimposed mound³. However the recovery of several papyri from the lower strata dated in the reign of Flavius Justinus was sufficient indication of the lateness of the accumulations. In quantity Greek fell much below Coptic, and though some eighteen tin boxes were filled in all, the percentage of the useful was very low, a fact due to the broken state of the papyrus and the corrosive action of the sherds on the ink. Numerous scraps of vellum were obtained, including a fragment of Xenophon's *Symposium*, and in a complete leaf of four columns, crumpled into a dry ball, mentions of Philip, Alexander and Aeschines could be seen. Among other literary or semi-literary finds here may be mentioned a page of a grammar somewhat similar to that already described, a charm (therapeutic magic), and a delightful illustration in colour, strangely modern in colour and feeling, in which stand a group of boys, one of them with a whip, in the picturesque dress of the time. A fragment of Hebrew on brown leather attested the presence of the Jewish element. The documentary side was mainly unofficial and included a roll with an account of the incomings and outgoings of corn in certain τόποι, and several letters.

The eastern end of each trench as it was dug laid bare the lower strata of the mass of the mound which lay behind and these were seen to be entirely barren of

¹ STEIN, *Sandburied Ruins of Khotan*, pp. 449 sqq.

² P. Strassb. 39.

³ See below, p. 179, n. 2.

'*afsh* and sherds. Meantime, as usual, gangs temporarily at liberty had sunk trial trenches in areas immediately adjoining (*K*, *L*, *O*) and these had been eliminated. *Q* had at some time been cut away by Gayet when working on the temple of Isis, and, as I anticipated, a decayed scrap or two from the central core were late Byzantine. Other areas lying further eastwards and unmarked in the plan were dismissed without work, their faces having been left exposed at the time of the demolition of the wall. However, at different times both during the excavation of *M* and *N* I had been able to detach some gangs to continue my initial excavation of *J*, and amongst the usual fragments a large 6th century letter, some fragments of literary Latin with annotations, and a small group of rolls, one of them in Greek and still retaining its clay seal, had been found. I therefore transferred the whole gang thither for a couple of days, but with no result.

I had now got a quantity of late papyrus and was particularly anxious to obtain some earlier material and to form an estimate of the possibilities of the whole site with a view to a further season's work. On the weekly rest days when the men were across the Nile marketing I had examined all the faces left exposed by the *sebakhin* in the southern part of the site. Unfortunately little was left but a continuous fringe (*C*, *D*, *E*, *F*, *G*, *I*) though the original position and outline of the actual mounds could in part be guessed from the piles of sifted sherds. In these inspections I always returned to *G*, where alone in this line the mounds abutted on the wall, as having the appearance of being early, but was baffled by the fact that walls, apparently of houses, were buried beneath it. However on January 13th on one such visit the strokes of an iron rod had been rewarded with a scrap of papyrus on which were two or three letters unmistakably 4th century in form. On January 16th therefore the whole gang was for the first time moved south of the torrent bed to commence work on two faces in area *G* (*G*1 and *G*2). The conditions at once changed, and while *G*1, though unproductive in its lower strata, provided some fragments of a 5th century *Iliad* accented in a later hand, in *G*2 reed sandals displaced the later leather shoe, the sprawling frog became the *motif* on the lamps in place of the cross, and scraps of papyrus from late 2nd to 4th century began to emerge. The size and quality of the latter were disappointing, but the mere fact that the strata were there was an encouragement, even though the fringe remaining was so narrow as at no place to warrant more than two trenches. Had we thus gone straight to the only area which was to yield early papyri or was the southern half of the site the older and therefore the more likely to produce the early material desired? To cover the ground more rapidly I now (Jan. 21st) redoubled the gang, giving to each of the permanent hands three men or boys locally engaged, this allowing of a trench 42 metres long. Diplomacy however dictated several interruptions of my plans. Area *G* was still unfinished but the papyrus was fragile and neutral coloured and I was loath to continue here until I had given experience and cohesion to the re-formed gangs. With this end in view, therefore, I started on the line *E—F*, contiguous with *G* on the north where the width only warranted a single trench. '*Afsh* was scarce, and the *sebakh* much intermixed with sand. It contained no papyrus and by noon the whole stretch was eliminated. A return to *G* was still not in question, and besides this another consideration prompted a further change. The local labour was recruited at from 2½—3 piastres (sixpence farthing to sevenpence halfpenny) a day,—little more than

half the wage ordinarily current in Middle Egypt, and in itself a striking commentary on modern Antinoë, its barrenness and lack of industry and agricultural land,—and the work was adjusted so as to ensure as far as possible by *bakhshîsh*¹ a daily supplement to this wage. *Z* to the extreme north I knew from my initial survey to contain papyrus; it was white and easily seen, and the mound itself was low and straight and easily supervised. The afternoon of this and the two following days were spent in clearing this mound and were rewarded by a quantity of late fragments, though the net gain was no more than, in Greek, a fragment of the *Iliad*, a letter, and an account or two, and in Coptic a complete page of a papyrus book. This finished, on Friday, January 30th, we returned to *G*, driving a trial trench through mound *I*, which, as I expected, proved quite barren, on the way. Seven days were now devoted to the thorough clearance of the whole area of *G*. It was not very productive but bore out the earlier results. It seemed that several early houses² had here thrown out adjacent conical heaps and a later age had filled in their interstices till one mound resulted, so that in the same trench 2nd century and 5th century material came out side by side. The largest literary find was, as usual, the *Iliad* (two or three hundred lines of a 4th century book), and the most interesting a small fragment of comedy, while even this mound yielded a fragment of a grammar with conversions into shorthand, a class of work apparently popular at Antinoë. The non-literary side was fragmentary and in the main unofficial. The *λογισταὶ κατὰ πόλιν* are attested in a document³ and the municipal office of *κοσμητεία* seems to have been as onerous at Antinoë as elsewhere⁴, since we have the case of a man who had gone bankrupt under its burden. Spare gangs were from time to time employed in other areas in the south, but nowhere else with success. Areas *A*, *B*, *D*, *H* were uniformly late and almost devoid of papyrus, *C*, which I have already mentioned as having been a prolific source of papyrus in earlier days, proved to be the Byzantine filling of some Roman two-storied houses on the side of the hill where the plain rises to the south, and with the exception of one patch had been dug out. By the beginning of February the site south of the torrent bed was explored and the last days of the season's work were devoted to the completion of *J*, an unremunerative task to the end; to a resurvey of *P*, the whole gang being flung on, but the deeper trenches serving only to confirm the results of the more cursory work at the start; and to the examination of areas *X*, *V*, *U*, *R*. Of these *X* was tantalizing enough to yield the binding of a late book; in *R* out of some fairly good layers of 'afsh came nothing more important than an account, and *U* provided a page of Coptic on vellum. To *V* as the wool-workers refuse heap I have already alluded.

This completed the work on the site (Feb. 7th)⁵. Enough papyri of all sorts have been obtained to fill a volume, on which it is hoped shortly to start work. But let

¹ *Bakhshîsh* is given on all finds and is assessed each evening. In rubbish-mound digging, which is particularly severe, a day or two barren of rewards reacts quickly on the morale of the men.

² Low walls of unbaked brick continued to be found at the base of this area. These were covered by the mound, certainly by the 4th century, probably earlier. In so complex a mound, it is impossible for the eye to disentangle the interlocking strata. Whether the walls were of houses from which the earlier rubbish was thrown I cannot say.

³ This confirms Kühn, *op. cit.* p. 116.

⁴ Cf. P. Ryl. 77. introd.

⁵ Not however my own work. I remained on the site for another five weeks, four of which were occupied continuously in the process of packing the papyrus found, hitherto only packed temporarily

it be said that Antinoë has never been a great papyrus site in the same sense as Oxyrhynchus and Hermopolis. Although the whole area seems to have been inhabited from the earlier days of its foundation, only at *G* did the strata of this period retain the properties which conserve papyri; elsewhere they had coagulated into a hard and concrete-like mass which was fatal to our quest. Of ostraca, which might have survived better in such surroundings, few were obtained¹.

Hitherto we have dealt only with the papyrus found. Naturally, however, in stirring a rubbish heap not the written materials only but much of the machinery of life as well is disclosed; and the fact that almost all objects were worn, broken, or torn before they earned their place on the mound detracts little from their interest. The shoes, boots and sandals of which there are more than a hundred form a particularly interesting series. Leather in place of reed began apparently to come into use at the end of the 4th or beginning of the 5th century. Its introduction gave far greater latitude to design and shape, and even in the more stereotyped patterns variety was added, to the sandal by incised work on sole or straps, to the shoe by the ornamental rosette on the toe. Just as the modern shoemaker inserts newspaper between the upper and lower sole so the ancient was accustomed to use papyrus, but the heat of the foot had effectually effaced the writing if any there had been. It was amusing to note the difference in wear between the cast-off shoe of the adult and that of the growing baby or child. Gaily woven linen embroideries and braids, some of these showing scenes and figures, pagan or Christian in design, were frequent in 6th century strata onwards. But while work in textile and leather grew more and more elaborate, the art in terracottas showed a marked decline, the naturalistic impulse of earlier modelling yielding to the lines of a crude conventionalism. Figurines of animals and riders on horseback were common. Alongside the finished work may be mentioned the workers' materials and tools, the basket-makers' needles, the shoe-makers' awls with leather for "uppers" and soles, the graded needles of the seamstress with her skeins of thread. The catalogue is too long to detail here; but I may mention Byzantine carvings in bone, mostly studies in the nude, women's ornaments, amongst them a broken bracelet in gold, children's playthings, with rattles in wood and bone, a bronze door-knocker, the spoons, knives, scales, hooks, etc., of the household, stamps in wood and earthenware and their impressions in stucco and clay glass, basket-work, pottery, and the usual miscellany of coins, dice, beads, and the rest.

A stele procured by purchase from the finder was of some interest and is here reproduced²:

each evening in the small lots as found. All was intensely brittle. The coarser papyrus could travel without danger with the help of cotton waste, but the better and finer material, e.g. the several thousand fragments composing the literary find of mound *M*, needed damping between moist cloths and pressing on the spot, a process which preserves it indefinitely. My task was made no easier by the fact that the extreme dryness of the papyrus added to the inferior quality of Byzantine ink often made direct contact with the damp cloth undesirable for fear of the ink running, and I had to resort to a miniature erection of wet cloths on my damping table in which papyri softened by the gradual absorption of the moisture from the air. Often in the hot spells damping was impossible after 11 in the morning, the intense heat of the tent drying the papyri again before they could be flattened.

¹ Inscribed pots were of course fairly common, giving the name of the owner, the contents, or both, e.g. (1) †*Ἰακῶβ...*, (2) *Φιλῆμων(ν) Κουῖ*, (3) *μελί Βίκτωρ ἀπὸ Κρυσάρης*, (4) †*Θεόδωρος*.

² Mr M. N. Tod is inclined to attribute the stele to the third rather than the fourth century on



Ἀγαθῆι τύχηι
 Φλαύιον Μαΐκιον Σε[.....]¹
 Διονυσόδωρον τῶν [ἐν τῶι
 Μουσειῶι σιτουμέ[νων ἀτελῶν
 5 Πλατωνικὸν φιλόσ[οφον καὶ
 βουλευτὴν, Ἀντ[ινοέων Νέων
 Ἑλλήνων ἡ [βουλή.

For Good Fortune. The Council of the citizens of Antinoöpolis, New Greeks, in honour of Flavius Maecius...Dionysodorus one of those maintained in the Museum immune from charges, a Platonic philosopher and councillor.

The fact that scholars of note possessed privileges in free sustenance in the Museum at Alexandria is known also from other sources². If only his library had survived! However with the goldmines of Behnesa and Ashmunen exhausted we have perhaps no reason to complain of the season's work.

Nothing untoward marked the course of excavation, excepting only on one occasion a fight between the local and permanent gangs during the midday break. The passage of an air-plane over the work in its flight to Khartum seemed especially appropriate if it be remembered that the fellah believes fixedly that all modern "inventions" are merely recovered from papyri, his utilitarian mind finding in this a ready explanation of the value attached to the finds and the prices they to-day command.

the ground of the retention of the ι adscript, the absence of ligature, and the freedom of the engraver from the influence of cursive writing.

¹ Mr Tod suggests here Σε[ξτου ὄον. Apart from the position of ἀγαθῆι τυχηι which must have been more or less central, ll. 3, 4, 7, where the supplements are certain, give the approximate length of lines. To read τὸν καὶ] Διονυσόδωρον leaves no room for the completion of Σε[, and a haplography, of course, is out of the question.

² Cf. e.g. P. Ryl. 143. 2 sqq. and note.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY: REPORT FOR 1914

BY AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN, M.A.

[See Plates XXVII, XXVIII]

As has already been stated in the April number of the *Journal*, work was resumed at Meir on November 1, 1913 and continued till January 9, 1914.

Early in November, I received proofs of the plates for *Rock Tombs of Meir*, Vol. I, and so was able to revise them in front of the originals. This publication will shortly be issued to subscribers.

During the course of the season I made a catalogue of the decorated and inscribed tomb-chapels of the nomarchs of Cusae and their retainers. So far seventeen of these chapels have been discovered, fifteen at Meir, and two at Kūṣeir el-Amarna, a village on the east bank of the Nile opposite Nazāli Gānūb¹. Owing to the irregular formation of the ridge in which they are excavated, the tomb-chapels of Meir are divided up into five consecutive groups which I have labelled A, B, C, D and E, A being the northernmost. I herewith give a list of the chapels with the names of their owners, which, with many additional details, will appear in the introductory part of *Rock Tombs of Meir*, Vol. I.

<i>Chapels</i>	<i>Owner</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Reign</i>
Meir; A, no. 1.	Ni-ankh-Pepi (also called Ni-ankh-Merire) whose "good names" are Sebekḥotp and Ḥepi the Black; a nomarch. He will always be referred to as Sebekḥotp.	VIth Dynasty	Pepi I
Meir; A, no. 2.	Pepiankh whose "good name" is Ḥeni the Black; a nomarch.	VIth Dynasty	Pepi II.
Meir; A, no. 3.	Iam's son Ukhḥotp; a nomarch.	XIIth Dynasty	Sesostris I—Amenemḥet II.
Meir; A, no. 4.	Ḥepi the Black; probably a nomarch.	VIth Dynasty	Pepi II—Mernere II?
Meir; B, no. 1.	Ukhḥotp's son Senbi; a nomarch.	XIIth Dynasty	Amenemḥet I.
Meir; B, no. 2.	Senbi's son Ukhḥotp; a nomarch.	XIIth Dynasty	Sesostris I.
Meir; B, no. 3.	Senbi son of Ukhḥotp son of Senbi; a nomarch.	XIIth Dynasty	Sesostris I—Amenemḥet II.
Meir; B, no. 4.	Ukhḥotp son of Ukhḥotp and Mersi; a nomarch.	XIIth Dynasty	Amenemḥet II (dated by cartouches above statue-niche).
Meir; C, no. 1.	Ukhḥotp son of Ukhḥotp and Ḥeni the Middle; a nomarch.	XIIth Dynasty	Sesostris II.
Meir; D, no. 1.	Pepi; a "king's scribe" and "judge" (<i>s/b</i>).	VIth Dynasty?	
Meir; D, no. 2.	Pepiankh the Middle (also called Neferka) whose "good name" is Ḥeni; a nomarch.	VIth Dynasty	Pepi II.

¹ Nazāli Gānūb is the railway station for Meir and Kūṣiya (the ancient Cusae).



Fig. 1. The chapel of Senbi's son, Ukhhotp.

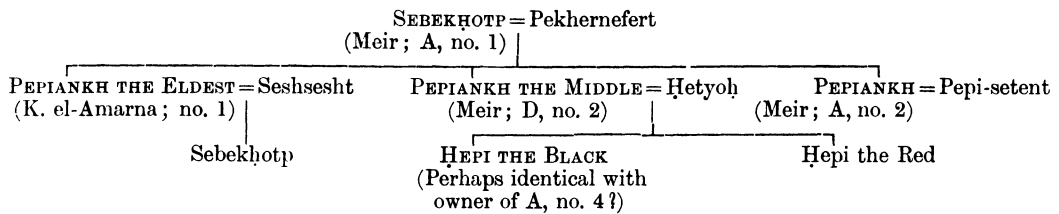


Fig. 2. The blind Harper and Singer in the chapel of Senbi's son, Ukhhotp.

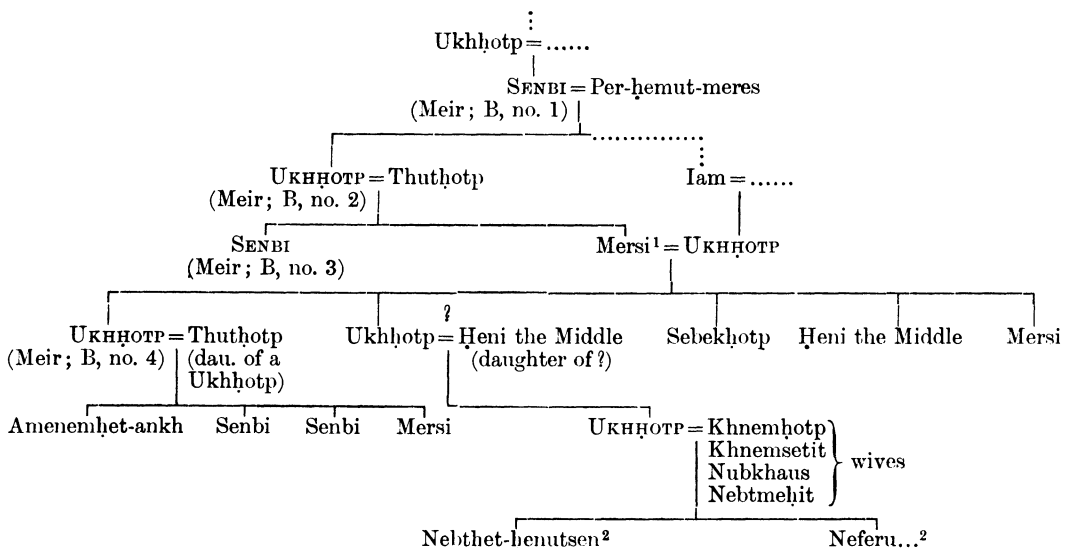
Chapels	Owner	Period	Reign
Meir; E, no. 1.	Menia; a "first under the king" (𓄏𓄏𓄏), "royal relative" (𓄏𓄏𓄏) and 𓄏𓄏.	VIth Dynasty?	
Meir; E, no. 2.	Nenki; a "confidential friend" and "lector."	VIth Dynasty?	
Meir; E, no. 3.	Pepiankh; a "confidential friend" and "lector."	VIth Dynasty?	
Meir; E, no. 4.	Thetu; a "friend," "first under the king," and "instructor of the priests" (𓄏𓄏𓄏).	VIth Dynasty?	
Ḳuseir el-Amarna; no. 1.	Pepiankh the Eldest.	VIth Dynasty	Mernere I—Pepi II.
Ḳuseir el-Amarna; no. 2.	Khu-en-ukh. Among his many titles are those of "confidential friend," "lector," "first under the king," and "instructor of the priests." It is he, apparently, who appears as "lector" several times in the chapel of Pepiankh the Middle, D, no. 2.	VIth Dynasty	Pepi II.

From the material at our disposal, all of which will be communicated in *Rock Tombs of Meir*, Vol. I, the following pedigrees of the VIth and XIIth Dynasty nomarchs of Cusae can be constructed.

PEDIGREE OF THE NOMARCHS OF CUSAE IN THE VIth DYNASTY



PEDIGREE OF THE NOMARCHS OF CUSAE IN THE XIIth DYNASTY



¹ Commemorated on a stela in B, no. 3.

² A daughter.

I completely recorded the chapel of Senbi's son Ukhhotp¹ (Meir; B, no. 2), and finished the work that still remained over from the previous season in the chapel of Ukhhotp son of Ukhhotp and Mersi² (Meir; B, no. 4). On the south wall of B, no. 2 is the naturalistic representation of what is probably a Beja herdsman³ leading cattle (*Archaeological Report*, 1911-12, Pl. VIII, 1). Many of the other reliefs also in this chapel are remarkable both for subject and style. Most noteworthy perhaps are the two blind musicians (Pl. XXVII, Fig. 2), a party of fowlers pulling at a rope, two boat-crews quarrelling, and peasants boat-building and carrying and binding great bundles of papyrus plants,—all on the north wall.

The painted plaster reliefs in B, no. 4 (*Archaeological Report*, p. 12; *Journal*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 41), albeit the technique is perfect, are executed in the ordinary, though finest, XIIth Dynasty style, resembling in this respect the sculptures at El-Bersheh. This is possibly indicative of court influence, of which the cartouches of Amenemhet II on the architrave of the statue(?)-niche in the outer room (*Arch. Report*, 1911-12, p. 10) are also a symptom. Perhaps this nomarch was allowed to employ court artists to decorate his chapel?

The art of Cusae is undoubtedly seen at its best in the two earliest Middle Kingdom chapels, B, nos. 1 and 2. The unusual features in C, no. 1, the chapel of Ukhhotp son of Ukhhotp and Hēni the Middle (*Archaeological Report*, 1911-12, p. 11), are suggestive of the rise of the feudal lords to almost independent power, and of a return to local, though by this time considerably modified, traditions, before the final assertion of the central authority by Sesostri III.

Early in January I cleared of débris the chapels of Ukhhotp's son Senbi (B, no. 1), Senbi's son Ukhhotp (B, no. 2), and Ukhhotp son of Ukhhotp and Mersi (B, no. 4), whereupon interesting architectural features were revealed. The statue(?)-niche in the west wall of Senbi's chapel was found to stand at the end of a pathway sunk below the level of the rest of the floor and commencing with two steps (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 1). In the chapel of Ukhhotp son of Ukhhotp and Mersi, this approach to the statue(?)-niche has developed into quite an elaborate construction (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 2). In the chapel of Senbi's son Ukhhotp, we find the intermediate stage of development (Pl. XXVII, Fig. 1).

It was not found necessary to take more than half a dozen photographs, and so expedition expenses were substantially reduced.

Next season I hope to record chapel D, no. 2, the small chapels A, no. 3; B, no. 3; D, no. 1; E, nos. 1-4, and revise my tracings of the frescoes in C, no. 1 (the chapel of Ukhhotp son of Ukhhotp and Hēni the Middle).

In April, Mr F. F. Ogilvie will again do some painting at Meir. He is going to make coloured facsimiles of some of the painted reliefs in B, no. 1, and of certain of the frescoes in C, no. 1.

¹ Spoken of as Ukhhotep I in *Archaeological Report*, 1911-12, pp. 9-11.

² Spoken of as Ukhhotep II in *op. cit.* p. 9.

³ See SELIGMANN, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, pp. 593-704 and Plate XXX, 1.

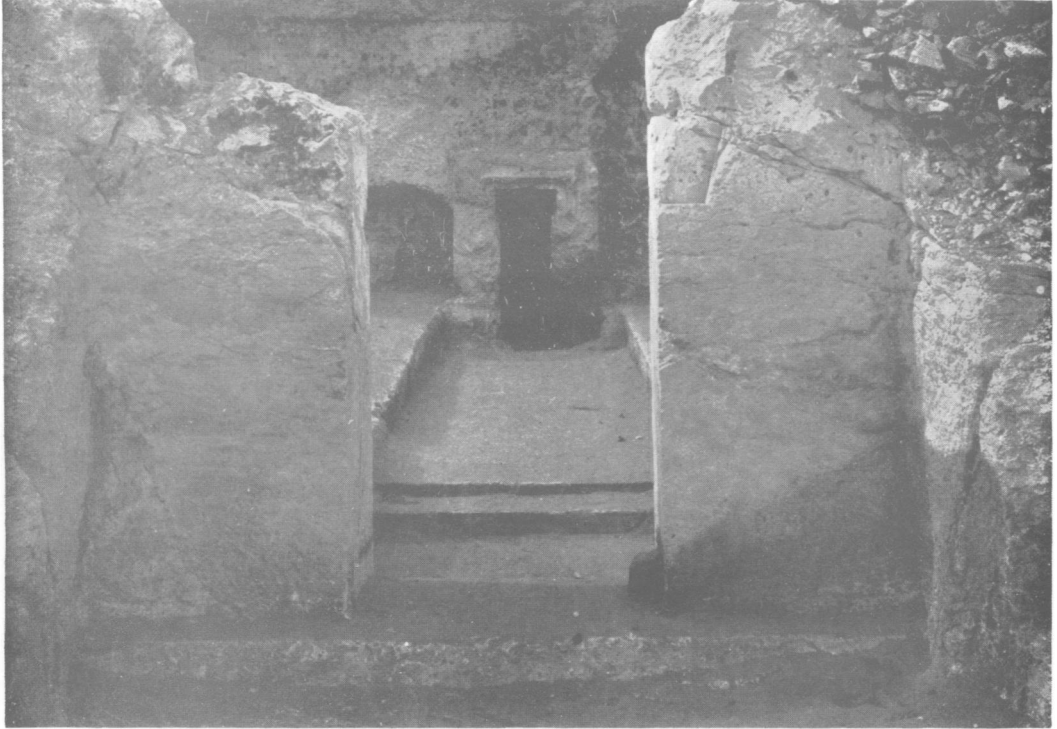


Fig. 1. The chapel of Ukhhotp's son, Senbi.



Fig. 2. The chapel of Ukhhotp, son of Ukhhotp and Mersi.

THE BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN EGYPT

BY HILDA FLINDERS PETRIE, *Hon. Sec.*

[See Plate XXIX]

THE principal work of this season has been at Lahūn, round the pyramid of Senusert II. The four sides of this pyramid were completely cleared along the base, and outward to the second enclosure wall. It is found to have many features not known elsewhere, and a complete clearance down to the bare rock has proved needful for understanding the site. The excavations here and at Harageh occupied five months, and over a thousand pounds in direct digging has been spent at Lahūn alone. As this pyramid was cut into a rocky hill, it has retained many features which have vanished where the construction was of material which could be removed. The pyramid was surrounded by a wide trench filled with sand, which was intended to drain off rain water from the limestone casing. This trench was enclosed by a wall, partly in rock cased with stone, and partly stone-built; this wall was panelled like an early mastaba. Beyond this was the court of the royal burials, with fourteen tombs, enclosed in a great temenos wall of brick, 17 feet thick, and about 30 feet high. Of this, 15 feet height still remains, where it is built against the rock. The court was drained into a series of water pits in the rock. Outside of the temenos wall were trees planted in line round the whole enclosure, forty-two on a side.

The chief discovery, beyond the many architectural features of interest, was that of a treasure belonging to one of the princesses at Lahūn. It is of the same character as the Dahshur jewellery, and was probably made in the same royal workshops. This is by far the most valuable group that has fallen to any excavators outside of the Government service, being worth the returns of a dozen good seasons.

The whole group had been left in a recess of a tomb which had been attacked by plunderers, who broke open the granite sarcophagus, and entirely rifled the burial, but they left the valuables untouched, on one side. The name of the princess is given, on the fine canopic jars of alabaster, as the Royal Daughter Sat-Hathor-Ant. She was a daughter of Senusert II, and lived under Amenemhat III.

The outfit of jewellery comprises:—

The crown with uraeus and fifteen flower rosettes round it, on a broad gold band; at the back rise high plumes of gold, at the sides and back hang down streamers of gold. The whole is 18 inches high.

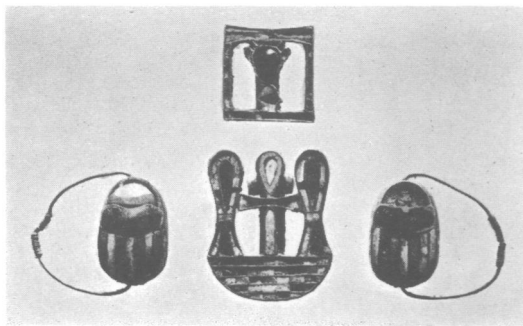


Fig. 1. Mottoes and scarabs: gold inlaid.

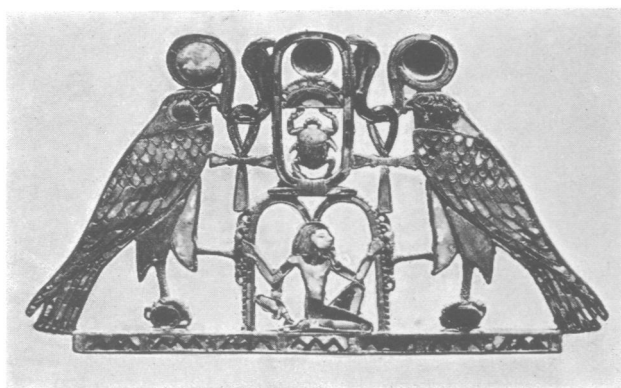


Fig. 2. Gold inlaid pectoral of Senusert II.

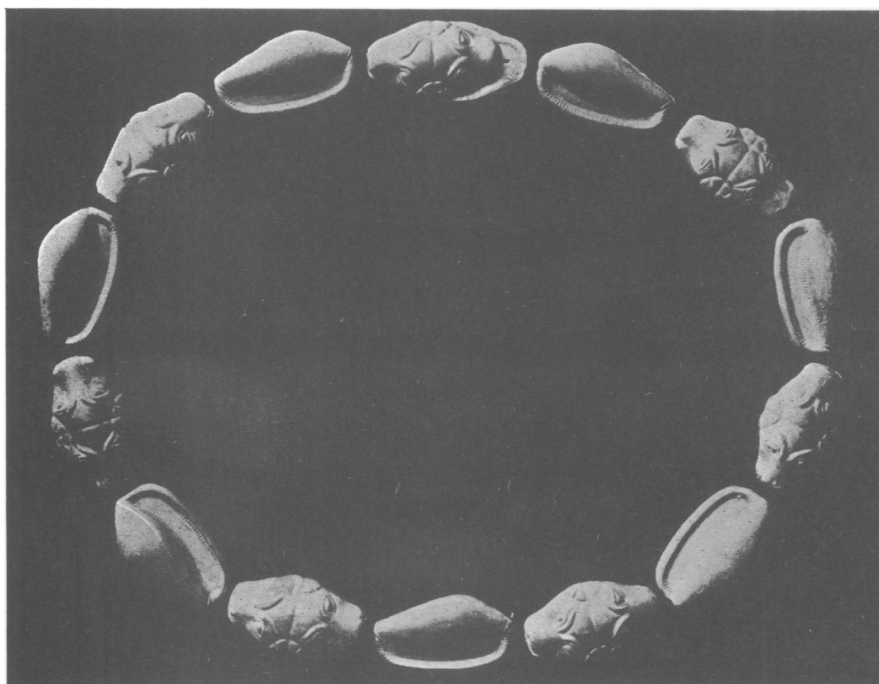


Fig. 3. Lion heads and cowries of gold from two collars (scale $\frac{1}{3}$).

Two pectorals with names of Senusert II (Plate XXIX, Fig. 2) and Amenemhat III, of gold inlaid with lazuli, amazon-stone, and carnelian, and minutely engraved on the back.

Armlets of gold bars and beads fastened by sliders inlaid with carnelian, with the name of Amenemhat III.

Bracelets of gold bars and beads; also with knots and lions of gold.

Two great gold collars of cowries and double lion heads (Plate XXIX, Fig. 3).

A collar of balls and pendants of gold, lazuli, amazon-stone, and carnelian.

A necklace of rhombic beads in the same materials.

An amethyst necklace of deepest colour with gold claw pendants.

A silver mirror with obsidian handle inlaid with gold and carnelian, and a cast gold head of Hat-hor.

Five mottoes of carnelian inlay in gold (Plate XXIX, Fig. 1).

Two inlaid gold scarabs (Plate XXIX, Fig. 1), and a scarab of Amenemhat III of the richest lazuli.

Thousands of gold ring beads, over a pound weight.

Three obsidian vases with gold mounting, and a similar kohl pot.

Eight alabaster vases.

Remains of two caskets of ivory and gold.

The second site of Harageh, four miles from Lahūn pyramid, gave a rich return in objects of the XIIth Dynasty; wooden and stone statuettes, gold amulets and amulet cases, strings of amethyst and other beads, several fine steles, hundreds of scarabs ranging down to the XVIIIth Dynasty, and a large number of glazed statuettes of gods of the XXIIIrd Dynasty. It proved one of the richest class of cemeteries.

The work at Lahūn was conducted by Prof. Flinders Petrie—Mr and Mrs G. Brunton, and Rev. C. T. Champion helping us; that at Harageh was under Mr R. Engelbach, while Mr F. Frost, Mr B. Gunn, Mr D. Willey, and Dr Walter Amsden joined either camp according to the needs of the excavations. My own share was chiefly in pyramid survey and tomb-plotting. Sites are in hand for next year which promise well. The jewellery will be published in colours in the new volume on the pyramid, "The Treasure of Lahūn," and the remainder of the work in the second annual volume, entitled "Harageh."

The excavators' share of the jewellery will be on view at the Annual Exhibition of Antiquities at University College, Gower Street, during July.

BYZANTINE RESEARCH FUND: EXCAVATIONS AT WADI SARGA

BY R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON, M.A., F.S.A.

[See Plate XXX]

DURING the winter of 1913—1914 I was conducting excavations for the Byzantine Research Fund at the Coptic site of Wadi Sarga, about fifteen miles south of Aşyût (Plate XXX). My friend, Mr F. A. Richards, a trained architect, came out at his own expense for a fortnight, and mapped the precincts of the site, which lies in a cleft of the hills formed by an ancient watercourse, about a mile from the present edge of cultivation. The ruins are very well marked, the walls of many buildings still standing high, built of unburnt brick on foundations of great stones. The origin of the Coptic inhabitation must, I presume, be sought in the enormous quarry-caves in the limestone cliffs, which are, of course, anterior to Christian occupation. In the farthest of them I discovered by accident, on a wall, a relief of (possibly) Horus, Nephthys and Antaeus(?), which will be published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*; how much older these caves are than this is of course impossible to say, but in one of them was an extensive Coptic "throw-out" containing many Coptic ostraka. I was unable to find traces of previous occupation in the sand of the caves near this "throw-out," and throughout the diggings the only antiquities which might be referred to Egyptian times which were found were fragments of a blue glazed bowl, a mummied bird in a Coptic "throw-out," a great squared block of red marble, and some fragments of stone bowls which might be Egyptian. A late Egyptian cemetery was excavated in part near the edge of cultivation near the village of Der el-Ganadleh, but the two Coptic cemeteries examined (one at the mouth of Wadi Sarga, and the other to the east of the Roman well near the Coptic church) shewed no Egyptian traces.

Within the main cave is an admirable fresco of the Lord's Supper, in fair preservation, in an apse of the rock-wall at the east end, and as it was impossible to remove it, I made a tracing in colour. We were more fortunate in being able to bring home a charming little fresco of the Three Holy Children in the Furnace from a villa not far distant, with Damian and Kosmas on either side, and in another house we found more saints and a lion, ingenuously inscribed $\lambda\epsilon\omega\nu$. A spirited peacock was alas! so broken that it could not be moved, and a tracing only could be taken of it.

In the actual excavations, one of the sections which we cleared was about a hundred feet broad and rather more than that deep of the houses built on the steep slope to the north of the wadi. Here was a thickly-populated quarter, the houses,

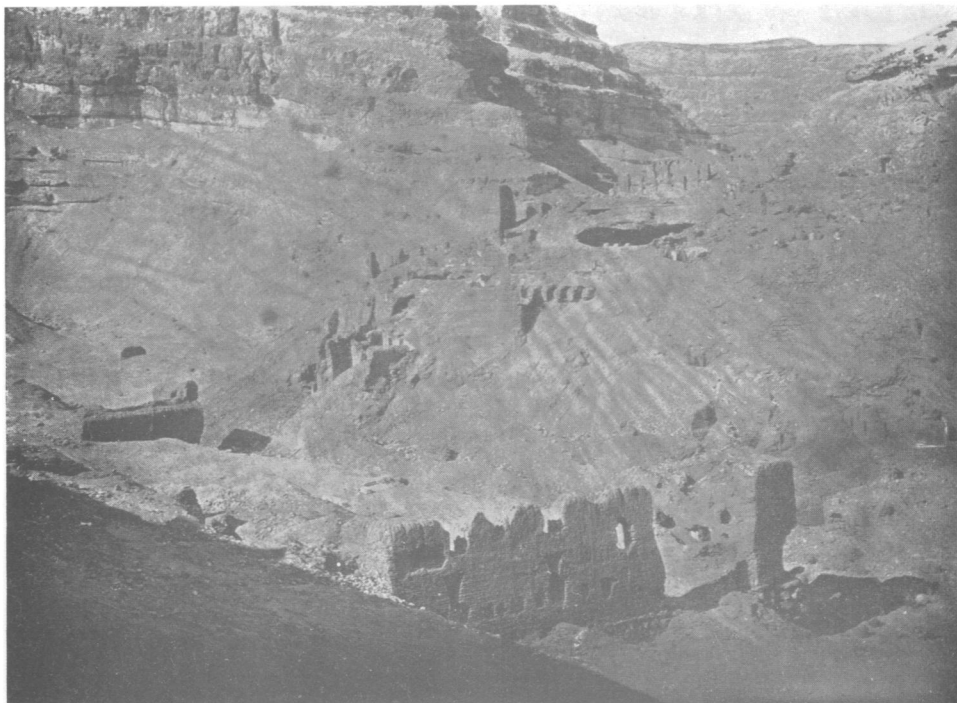


Fig. 1. Part of the ruins in Wadi Sarga, looking north-west.



Fig. 2. Beginning to clear out the houses on the northern side of Wadi Sarga.

small and compressed, built in terraces with narrow public stairways leading up the hill side between them; the poorer sort being built of sundried brick rough-plastered, the better having some kind of decorations painted on white. Many had mastabas at the back, and there were strange little vaulted cells made large enough for a man to creep in and lie at full length. Sometimes were found capitals of columns in soft limestone, painted red. In these houses we found pottery, painted or plain, broken green glass apparently in shape similar to a modern wine-glass, bronze balances, ornamented leather, pieces of a loom, basketwork, papyri, inscribed vellum, ostraka and all the indications of a poor but industrious people. The beams of the houses were of palm-trunks, and several of the chambers had circular ovens. Limestone funerary inscriptions were fairly common, as well as florid, deep-cut sculpture of pomegranates, birds and geometrical figures.

The "throw-outs," of course, offered a large field for excavation, and their clearance gave us hundreds of well-written ostraka, as well as much ornamented pottery. This latter is frequently crude, animals and human heads varying with geometrical patterns; the best pieces came from one pot painted with combats between heroes and beasts almost in Greek style.

It is hoped that an exhibition of the best specimens may be held in the autumn.

EGYPTIAN MUMMIES

BY PROFESSOR G. ELLIOT SMITH, F.R.S.

[See Plates XXXI, XXXII]

[FOR preparing these notes for publication I have to thank the Editor of the *Journal*. Pressure of other work had prevented me from completing the report of my lecture, and it is entirely due to Mr Walker that it has been put into a connected form for publication.]

As the custodian of the earliest historical records Egypt specially appeals to the interest and imagination of the scholar; but her impressive monuments and curious customs, chief among which is the practice of mummification, have always excited the curiosity of everyone who has heard of Egypt, so much so that to many people the mere mention of Egypt suggests mummies.

We all know what a great impression these practices made upon Herodotus, the first tourist to put on record an account of his Egyptian travels. His narrative has been widely quoted by modern archaeologists, many of whom are so imbued with respect for antiquity as to put more trust in the strange jumble of dragoman's tales reported by him than in the evidence of their own eyes—from direct examination of the actual mummies.

But it is with feelings other than those of mere curiosity that we must contemplate the practice of an art which enables us at the present day to gaze upon the actual features of the men and women who dominated the civilized world that centred round the Eastern Mediterranean thirty centuries ago.

In attempting to reconstitute the drama of Ancient Egypt it is surely important to be able to picture the actors, to know what their appearance was, their age and their infirmities. These great historic figures are brought nearer to us and seem more human when we learn some of the facts concerning them which are revealed by their mummies. For instance Amenophis the Magnificent, living amongst the splendours of imperial Thebes, had other troubles to contend with than the machinations of the Priesthood, for he was a martyr to toothache. We marvel less at the eccentricities of his son, the Heretic King, since his mummy has shown him to have been afflicted with hydrocephalus and possibly epilepsy. Queen Nefertari, the Beautiful, tried to hide the effects of the ravages of time not only by wearing a wig, but also by interplaiting wisps of hair among her own scanty locks. Siptah, one of the weaklings who followed in the steps of the powerful Pharaohs of the XIXth Dynasty, was afflicted with a club foot; some of the earliest Christian immigrants into Egypt suffered from such fashionable complaints as gout and appendicitis. These items of information, no doubt,

are trivial enough in themselves, but they help to complete the picture and give a sense of reality to these great people who lived in the long distant past. They afford in fact that touch of nature which makes even us feel, if not some kinship, at least a more intimate acquaintance with them.

But the study of mummies has a greater scientific importance than merely as a help to the historian in supplying these personal touches in his narrative, even though, at times, they put a restraint upon his imagination and help to keep him in the narrow path of precision of statement. For mummification is a practice of so peculiar and distinctive a character that it affords ethnological evidence of the utmost value from the light it throws upon the wanderings of peoples and the spread of culture.

The subject of mummification has always aroused great interest, not only by reason of the references in the old Christian literature, where the very phraseology of the doctrine of the Resurrection is couched in the technical language borrowed from the Egyptian embalmer, but also because the Egyptian practice of embalming influenced the history of European medicine and European customs in manifold ways; to mention only one instance, by familiarising the popular mind through twenty centuries with the idea of cutting the human body, Egypt made it possible for the Greek physicians of the Ptolemaic Age to begin, for the first time, the systematic dissection of the human body, which popular prejudice forbade in all other parts of the world.

In this way Egypt exerted the most profound influence not only upon the development of anatomical knowledge, but provided the means by which the foundations were laid upon which the whole fabric of modern medical science has been built. In view of all these interests in the subject it seems strange that so little should have been done to acquire an accurate and reliable knowledge of such a curious practice as mummy-making was; yet if the reader takes up any book at the present day which deals with the subject of Egyptian mummies it will be found in most cases to be compounded chiefly of extracts from Herodotus, Diodorus, and the inevitable reference to the embalming of Jacob. It is true that in the past accurate accounts based on direct observations have from time to time been given of Egyptian mummies. As long ago as the year 1705 a London surgeon, Thomas Greenhill, published some valuable observations upon the subject; nearly eighty years ago, another London surgeon, Pettigrew, wrote a treatise on mummies which is a monument of exact observation; and a few years later the American writer, George Gliddon, added still further to our knowledge. But in spite of this, most modern archaeologists have been content merely to repeat the statements of the classical writers without making use of the precise information which the actual mummies, brought to light in such great numbers during recent years, were ready to yield up to the investigator.

It was thought at one time that the opportunity of studying the art of mummification by direct observation had gone for ever. Three centuries ago, Sir Thomas Browne deplored the fact that "avarice was then consuming the few Egyptian mummies which Cambyses or time had spared." But the year 1881 revealed the fact that the most famous of the long line of Egyptian mummies had, after all, been spared, and succeeding years have added still further to the material which enables us to reconstruct the ancient Egyptian practices.

It has commonly been assumed by almost all writers upon Egypt that the history of mummification was as old as that of Egypt itself, and when pre-historic Egyptian



Fig. 1. The earliest body, as yet known, exhibiting signs suggestive of an attempt at mummification. Sakkara. IInd Dynasty.
[From Mr Quibell's photograph of the body *in situ* in the broken coffin.]



Fig. 2. The earliest actual mummy—probably Vth Dynasty.
Found at Medûm in 1892 by Professor Petrie.
Now in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, London.

remains were unearthed many archaeologists thought that even these bodies had been embalmed. Some twelve years ago I was able to demonstrate quite conclusively that the excellent state of preservation in which the remains of the pre-dynastic Egyptians were found was the result of natural desiccation and not the effect of art. When on the invitation of Sir Gaston Maspero I began the investigation of the magnificent collection of mummies contained in the Cairo Museum, I was very much surprised to find that there was no real mummy in that collection which went back to a period more remote than the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty. It is true certain human remains in that museum had been classed as mummies belonging to a much earlier period, but a critical examination of them revealed the fact that in every case these supposed early mummies were either bodies which had not been artificially preserved, or else were genuine mummies which did not really belong to the early date assigned to them; and I found on looking at the collection in the British Museum that the same observation applied with equal force to it.

Nevertheless there were indications which made it practically certain that the art of embalming was practised in Egypt at a period much more remote than that represented by any of the mummies in the Cairo Museum. It is well known, for instance, that it was the practice at a certain period in the history of Egypt to remove the organs from the body during the process of mummification, and place them in four jars, commonly, but misleadingly, called "Canopic." Now these Canopic jars are frequently found in tombs of the time of the Middle Kingdom, that is, about 2000 B.C., and occasionally in still earlier tombs, even as far back as the time of the Old Kingdom; and as they were never known to have been used for any other purpose than as a receptacle for organs removed from the body during the process of embalming, it seemed natural to suppose that the history of mummification must be at least as old as the manufacture of these jars. In the year after I published this suggestion (1906) Messrs Lythgoe and Mace, excavating a XIIth Dynasty tomb near the Lisht Pyramids, found a coffin containing a body, from which they permitted me to remove the wrappings; and although the remains of the flesh were much too fragile to move or to have survived a process of removal from the grave, examining the remains *in situ* I was able to see the incisions made by the embalmers during the process of mummification, and thus obtain definite evidence that embalming had actually been practised as early as the XIIth Dynasty. In the same month Mr Quibell, excavating at Sakkara, obtained two mummies in a similar condition, though belonging to a dynasty earlier still, namely the Xth. The fragile condition of these mummies seemed to provide the explanation why no actual mummified bodies of early date were to be found in museums. But having obtained this positive demonstration that the inference from the presence of Canopic jars was justified, it was with more confidence that one assumed that the jars found in the tombs of the Old Kingdom could be accepted as evidence of embalming in the Pyramid Age. There were many facts observable in the series of human remains which Dr Reisner was at that time bringing to light in the neighbourhood of the Giza Pyramids which suggested that some attempt at embalming had been made in the Pyramid Age but it was not of a positive or conclusive nature. Such evidence, however, was obtained from a mummy (Plate XXXI, Fig. 2), which has been in the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons in London since the year 1892. It is the mummy of a man said to be Ra-nofer, although there is no certainty about

this point. The body was certainly embalmed as early as the Vth Dynasty or possibly even earlier than this. This mummy was found near the Medûm Pyramid by Professor Flinders Petrie, and it affords a unique illustration of the very curious but very successful method of early embalming. When I made my first contribution (*Mémoires de l'Institut Égyptien*, 1905) to the literature of Egyptian embalming nine years ago (at a time when I was not aware of the existence of any actual mummy earlier in date than the XVIIth Dynasty), I hazarded the suggestion that the Egyptians probably made some attempts, artificially, to preserve human bodies perhaps as early as the Ist Dynasty. My subsequent experience, that I have been roughly sketching, has been bringing us nearer and nearer to the complete realisation of that suggestion, which was based on theoretical considerations. A notable further step was taken when I was examining some human remains obtained by Mr Quibell in a cemetery of the IIInd Dynasty at Sakkara by the discovery of evidence suggesting that attempts at mummification were made even at that extremely remote period.

Among the human remains found by Mr Quibell was the skeleton of a woman, about thirty-five years of age, completely enwrapped in a complex series of bandages—more than sixteen layers still intact, and probably at least as many more destroyed—ten layers of fine bandage (warp seventeen and woof forty-eight threads to the centimetre), then six layers of somewhat coarser cloth, and next to the body a series of badly corroded, very irregularly woven cloth, much coarser (warp six and woof fourteen per centimetre) than the intermediate and outer layers. Each leg was wrapped separately, and there was a large pad on the perineum. The bandages were broad sheets of linen rather than the usual narrow ones (Plate XXXI, Fig. 1). The body was lying upon the left side and sharply flexed, as was customary in Pre- and Protodynastic times in Egypt. The photograph shows the body *in situ* in the wooden coffin, after the removal of one of the sides of the latter. The corrosion of the innermost wrappings, as well as other indications, supply evidence that salts, probably mixed with crude natron, had been applied to the surface of the skin, presumably with the object of preserving the body. (See *Report Brit. Assoc. Dundee*, 1912, p. 612.)

Embalms at the time of the Old Kingdom were obviously conscious of the imperfections of their art. They apparently realised their inability both to preserve from decomposition the tissues of the body as well as its original form, and therefore, after doing all that their knowledge dictated with a view to preserve the corpse itself, they wrapped it up in large quantities of linen bandages of varying textures, and attempted to make of the swathed corpse a simulacrum of the deceased as he appeared during life. They moulded the linen wrappings carefully into shape, bestowing the minutest care on every detail of the form of the body, and even such features as the eyes were represented by green paint and the moustache with brown paint. The unique mummy (Plate XXXI, Fig. 2), which is preserved in the Royal College of Surgeons, owes its exceptional preservation to the fact that the outermost wrappings of the body were saturated with a solution of resin, which set to form a carapace of stony hardness, which not only preserved the body, but also incidentally preserved for us a multitude of details concerning the technique of the process. The photograph shown in Plate XXXI (Fig. 2) represents this resinous mask, which reproduces the face and the details of the wig. The nose was damaged in ancient times, and a certain



Fig. 1. Mummy with the "Horus-lock"—the only known instance, about 1500 B.C.

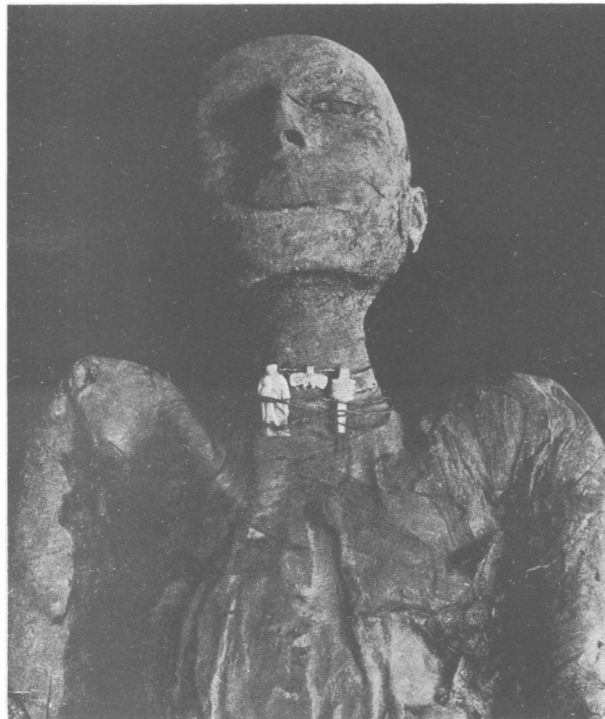


Fig. 2. Mummy of a Priest of Amon, Thebes, XXIst Dynasty, showing amulets in position.

amount of wrinkling of the resin-impregnated linen has distorted the face. The pupils, edges of the eyelids, and the eyebrows are painted with green malachite paste, and a dark brown resinous paste has been used for the representation of the moustache.

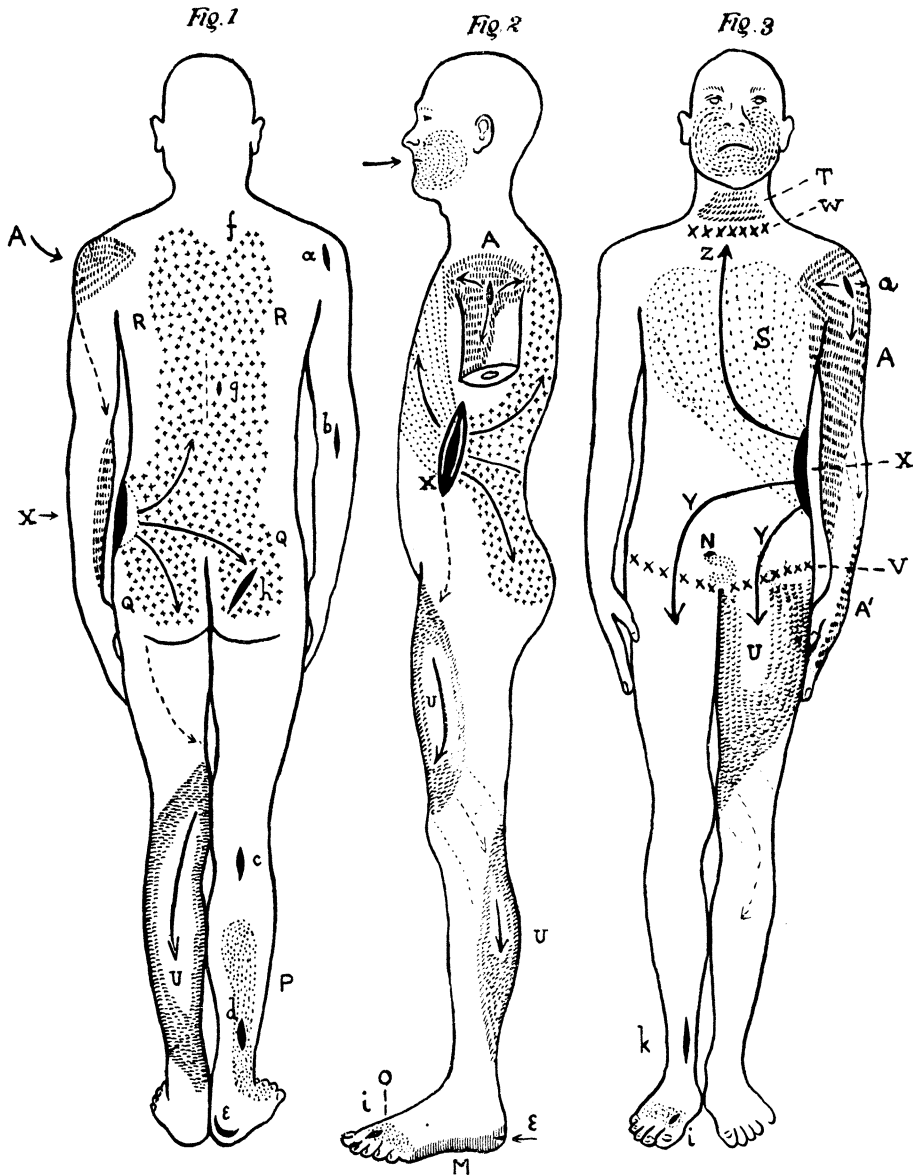
Thus during the Old Kingdom it became the aim of the embalmers, while preserving the actual tissues of the body, to make of it also a model or statue representing the form of the deceased. It was, in fact, at the same time the *Ka*-statue and the actual body. But it soon became the practice to dissociate the two objects—the actual remains and the model—and to make a separate statue of stone or wood, altogether independent of the body, and to place it in a special chamber or *serdab* to receive the offerings above ground, while the body itself, the better to secure its immunity from desecration, was hidden away at the bottom of a deep burial shaft.

[A description was then given of the process of evolution of the art of mummification; the transformation of this Old Kingdom practices to those of the Middle Kingdom, and the sudden development and rapid perfecting of the art in the time of the New Kingdom.] For the first time the art was then acquired of converting the corpse into a strong and durable mummy; and the details of the technique rapidly altered not only from dynasty to dynasty, but from reign to reign, so that it is possible with considerable precision to identify, in the case of any mummy of the New Empire period, the time at which it was embalmed. In the volume of the General Catalogue of the Cairo Museum, entitled "The Royal Mummies," I have given a detailed account of these differences of technique. A good example of the perfection to which the art of embalming had attained in the XVIIIth Dynasty is shown in Plate XXXII (Fig. 1)—a royal prince, probably a son of Amenophis II, in whose tomb the mummy was found. It is interesting as the only case in which the "Horus-lock," so familiar in statues of royal princes, has actually been found on a mummy.

The magnificent mummies of the Kings and Queens of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties mark the culmination of the embalmers' art in Egypt; although at a later period, namely the XXIst Dynasty, the procedure became even more complex and difficult, for the embalmers had then acquired so much confidence in their skill that they not only restored to the body all the parts which they had removed during the course of mummification, and to make it complete in itself, but also by packing material under the skin they attempted to restore the actual form it possessed during life. Thus the mummy was made the representative of the whole body of the deceased, and itself converted also into the portrait statue. For this purpose artificial eyes were inserted, the form of the body moulded into shape, for which a variety of foreign materials was used as stuffing, any defects in the skin were remedied by neat patching, and any shortcomings, such, for instance, as the deficiency of hair in women, was remedied by the help of a wig or other device. Finally certain amulets were tied in position upon the mummy (Plate XXXII, Fig. 2) to confer special protection.

The well-known procedure for removing the brain, through the nostrils by means of a hooked instrument, was accurately described in ancient times by Herodotus and Diodorus, whose accounts have been confirmed by Dr Pettigrew (*History of Egyptian Mummies*, 1834) and by Professor Macalister (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xxiii, 1894, p. 115). It seems to have been introduced at the beginning of the New Empire, about 1550 B.C., and remained in vogue until Roman times.

The process of packing the body to restore its form was one of great complexity and technical difficulty. Through the wound which was made in the left flank (X) for the purpose of removing the viscera for treatment apart from the body, the embalmer introduced his hand and arm and passed it up through the body-cavity along



Diagrams to indicate the situations where "stuffing" was introduced under the skin in XXIst Dynasty mummies, and the routes by which it was introduced.

the line Z (Fig. 3) to stuff the neck (T) with linen, mud, butter, or some other material, a plug of linen then being inserted at W to retain the stuffing. The hand, or some instrument, was then introduced in turn from the body-cavity into each thigh (Y), and in this way stuffing was then pushed (Figs. 1, 2 and 3 U) into the whole

leg, as far as the ankle. Sometimes additional incisions were made in the skin of the foot (*i* and *e*), and, more rarely, also in the region of the ankle (*d*) and knee (*c*) to permit more efficient packing of these parts of the limb. When the neck and legs were packed, the preserved viscera were restored to the body-cavity. The skin was then separated from the muscles of the body-wall in both lips of the embalming-incision (*X*) in the left flank, and packing material was introduced to restore the form of the bust (*S*) as well as of the back (*R* and *Q*). When special difficulty was encountered, additional incisions were made (*f*, *g* and *h*). The shoulders and arms were packed through special incisions (*a*) in the shoulder, while the cheeks were packed through the mouth.

From this time onwards the art rapidly deteriorated. The process of converting the body itself into a statue was too complex and difficult to be practised with success except by a few specially skilful craftsmen: accidents often resulted from the failure of the efforts of the unskilful; and the embalmers soon reverted to the old customs. Henceforth more and more attention began to be devoted to the decoration of the wrapped mummy and its coffin, and less attention to the corpse contained therein. Thus it was that in Greek and Early Roman times one finds, associated with great ostentation in the coverings of the mummy, evidences of the grossest carelessness in the treatment of the body itself, which not infrequently fell to pieces in the process of embalming and had to be restored with any fragments which came to the embalmers' hands. [For a full account of this phase see the *Report* on the Archaeological Survey of Nubia for 1907-1908, Volume II.]

The further process of degradation of the embalmers' art in Roman and Byzantine times was sketched. After the coming of Christianity to Egypt the Christian teachers preached against the continuation of the pagan practice of embalming, and exhorted the people to give up a custom which they considered contrary to the teachings of the new faith. But no amount of preaching or episcopal protestation was powerful enough to divorce the people from customs which they had observed for thirty centuries; and although the bishops commanded their flocks to relinquish this relic of their paganism, we have the tangible evidence of many hundreds of crudely mummified bodies to indicate that the practice lasted until the coming of Islâm in the seventh century.

It is not possible to discuss the manifold ways in which the influence of this practice of embalming spread to Europe and to other parts of the world, nor to explain the curious uses to which mummy has been put, such, for example, as a drug in mediaeval Europe, or a pigment for the modern artist.

This will explain the saying of Sir Thomas Browne in the seventeenth century:

"A great part of antiquity contented their hopes of subsistency with a transmigration of their souls, a good way to continue their memories.

"Egyptian ingenuity was more unsatisfied, continuing their bodies in sweet consistencies to attend the return of their souls.

"But all was vanity, feeding the wind, and folly.

"The Egyptian mummies which Cambyses or time hath spared, avarice now consumeth.

"Mummy is become merchandise, Mizraim cures wounds, and Pharoah is sold for Balsams."

I should like to point out that practically the whole of the materials of the

story here related have been gathered during the last ten years, and that a vast amount yet remains to be done in the way of collecting information. It has so happened in the past that almost all the work of acquiring such information has been accomplished by Englishmen, such as Greenhill and Pettigrew, and, perhaps, I should add another member of the great Anglo-Saxon community, namely Gliddon. This points clearly to the Egypt Exploration Fund as one of the Societies to encourage further investigations of these problems which I have just sketched.

For years vast quantities of information have been wantonly wasted because archaeologists are either not aware that it is of value, or cannot be bothered by attempting to save it. If these remarks of mine will help in any way to stimulate someone to provide the Egypt Exploration Fund with the means of rescuing such material, I shall feel amply rewarded for my efforts.

THE RELATIONS OF AEGEAN WITH EGYPTIAN ART

By H. R. HALL, M.A., F.S.A.

(Continued from page 118)

[See Plates XXXIII, XXXIV]

WITH the Late Minoan Age, to which we now come, such wholesale borrowings cease. No absolutely unprecedented foreign artistic idea, such as the spiral in Egypt or the blue glaze in Crete, seems (unless we except the Aegean *Bügelkanne* in Egypt or such inventions as the Egyptian sistrum and mirror in Greece) to have been taken over any more. Egyptian architectural ideas found now no second home in Crete, where as early as the Middle Minoan period a native architecture of real magnificence had been developed on native lines. We see what it was like at Phaistos and in the earlier portions (when they can be disentangled from the later) of the Knossian palace. And the "treasuries" of Mycenae and Orchomenos have always remained above ground to testify to the skill of the Aegean architect.


But it would have been strange if in the Middle Minoan period there had been no connexion between the two architectures, and it is only at that period that we may possibly be able to make one or two comparisons that seem to point to connexion or imitation here and there. The Labyrinth of Amenemhat III at Hawara seems to have reminded later observers of what they had heard in tradition of the magnificence of the original Labyrinth of "Minos" at Knossos, and there may be more in the comparison than we might be inclined to think. One curious identity of architectural custom both in Crete and in Egypt is the cutting of the lowest drum of a square pillar in one piece with the paving-slab below it; this is noticeable both at Knossos and in the Eleventh Dynasty Temple at Dêr el-bahri¹. But the most distinctive features of Egyptian architecture were never copied by the Minoans; we never see in Crete any imitation of the papyrus and lily-columns of Egypt, for instance. Nor did the peculiar Minoan column, with its heavy capital and its shaft diminishing towards the stylobate (for it had no base), ever find favour in Egypt. And though we might see a resemblance between the wall-paintings of the two lands, this resemblance is really a superficial one, and does not imply any particular influence of the one art upon the other, since the technical processes were different in the two countries. The Minoan technique of wall-painting was not of Egyptian origin. The Aegean wall-decorations were always executed in true *fresco*², the Egyptian in *distemper*³. The Aegean painted straight on his plaster when it was wet:

¹ HALL, "The Two Labyrinths," *J.H.S.* xxv. (1905), p. 335.

² RODENWALDT, *Tiryns*, ii. p. 205 ff.; N. HEATON, *ibid.* p. 211 ff.

³ Mr Heaton tells me that the Egyptian process should be described as *distemper*, rather than *tempera*, painting.

hence the often very sketchy nature of his pictures. Neither felt called upon to abandon his process in favour of the other's. It is of course not impossible that the original inspiration of the Aegean fresco-painting was derived from Egypt, but its method was indigenous. The Cretan artists often modelled their plaster ground in relief, not seldom very high, as in the case of the Knossian bull's head and other fragments discovered by Sir Arthur Evans¹. This was their usual substitute for the Egyptian painted relief sculpture in fine white limestone, which was so beautiful in the time of the Middle Kingdom. No doubt it was invented as an imitation of this, as plaster was the best substitute for the Egyptian limestone. Relief sculpture on the large scale in stone was not unknown, but was rare and not good. No attempt whatever was made by the Minoans to imitate the art, known to the Egyptians from the time of the Fourth Dynasty, of making great portrait statues in the round, whether in hard stone or in bronze. This was inimitable. It has been supposed that the beautiful inlaid metal-work of the Mycenae dagger-blades was of Egyptian origin, but although the design of the cat hunting wildfowl on one of them is of course as directly Egyptian as is the Hagia Triada fresco shortly to be mentioned, the technique of the metal inlay is not certainly Egyptian, though it may have been: the Egyptians made weapons inlaid with gold under the Twelfth Dynasty. But we cannot on the strength of this fact and the supposed resemblance of the technique of the dagger of Queen Aahhetep to that of the Mycenaean daggers regard the beautiful Minoan art of inlaying metal on metal, this "painting with metal" as it has been described, as a process taken over from Egypt: the Minoan metal-workers were such masters of their art in small matters (though they could not make great statues) that we may well regard their process as an independent invention of their own.

Egyptian influence is totally absent from the decoration of pottery, as it always had been, though Egyptian forms had occasionally been copied (p. 114). The poor and jejune art of the Egyptian vase-decorators never appealed to the Minoans. At this time (L. M. I) the Minoan vase-painters passed from a certain formal simplicity with naturalistic plant-motives, which in the Third Middle Minoan period had succeeded the somewhat garish polychromy of the Second (Kamárais) period, to a riot of naturalism, painting on their pots with great freedom scenes of marine life for preference, so that on one vase discovered at Gournià by Miss Boyd (Mrs Hawes)² one seems to be looking through the glass of a tank in the Naples Aquarium: a great octopus glares at us from the water and seems to be preparing to shoot away into some corner: round it are sea-pens and algae on the fantastic seaworn rocks which are so characteristic of the coarse limestone shores of Crete (*cf.* the British Museum vase, illustrated in Part ii, Pl. XVI. 1). The Egyptians never did anything like this. Pottery they never ornamented in this way at all; and when on the walls of their tombs they shew us birds and insects, often with Japanese fidelity in form and colour, these have still a formality about them, a stiff arrangement that is unknown to the freedom-loving Cretan artists. Yet even in his freedom the Cretan could imitate something Egyptian that caught his eye. So formal an ornament as the rows of *rekh*-birds,  symbolizing "all mankind," that are often found as

¹ *B.S.A. Ann.* vi. Fig. 10; vii. Figs. 6, 29.

² BOYD HAWES, *Gournià*, pl. H.

a frieze-like decoration in Egypt¹, attracted the attention of a Melian potter of the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and were translated by him into a most quaint pot-decoration². He does not here simply imitate the Egyptian form, as the earlier decorator of the faïence snake-goddess had taken over the papyrus-plant (p. 117); he adapts it with a free hand, so that the *rekhiu* are no longer birds, but in one example have become a running spiral with eyes and legs (Figs. 4 and 5)! So much for strictly formal and non-naturalistic models; though Egyptian naturalistic representations were also formal, yet in so far as they were naturalistic they pleased the Aegean artist so that he imitated or rather adapted them also. The head of a goose among water-plants (on a fragment of a large



Figs. 4 and 5. Decoration on Melian vases derived from *rekhiu*-motive (after *Phylakopi*, Figs. 89, 87; by permission of the Hellenic Society).

pot or bath) (Fig. 6) which was found at Phylakopi in Melos³ is obviously of Egyptian origin. The Egyptian formality is closely imitated here, and badly. Compare with it the wonderful little sketch of a swallow in flight found at the same place (Fig. 7)⁴. This is purely Aegean, quite un-Egyptian. The swallow is carelessly, even badly, drawn, but it is a flying, swooping swallow, represented as no accurate Egyptian could have represented it: it is an impression of a swallow. The goose is a careless copy of a very dull portrait of a goose. That typically Egyptian animal the cat had, though perhaps later than his fellow-countryman the goose, found many an Egyptian tomb-painter to copy his lithe and graceful person. We have a good Middle Kingdom example at Beni Hasan (Plate XXXIII, Fig. 2)⁵. The Cretan master who decorated the royal palace at Hagia Triada (excavated by the Italians) knew Egyptian cat-pictures, and executed a fresco

¹ Cf. HALL, *Hieroglyphic Texts* (*Brit. Mus.*), pt. iv. pl. 9.

² EDGAR, *Excavations at Phylakopi*, p. 117, Figs. 87, 89.

³ *Excavations at Phylakopi*, Fig. 115.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Fig. 92.

⁵ *Beni Hasan*, I. pl. xxxiv.

panel in which we see a cat, intent upon his prey, stalking over the typically Cretan rocks a stupid pheasant standing stock-still amid the undergrowth (Plate XXXIII, Fig. 3)¹. He is about to spring. There is more life in this picture than in the Middle Kingdom Egyptian one of the cat purring and lazily waving his tail amid papyrus-plants or the well-known later one (Eighteenth Dynasty) in the British Museum of the very well-fed animal catching birds while a noble, standing with his wife and daughter in a small papyrus-bark near by, aims his throw-stick at them². We see the difference at once. The Minoan borrowed his idea from Egypt, and his cat is in one sense a better cat than the Egyptian, in another a worse one. It gives the idea of the cat, its cruelty and stealthiness, better than the Egyptian pictures, which hardly give any such idea



Fig. 6. Wall-painting of a goose, from Phylakopi (by permission of the Hellenic Society).

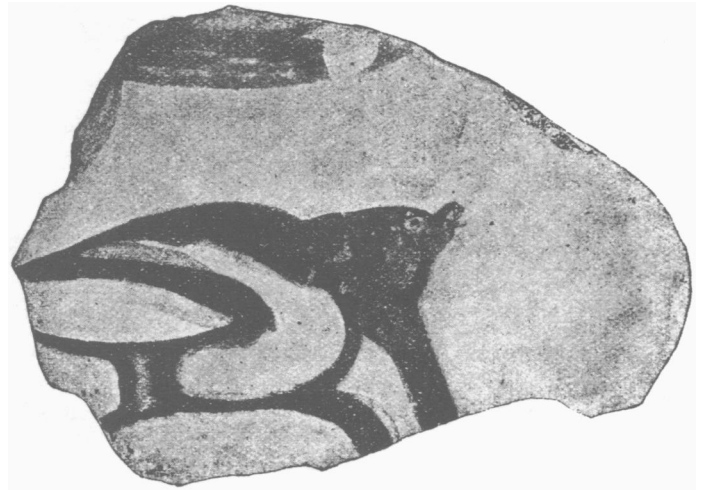


Fig. 7. Wall-painting of a swallow, from Phylakopi (by permission of the Hellenic Society).

at all. But they are far more accurate in detail: they are correct portraits of the animal taken from him in repose, and in the Eighteenth Dynasty example clumsily put into a scene meant to represent action, though all the actors with the possible exception of the butterflies are as calm and reposeful in gesture as is the cat. Compare the Cretan cat, which is incorrectly drawn, but gives a masterly and true impression of the animal when hunting. This difference between Cretan and Egyptian ideals in art we see always. The octopods and dolphins of the vases of the First Later Minoan period (= first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty) are not correctly drawn, but are splendid impressions of the living beasts. The Red Sea fish and crabs of Queen Hatshepsut's relief at Dêr el-bahri³ are as accurate and as lifeless as the diagrams of trilobites in

¹ *Mem. dell' Istituto Lombardo*, xxi. 5, pll. i—iv; *Rendiconti dell' Accad. dei Lincei*, xiv. (1905), Figs. 2—4.

² Brit. Mus. no. 37977; *Guide to the Third and Fourth Egyptian Rooms*, pl. ii.

³ NAVILLE, *Deir el-Bahari*, III, pl. lxxii ff.

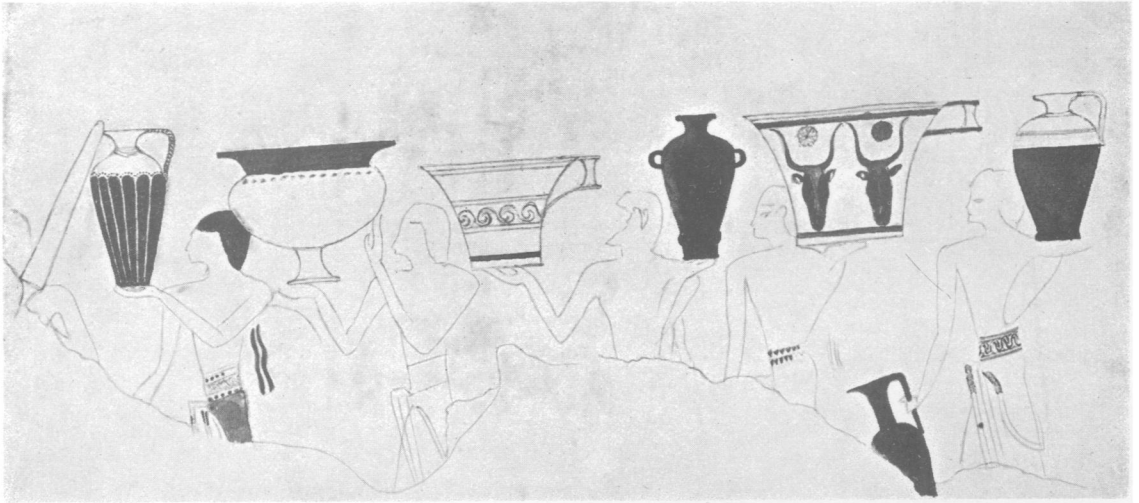


Fig. 1. Robert Hay's drawing of the Senmut-fresco; 1837. (*B.S.A. Ann.* xvi, pl. xiv.)

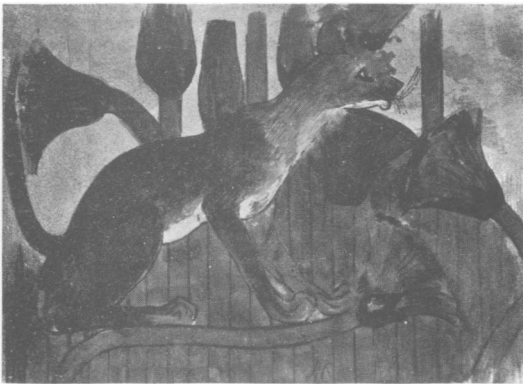


Fig. 2. Wall-painting of a cat at Beni Hasan; from a painting by Mr Howard Carter in the possession of the Egypt Exploration Fund.

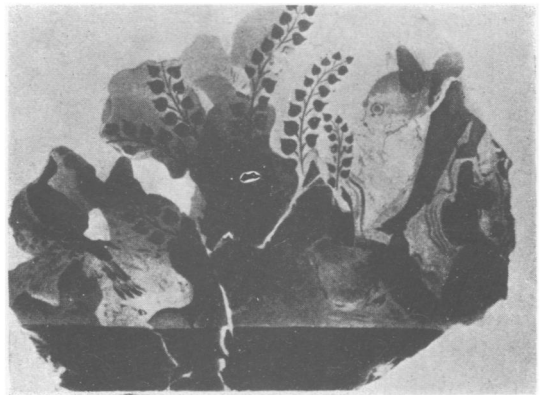


Fig. 3. Wall-painting of a cat from Hagia Triada (Italian Excavations).

a text-book of palaeontology. The Minoan combined accuracy of imitation with accuracy of impression best, perhaps, in the dolphin-fresco at Knossos or the beautiful fresco of the flying-fish¹, discovered at Phylakopi in Melos. This was certainly a Cretan masterpiece, imported into the island as a picture might be imported from France into England to-day. We do not see that the Egyptians ever imported Cretan masterpieces at this time: perhaps some of the old liberal appreciation of foreign art which we see under the Twelfth Dynasty had become clouded by the egotistic ideas born of foreign conquest and dominion. The Egyptians of the Empire liked to see the Great Men of Keftiu and the Isles in the midst of the Sea² bringing objects of Aegean art as "tribute" to the court of Pharaoh (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 1), but they probably only appreciated these artistic gifts when they were made of gold and silver, and could be regarded as tangible additions to the treasures of the king or of the rapacious priesthood of Amon. The diligent but unartistic *kâtibs* and *nâsirs* of the "double house of silver" or of the temple-treasures were quite as likely as not to melt down such splendid examples of Minoan metal-working as the Vaphio cups, and then use the gold to plate wooden images which were sent as pure gold to stop the mouths of the greedy princes of the Semites: "for gold is as the dust in thy land, my brother.....send thy brother gold, yet more gold³."

The wild yet splendid revolution of Akhenaten the Heretic introduced for a moment purer ideals of religion and morality into Egypt, and tried to introduce freer ideals in art. For a moment the Egyptian artist was freed from the shackles that had fettered his art in some respects (though by no means so much as is usually supposed) since the time of the Fifth Dynasty. It has been supposed that Minoan influence contributed to this transient naturalistic movement. It is, however, difficult to see

¹ *Phylakopi*, pl. iii.

² I have not space here in which to refer at any length to Mr G. A. WAINWRIGHT'S view (*Liverpool Annals*, vi. (1913) p. 24 ff.) as to the precise signification of the name *Kefti* or *Keftiu*, which he takes to mean Cilicia, and even eastern Cilicia, only, entirely dissociating it from the Isles of the Sea, which included Crete. Though fully agreeing that the Keftian name may have covered western Cilicia, it seems to me that it covered Crete also. I cannot separate the Mycenaean in the tomb of Rekhmara into two parties and say, as Mr Wainwright does, that these are "Keftians"=Cilicians or Syrians, and those are "Men of the Isles"=Aegeans. They are all dressed alike in Minoan costume. Variations in Minoan kilts prove nothing: no doubt there were plenty such variations. The criterion is the general appearance, and especially the peculiar *coiffure*, which in the case of the Keftians and the Peoples of the Isles (whether the two were identical or distinct) is Minoan. And we can hardly admit Minoans in eastern Cilicia till we have some archaeological proof of their existence. Western Cilicia is another matter, and a culture bridging the gap between the Minoan and the Syrian and closely related to the former may well have existed there (*Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Journal*, 1913, p. 41; see p. 204). Such Syro-Minoans may well have been included in the term "Keftiu," which in the tomb of Rekhmara is placed above and presumably refers to persons wearing Minoan costume. It may be that the land of Alashiya, the current identification of which with Cyprus I doubted in 1909 (*P.S.B.A.* xxxi. p. 228) and now feel I can no longer at all support (*M.E.O.J. ibid.* p. 43; cf. WAINWRIGHT in *Klio*, xiv. (1914), p. 1 ff., who takes much the same view), is to be placed in this West Cilician region. Rekhmara's Keftians may have come thence, but it seems to me more likely that they came from Crete, as Senmut's Minoans certainly did. The illustration on Plate XXXIII, Fig. 1, is a photograph of a drawing by Robert Hay, made in 1837, of the Senmut-fresco, now in the British Museum MSS Department (*B.S.A. Ann.* xvi, pl. xiv). The photograph was published by the British School at Athens in company with a colour-photograph of the fresco itself by Mr Robert Mond.

³ See KNUDTZON, *Die Amarna-Briefen*, *passim*.

anything particularly Minoan in it. There is nothing specifically Minoan in the splendid little picture at Berlin of the heretic-king standing cross-legged and leaning on a staff, while he smells a flower presented to him by his consort¹. One can see its more formal ancestors in many an older Egyptian picture. And one must be on one's guard against the errors of supposing that Egyptian art was always formal and of attributing anything free in it to Minoan influence. For instance, the Egyptian was always fond of representing the gambolling calf. These Egyptian calves are under the Eighteenth Dynasty often naturalistic enough to make us suspect Minoan influence upon the artist. But there is no proof of it, and it is not likely. Even when we get such a remarkable piece of naturalism (for an Egyptian) as the Twentieth Dynasty portrait of the painter Hui, drawn by himself (Fig. 8), which makes him look very like a mediaeval Japanese poetess², we can hardly suppose that he had studied in the Quartier Latin of Knossos, although he seems to affect a *coiffure à la Minos*! And in decoration (turning from naturalism) when we see an identical spiral and lily pattern in use in a Theban tomb and in the Treasury of Minyas at Orchomenos in Boeotia³, we need not assume a direct Egyptian borrowing under the Eighteenth Dynasty. That design was an Egyptian modification of a Minoan original, and had been borrowed by the Cretans long before, in the freer and more imitative days of the Middle Kingdom (see p. 116).

We could believe in Minoan influence under Akhenaten if we saw any Egyptian imitation of the fantastic character of much Minoan art at this time. But such fantasies of art as are revealed by the seal-impressions found by Mr Hogarth at Zakro⁴ would hardly have been approved even by Akhenaten's artists. There was a sense of order in Egyptian art, despite its love of caricature, which would hardly have tolerated the wild fancies of the Cretan seal-maker. Egyptian artists could be comic (I mean intentionally comic)⁵, but never really fantastic, even under Akhenaten. The naturalism of Akhenaten's artists was a native one, and owed little or nothing to their fellows in Crete.

And it is not likely that it would do so, for Egyptian art was greater, when all is said, than Aegean art even at its apogee, and the Egyptians probably knew it. Despite all its freedom, beauty, variety, and fantasy, Aegean art was not such a "great" art as was that of Egypt. The Cretan could produce the wonderful little relief of the drunken harvest procession on the vase from Hagia Triada, with its peasants, howling like their modern descendants on St George's Day, stamping along in chorus after their grinning old coryphaeus in his shaggy capote⁶. He

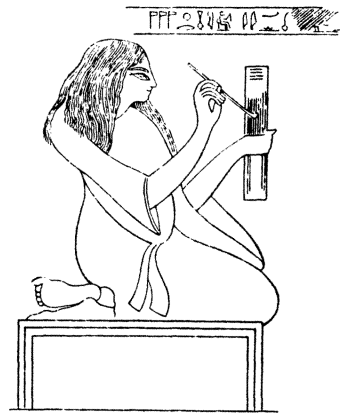


Fig. 8. The Egyptian painter Hui (after *A. Z.* xlii, p. 130).

¹ STEINDORFF, *Blütezeit des Pharaonenreichs*, Fig. 128; HALL, *Anc. Hist. of the Near East*, pl. xix. 1.

² *Ägyptische Zeitschrift*, xlii, p. 130.

³ TSOUNTAS-MANATT, *Mycenaean Age*, Fig. 48.

⁴ *J.H.S.* xxii. pll. vi—x.

⁵ This we know from the "satiric" papyri and from many sketches on ostraka. We have nothing intentionally comic in Aegean art yet, so far as we can see, unless the queer demons of *Phylakopi*, pl. xiv, 6b, 6c, and 9 are meant to be funny.

⁶ SAVIGNONI, *Mon. Ant.* xiii. pll. i—iii; BURROWS, *Discoveries in Crete*, frontispiece.



Fig. 1. Faience Snake-Goddess: Knossos.
(M. M. III.)

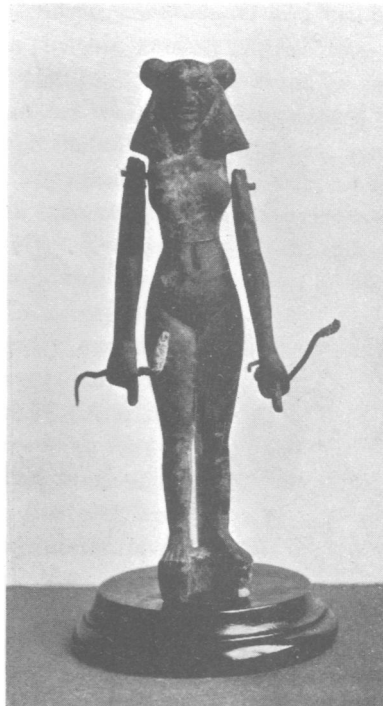


Fig. 2. Egyptian wooden figure holding snakes:
Thebes. (XIIth Dynasty.)

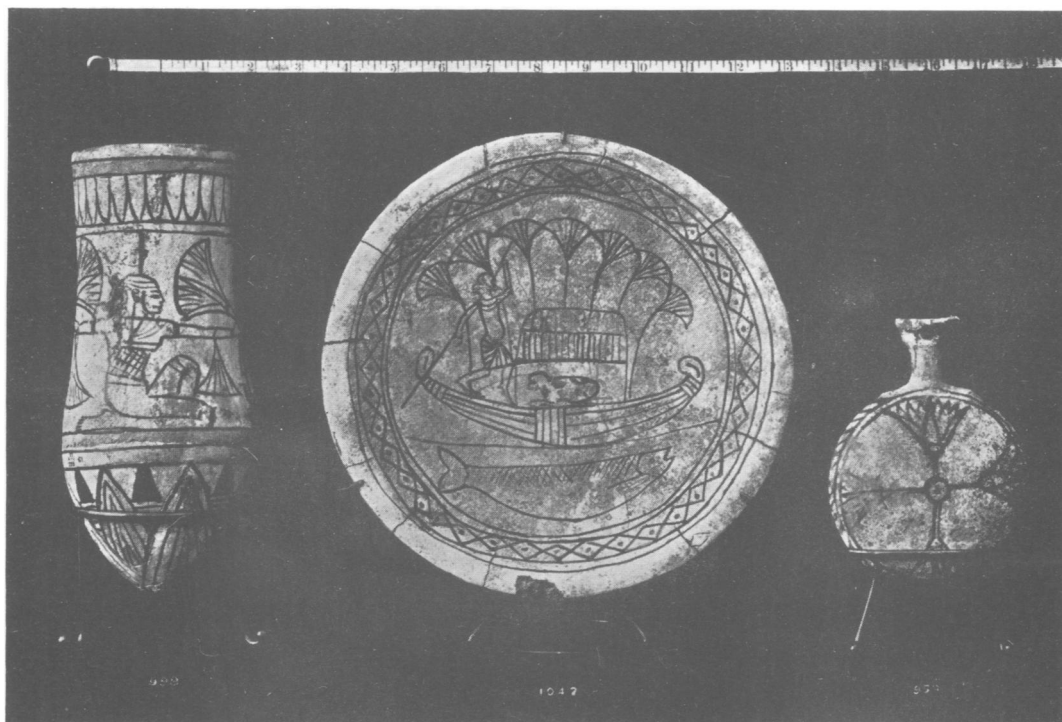


Fig. 3. Egyptian faience from Enkómi, Cyprus. (XVIIIth Dynasty.)

could produce the extraordinarily dignified little scene of the king and the warrior on the "Chieftain" Vase¹. But in spite of the superiority of the relief of the "Harvesters" vase to anything Egyptian, is either of these the product of so "great" an art as is the procession of the mourners in the relief from the tomb of a Memphian high-priest, at Berlin²? And how was it that, though the Egyptians could make the great bronze statues of King Pepi and his son (at Cairo)³ as early as the Sixth Dynasty, the Aegeans never made any statue in the round at all? Their sculpture in the round, like their good relief-work, was all on a small scale. The little ivory leapers from Knossos are *chefs d'oeuvre* of such work; the small bronze figures of men and women with their hands raised in prayer which have been found (a man from Tylissos is at Candia, a woman is at Berlin) are splendid examples of vigorous modelling. The faience snake-goddesses or sorceresses from Knossos (Part ii, p. 117; Plate XXXIV, Fig. 1) are only on a level with hundreds of Egyptian works of similar size and intention; one may wonder whether, for instance, the Knossian snake-goddess is any finer than the wooden doll representing a lion-masked sorceress with bronze snakes, now in the Manchester Museum (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 2), whom she resembles, and with whom she was contemporary⁴. And, naturalistic though it was, Minoan art produced nothing so natural as the heads from the sculptor's workshop at el-Amarna, now in Berlin (see p. 150).

Aegean art was less accurate in detail, more accurate in giving an impression of life, than the Egyptian, but this very lack of accuracy denies to it the greatness of the Egyptian. Very often, the Aegeans "couldn't draw." The Egyptians always could. The Aegean could produce marvels of art side-by-side with the crudest and most childish attempts. The Egyptian could only be crude and childish in times of barbarism and civil war. He could not be good and bad at the same time. The Aegean could. Perhaps the Aegean was the truer artist of the two: the Egyptian more a trained artistic craftsman. But the training was there; and that is why the art of Egypt was really greater than that of the Aegeans.

But though new ideas in artistic methods were no longer taken over absolutely by either country from the other, the constant connexion which was maintained between the two during the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty resulted no doubt in the adoption by the Aegeans now and then of some Egyptian invention which commended itself to them. The sistrum is seen in the hands of one of the men on the "Harvesters Vase." The bronze mirror with its ivory handle was introduced at this time⁵, and the designs of ivory mirror-handles found at Mycenae⁶ and in Cyprus⁷ look as if they were of Egyptian origin filtered perhaps through a Syrian medium. But it is not absolutely certain that these ivory carvings are genuinely Minoan or Aegean at all, though they

¹ HALL, *Anc. Hist. of the Near East*, pl. iv, 4.

² BREASTED, *History of Egypt*, Fig. 132, pp. 346, 347.

³ QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, ii. pl. 50. These statues are now known to be of bronze, not of copper, as was originally supposed (Mosso, *Origini della Civiltà Mediterranea*, p. 20).

⁴ This Egyptian snake-goddess or sorceress (we cannot identify her with any particular deity) is of the Twelfth Dynasty. She was found in the Ramesseum diggings by Petrie (*Ramesseum*, pl. iii, 12). There should be some connexion between these two very similar and roughly contemporary figures. It is true that the similarity in pose is superficial, and due merely to the stiffness of the arms in both figures: it is the similarity of idea that is undeniable.

⁵ EVANS, *Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos* (*Archaeologia*, vol. lix.), p. 115.

⁶ TSOUNTAS-MANATT, Fig. 84.

⁷ *Excavations in Cyprus* (*Brit. Mus.*), pl. ii.

are, if not truly Minoan, probably products of an art, perhaps in West Cilicia, which was akin to the Minoan¹.

The carved wooden roundel found in the tomb of the foreigner Sarobina (now at Berlin²), with its gryphons like those of the Enkomi mirror-handles, may (with the somewhat similar ivory object found at Menidi³) just as well belong to this hypothetical semi-Minoan art as be genuinely Minoan. Genuine Egyptian ivories were exported to Cyprus, as we see at Enkomi, and beautiful gold and enamel necklaces also⁴, besides scarabs and gold rings⁵. The connexion was constant: common objects of Egyptian art, especially alabaster vases, were imported into Greece, just as Minoan and Mycenaean pottery was imported into Egypt, until the twelfth century, when the great Aegean culture came to an end. There are the Middle Kingdom and Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian alabaster vases found in the royal tomb at Isopata near Knossos, with its M. M. III and L. M. II burials⁶. There is the fine L. M. I pot, with designs of argonauts and rocks on it, in the British Museum, which was found at Erment (Plate XVI, Fig. 1, page 110). There is the fragmentary L. M. II Cretan vase (Plate XVI, Fig. 2) lately found in a tomb at Egyptian Thebes by Mr de Garis Davies⁷, and now in the Ashmolean Museum (see pp. 146, 155). There is the L. M. I—III or Early Mycenaean vase with ivy-leaves that Prof. Petrie found in the tomb of the Lady Maket at Gurob⁸ (temp. Thutmes III), which is also in the Ashmolean. And there are the hundreds of *Bügelkannen* or "stirrup-vases" of the L. M. III period which have come from Theban tombs into the various museums of Europe. These *Bügelkannen* were commonly imported into Egypt, and the Egyptians imitated them (though not their decoration, which did not appeal to Egyptian taste) in blue faïence⁹, in alabaster¹⁰, and perhaps even in the precious metals¹¹. The Cretan "filler" type, too, which the Keftians and Princes of the Isles had brought to Egypt with fine golden vases of the Vaphio type¹², was also imitated in blue faïence¹³. But this is the sum-total of Egyptian imitation of Aegean art at this time. And, on the other hand, the fine Egyptian faïence that was imported into Cyprus under the Eighteenth Dynasty (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3)¹⁴ was not imitated

¹ See p. 201, n. 2.

² STEINDORFF, *Blütezeit des Pharaonenreichs*, Fig. 60.

³ PERROT-CHIEPIEZ, *Hist. de l'Art*, vi. Fig. 408.

⁴ *Excavations in Cyprus*, pl. v.

⁵ HALL, *Catalogue of Scarabs*, i. nos. 1944, 2660, 2678.

⁶ EVANS, *Prehistoric Tombs*, Fig. 125, p. 146 ff.

⁷ *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. xli.

⁸ *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob*, p. 21 ff., pl. xxvi, 44.

⁹ HALL, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, Fig. 52.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Fig. 56.

¹¹ The *Bügelkannen* in the tomb of Rameses III; *ibid.*, Figs. 26, 27.

¹² These vases were of course not really of the enormous size that the Egyptian artist ascribes to them in the Senmut tomb (see Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 1). The handles show that they were really of ordinary size, and we cannot suppose that the Minoans ever made such useless objects as cups adapted only for the use of giants! The Egyptian possibly enlarged them in this way because he had before him in the tomb not the originals themselves to copy, but sketches of them which did not indicate their size, or else he exaggerated their size in order to show clearly their designs of spirals, bulls' heads, and rosettes.

¹³ Brit. Mus. no. 22731; HALL, *Oldest Civilization*, Fig. 53.

¹⁴ The Egyptian dish with the representation of a fisherman has been regarded as a local imitation, on account of a certain coarseness in its faïence and the execution of the painting, but I am inclined to think that it is an imported Egyptian object. The design is purely Egyptian, and a Mycenaean artist would never have copied an Egyptian original slavishly.

by the Cyprians. The Cyprian Mycenaean preferred his own faïence, in which the splendid rhytons of the British Museum (p. 117) were executed¹.

The representations of golden *Bügelkannen* in the tomb of Rameses III (c. 1172 B.C.) and of what look like a degenerate "Vaphio" cup in the tomb of a certain Imadua at Thebes (c. 1140 B.C.) are (if the text is not a mere copy of a representation in the old decoration of the tomb, which was originally made perhaps under the Eighteenth Dynasty) the last proofs of any connexion with the Aegean culture. The Greek civilization of the Bronze Age had now fallen into decadence. Its art, after passing from the naturalism of L. M. I (early Eighteenth Dynasty) to the baroque and affected, though splendid style of L. M. II (middle Eighteenth Dynasty), entered in the Third Late Minoan period (=end of Eighteenth to Twentieth Dynasty) a static period which succeeded the dynamic age which had seen its strange and beautiful but erratic and unequal bloom. Now, conventionalized, stylized, losing all freshness and spontaneity, it was falling into decadence. The collapse of civilization followed in the twelfth century, when Egypt, too, sank into degeneracy. And though we can speak of a trace of connexion here and there in the following centuries, of Egyptian faïence scaraboids found in geometric graves at Vrokastro in Crete², of scarabs from Eleusis³ and from a Boeotian tomb⁴, yet we never find a geometric sherd of the "Dipylon" period in Egypt. The old constant connexion had gone with the energetic Aegean civilization, which in its restless youth had knocked at the doors of Egypt, and had during its splendid life derived many an inspiration from the Nile-land and given much in return.

POSTSCRIPT:—I ought not perhaps to close this lecture without a special reference to the brilliant paper which was read by Professor Baron von Bissing before the Royal Bavarian Academy on March 9, 1912, on the part played by Egyptian art in the artistic life of the nations ("Der Anteil der ägyptischen Kunst im Kunstleben der Völker")⁵, which deals in part with the question we have been discussing. Baron von Bissing and I would agree on most points, I fancy, except that of the connexion of Egypt and Greece under the Old Kingdom, as to which he remains a sceptic. But of this further on p. 225 ff. of this number of the *Journal*, where will be found a review by Baron von Bissing of my recent book *The Ancient History of the Near East*, chiefly dealing with this matter of the early Mycenaean-Egyptian connexion, an answer by me, and further comment on the matter by Sir Arthur Evans, whom Dr von Bissing has criticised in the course of his review of me. And I do not think that spirals were indigenous in both Egypt and the Aegean, as Bissing does (p. 8 of his paper read before the Bavarian Academy): I can see no connexion between the rude quirks and coils on predynastic pots and the fine spirals of Twelfth Dynasty scarabs, which seem to me to be obviously of Aegean origin (see p. 115, above). To say, therefore, that there was no connexion between Egyptian and Aegean art before 2000 B.C. seems to me

¹ *Excavations in Cyprus*, pl. iii. The form of the rhyton with its human or animal-head butt was possibly of Syrian origin, a borrowing from Asia. KARO ("Minoische Rhyta" in *Jahrb. Arch. Inst.* xxvi. (1911), p. 245 ff.) seems to regard it as purely Minoan, like the "filler."

² Miss E. H. HALL, *A.J.A.* 1913, p. 91; *Excavations in E. Crete (Vrokastro)*, Phila. 1914, p. 136, fig. 81.

³ 'Εφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική, 1898, col. 120.

⁴ Brit. Mus. First Vase Room, Case D.

⁵ Festrede gehalten in der öffentl. Sitzg. der Kgl. Akad. der Wissenschaften, 9 März, 1912; München.

impossible. Professor von Bissing himself refers (*loc. cit.* p. 5) to the vases of Mochlos. And how like Cretan and Egyptian stone pots can be we can see from the illustration on p. 227, appended to my comment on Professor von Bissing's review¹. Evidently the Minoan form was copied from the older Egyptian model.

Another point on which I have not commented in referring to the possible very early connexion of Greece and Egypt is the supposed evidence of the "Aegean" pottery found by Professor Petrie in tombs of the First Dynasty at Abydos, and now by Professor Steindorff at Abusîr. Neither the black² nor the white-faced vases with red zigzag and spot decoration³ correspond in form to anything Aegean, and the decoration of the red-on-white pots is paralleled in the Aegean area only in the early Iron Age, when some Boeotian pottery occurs that bears very similar decoration (Brit. Mus. First Vase Room, Case 42). The Abydos and Abusîr pots are certainly early: they are hand-made⁴. But they are not Aegean. They have no Aegean look or "feel." Their relations seem to be rather with the early pottery of Asia Minor. They do not prove connexion with the Aegean, but with Asia Minor, more probably through Syria than by sea. The early Cretan-Egyptian connexion (by this I mean connexion before the time of the Fourth Dynasty) is probable for other reasons than these pots, of which the Aegean character has yet to be proved, and seems unlikely.

As further examples of Minoan vases found in Egypt, I may mention that found by Maciver and Woolley at Wadi Halfa (*Buhen*, Pl. 50, 10738), and that from Anibe, in Nubia (WOOLLEY, *Philadelphia Museum Journal*, i (1910), p. 47, Fig. 31). These are interesting on account of their having been found so far south. The Anibe specimen is of a transitional style between M. M. III and L. M. I, and the Buhen one is of an Aegean type not otherwise known.

¹ On a minor point, as to which Professor von Bissing has criticized me in his Munich paper (p. 29), I refer to *M.E.O.J.* 1914, p. 39, n. 1. I was surely quite right in saying that a ring of Akhenaten in the British Museum (from Enkomi) dates from the early years of his reign; for it bears not only the name of Horakhti but also that of Ptah, as was pointed out by EVANS, *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* 1900, p. 205, on Professor Petrie's authority. Dr POULSEN was then quite correct in stating ("Zur Zeitbestimmung der Enkomifunde," *Jahrb. Arch. Inst.* 1911, p. 221) on my authority that the ring is to be dated early in the reign.

² *Royal Tombs*, ii, p. 46, pl. liv; *Abydos*, i, p. 6, pl. viii; Brit. Mus., nos. 35547-9.

³ *Royal Tombs*, ii, p. 46, pl. liv; fragments in Brit. Mus.; whole pot from Abustr.

⁴ I wish to modify thus what I have already said on the subject in *P.S.B.A.* xxxi (1909), p. 48, n. 45.

CORRIGENDA.

p. 112, n. 6, read *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.*, vol. xviii, etc.

p. 118, n. 1, for "Oldest Civilisation," etc., read *Anc. Hist. Near East*, etc.

‘ΕΛΛΗΝ IN COPTIC

BY S. GASELEE, M.A.

MR F. LL. GRIFFITH, arguing rightly that the story of the Miracle of St Menas in his admirable *Nubian Texts of the Christian Period*¹ is derived from a Greek source without any Coptic intermediary, remarks that “Ἕλλην for “pagan” is not found in Coptic. I am inclined to think that this is too sweeping a statement.

“Pagan” is ordinarily expressed in Coptic by ρεθνικος: εθνικος, or by “idolaters” ρεϥϣ̄μϣε εἰδωλον: ρεϥϣ̄μϣε ἰδωλον (ϣ̄μϣε ἰδωλον, ϣ̄μϣε ἰδ); “Greek” by στεεεην: στεην². The word “Ἕλλην does not appear to occur in the Bohairic version of the New Testament: in the Sa'idic version (as far as it is accessible) only once, St Mark vii. 26, where it is said of the Syro-Phoenician woman that τεεεμε δε πεερελλη³ τε; and it is worthy of remark that here the Armenian and one of the Syriac versions use a word definitely meaning “a heathen.”

However, this alone would be very poor evidence on which to base any contention that the Copts ever used “Ἕλλην = “pagan”: and I would call attention to a hymn on the life of St Anastasia in a manuscript of the *Antiphonarium* in the John Rylands Library, Manchester (Coptic MS. 21—No. 435 in Mr Crum's *Catalogue*), f. ρ̄λε recto. The Saint's home and parentage are thus described:—

†αγια ἀπιστη ἀναστασια πε στεεολ τε δεπ †πολις ρωμη		πεσιωτ σρεληκος πε εϥϣεμϣι ἰνιδωλον ερε τεεματ τε πε σϥχρηστιανε
--	--	---

“The holy, faithful Anastasia was from the city of Rome: her father was a “Ἕλλην,
her mother was a Christian.”

The *Antiphonarium*, as Mr Crum has pointed out, is founded on the *Synaxarium*, which speaks thus⁴ of St Anastasia's father كان ابوها يعبد الاوثان: “her father was an idolater”; while the Arabic version of the first two lines of the second of the two verses of the hymn just quoted is كان ابوها كافر يعبد الاوثان: “her father was an infidel, an

¹ *Abhandlungen der Königl. Preuss. Akademie*, 1913, *Phil.-Hist. Classe*, No. 8, p. 15.

² The same nomenclature continued into Arabic: for El Mas'ūdī tells us that from ancient Greek Ἰωνανία *Iūnāniāh* is derived modern Greek Ρομία *Rūmiāh*.

³ Unimportant variants, ρηλληη, ρλληη in the MSS.

⁴ *Patrologia Orientalis*, iii. 3, p. 523.

idolater." Thus in the insertion by the composer¹ of the *Antiphonarium* we have the equation $\text{ελληνος} = \text{كافر}$: this appears to me conclusive that the word does not here mean "Greek" (the fact that Rome was her birth-place would not necessarily make this impossible if the story can be traced back to sufficiently early days), but "pagan."

To sum up, the Copts on the whole avoided using the word "Ἕλληνας": but on the rare occasions when it does occur, it may mean either "Greek" or "pagan" according to the context; the latter meaning is at any rate no rarer than the former.

¹ It is not known who he was (see Mr Crum's reasons on p. 213 of the *John Rylands Catalogue*) but the book is at any rate later than the middle of the thirteenth century.

AN UNRECOGNIZED MEANING OF THE VERB

By T. ERIC PEET, B.A.

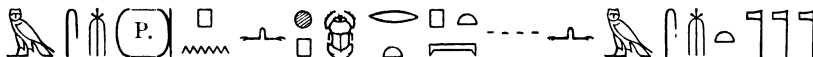
SOME time ago while I was reading Erman's article (*Aeg. Zeitschr.* 50, pp. 104 ff.) on the use of the negative *sdmtf*-form in Egyptian it occurred to me that one of the most difficult examples of this use, viz. Pyr. 664,




where the noun *ntrw* seems to be the logical object of the verb and not the logical subject as in other cases, could be solved by the simple assumption that *ms* can mean 'to be born' as well as 'to bear.' Gardiner had already observed this and was at once able to point out another passage, *Siut*, Pl. XI. l. 1, where *ms* apparently has this intransitive meaning. Since then I have come across several more, dating from various periods, and they seem to me sufficient to demonstrate that the verb *ms* had throughout not only a transitive meaning, 'to form' or 'produce' (especially of bearing children), but also an intransitive sense 'to be born.'





The examples known to me are the following.

1. Pyr. 663-4,



Pepi was born before the heaven came into being ---- before the gods were born.

The construction  with *sdmtf* in the sense of 'not yet' has been explained and illustrated by Erman¹. The noun which follows the *sdmtf*-form is as usual its logical subject. But if *ms* means only 'to bear' or 'form,' *n mst ntrw* can only mean 'before the gods formed,' which is nonsense. Erman avoids this by the hypothesis of a series of passive *sdm-t-tw* forms, of which *mst* is an example, the second *t* having been assimilated to the first. This expedient², for which there is as yet no other evidence, is avoided by taking *ms* as meaning 'to be born.'

2. Pyr. 1210 a  (M.) (Merenra), parallel to    (Pepi), and other similar passages.

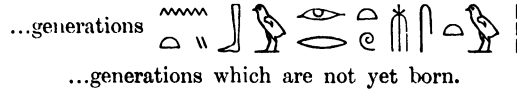
Sethe (*Verbum*, II. 3) takes this as one of the rare examples of the old verbal use of the pseudoparticiple followed by its subject, and it may well be that he is







¹ *Aeg. Zeitschr.* 50, pp. 104 ff.

² It seems a little unlikely that of five parallel *sdmtf* forms in one sentence four should be active in meaning and one passive.







Here a reference to the context will show how much better is the meaning gained by the adoption of the intransitive use of *mś*. If we translate 'A strange bird shall bring forth' we lack a grammatical object, which indeed might conceivably be omitted; but the following words relate not to the offspring of the bird but to the bird itself. Had the fact of the bird producing offspring been the important point, the offspring would have been further referred to rather than the bird.

6. Grave of a certain Userhet in Thebes.



I give this last example with some diffidence, for I am not at all clear as to its construction. It is quoted by Erman as an example of the use of the negated verb  with ending  (replacing the negative *śdmtf* of earlier Egyptian) in the sense of 'not yet.' But, since *mś* means 'to bear,' Erman is driven to suppose that another  has dropped out after the first, just as in example 1 above he assumed the falling away of a second *t*, the first  or  being needed to give with the negative the sense of 'not yet' and the second to make the verb passive. By simply supposing an intransitive meaning for *mś* we avoid the rather unlikely assumption of the dropping out of .

However this may be, I think it will be granted that the above instances afford firm ground for the belief that throughout a considerable period of time the verb *mś* had an intransitive as well as a transitive meaning, that it could mean 'to be born' as well as 'to bear' or 'form.' Scholars will doubtless have little difficulty in adding to the number of examples of the use.

¹ I do not press this example, for it is possible that some other explanation of it might be given which would not involve the supposition of an intransitive sense for *mś*. It is peculiar in form, for the subject  or  is omitted after  , and  is an altogether unusual infinitive. Is it possible that in the plural strokes after  we have the missing logical subject, and, if so, what is the construction of the whole?

NOTES AND NEWS

WE regret to announce the resignation by Sir Gaston Maspero, K.C.M.G., of the Director-Generalship of the Egyptian Service of Antiquities. The vacant position has been offered to M. Lacau, Director of the French Archaeological Institute at Cairo, whose sterling Egyptological work is well known to all students, and who is himself a man "sympathique" in the highest degree to his brother Egyptologists. We congratulate him heartily, and hope that he will accept the appointment.

It is with very great regret that we have to chronicle the death, by drowning in a lagoon while shooting, of Mr E. R. Ayrton, Archaeological Commissioner in Ceylon. Mr Ayrton, who worked for the Fund with Professor Naville and as well as with Mr Theodore Davis at the Bibân el-Mulûk, was the valued personal friend of most of us, and his death, at the early age of thirty-two, will be keenly felt by many. The loss is great to archaeology also, for Mr Ayrton was a student of the hieroglyphs as well as an excavator of the first rank. To his *flair* and knowledge, as well as to the happy relations which he always maintained with his men, much of the remarkable success of Mr Theodore Davis's finds of royal tombs was due. His transference to a new sphere of work in Ceylon was much regretted by his colleagues, as we felt we had lost perhaps one of the most promising of the younger generation of Egyptologists. To the Archaeological Survey of India and Ceylon his loss will be as serious as it is to us.

Professor Naville's first report of his splendid discovery at the "Osireion" of Abydos appears in this number of the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. His full description of the remarkable "Cyclopean" building that he has discovered will appear in the Fund Memoir which will be devoted to it. Meanwhile, perusal of his present report and examination of the fine photographs that accompany it will shew that his discovery is not only the most important of its kind that has been made since that of the XIth Dynasty Temple at Dêr el-bahri ten years ago, but also, so far as we know up to the present, will rank first of all those that have been made in Egypt this season. If, as seems extremely probable, this strange

building, with its unusual plan, is (whatever its original intention may have been) in reality the κρήνη of Abydos mentioned by Strabo, it will be almost as interesting to classical students as to Egyptologists. The find will, most certainly, greatly stimulate interest in the work of the Fund, and we do not doubt that the further prosecution of the discovery will be supported as energetically as its inception has been. For this season's work we have to acknowledge especially the handsome support that has been given by our American as well as our British subscribers, and to signalize the munificent gifts of £600 from the Schweich Fund of the British Academy, and of £150 from Mr Walter Morrison, that have materially aided to defray its cost.

During the progress of the main excavations at Abydos, Professor Whittemore made further exploration of the Ibis Cemetery, recovering some fine mummies, which will be shewn at the exhibition in July.

The excavations of Professor Whittemore and Mr Wainwright for the American branch of the Fund at Sawâma, near Sohag, have resulted in the discovery of burials of the XVIIIth Dynasty, with many objects of that period, including a large number of scarabs.

The excavations of the Graeco-Roman branch at Antinoë have attracted considerable attention owing to Mr Johnson's fortunate discovery of the oldest known MS of Theocritus, which he describes in his Report on p. 176. This find was announced in the *Times* of May 16, and scholars will be eager to know if the MS contains any new material analogous to the new odes of Sappho, found at Oxyrhynchus, which are published in *Oxyrhynchus* X (reviewed by Sir F. G. Kenyon on p. 224). Fragments of a new *Idyll* would indeed be a treasure! The Sappho fragments have been the subject of emendations by Mr J. M. Edmonds, of Jesus College, Cambridge, published in the *Times* of May 4; and the original editor, Professor Hunt, contributed an article on them, with photographs, to the *Illustrated London News* of May 23. *Oxyrhynchus* X contains much matter of great interest. A splendid Sapphic fragment on p. 47 gives a description of heaped up valuables on a ship-deck, which reminds us of the contents of a Mycenaean or a Theban tomb: πόλλα δ' ἐλίγματα χρύσια κάμματα | πορφύρα κάλα τ' αὐτῶνα ποίκιλ' ἀθύρματα | ἀργύρα τ' ἀνάριθμα ποτήρια κἀλέφαις, "With many golden bracelets and purple robes and treasure of goodly broideries withal, and countless silver cups and ivory." And in a fragment of Alcaeus on p. 61 is a tantalizing reference to Βαβύλωνος ἱρας and to Ἀσκάλωνα, which reminds us that the poet's brother served in the armies of Nebuchadnezzar, and might have been able to tell us a good many things that we do not know.

H. H.

The Exhibition of Antiquities and Papyri discovered at Oxyrhynchus and Antinoë will be held in one of the Rooms of the Society of Antiquaries at Burlington House

from July 13—28. Professor Naville and others will lecture during the course of the Exhibition. The Fund shares the hospitality of the Society of Antiquaries with Professor Garstang and the other excavators of the University of Liverpool, whose exhibition of the most recent finds at Meroë should prove of great interest.

The second volume of *Cemeteries of Abydos*, by Mr T. Eric Peet, has lately been published by the Fund. It deals with all the tomb-work done by the Fund at Abydos in the three seasons 1909–10, 1910–11, and 1911–12, with the exception of the earlier excavations in Cemetery E (“the Mixed Cemetery”), which form part of the first volume of the series, *Cemeteries of Abydos*, I, which, if not already published by the time this note is in print, will very shortly appear. To describe so comprehensive a volume within the compass of a short note is impossible: it may suffice to say that it provides a description of the results of three seasons’ tomb-digging in a manner which in succinctness and clearness leaves little to be desired. The subscriber to the Fund is given one of the largest volumes that we have lately produced, with 127 pages of text and 39 plates. The large amount of matter is of course due to the fact that the work of three seasons is described. The plates are reproduced not in collotype, but by means of process blocks. This is advisable in the case of inscriptions, as the faced paper gives a sharper and clearer impression than the rougher paper used for collotypes, though the greater beauty of the collotype picture, when good, is not denied. A new feature in the Fund’s publications is the extended use of line-blocks in the text, which greatly facilitates reference to inscriptions, for which the method has chiefly been used. We must congratulate Mr Peet on the volume, and also his helpers, Mr T. P. Droop (of the British School at Athens), the Hon. Robert Trefusis, and Messrs W. L. S. Loat and James Dixon. Mr Peet specially acknowledges the help of Mr Droop, with whom he formerly worked on the prehistoric sites of Northern Greece, and whose association with the Fund’s work in the season of 1910–11 was most useful to us.

Dr Robert Mond’s splendid work of conservation among the tombs of the Theban nobles has opened out to scholars a wide field for activity in which it is but meet that the Egypt Exploration Fund should have a part. Dr Alan Gardiner has arranged to publish under the auspices of the Fund a series of volumes, edited by himself and Mr Norman de Garis Davies, dealing with some of the more important tombs in the Theban necropolis. The first volume, which is to appear in the coming autumn, will consist of an exhaustive publication of a characteristic and beautiful tomb of the Eighteenth Dynasty, which belonged to one Amenemhēt, the steward of User, the well-known vizier of Tuthmosis III. Mrs de Garis Davies contributes to the book thirty-four plates of line-drawings, besides four coloured plates of the best paintings in the tomb; ten more half-tone plates will be devoted to the texts from the Book of the Dead that cover the walls of the sepulchral chamber. The printed portion of the work, for which Dr Gardiner will be responsible, not only will consist of an elucidation of the scenes and inscriptions, but also will investigate the meaning and purpose of Egyptian tombs in general, and of the Theban tombs in particular; in this way the

first volume will serve as an introduction to the entire series. To Members and Subscribers of the Fund the book is offered at the price of twenty-five shillings, payable in advance before October 1; to others, and after this date, the price will be thirty shillings.

In connection with the new enterprise mentioned above the attention of subscribers is particularly called to the fact that a number of Mrs Davies's coloured facsimiles of paintings in the Theban tombs will be visible at the Fund's exhibition in July. These reproductions are undoubtedly the finest that have ever been made of similar subjects, and will be a revelation to those who have not seen the original tombs, or have visited them only with the perfunctory haste of the tourist.

On May 4 the Hon. Secretary of the Fund delivered a lecture, illustrated with lantern-slides, before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society in the Old Archaeological Museum on "The Discovery and Excavation of the XIth Dynasty Temple at Dêr el-bahri," as an illustration of the work of the Fund. The lecture was prefaced by an account of Professor Naville's discovery of the great hall of the Osireion at Abydos, which is probably "Strabo's Well," and photographs of it were exhibited. The discovery by Mr J. de M. Johnson at Antinoë of a papyrus of Theocritus was also mentioned. After the lecture Professor Ridgeway spoke, and expressed his great interest in the identification of "Strabo's Well," which shewed how accurate the Greek writer was: "Strabo had again turned up trumps." After a few words by the Master of Magdalene, the meeting closed with a vote of thanks to the lecturer, moved by Mr E. H. Minns, President of the Society.



Relief of Fox or Jackal robbing a nest; from the Temple of Mentuhetep, Dêr el-bahri (XIth Dynasty). Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge: presented by the E.E.F., 1906.

On May 18 Mr A. M. Blackman gave a lecture for the Fund on "Temple Ritual" before a large audience in the Rooms of the Royal Society at Burlington House. In a clear and succinct manner he described the elaborate ritual employed by the ancient Egyptians in their worship, illustrating his remarks with lantern slides.

We heartily congratulate Professor Petrie and the British School on the fine discovery of the XIIth Dynasty royal jewellery at Lahûn, which rivals the famous find at Dahshûr. Mrs Petrie describes these objects in our columns (pp. 185-6) and they are illustrated in Plate XXIX. Professor Petrie has also described them in the *Times* of May 20.

The excavations of Lord Carnarvon and Mr Howard Carter at Thebes have been rewarded with a great success. The lost tomb of Amenhetep I has been discovered; it was found, as was expected, at Dra' Abu 'l-Negga.

We have received the following note on the excavations of the University of Liverpool at Meroë from Mr W. J. Phythian-Adams:

Our main objective during the past season (the fifth at Meroë) was to clear up the North-West corner of the Royal City and to connect the buildings already unearthed on the extreme west with the network of streets and houses which had been revealed by previous excavations in the North-East. The results have fully justified this course of action; the discovery of a large public square (originally planted with an avenue of trees), which links up the two sections of the City by offshoots to the east and west, is of the greatest importance in determining the contemporaneity of the houses and palaces which abut upon it. At its southern extremity, a grand staircase led by a score of steps to the upper chambers of a spacious building, which bore evident traces of restoration and re-construction. In it, on the western side, was found what is indisputably the ancient astronomical Observatory of Meroë, surviving only as a foundation chamber in the latest period of the Palace. The wider survey of the City which this season's work has thus made possible leads to an important modification of previous dating. The main City wall, for instance, was found to belong to the earlier Hellenistic phase of the site, called in our scale of chronology Middle Meroë I (about 300 B.C.) and to have enclosed an area already determined in general by the position of the earlier buildings with which, however, it was not contemporary.

Outside the City itself, along its eastern side, a large walled-in enclosure has been outlined for future excavations, while still further to the east, one of a continuous chain of ruined cumuli has revealed together with large quantities of stamped and painted pottery a confused mass of humbler dwelling-places, the homes doubtless of the Meroitic artisans.

To the immediate south of the Temple of Ammon, the huge mounds of debris which cover the adjoining precincts of the priesthood have been attacked and the foundations of one building laid bare. The enclosing wall of this College has been traced from the East gateway of the Temple to the South-East corner of the City wall, and the vast extent and nature of the ruins thus surrounded is an added proof of the local importance and long duration of the Ammon worship.

The excavation of a site about two kilometres south of the City has rewarded us with the discovery of a small shrine dedicated to Hapi and Osiris (?) and surrounded

by the chambers of its attendant ministers. At its main entrance stood two large stelae inscribed with Meroitic characters. Both appear to be important historical documents; the larger of the two contains 42 lines of inscription, nearly every sign of which has been deciphered; many words are repeated in various grammatical forms and the value of this material for further investigation of the language will be readily appreciated. There seems to be no doubt that the text refers to actual contact with the Roman power, but whether with the Imperial troops in the time of Augustus or some later organisation under Roman suzerainty is a matter for further study. Some of the Royal names occurring in the text are already known from other monuments of the locality.

W. J. P.-A.

Professor Steindorff has kindly sent us the following communication :

Of the work of the new Ernst von Sieglin Expedition, which excavated in Egypt under my direction from the end of September 1913 to the end of March of this year, I send the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* now simply a short account, keeping a more detailed survey of the scientific results for a later report.

The first labour of the Expedition consisted in systematically working through the wide spread necropoleis of the ancient ANTAEOPOLIS, which lie by the modern villages of Gâû and Hamamiye, south of Aşyût, and near the railway station of Tema on the east bank of the Nile. Unluckily the cemeteries have been much disturbed, since for thirty years they have been the chief object of all the tomb-robbers of the neighbourhood. The only digging which has ever been carried on here in a scientific manner was that of the Italian expedition under Schiaparelli in 1905-6; but so far as I know nothing has yet been printed with regard to its results.

The oldest graves lie in the south by Hamamiye, and belong to the time of the earliest dynasties. Here there are also rock-tombs of the Old Kingdom, of which two have inscriptions and reliefs, which were copied and photographed. The chief necropolis of Antaeopolis lies further north, in the big grave-hill of Gâû. Here are also the rock-tombs of princes of the Middle Kingdom, of which three (those of Waḥka I, Waḥka II, and Ibu) are of a size and magnificence of plan which until now has never been met with in the case of private tombs of this period. From the plain a broad ascending way leads up to a terrace, which was decorated with a hall of columns or pillars; further on one passes by means of a steep ramp, cut out of the rock, and over a bridge to an upper platform, also decorated with pillared halls. A gate, lying on the main axis of the whole, leads into the rock-chambers proper, which are like those of Beni Hasan. As the rock here is extraordinarily bad and crumbling, both columns and wall-reliefs were made of a better limestone, let in. These, however, have now almost entirely disappeared. Of the graves of the New Kingdom most were unhappily plundered. Far more numerous are the burials of the Graeco-Roman period. Here the bodies were interred either in great mummiform sarcophagi of stone or in pottery baths, and every possible kind of decoration, especially faïence amulets, was put with them.

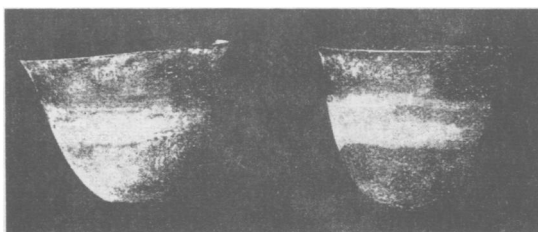
The second work of the Expedition consisted in the prosecution of the exploration of the necropolis of ANIBE in Nubia, begun in 1912. Since in 1912 the chief task had been the working through and photographing of the graves of the New Kingdom, this time it was the cemetery of the Nubian population of the time of the Middle Kingdom that was examined. The whole of the graves found here belonged to Reisner's "C-Group." We have stone circles, or one could almost better say, "stone-wreaths," that enclose the real grave, which is made of bricks or stone slabs. The bodies lay in the contracted position, with the head usually to the north, and the face turned to the east. With them were found numerous ornaments: armbands, footrings, chains, clay and stone vases, and clay figures of various kinds, etc. Before the stone circles, on the eastern side, vessels for food and drink were placed, either in the sand or in a specially prepared chapel on it. The material in pottery alone of this period is extremely large, and gives us a remarkable view of the ceramic art of the time.

G. S.

The April number of the *Bulletin* of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts contains a very interesting account by Dr Reisner of his excavations at Kerma in Nubia, which have yielded relics of an Egyptian garrison there under the XIIth Dynasty, and remains of burials of the invading "Pan-Grave" people in the Hyksos period, which are of great importance. The excavation began at the foot of the great mud-brick fortress of the Middle Kingdom, known as the Western Defûfa. Alabaster fragments with the names of Neferkara and Pepi I proved occupation as early as the VIth Dynasty. An inscription dated in the 33rd year of Amenemhat III gives the ancient name of Kerma: it says: "Year 33, beginning of the inundation, first day, under the majesty of king Lamaris, Son of the Sun, Amenemhat; list of bricks brought to the fortress (?) which is in 'The Walls [of Amenemhat?].'" The brick fort, Dr Reisner thinks, is perhaps the Eastern Defûfa, which was therefore probably built at the end of the XIIth Dynasty. Later occupation by invaders at the time of the Hyksos is shewn by the remains found in some ruined chambers in the Western Defûfa, "filled with the ashes and coals of a great conflagration." Here were found many seal-impressions of the Hyksos period, and fragmentary pots of the peculiarly fine red-and-black ware which was already known from the excavations of Garstang and of Peet at Abydos, and is associated there with the "Pan-Grave" people.

The graves of these invaders proved the greatest surprise and gave the most successful results of the whole excavation. The burials were curiously barbaric. "On a carved bed in the middle of a big circular pit the chief personage lies on his right side with his head east. Under his head is a wooden pillow; between his legs a sword or dagger; beside his feet cowhide sandals and an ostrich-feather fan. At his feet is buried a ram, often with ivory knobs on the tips of the horns to prevent goring. Around the bed lie a varying number of bodies, male and female, all contracted on the right side, head east. Among them are the pots and pans, the cosmetic jars, the stools, and other objects. Over the whole burial is spread a great ox-hide. It is clear they were all buried at once. The men and women round about must have been sacrificed so that their spirits might accompany the chief to the other world."

Although the custom of devoting slaves to death at the demise of their lords, that they might be properly attended, was certainly not unknown in early Egypt, and may be found even as late as the XIth Dynasty at Dêr el-bahri, these burials do not seem Egyptian. The objects found with them, however, the furniture (of which some chair-legs are cased in beaten gold), the head-rests, the bronze daggers with ivory and tortoiseshell hilts, are purely Egyptian. The pottery, again, is non-Egyptian, of the fine type already mentioned as associated with the "Pan-Grave" people at Abydos.



Pottery from Abydos of the style found by Dr Reisner at Kerma
(Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos*, ii, Pl. XIII, 11).

Two pots from the Fund excavations of 1910 are in the British Museum (nos. 49686, 49687); see Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos*, II. Pl. XIII, 11 (grave O 4). A fine set of vases of the same type was found by Garstang in 1907. There are some in both the Ashmolean and Fitzwilliam Museums. Dr Reisner has added a new form, a cup, to the bowl which we already knew at Abydos.

An unexpected find is that of small cut ornaments of mica, in the shape of birds and other objects, to be sewn on to clothing. This again looks as if these people were not Egyptians, but Nubians with a very thin veneer of Egyptian culture. The "Pan-Grave" people in Egypt may well have been settlements of Nubian war-prisoners.

H. H.

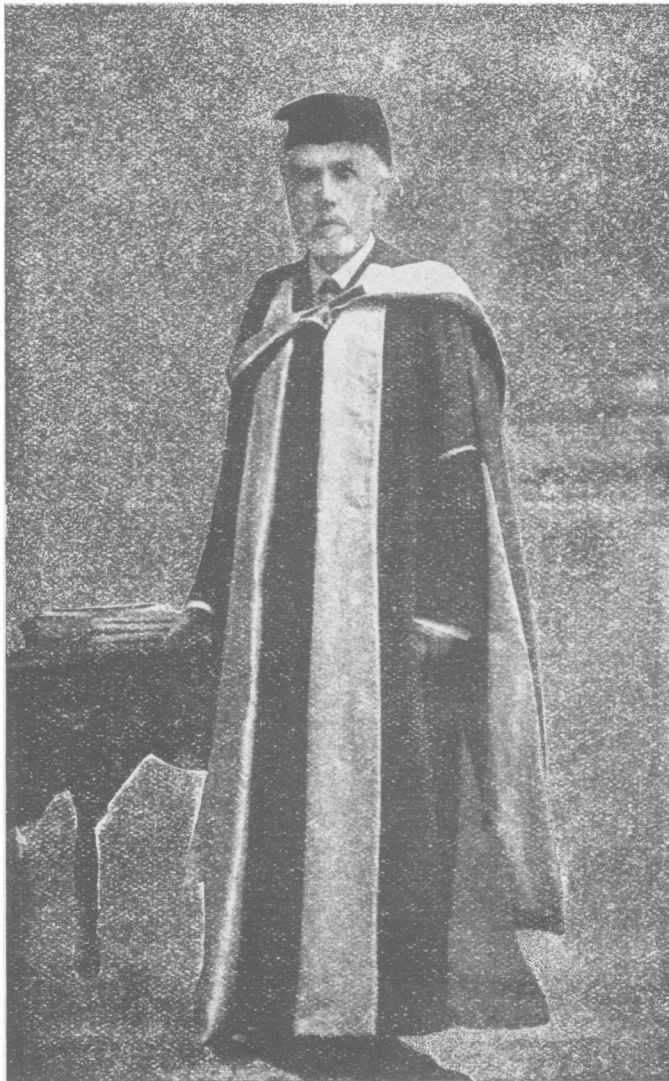
In the *Mitteilungen* of the German School at Athens (*Ath. Mitt.* 1913, p. 239 ff.), Prof. v. Bissing has published a very interesting article on Egyptian Bronze and Copper figures of the Middle Kingdom ("Ägyptische Bronze- und Kupfer-figuren des Mittleren Reichs"), à propos of a very fine little copper figure, previously unpublished, in the Athens Museum. This represents a certain Hapu (𓆎 𓆏 𓆑) and was

dedicated by his brother the goldsmith Tenena (𓆒 𓆓 𓆔 𓆕 𓆖 𓆗 𓆘 𓆙 𓆚 𓆛). It is one of the finest known statuettes of its type, of which there is a specimen (no. 41536) in the British Museum, which is probably older. This figure has lost its staff and base, both of which the Athens figure has preserved. The height of the figure of Hapu is 14.5 cm., about the usual size of most figures of the class. Prof. v. Bissing publishes fine photographs of it and also of other works of related type, some of which are already known. He ascribes to the end of the Middle Kingdom or the early XVIIIth Dynasty the well-known bronze male figure from the Posuo Collection in the Louvre (PERROT-CHIEPIEZ, *Hist. de l'Art*, i. (*l'Égypte*), Fig. 435).

H. H.

The following note on the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society has been kindly communicated by Professor M. A. Canney and Miss Winifred M. Crompton, the Secretaries:

The President of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society is Professor T. W. Rhys Davids, LL.D., Ph.D., F.B.A.; the other officers are the Editor and Secretary,



Jesse Haworth, LL.D.

Professor M. A. Canney, M.A., and the Business Secretary and Treasurer, Miss Winifred M. Crompton (Egyptian Department, Manchester Museum). The number of members is 108. This Society is an amalgamation of two former bodies—the “Manchester

Egyptian Association" and the "Manchester Oriental Society." The former was founded in 1906, chiefly through the efforts of Dr W. Evans Hoyle, at that time Director of the Manchester Museum. Its first President was Jesse Haworth, LL.D., its second Mgr. Casartelli, Bishop of Salford, its third and last Dr G. Elliot Smith, F.R.S. From 1909 onwards the Society issued a short Report of Proceedings and a Bibliography of recent books on Egyptology. At every Annual Meeting Prof. Flinders Petrie was kind enough to deliver an address, and he always gave to the



The late Professor Hope W. Hogg.

members of the Association the privileges accorded to those of the "Egyptian Research Students' Association," informing them through their Secretary of the course of his excavation work each season, while it was still in progress.

In addition to the annual addresses of Professor Petrie papers were communicated to the Association, and in most cases personally read, by, amongst others, the following members: Mr F. Ll. Griffith, Professors S. H. Capper, R. M. Burrows, H. W. Hogg, G. Elliot Smith, W. Boyd Dawkins, Dr W. E. Hoyle and Mgr. Casartelli.

The "Manchester Oriental Society" was formed in November 1910 by the late Hope W. Hogg, Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester, he being elected the first President. At the inaugural meeting an address was delivered by Canon C. H. W. Johns, Master of St Catharine's College, Cambridge, on "The Culture of the East in its Influence on the West," and at the following meetings papers were read by Professor Hogg, Dr Elliot Smith, Dr J. H. Moulton, and Dr Casartelli.

In February 1912 the Society suffered a great blow by the sad death of Professor Hogg. This occurred whilst the first number of the *Manchester Oriental Journal*, the issue of which had been one of his chief aims in founding the Society, and which he edited, was still in the press. The loss was also deeply felt by the members of the Egyptian Association, in which also he had always shown much interest. He was succeeded in the Presidency of the Oriental Society by Professor Rhÿs Davids.

The *Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society* for 1911 received its final revision from Mr M. A. Canney, at that time lecturer in Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University and Secretary of the "Oriental Society," and from Professor Elliot Smith, the Treasurer. It contained contributions on "Heart and Reins in Mummification and in the Literatures of the Nearer and Farther East," by G. Elliot Smith, H. W. Hogg, Israel Abrahams, M. A. Canney, L. W. King, Mgr. Casartelli, T. W. Rhÿs Davids, J. G. Fraser and others. Articles were also published on various matters by H. W. Hogg, the Rev. C. J. Ball and E. H. Parker, concluding with an appreciation of the late Professor Hogg by Professor A. S. Peake.

At a joint meeting of the "Egyptian Association" and the "Oriental Society," held on October 14th, 1912, Professor R. M. Burrows in the Chair, it was decided to amalgamate the two bodies, under the Presidency of Professor Rhÿs Davids. The title now is "Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society." The aims are:—

(1) To discuss questions of interest with regard to the languages, history and archaeology of Egypt and the Orient.

(2) To help the work of the excavating Societies in any way possible.

(3) To issue, if possible, a Journal.

It was decided that subscriptions should be: Ordinary members, 5s.; Journal members, 10s. 6d.

There is a Special Publications Fund to which donations or subscriptions over and above the minimum Journal subscription of 10s. 6d. are invited; and by means of this fund, and the aid given by the University Press, the *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1912-13, was published last October by the University Press.

In addition to abstracts of the papers read during the previous twelve months, News from Excavators, and a Report of the Progress of the Society, it contained the following articles:

"The Land of Alashiya and the Relations of Egypt and Cyprus under the Empire (1500—1100 B.C.)." By H. R. Hall, M.A., F.S.A. (British Museum).

"Kummukh and Commagene." By L. W. King, M.A., F.S.A. (British Museum).

"A Political Crime in Ancient Egypt." By Alan H. Gardiner, D.Litt. (Reader in Egyptology in Manchester University).

“Religion of the Achaemenid Kings.” By the Rt. Rev. Mgr. Casartelli, M.A., D.Litt.Or. (Lecturer in Iranian Languages and Literatures, Manchester University).

“The Ancient History of the Near East.” A Review: By the Rev. C. L. Bedale, M.A. (Lecturer in Assyriology, Manchester University).

Also notes on:—

“The Word *Abnēṯ* in Hebrew.” By Maurice H. Farbridge and M. A. Canney, M.A.

“The Rite of Circumcision.” By G. Elliot Smith.

“The Earliest Attempts at Mummification in Egypt.” By G. Elliot Smith.

The price of the Journal is 5s. net. The Report of Proceedings of the Society can be obtained separately for 1s. 6d. The Society also printed in October 1913 a “List of Books on Egyptology published since September 1912,” price 6d. Since the amalgamation the chief speakers or communicators of papers have been,—besides Mr Jesse Haworth,—Professor Petrie, Professor Elliot Smith, Mr L. W. King, Mr H. R. Hall, Dr A. H. Gardiner, Dr J. J. Marshall, Mr Louis H. Gray, Professor Lehmann-Haupt, Professor Dickie, Mr J. A. Meeson, Mr T. E. Peet and Mr A. M. Blackman.

The Society possesses a small collection of books, rapidly increasing through exchanges, as for instance with the Liverpool School of Archaeology, the Society of Biblical Archaeology, the Musée Guimet of Paris, the Universities of Upsala and Rome, and the “Université St Joseph” of Beirût.

The meetings are held as a rule at the University, and if possible in the afternoon and evening alternately. The annual meeting is in October.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part X. Edited by B. P. GRENFELL and A. S. HUNT. pp. xiv+311. 6 plates. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1914. 25s.

The outstanding features of the new volume of *Oxyrhynchus papyri* are the re-appearance of Dr Grenfell's name on the title-page, which will be welcomed by all who know his services to the science of papyrology in the past, and the new fragments of Sappho. Fragments indeed they are, unfortunately, and not all the skill of Prof. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff can make them into complete poems; but they are fragments of high quality, and contain lines and phrases worthy of the name they bear. They rank higher in poetic merit than the ode to Charaxus published in the first *Oxyrhynchus* volume, and are only matched, among recent discoveries, by the vellum fragments at Berlin, first published by Schubart in 1902. The subscription of the roll shows that it contained the first book of Sappho's lyrics, comprising 1320 verses. At this date, therefore (the second century after Christ), Sappho's poetry was extant in complete books, and we need not despair of recovering one of them some day. Another papyrus, of slightly later date, contains fragments of another poem of Sappho, in a dactylic metre, on the subject of the marriage of Hector and Andromache.

The remaining classical texts include fragments of two MSS. of Alcaeus (unfortunately much mutilated), the second being accompanied by scholia. In the first MS. the passages which approach nearest to completion are in the same metres as those of Sappho, but lack the passionate quality which shines through even her mutilated fragments. The second MS. contains political poems, and here we can perhaps discern more of the note of genuine feeling. Alcaeus seems to have been the André Chénier of Greek poetry. Menander, who at first was strangely lacking among the discoveries of Greek papyri, is now assuming a prominence more in proportion with his recorded popularity. The present volume contributes a portion of a digest of the plots of his plays, some thirty lines of the *Epitrepontes* (incidentally establishing the proper position of a leaf of the Cairo MS.), and a few imperfect lines of the *Colax*. A handbook of general information (Pap. 1241) includes an account of the librarians of Alexandria, and helps to fix the order of their succession.

The new papyri of extant classical authors include small portions of Apollonius Rhodius, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Babrius, and Achilles Tatius; but much the most important is Pap. 1251 (part of the same MS. as 1097), which contains a really substantial portion of Cicero *In Verrem* II and *Pro Caelio*. The text (repeating a phenomenon now familiar in early papyri) has characteristics in common with both of the main streams of tradition preserved in our mediaeval codices. The papyrus contains nearly 250 long lines of writing, and is the most considerable Latin literary text yet found on papyrus, with the exception of the Epitome of Livy, which, though more novel, has not the same importance as a contribution to textual criticism.

The volume also contains seven theological texts, of which the only new one is composed of two small fragments of a papyrus codex, perhaps of the fourth century, containing an uncanonical Gospel or collection of sayings of our Lord. The contents are too small, and in part too conjectural, to have much positive value. The Biblical papyri (fragments of Leviticus, Psalms, Matthew, John, James, and Revelation) are also very small; but the fragment of John is said to be as early as the latter part of the third century.

The non-literary texts are of the usual miscellaneous character, and range over the first five or six centuries of the Christian era. The chronological classification contemplated at the commencement

of the Oxyrhynchus series has long been abandoned, and no grouping by subjects has been attempted, except within the limits of each volume. The circumstances of the case make this inevitable; but the result is that each volume contains a number of isolated contributions to papyrological science. Further, as no facsimiles of non-literary texts are given, no palaeographical instruction in these scripts is obtainable. It is unfortunate that the Oxyrhynchus papyri have to be scattered to their various destinations in Europe and America without any collective study of them for palaeographical purposes having been undertaken.

F. G. KENYON.

The Ancient History of the Near East from the Earliest Times to the battle of Salamis. By H. R. HALL, M.A., F.S.A. pp. xxiii+602, 33 plates and 14 maps. London: Methuen & Co., 1913. 15s. nett.

Mr H. R. Hall, of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, to whom all students are so often indebted for assistance in, and contributions to, their own work, has now written an "*Ancient History of the Near East.*" Some years ago, in collaboration with his colleague Mr L. W. King, Mr Hall gave to the general reader a very useful account of *Egypt and Western Asia in the Light of recent Discoveries.* The main interest of that book was archaeological, and it showed how well acquainted the author was with Egypt, its people, and its monuments. In this present book Mr Hall narrates the historical events of what Sir Gaston Maspero has called "the classical Orient." The volume, fully illustrated and containing maps and very useful chronological tables, appeals to the general reader as well as to the student. Classical scholars, especially, will find great interest in perusing the chapters on the "Older Civilization of Greece," the "Hittite Kingdom and the Second Egyptian Empire" (to my mind, perhaps, the best part of the book), and the "Renovation of Egypt and the Renaissance of Greece." I wish also to draw special attention to the Prolegomena, although I am unable to agree with every single point in it (viz. the challenge to Professor Petrie's arguments for a long gap between the XIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties, in which the author seems not to have sufficiently considered what has been said in my *Denkmäler ägyptischer Skulptur*—text to Plates 36, 37, 39, 40, etc.—about the voluntary archaism of the early XVIIIth Dynasty), I hold this exposé of the sources of our knowledge about ancient oriental history to be the best ever yet written. It is interesting to notice how the author comes to exactly the same conclusion as Maspero and myself, namely, that there is as yet no fixed datum for any fact in the history of the Near East before 1600 B.C. Probably Mr Hall's calculations of the time in which the kings of the Ist, VIth, and XIIth Dynasties lived err on the side of brevity, whilst on the other hand he seems inclined to overestimate the length of Mesopotamian history as compared with Egyptian (p. 30). He is perfectly right in commenting on the deficiency of our knowledge of the beginnings of Mesopotamian civilization, but it does not seem necessary therefore to conclude that Babylonia passed into the age of metal at an earlier period than did Egypt. Both civilizations seem, as Meyer has well pointed out, to be pretty well contemporaneous and independent the one of the other.

As to the sources of Mesopotamian civilization, Mr Hall follows E. Meyer in supposing a Semitic country to have been invaded by the Sumerians, who then formed what we call the oldest Mesopotamian culture. Undoubtedly from extremely remote times there were Semites and Sumerians side by side in the southern part of Mesopotamia, and it seems a probable deduction, from all we at present know, that the Sumerian invaders pushed back the aboriginal Semites to the north, but M. Heuzey has brilliantly shown that the archaeological facts put forward by E. Meyer in favour of his theory cannot bear the meaning he gives them. It is impossible to call all bearded men, including the Semitic gods, and all clean-shaven men, with the prince of Kish on the Ennatum stele, Sumerians. I may add, what seems to have been overlooked by all writers on the subject, that the difference between the bearded warriors, kings and gods, and the shaven priests, clerks and so-called eunuchs, reappears in the monuments of the Assyrian as well as of the Hittite kings. Now, if in Babylonian tablets of about 2500 B.C. we are to take the one type as Semitic and the other as Sumerian, why should we not do the same as regards Assyrian reliefs of 900 B.C. or Hittite stelae of 780 B.C.? In every case the only independent evidence for the existence of a Sumerian people apart from the Semites is a philological and literary one. By no means do I agree with the late Professor Halévy's theory on the nature of the Sumerian texts, but we may safely say that

there is no archaeological evidence whatsoever for the coexistence of Semites and Sumerians at the beginning of the history of Mesopotamia.

Mr Hall has also brought forward a new theory on the origin of the Sumerians. I agree that it is difficult to believe that they were the original inhabitants of the lowlands north of the Persian Gulf. He justly remarks the affinity of the people of Elam with the ancient Sumerians, and gives the credit of the Elamite art and civilization to the Sumerians; he does not, however, believe the Elamites to have been influenced mainly by the Sumerian kingdoms in southern Babylonia, but is inclined to think Elam to have been the final station where the Sumerians halted before they entered Babylonia, and, with all caution, he traces the Sumerians back to India, pointing out their resemblance to the Dravidians from the Dekkan. His argument, which one would like to see illustrated by some photographs, is, that "it is to this Dravidian ethnic type of India that the ancient Sumerian bears most resemblance."

I confess that after all that has been said, and the many contradictory statements made, about the racial types of the ancient Egyptians, Sumerians, Hittites, Jews, and even Greeks, my belief in arguments from racial types and anthropological measurements is very much shaken, and I cannot put any more faith in the Indian origin of the Sumerians than in the Indians discovered by Professor Petrie at Memphis (*Memphis*, i. pp. 16, 17). There seems to me to be in political history, just as in natural history, a number of problems concerning which it is wisest to confess ignorance, and the origin of the Sumerians seems to me to be amongst them.

It would mean writing a new book were I to discuss here all the questions upon which my own views are not in accordance with Mr Hall's or—a much pleasanter task—where I agree with him and where I think he has added to our knowledge.

There is, however, one question more upon which I find it difficult to accept the author's views, namely, the age of the relations of Crete with Egypt and Africa. The simple waistcloth as worn by the Aegeans is to my mind no sufficient proof of an African descent of the Cretan people. As Hoernes (*Urgeschichte des Menschen*, p. 136) says, "die eindringlichen Lehren der Not werden nicht überall mit dem gleichen Ernste befolgt"; none of the similarities between Cretan and Libyan civilizations insisted upon even by such an authority as Sir Arthur Evans seem to me conclusive, and I cannot find any proof for even a slight connection between the most ancient inhabitants of Crete and Egypt before the Middle Kingdom. I hope soon to give stronger proofs for this statement than I have given in my paper on "Der Anteil der ägyptischen Kunst im Kunstleben der Völker" (*Festr. k. bayr. Akad.* 9. März, 1912). Mr Hall does not seem to have known this paper, just as he seems unacquainted with Dr Reisinger's admirable pamphlet on the "Kretische Vasenmalerei." In order to explain the absence of any real proof for a communication between the most flourishing periods of the Old Kingdom and Crete or Cyprus he asserts that "the Egypt of the Old Kingdom would have nothing to do with foreigners," a view hardly maintainable since the discovery of the boat-relief from Abusir, and long before proved to be wrong by W. H. Müller, Sethe, and others in different papers. Too much stress, to my mind, is laid on Sir A. Evans's brilliant division of Minoan times into 3×3 periods, which the great investigator of the Labyrinth seems himself now willing to abandon (*J. H. S.* 1912, p. 280), and which even Mr Hall distrusts in one point (p. 37, note 1). The Abydos tomb, a full publication of which we still await, whilst belonging to the latest stage of Middle Minoan art, cannot possibly be earlier than the second half of the Middle Kingdom; the shape of the vases and figures in Egyptian faience does not, so far as our knowledge goes, allow of any date before the late XIIIth—XVIIth Dynasties.

In my opinion, nothing then from the evolution of Cretan art is to be gained for the problem of Egyptian chronology. No Egyptian object in Crete and no Cretan in Egypt can be proved to be contemporaneous with the XIIth Egyptian Dynasty. The diorite bowl from the tomb of Isopata as reconstructed by Evans in his *Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos* (fig. 128) never existed. Evans found two small fragments of stone vases, the one in diorite, the other in basalt, and in his drawing he put the two together, and did not realize that the only fragment of the two which from its size could be reconstructed belonged to a bowl with a ribbed shoulder, like the one figured in Maraghiannis, *Antiquités Crétoises* (I, Pl. 37, Fig. 1; II, Pl. 19, Figs. 2, 9). This form is typical of the best Middle Minoan period, just before the bulk of the Isopata finds—dated early XVIIIth Dynasty.

One interesting parallelism, between the Isopata tomb and the discoveries at Troy amongst the ruins of the VIth city, seems to have been generally overlooked, although it was noticed in Hubert

Schmidt's *Heinrich Schliemann-Sammlung*, p. 250: a fragment of one of the beautiful flower-bowls was found by Schliemann.

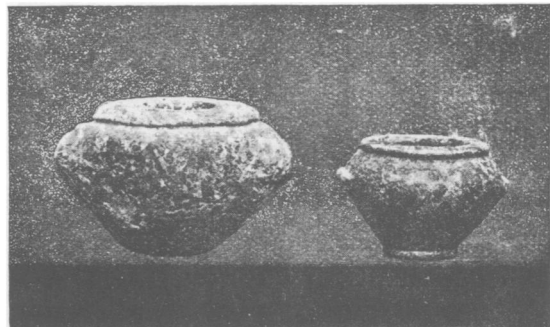
Notwithstanding such criticism in detail, I want again to express my admiration for the power of work and the wide knowledge shown in every page of Mr Hall's book, and I wish to recommend his *History of the Near East* to all classical and oriental scholars, and to all those who wish to be introduced by a reliable guide to the mysteries of ancient oriental history.

F. W. FREIHERR VON BISSING.

[It may seem ungrateful of me to comment on Professor von Bissing's very kind review of my book, but in reference to his views of Aegean matters I think I may be allowed to enter a *caveat*. I regret that Professor von Bissing should have, in reviewing me, directly criticized Sir Arthur Evans. One would have preferred that he had reserved his criticism for Sir Arthur's own work, such as the forthcoming book on Minoan art, which we are all awaiting with much interest. However, if I agree with Sir Arthur, I must take censure, apparently, from my friend Baron von Bissing. I am sorry, but I cannot help thinking the English archaeologist is right. When one has seen the work at Knossos from the beginning and studied its successive yearly results regularly upon the spot and in the Museum of Candia, as I have, one is not inclined to cavil at even the most revolutionary of their discoverer's theories. They have a habit of justifying themselves in the event, and I have no doubt whatever that in a few years time von Bissing will admit the early relationship of Egypt and Crete. I was cautious in my book about admitting connexion *on the side of the Egyptians* with the Aegeans till near the end of the Old Kingdom, but if I was wrong, as Professor von Bissing states, in saying "the Egypt of the Old Kingdom would have nothing to do with foreigners" (and I do not think that Mr Hogarth, for instance, would consider that I *was* wrong: see his article in the first number of the *Journal* on "Egyptian Empire in Asia," p. 15), surely the fact tells against Professor von Bissing's view and in favour of that of Sir Arthur Evans, with which I agree!

The amount of the evidence of connexion is increasing, as will be seen from my paper on the subject in the second and in the present number of the *Journal* (see pp. 110 ff., 197 ff.). The matter of the stone pot, *Prehistoric Tombs*, fig. 128, Professor von Bissing must settle with Sir Arthur Evans himself; it is nothing to do with me, and I have not mentioned it either in my book, though Bissing talks about it in this review, or in my paper on "The Relations of Aegean with Egyptian Art," which appears in this and in the previous number of the *Journal*. It is often noticeable that those who do not believe in a certain view will, in order to support their opinion, concentrate on some single flaw, as they consider it, in the evidence they dislike, but resolutely ignore all the other cumulative evidence in its favour. So, in the present case, it is evident that one doubtful pot cannot invalidate a host of other cumulative proofs, and I think Sir Arthur Evans rebuts Professor von Bissing's statement in the words which he adds below.

I can refer the reader to plenty of other proofs besides this doubtful pot (if it is doubtful; Sir Arthur says it is not!), as he will see from a perusal of the *Journal*. Why does not Professor von Bissing mention the seals, the carinated bowl-fragments, the VIth Dynasty pot from Mochlos, the common resemblance of Old Kingdom stone vases to Minoan ones (in the illustration is shewn a Cretan vase, dated by Sir A. Evans to the M. M. I period, by the side of an (older)



Stone vases: Early Egyptian (left), and Middle Minoan (right), shewing resemblance. (Ashmolean Museum.)

Egyptian one), the kettle-vase and *Schnabelkanne* relation (*Journal*, p. 114), the introduction of the spiral design into Egypt, and all the rest of the weapons in our armoury? Sir Arthur Evans tells me he has fresh facts that more than ever convince him of the very early relations of Egypt and Greece.

The Middle Minoan vase from Abydos is not M. M. III, as Bissing seems to think, but M. M. II.

As to my reviewer's belief that "no Egyptian object in Crete and no Cretan in Egypt can be proved to be contemporaneous with the XIIth Egyptian Dynasty," this Abydos find, with its cylinders of the XIIth Dynasty kings, is for me quite enough proof. It seems to me that the find shows that its pottery, including the little vases "mit mehrfach eingezogenem Bauch," is of the XIIth Dynasty; there is pottery of this type, also dated to the XIIth Dynasty, in the Manchester Museum. And if such pottery is also of the XIIIth Dynasty, as no doubt it is, it is a matter of small importance. There is, in my belief, little difference in time between the XIIth Dynasty and the XIIIth, even if there was not so very little as Professor Eduard Meyer postulates. Further, I may say that I doubt whether Professor von Bissing will find that Sir Arthur Evans will be so prompt in abandoning his nine Minoan periods as he anticipates.

As to Professor von Bissing's paper on the *Anteil der ägyptischen Kunst im Kunstleben der Völker* in the Proceedings of the Bavarian Academy, I had not seen it when I revised the proofs of my book. The author has since kindly sent it to me, and I have commented on it, on p. 205, above. Mr Reisinger's book I had seen, but I did not mention it because it seemed to me that it in no way improved upon the work of Miss E. H. Hall (*Decorative Art in Crete*; Philadelphia, 1907). Mr Reisinger seems to have confused "M. M. III" with "L. M. I," for one thing. In a work that covers the whole ground of ancient history from the beginning of things to 479 B.C. in 600 pages, one cannot, obviously, mention everything, and one, naturally, leaves out works which seem unimportant.

However, it is an honour to me to be reviewed by Professor von Bissing, and a pleasure to be reviewed so kindly. I am glad that the historical (that is, the largest) part of the book pleases him. About some few points in the purely archaeological parts we might, no doubt, argue, as we are doing now, till doomsday, but, I am sure, never without mutual goodwill. *Nichts für ungut!*

H. R. HALL.]

In consequence of the direct criticism of Sir Arthur Evans's archaeological work involved in Baron von Bissing's review of Mr Hall's book, it was deemed courteous and necessary to acquaint Sir Arthur with this criticism of the distinguished German scholar before its publication, in order that he might have the opportunity of replying to it, if he considered it necessary to do so, in the same number as that in which it appeared. Sir Arthur has, accordingly, sent us the remarks which follow. ED. :—

[The restoration of the bowl in *Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, p. 151, Fig. 128, is, as there stated, from a single fragment of diorite. It is there restored (in a drawing by Mr C. F. Bell) in accordance with a form of bowl found in IVth Dynasty Tombs at El Kab. The drawing is diagrammatic, from a sketch and photograph of the fragment—which may be also seen in Fig. 123 of my work (under § 14). But the vase itself was not restored by me nor am I responsible for this—and many other restorations!—in the Candia Museum. Nothing is more possible than that the restorer worked in a piece of another material.

But this does not affect the proposed restoration in diorite on p. 151. That may or may not be correct, but no such blunder has occurred as that with which Dr von Bissing (from an imperfect realization of local conditions) has credited me.

The diorite fragment with the ribbed shoulder can be clearly made out in Fig. 123. Dr von Bissing compares it, quite rightly, with some Cretan types. But Cretan bowls in diorite (or for that matter in basalt) are, to me at least, unknown. In Egypt itself diorite vases are surely not later than the Middle Kingdom—this at any rate was Petrie's conclusion.

This being the case the obvious inference seems to be that late Cretan bowls of this class are derived from Egyptian prototypes in harder materials and of earlier date. I am unable to see that there is any other possible view consistent with the ordinary rules of archaeological evidence.

In my present work on the Nine Minoan Periods, in which an endeavour is made to set forth the grounds of my classification in some detail, I have, I think, adduced overwhelming evidence—in many lines—as to the great influence of late prehistoric and proto-historic Egypt on Cretan arts and crafts. I did not happen to adduce this fragmentary piece of evidence, but I still believe that it holds good, and I am glad that Dr von Bissing's observation has reminded me of it.

In one matter he will approve of my revised synchronisms, since I think that I have made it clear that M. M. II well overlaps the XIIIth Dynasty.

ARTHUR J. EVANS.]

Essays and Studies, presented to William Ridgeway, Sc.D., F.B.A. Edited by E. C. QUIGGIN, M.A., Ph.D. pp. v-xxiv+656. Plates 19. Figs. in text 82. Cambridge University Press, 1913.

The volume presented to Professor Ridgeway by his friends on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday contains a vast amount of matter varying in range as widely as the recipient's own interests. Naturally Egyptological studies are far less strongly represented there than those connected with classical and prehistoric Greece. But as there is no branch of archaeology or ethnology which has not in some way felt the influence of Professor Ridgeway's inspiration and enthusiasm, it would have been an error if one of the largest and oldest branches of archaeological research had found no place in the volume. Accordingly we find some half dozen papers more or less directly connected with Egyptology.

Professor Petrie publishes five royal signets purchased by him in Egypt. In dealing with the first of these, which bears the name and titles of Khufu, he takes the opportunity to discuss the meaning of the words *neter nefer*, "the Good God," which stand at the head of the royal titulary. He compares these with the ΠΗΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΥΑΘΟΟ with which Coptic formulae often begin, and with the Arabic *bismillah* and the Latin *in nomine Deo*, and suggests that they contain not a title of the king but an equivalent of the English phrase "By the grace of God." To this suggestion there are one or two possible objections. In the first place the words are occasionally found in the middle of the titles, not at the beginning; further they are often governed by a preposition, as for example in the phrase "Year 10 under the majesty of the Good God..."; and finally the frequent reference to the king as the god (cf. "the majesty of this god") makes it probable that "the Good God" is to be taken as one of his titles. The most important of the other signets is that of a king Khandy, which is a cylinder distinctly Babylonian in technique, though the scene is conceived in the Egyptian fashion. The king appears to wear the white crown with the front projection of the red crown added. The appearance of this foreigner as a king of Egypt points probably to the period between the VIth and XIth Dynasties. I believe Gardiner was the first to suggest that this was a period of Asiatic incursion into the Delta, a conjecture which has been brilliantly confirmed by one of the lately published St. Petersburg papyri.

F. W. Green describes a vase now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, incised with a hieroglyphic group consisting of the Set animal preceded by the reversed *ka*-arms with an oval sign between the hands. This he compares with similar vases from the "main deposit" at Hierakonpolis, where the same group occurs with the scorpion or with the Horus bird over a crescent replacing the Set animal.

In a long paper Professor Elliot Smith works out in detail his now well-known hypothesis that the megalithic monuments are nothing more than attempts on the part of primitive peoples to imitate the various forms of Egyptian tomb and tomb-chapel. He is prepared to find the origin of almost every detail of megalithic architecture in some form of Egyptian or Nubian tomb. The hole found in one of the slabs in so many dolmens in various parts of the world is for him nothing more than a copy of the hole in the *serdab* of the mastaba through which the spirit came and went. Other features of the megalithic monuments are similarly explained, and indeed if we have a criticism to make of an admirable paper it is that it explains too much. Nevertheless even those of us who entirely disagree with Professor Elliot Smith's theory will admit that in this paper he has put it excellently and with an adequate knowledge of the literature connected with the problem. It is very much to be doubted whether a detailed criticism of his views would at this juncture serve any good purpose. Whether the author be right or wrong, he has done archaeology a great service in bringing up for fresh discussion a much neglected subject. He has put his case, and put it well. Archaeologists now have the facts before them and may take their choice, or, perhaps better still, wait for more evidence, for there is still much to come. The real difficulty in discussing the problem lies in the fact that the whole solution is dependent on our personal ideas as to what primitive Mediterranean man would or would not do under certain circumstances, and this, despite the researches of ethnology, is a subject on which agreement seems impossible.

It is in this relation that the essay which in the volume appropriately precedes that just mentioned is of most interest, for it shows us that even could we make up our minds as to the way in which things did happen among primitive mankind this knowledge will not always solve our problem. This essay is by Dr. Rivers and is entitled "The Contact of Peoples." The hypothesis on which the paper is based is that in the movements of races quite small numbers of immigrants are able to produce profound

modifications in peoples whose state of material culture is very inferior to their own. This hypothesis is based on the observation of comparatively recent movements of peoples, and seems well founded. The writer then applies it to the megalithic monuments, and shows that the diversity of physical characteristics among the peoples who constructed them does not preclude the idea of their having been spread by a single race, for that race may have travelled in such small numbers as not to influence perceptibly the physical type of the peoples among whom it settled, though at the same time possessing sufficient superiority in material civilization to enable it to impose its own culture. This is a good answer to those who deny that the megalithic idea *could* have been carried by a single people, though at the same time it does not prove that it was so carried. Even if it was, these people may have been either immigrants or merely traders, they may have been Egyptians or they may not. In other words Dr. Rivers's hypothesis can be reconciled with any of the most commonly held theories of the megalithic monuments. We have mentioned this point at some length because it is an excellent illustration of a truth which appears more than once from a juxtaposition of archaeological and ethnological essays such as that contained in this volume, the disappointing truth that ethnology is often powerless to help its sister science just at those very points where assistance was most to be looked for. And doubtless archaeology just as frequently disappoints the ethnologist.


A short paper by Dr. Seligmann brings us down to modern Egypt, pointing out several ancient Egyptian beliefs which still seem to survive there. Dr. Seligmann, doubtless rightly, sees survivals in the various boat ceremonies and in the popular modern calendar. He is inclined to see the ancient *ka* surviving in the modern *qarîna*, of which he gives some interesting details. We should have liked even more evidence on this point, but it is not easy to gather, for the Arabs themselves are not very clear with regard to the *qarîna* and the beliefs vary considerably from village to village. To this collection of modern beliefs concerning the spirit might be added that recorded by Newberry from the village of Qûrna, where the natives believe that the swallow embodies the spirit of their deceased fellow villagers. Is this a survival of the *ba*?

T. ERIC PEET.

The Miraculous Birth of Amon-hotep III and other Egyptian Studies. By the Rev. COLIN CAMPBELL, D.D. pp. i—xiv+204. 46 photographs. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1912. 7s. 6d. nett.

Dr Colin Campbell gives us in this book a succinct and popular description of several monuments which have hitherto been somewhat inadequately or imperfectly treated. Dr Campbell is greatly interested in Egyptian religion, and especially in the conception of the divinity of the pharaoh, the fiction of his divine parentage and birth, and the representations of this on the monuments. He has studied the splendid series of representations, published by Professor Naville for the Fund, of the divine birth of Queen Hatshepsut at Dêr el-Bahri, and has used his knowledge of them to elucidate more accurately than has been done before the similar series of pictures relating to King Amenhetep III on the walls of the sanctuaries at Luxor. All visitors to that temple will remember its sanctuary, with the great Ptolemaic *naos* of Alexander the Great which fills up its centre. The reliefs of Amenhetep III on the walls of the chamber have been much damaged, with the result that former descriptions of them have suffered in the point of accuracy. Dr Campbell has gone through them all with care, and has thus been able to supply many gaps in the accounts of his predecessors, whom he is at times obliged to criticize. The exception he takes to some of the descriptions of M. Gayet seem quite justified, and in several points (*e.g.* the identification of the scorpion-goddess Serqet or Selkit in the upper left-hand corner of the relief illustrated opposite p. 42) he has settled points left undetermined by others. After describing these Luxor reliefs he gives us an account of the festal representations (processions of boats, *etc.*) on the walls of the Colonnade of Tutankhamen, and concludes his work with descriptions of two very fine painted tombs at Dêr el-Medînah on the western bank, those of Sennezem and Pashedu (Nos. 1 and 3 of Dr Gardiner's list, *A Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs at Thebes*; see the April number of the *Journal*, p. 154). Dr Campbell illustrates the whole of his work with a complete series of photographs taken by himself, which are usually adequate, sometimes (in the case of the two tombs especially) very good, sometimes not good: that opposite p. 168 for instance is very much out of focus. Generally speaking, Dr Campbell has done his work very well, though he sometimes expresses opinions which will not be shared by all.

For instance, he energetically combats the idea that the Egyptian king may have danced before the gods (p. 91), though he may just as well have done so as not, and the dead king is in the Pyramid texts called "the divine pygmy-dancer." Dr Campbell seems to think that there must have been something disreputable about such a royal performance, and quotes the rebuke of Michal to David on the subject of his dancing before the ark. The king had probably lapsed into a ceremony of the Canaanites, hence the rebuke: such a performance is common enough in semibarbarous tribes, and the stereotyped Egyptian state custom retained the semibarbarous character of the early days throughout history. Dr Campbell disapproves (p. 91) of Dr Budge's translation of the passage from the Pyramid-Texts (Pyr. 1189 a, Sethe), above mentioned, because he makes Pepi "the pygmy who danceth for the god and who maketh glad the heart before the great throne," and approves of Sir Gaston Maspero's because the latter makes the king "présente (not "presente" as it is misprinted here) les divertissements du dieu, les plaisirs du dieu par devant sa grande place." Probably neither Sir Gaston nor Prof. Sethe would in the least disapprove of Dr Budge's translation, since in the Egyptian it reads *dang ꜥꜣ abꜣ-ntr, šmḥ ab m-bah ást-f irt*, where *dang* is certainly a pygmy and *abꜣ-ntr* (since the word is determined by the three signs which, Dr Campbell admits, mean dancing, and is *not* determined by *pillars*, as he thinks)¹ is "dances of the god," his "divertissements," as Sir Gaston puts it. Dr Campbell does not mention the very probable explanation of the *Sed*-festival, given by Professor Petrie in his *Researches in Sinai*, as a survival of an old custom (paralleled all over the semibarbarous world, but especially noticeable among the Nilotic tribes) which necessitated the execution and consequent "Osirification" of the king after he had reigned thirty years.

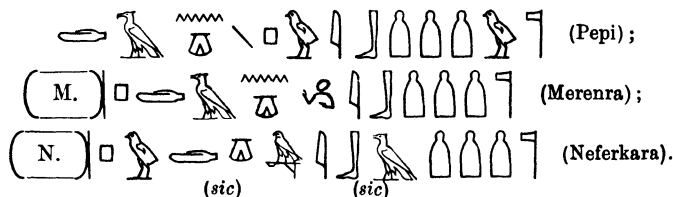
There are one or two old-fashioned spellings in the book, such as "Seb," "Usertesen." One is surprised at seeing the nowadays universally abandoned transliteration of royal prenomens as *Rā-maat-neb*, *Rā-maat-men*, and so on. Not only do we know that the name of the sun-god was merely written first *honoris causâ*, and was pronounced last, but we also know that the name of Maat in these two names (and doubtless in the prenomens of Hatshepsut too, as M. Naville thinks) was also written after that of Rā for the same honorific reason, the real pronunciation having been *Neb-maat-Rā*, *Men-maat-Rā* (and in the case of Hatshepsut, according to Naville, *Ka-maat-Rā*). Dr Campbell still retains the old translation of  as "Golden Horus," in company with many others, and as a short


translation it may do: but the idea has really nothing to do with indicating "the pure, uncorrupted nature of the sovereign as the bodily son of Rā," as Dr Campbell suggests (p. 3). The gold-sign here means a decidedly corrupt nature, evil dross, for it is the sign of Set, the god of Nubia, the place which for the early Egyptians was the centre of resistance to the conquering men of Horus: the symbol really means "Horus triumphing over the Evil One," as it was actually translated in Ptolemaic times, and so was an appropriate title for the Horus of the Living, the Pharaoh.

There are several misprints in the book such as *puat* twice (pp. 122, 144) for *paut*, *merket* for *merhet* (p. 93), *zezer* (p. 104), and the name of the same goddess appears now as *Uatchet* and now as *Uazit*. Such superficial blemishes are easily removeable. Dr Campbell has done a careful and praiseworthy piece of work in collating the Luxor reliefs with those of Dêr el-Bahri and in describing them at length, and the book will be useful to the student as well as to the amateur of Egyptian matters.

H. R. HALL.

¹ Here is Prof. Sethe's text:



The last example shows that the *dng* was regarded as a more or less divine being. Dr Campbell apparently forgot the *dng* which Herkhuf brought back from the Sudan for king Merenra, and seems to have thought that *ab* was possible as a value of the pillar-sign  (*ân*).

Louqsor sans les Pharaons: Légendes et Chansons de la Haute-Egypte. By GEORGES LEGRAIN, Directeur des Travaux du Service des Antiquités à Karnak. pp. 224, 58 plates. Vromant & Co. Bruxelles et Paris, 1914.

In *Louqsor sans les Pharaons* M. Legrain deals with an aspect of Modern Egypt which is entirely unknown to the tourists, for whom the book is, in the main, intended. For them and other casual observers of modern life in the Nile Valley, the ancient Egyptian religion is a thing that flourished and died long ages ago, leaving no record of its existence save empty temples and violated tombs. But he who breaks through the thin veneer of Islâm, which most modern Egyptians profess, and looks below the surface, finds that the old faith has many a living lineal descendant in the beliefs and practices of to-day, and that the pagan divinities, though no longer honoured under their familiar names and forms, still frequently survive in the guise of Christian saints and Muslim sheykhs.

All this is well illustrated in the tales of "Saint Chanatôme," "Saint Mercure-aux-Deux-Épées," and "Cheikh Abou 'l-Haggag." In the Saint Mercurius, otherwise known as Abu Seyfeyn, and renowned for miraculously curing the insane, M. Legrain would have us recognise a Christianised Khons, the god who cured the possessed princess of Bakhtan in the days of Ramses II. As for Abu 'l-Haggag, whose mosque stands in the midst of the temple of Luxor, is he not the once mighty "Amon-Re, Lord of Karnak" in humble modern guise? Like that god he too has his sacred ship that goes in solemn procession, as did the "Barque of Amon," once a year through Luxor town. M. Legrain has several good tales to tell of modern superstition, and gives translations of many a *Fellâhi* song (of the latter we wish he had given the Arabic version as well), that will make the visitor better acquainted with the people among whom he is residing, and will be of value to the student of Folk-lore. Not the least useful part of the book are the illustrations which are very different in subject to those that usually adorn a popular work on Egypt.

M. Legrain lives most of the year in Luxor and his work brings him into close touch with the *Fellâhin*. We hope therefore that he will produce ere long another book dealing in rather a more scientific way with the popular beliefs of the modern Upper Egyptians, with regard to which he surely must possess a mine of information.

A. M. BLACKMAN.

The October number of the *Journal* will contain articles by Professor Dr Kurt Sethe, of the University of Göttingen, on "Hitherto unnoticed evidence regarding Copper Works of Art of the oldest period of Egyptian History"; Mr L. W. King on "Some new examples of Egyptian Influence at Nineveh"; Professor Thos. Whittemore on the excavations of the American Committee of the Fund at Sawâma and the further exploration of the Ibis Cemetery at Abydos this year; Mr A. Lucas on "The Use of Bitumen in Mummification"; Dr G. P. G. Sobhy, of Cairo, on "The Pronunciation of Coptic in the Church in Egypt"; the general Egyptian Bibliography of 1913 by Mr F. Ll. Griffith, and reviews by Professor Maurice Canney, Mr F. Weir Schultz, and others.

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
HITHERTO UNNOTICED EVIDENCE REGARDING COPPER WORKS OF ART OF THE OLDEST PERIOD OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY Prof. Kurt Sethe, Ph.D.	233
SOME NEW EXAMPLES OF EGYPTIAN INFLUENCE AT NINEVEH (CONTINUED) L. W. King, Litt.D. ...	237
THE USE OF BITUMEN BY THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS IN MUMMIFICATION A. Lucas, F.I.C. ...	241
THE SAWÂMA CEMETERIES AND THE IBIS CEMETERY AT ABYDOS Prof. T. Whittemore ...	246
THE AUSTRIAN EXCAVATIONS, 1914 Prof. H. Junker, Ph.D.	250
BIBLIOGRAPHY 1912-13-14: ANCIENT EGYPT F. Ll. Griffith, M.A. ...	254
NOTES AND NEWS	292
NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS	296

Communications to the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* should be sent to the **Editor**, the Rev. F. G. Walker, M.A., 114, Stanford Avenue, Brighton, or to the **Honorary Secretary of the Egypt Exploration Fund**, H. R. Hall, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., 37, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.

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HITHERTO UNNOTICED EVIDENCE REGARDING COPPER WORKS OF ART OF THE OLDEST PERIOD OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY

BY PROFESSOR KURT SETHE, PH.D.¹

[An intimation was received from a friend in Sweden that Professor Sethe would prefer that his article should not appear under the present circumstances. We would have complied with the author's wish, but as the article was already in page and passed for press it was impossible to do so. In scientific matters there should be no international animosities. ED.]

THE tomb-finds of the oldest period of Egyptian history shew us the Egyptians still living practically in the Stone Age. Only rarely and slowly does the use of metal (that is to say, copper², which the Egyptians will have derived from Sinai) seem to have displaced that of stone and of bone. With the exception of objects of general use of modest size, such as needles, harpoon-points, mirrors, and vases, no copper works of art have been preserved from those times to our own.

That the Egyptians had, however, long before, and with the greatest success, essayed the manufacture of figures and of greater works of art of copper, has been shewn, to our general astonishment, by the discovery of the wonderful portrait figures of the king Pepy I and his little son at Hierakonpolis by Quibell.

The Egyptian monuments of the Old Kingdom give us in their pictures and inscriptions but little information as to the use of copper. In the reliefs the smelting and weighing-out of the metal is not seldom represented, it is true³; but as to what kinds of objects were made of it we get no inkling from them. A short list of metal vessels in the tomb of Ra'-hotep at Medûm (Petrie, *Medum*, pl. xiii) is the only exception.

We have had, however, as a matter of fact two pieces of evidence on the subject for a long time which have not yet been noticed. And this on one of the best known monuments of the time. I refer to the famous Stone of Palermo, which in two passages tells us of copper works of art, which to all appearance must have been very important, and the loss of which we must regret exceedingly.

I.

The 4th Year-register of the fifth row on the front side (*recto*) of the Palermo Stone⁴ presents the appearance of Fig. 1.

¹ Translated from the author's manuscript by H. R. Hall. Owing to the war it has not been possible to submit proofs to the author; but the translation has been revised by him.

² Whether pure copper or an alloy, such as bronze.

³ See the bibliography of such representations in v. BISSING, *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai*, I. p. 29.

⁴ SCHÄFER, *Ein Bruchstück altaegyptischer Annalen* (*Abh. der Berl. Akad.* 1902), p. 27, pl. 1.

Here we see a year named after an event, which happened to the well-known king Kha'sekhemuy (*H'y-šhm.wy*), of the end of the Second Dynasty, whose grave at Umm el-Ga'ab was discovered by Amélineau and explored by Petrie. Up till now it has been the general opinion—and I myself have made the same mistake—that in this passage the birth (*mšw.t*) of the king himself is mentioned, as similarly in so many other year-designations of the oldest period the "birth" of a god seems to be met with as a name-giving event.

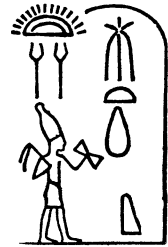


Fig. 1.

Such a meaning could not really in any case be accepted unhesitatingly. For how could a year be named after the birth of a person, about whom nobody could possibly know already whether he would ever become important. For instance, if the event was the birth of the heir to the throne, how could anybody know if he would ever ascend the throne and what "Horus" name he would assume if he did?¹

And, besides, the acceptance of this meaning involved taking no notice of two signs, which stand beneath the word *mšw.t*. And this though they are by no means a *quantité négligeable*. As a matter of fact they are precisely what gives us the correct idea of the meaning of the whole passage.

The first of the two hieroglyphs in question, that which stands immediately beneath the word *mšw.t* and in its position ranges itself entirely with that word, is an \circ . This is nothing else whatever than the usual Old Kingdom hieroglyph for the word *by*, "metal," "copper,"² which in the inscriptions by the above-mentioned representations of smelting (*nby.t by*) and weighing-out of the metal (*f'y-t by*) is written either \circ° ,³ or simply \circ ,⁴ as here in our instance (Fig. 1).

In connexion with this word for "copper," one can hardly any longer take *mšw.t* in its fundamental meaning of "birth," "bearing," but must understand it in its

¹ *H'y-šhm.wy* is in reality the official "Horus-name" of the king, not his birth or princely name. This was *Htp-nbwy-imywy-f*.

² \int° , *by*, written later \int° , is the old word for the ordinary metals in contradistinction to the noble metals. We have it in Coptic in the expressions ⲕⲉ-ⲡⲓ-ⲡⲉ , "Metal of Heaven,"=Iron (first mentioned under the Nineteenth Dynasty; L.D. iii. 187e, 6; de ROUGÉ, *Inscr. hiér.* 226), ⲁⲁⲣⲟⲩ , "grown metal,"=pure Copper (called "grown metal" because it is found in the mountains, while iron on the contrary occurs pure only as meteoric iron), ⲁⲁⲤⲏⲉⲤ , "Metal of ...,"=Tin. ϩⲟⲙⲡ̄ or ϩⲟⲙⲧ will be a word derived from \int° , *hm-ty*, "smith" (artisan). It probably signifies specially "bronze," the impure copper in general use. DAVIES, *Deir el-Gebrâwi*, I. pl. 13, 14; PERROT-CHIPIEZ, *Hist. de l'Art*, i. p. 21.

³ In contradistinction to *inr*, "Stone," LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, ii. 496. The *t*, which stands above, belongs to the verbal forms *nby.t* and *f'y.t*.

⁴ According to DAVIES, the sign at Deir el-Gebrâwi is unexpectedly coloured blue. In the grave of Ra-hotep at Medûm our hieroglyph for copper in the list of metal vases, quoted above (PETRIE, *Medum*, pl. xiii), is coloured alternately blue and red; a similar change of colour is noticeable in the case of other hieroglyphs, e.g. the lion, which is coloured now yellow, now green. Copper is also painted as blue in the same grave in the case of tools, such as chisels and picks (*ibid.* pl. xi), an axe (pl. xiii above), and the washing apparatus (pl. xiii above the false door). The blue colour evidently represents the patina of the oxydized metal, the red probably the colour of the unoxydized.

transferred meaning "to form," "to model," particularly figures of living beings, which it so often had later.

The second sign, which is separated from the first by a large space, and in its position bears no relation either to it or to the word *mšw.t*¹, seems therefore not to belong to it in any way. This is Δ^2 , the hieroglyph of the sound *k*, which, as ideogram of its original meaning ("height"), represents correspondingly the word *k'y*, "high." So on our Stone (*recto*, b, 4), in the name *K'y-hd.t-tp-Snfrw*, "High-is-the-white-crown-on-the-head-of²-Snefru," used for a building.

And in our passage also the word *k'y*, "high," belongs to just such a name, *i.e.* that of the figure to the making of which the whole passage refers. This, a royal statue, is represented in a picture immediately beneath the king's name *H'y-šhm.wy*. It is a statue representing the king walking, wearing the crown of Upper Egypt, and holding in one hand the scourge, in the other the symbol of sovereignty corresponding to this⁴. The name, of which the picture appears to act as the determinative, reads thus: *K'y-H'y-šhm.wy*, "High-is-Kha'sekhemuy," a designation which immediately causes us to suspect that we are not dealing with a small figure. And this is shewn, too, by the fact that a regnal year was named after it. It must therefore have been a work of importance, probably like the statue of Pepy which we mentioned above, and its erection must have been a notable event.

For the reading which results from the above considerations for the whole Year-designation, *mšw.t by; K'y-H'y-šhm.wy*, "Making-copper-(the king's statue) 'High-is-Kha'sekhemuy,'" we can compare the following analogous instances from the Palermo Stone: *kd inr Mn-ntr.t*, "Building-stone-(the Building) 'The-Goddess-stays-firm'" (*recto*, 5, 2) and *šd.t š Dw'-t'-wy mh-100 1*, "Cutting-cedarwood-(the king's ship) 'Praised-of-the-Two Lands,' a hundred-ell ship" (*recto*, 6, 3). Here we see, first the infinitive of the verb, which expresses the making of the work, then the material and last the name of the work. This placing of the material before the name of the object made out of it is usual enough in Egyptian, as, for instance, in the sentence: *inr hd kršw*, "white stone (a) sarcophagus," for "a sarcophagus of white stone" (see Erman, *Aeg. Gramm.*⁴ § 210).



Fig. 2.

II.

Of a second work of art of copper, which belonged to the period of the Old Kingdom proper, and stood much nearer the time of the Pepy-statue, we hear from the second year-register of the fifth row on the back of the Palermo Stone. This year probably corresponds to the 11th of Neferirikere', of the Fifth Dynasty⁵. There, in a horizontal line, we read the words: "King of Upper and Lower Egypt Neferirikere' has made (it) as (his) monument [for]..." Underneath this in perpendicular columns

¹ The facsimile in Schäfer's text is incorrect in this respect.

² For the form of the sign cf. *škr-nh*, "prisoner," in *recto* 6, 2 of the Palermo Stone.

³ *Tp*, "upon," "on the head of," is pictographically represented merely by placing the crown immediately upon the royal cartouche.

⁴ See KEES, *Opfertanz*, p. 142.

⁵ SCHÄFER, *loc. cit.* p. 41.

are mentioned first the separate deities who were said to have received benefits from the king, and then these benefits themselves. By the side stands, wherever works of men's hands are in question, again the material of which they were made (as, for example, *ḡ'm*, "gold," in the second and fourth columns).

Accordingly, we read the first of these columns thus: "Re' in the Sun-Temple *Heart's Desire of Re'*: copper, 8 ells—the evening sun boat and the morning sun boat."

In conjunction with the text of the horizontal lines, this means that king Neferirikere' dedicated in the sun-temple at Abusir, built by him, imitations of the two sun-boats, made of copper and each eight ells long.

These eight ells long copper sun-boats must certainly be regarded as cult-objects. With the thirty metres long (= about 57 ells) brick sun-boat, which was found at the south side of the Sun-Temple of Ne-user-re' at Abu Gorâb¹, one can hardly compare them, as Schäfer, not recognising the words "copper" and "ell," once did.

This building in the form of a ship at Abu Gorâb was meant to represent no doubt the actual sun-boat itself, which the god could board, coming in the evening from the south, by his temple on the border of the western desert, and which he would leave to take his rest in his sanctuary. It was therefore the boat of the evening sun.


From this the fact quite naturally explains itself, which caused so much comment at the time of discovery, namely, that in spite of all endeavours only *one* such sun-boat was found at the temple of Abu Gorâb². The other, the boat of the morning sun, if it ever existed, must naturally be sought only on the eastern border of the Nile Valley, perhaps at Heliopolis.

The building of just such a single evening sun-boat as that which was actually found at Abu Gorâb, is actually reported in our passage of the Palermo Stone, in respect of the sun-temple of Neferirikere'. It stands in the previous line of the same year-register, and reads: *ḡd⁴ m, .t r ḡnb.t rš.[t nt is.t-ib-r']*, "Building (*i.e.* walling) of a sun-ship at the southern corner [of the sun-temple *Heart's Desire of Re'*]."

¹ BORCHARDT, *Das Re'-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-Re'*, I. pp. 16, 52.

² The hawk sign is corrected according to a pencil rubbing by Borchardt.

³ BORCHARDT, *loc. cit.* p. 16.

⁴ From Borchardt's rubbing of the stone the reading *ḡd* seems certain. Beneath it one sees a horizontal bar, which seems to connect the vertical inclusion-bars of the line. Perhaps by this was intended the hieroglyph , *ḡ.t*, "house," in which the following words should stand, as in the Pyramids of Sakkara, the text of each spell (*ḡ.t*, literally, "house"), stands in a similar hieroglyph, formed of the line-bars and a horizontal cross-bar. So the subject is certainly the "building of the House of the Sun-Boat." But also in this case mention is made of one boat only, not of two.

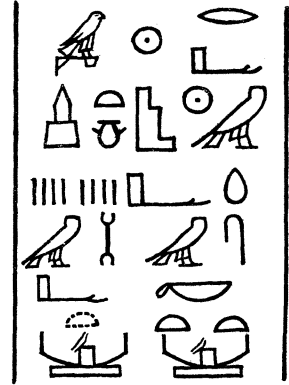


Fig. 3².

SOME NEW EXAMPLES OF EGYPTIAN INFLUENCE AT NINEVEH (*continued*)


By LEONARD W. KING, Litt.D.

[See Plates XXXV and XXXVI]

II. Egyptian motifs in Assyrian and Phoenician design.

WE saw reason to believe that the ivory figure of Ishtar, described in the first part of this paper¹, was the central feature in a larger composition, which may well have been an inlaid panel resembling those found by Layard at Nimrûd. Additional support for this suggestion may be seen in the fact that the same chamber of the south-west palace at Kuyunjik yielded three ivory and paste fragments, which may have formed parts of that composition and of another panel of the same character. These are reproduced on Plate XXXV, Nos. 1—3, and it will be seen that they, too, exhibit clear traces of Egyptian influence.

The most interesting of the three is No. 2, a fragment of ivory carved in relief with a finely conceived pattern of lotus-flowers and buds². The buds fit in below the open blossoms, the outer edges of which are joined conventionally. A pleasing variety is introduced into the design by an alteration in the angle of the stalks, each row of buds and flowers springing from right or left alternately. It can be seen in the photograph that the lowest row of lotus-flowers curves round at a slight angle to the main surface of the ivory; this was evidently the lower edge of the patterned area, as in that row no buds are carved beneath the open flowers. In the top left-hand corner part of the original edge is also preserved, for the back of the ivory has here been chamfered off at an angle, cutting through one of the lotus-petals. From the apparently irregular shape of the piece preserved, it seems probable that the pattern was employed to enrich the field of the panel between figures in higher relief.

Conscious imitation of an Egyptian model may be seen in the employment of a cartouche with garbled hieroglyphs, possibly as the centre of a panel arranged like one of those from Nimrûd³. The cartouche (No. 3)⁴ is of blue paste and the upper portion, which is all that is preserved, is carved with the hieroglyphs , a garbled

¹ See above, pp. 107 ff.

² Ki. 1904-10-9, 430. The fragment measures $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. by 2 in.; the thickness of the ivory is $\frac{3}{8}$ in. The back was probably flat, but the surface has flaked off.


³ See above, p. 108, n. 5.

⁴ Ki. 1904-10-9, 432; see above, p. 108, n. 4.



Objects from Kuyunjik (Nineveh).

form of the Egyptian royal name Seti. Egyptian influence is less apparent in the other ivory fragment, which represents part of the legs and torso of a male figure, wearing a tunic and belt (No. 1)¹. The border of the tunic was inlaid with lozenges of different coloured paste, arranged alternately, and the belt with a single piece which is wanting. The method of inlaying was probably suggested by Egyptian work.

A different class of object is represented by the limestone cylinder reproduced on Plate XXXV, No. 4. The upper end of the stone is bored to a depth of $\frac{3}{4}$ in. for fixing to another surface, and the edge at the base is cut round as though to fit into a metal socket². The stone probably formed part of the handle of a mace or sceptre. Around its centre is carved a pattern of alternate lotuses and leaves, springing from a continuous stalk; and above and below are borders representing water in the conventional Egyptian style. The central *motif* of the design is familiar enough, though veined leaves here take the place of the more usual lotus-buds³. But the adoption of the Egyptian convention for water, , is novel. The Assyrian method of representing water, by means of parallel curves and scroll-work, is quite distinct.

The last example of an Egyptian *motif* in work from Nineveh is the engraved shell which is figured on Plate XXXVI. While it is permissible to ascribe an Assyrian origin to such an object as the stone cylindrical handle, No. 4, there can be little doubt as to the Phoenician parentage of the engraving on the shell. Shells of this species, *Tridacna squamosa*, decorated with line engraving, have been recovered on Mediterranean sites as well as in Mesopotamia, and it is probable that in every case they are the work of Phoenician craftsmen of the VIIIth and VIIth centuries⁴. Of the Mesopotamian series the first to be published was that found by Loftus at Warka, which is engraved with the heads of two horses, evidently harnessed to a chariot, while the field is filled in with lotus-flowers and buds⁵. One of the finest specimens hitherto recovered is a nearly complete shell, of the 82-9-18 Collection, in which the thick centre of the base is carved in the form of a human head fitted with wings represented by the expanding body of the shell⁶. The principal designs engraved upon its outer surface, a god rising from a solar disk flanked by two riders on horses, are thoroughly Asiatic in treatment; and here too Egyptian influence is only traceable in

¹ Ki. 1904-10-9, 431. The fragment measures $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{4}$ in.; the greatest thickness of the ivory is $\frac{1}{2}$ in. The original surface of the reverse is preserved and shows the trimming of the ivory to fit the fragment into the design.

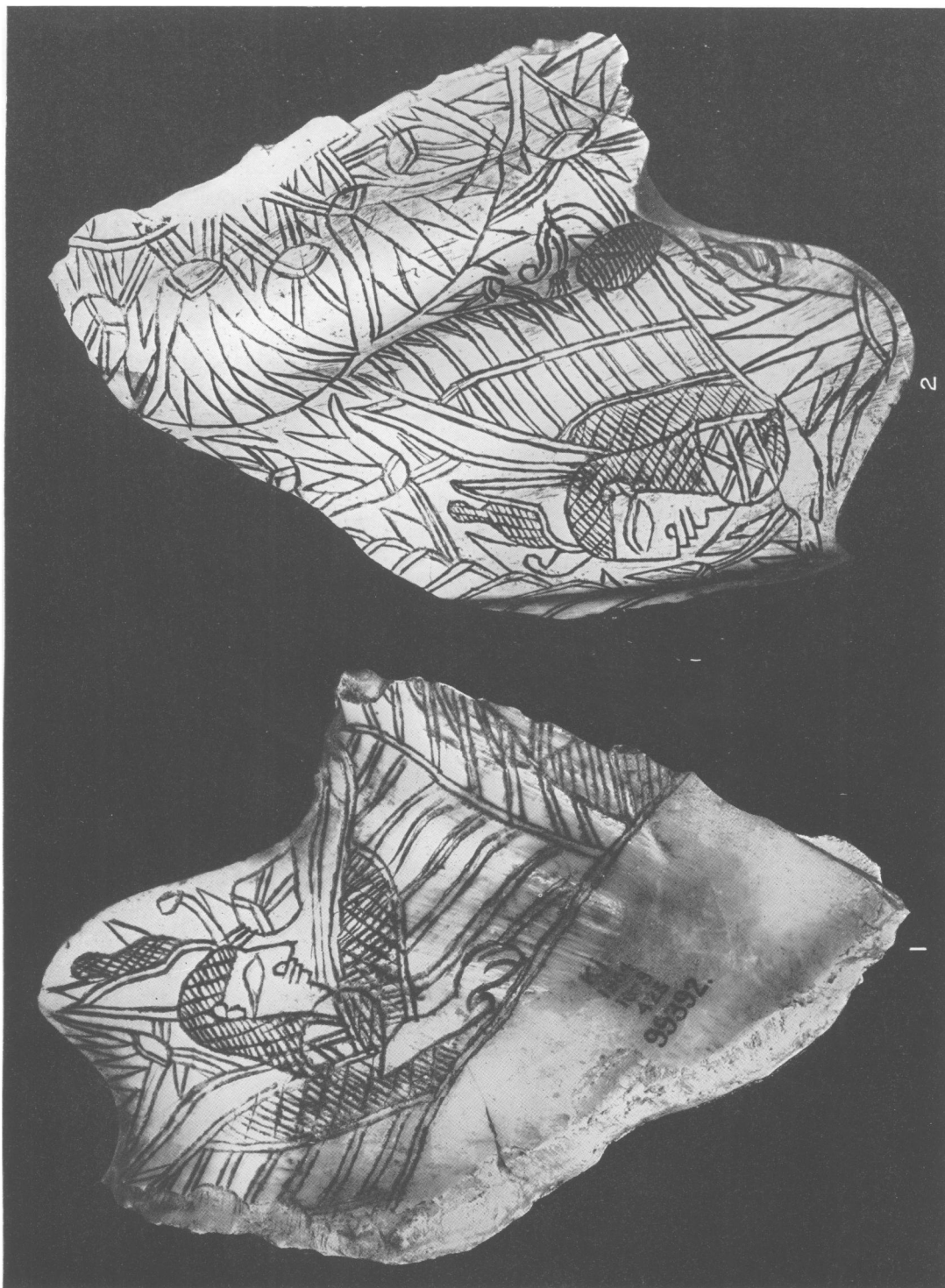
² Th. 1905-4-9, 361. The stone measures $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. in length, and from $1\frac{7}{16}$ in. to $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. in diameter, tapering slightly to the top. The diameter of the boring in the upper surface is $\frac{5}{16}$ in.

³ For the latter, cf. PERROT and CHAPIEZ, *Hist. de l'Art*, II, p. 320, Fig. 136, from the decoration of a doorway at Kuyunjik; or the borders of diapered paving-slabs, carved in imitation of carpets (*op. cit.*, Figs. 131 and 135, and *Brit. Mus. Guide*, p. 36), which have been found both at Kuyunjik and at Khorsabad.

⁴ For the latest discussion of the subject, see the work of the Danish scholar Frederik POULSEN, *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst* (1912), pp. 65 ff.

⁵ For woodcuts of the fragment, see LAYARD, *Nin. and Bab.*, p. 563; it is exhibited in the Babylonian Room in the British Museum, Case H, No. 177.

⁶ This specimen was found at Abû Habbah (Sippar), not at Nimrûd, as stated by POULSEN, *op. cit.* p. 69, who republishes it from *Bull. de corr. hell.* 1896, pl. XXXII f. With it may be compared the complete shell found in a tomb at Vulci (Brit. Mus., First Vase Room, Case E, 52-1-12, 3), and the interesting little fragment from Delphi (POULSEN, *op. cit.* p. 70).



Engraved shell from Kuyunjik (Nineveh).

the lotus-flowers and buds which decorate the disk and the field of the composition. In the fragment figured on Plate XXXVI¹ Egyptian elements predominate, as, in addition to the presence of the lotus, the principal figures in both the exterior and interior designs are winged sphinxes wearing the Double Crown. The shell, in fact, falls into the same category as two fragments from Naukratis and Camirus in the British Museum, on which sphinxes of the same character are represented². As in so much of his work, the Phoenician craftsman has not been very happy in his attempt at handling a foreign subject; his sphinxes are mere caricatures, though the general effect of the engraved surface of the shell is not displeasing.

It may be of interest to add that the engraved fragment recovered at Kuyunjik by George Smith in 1873³ is almost certainly part of the same shell, though the two fragments do not join. Each has the same discoloration of the under surface, and on the exterior of S. 2274 part of a sphinx is preserved with precisely the same hatched circle to represent the hind quarters. The Smith fragment is probably from the right-hand portion of the shell: the sphinx there faces to the right, below a similar border of lotus-flowers and buds. This latter may possibly have been the outer edge of a conventionally elaborate disk, flanked by the sphinxes, above which may have risen the figure of a male deity.

III. Direct importations from Egypt.

The objects which fall under this category are figured on Plate XXXV, Nos. 5—8.

The smaller scarab, No. 8⁴, is inscribed with the formula $\overline{\Delta \circ}$
 $\left[\begin{array}{c} \square \quad \parallel \quad \text{III} \\ \Delta \quad \text{[]} \quad \otimes \end{array} \right]$, and commemorates “a coming to *Āpt-āsut* (Karnak)”; it is the earliest of the objects found, as it dates from about the eleventh or tenth century B.C. Considerably later is the larger scarab, No. 7⁵, which dates from the period of the xxivth—xxvth Dynasties. Here, in the right half of the field, is a Nile-god kneeling in adoration before the obelisk of Amen, beside which is a disk; on the left is a cartouche containing the prenomen of Thothmes III, and below are a bee, emblematic of Lower Egypt, and a second disk. That scarabs were brought to Nineveh for use, and not merely as curiosities, is convincingly shown by the tablet figured on Plate XXXV, No. 5⁶. The receipt for barley, with which it is inscribed, is sealed with the borrower's seal. In place of an Assyrian cylinder, or a conical seal, a scarab has here been twice impressed on the soft surface of the clay. The upper part of its design is blurred, but below can be

¹ Ki. 1904-10-9, 425. The fragment measures $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. Some colouring matter has been rubbed into the engraving, before the photograph was taken, in order to bring out the design.

² First Vase Room, Case E, 86-4-1, 1597 and 64-10-7, 1976. In *Naukratis*, I, pl. XX, No. 16, the wings, hind quarters and tail of the sphinx can be made out if the plate is held upside down.

³ See Bab. Room, Case H, No. 175; its registration number is S. 2274. It should be noted that this is the fragment republished by POULSEN, *op. cit.* p. 68, Fig. 69 (after *Bull. de corr. hell.* 1896, pl. XXXI), as from Nimrud. As a matter of fact, Smith found it at Kuyunjik. The small fragment Th. 1905-4-9, 460 may also have been part of this shell; very little of its engraving is preserved.

⁴ Ki. 1904-10-9, 448; see above, p. 108, n. 1.

⁵ Th. 1905-4-9, 222; see above, p. 108, n. 2, and cf. HALL, *Catalogue of Scarabs*, p. 152, No. 1559.

⁶ Ki. 1904-10-9, 56; see above, p. 108, n. 3.

made out the prenomen of Thothmes III, within a cartouche, above the *neb*-sign; and on each side of it are two *nefer*-signs and two uraei wearing the White Crown. The two scarabs, like that used for sealing the tablet, may have been brought to Nineveh by merchants trading from Egypt or the Mediterranean coast.

The small bronze, figured on Plate XXXV, No. 7, represents the Egyptian god Ptah-Tanen¹, and dates from about the VIIth century B.C. The presence of Ptah-Tanen's figure at Nineveh suggests possibilities of Egyptian influence in the religious sphere; for the later literature of Assyria exhibits a marked readiness to adopt new gods and incorporate them in its all-embracing pantheon. In the ivory figure of Ishtar as an Egyptian goddess we see how this breadth of view, which characterised the closing epoch of Assyrian history, could modify religious convention on its artistic side.

¹ Cf. BUDGE, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. I, pp. 502 ff.

THE QUESTION OF THE USE OF BITUMEN OR PITCH BY THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS IN MUMMIFICATION

By A. LUCAS, F.I.C.

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BITUMEN may be either (a) a mixture of hydrocarbons originating in petroleum found naturally impregnating certain porous rocks, generally limestone, but occasionally sandstone, in various parts of the world, as for example at Seyssel in France, Val de Travers in Switzerland, Ragusa in Sicily, as well as in Italy, Germany, Syria, America, etc., or (b) a similar material mixed with varying proportions of mineral matter found in the form of deposits, as in the well-known "pitch" lake in Trinidad, and in the Bermudez "pitch" lake in Venezuela. Bitumen in this latter form is frequently called "soft pitch."

Pitch may be either natural or artificial. Natural pitch is simply bitumen which has become solid by exposure, and is found in Trinidad and Venezuela accompanying the softer variety, as also in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea. Artificial pitch, which resembles the natural article very closely in appearance, is obtained by the destructive distillation of coal, wood, etc.

From a study of the writings of the Egyptian, Arab, Greek and Latin authors, who treat of the subject of mummies and mummification, there would seem to be no doubt whatever that either bitumen or pitch, or both, were extensively employed by the ancient Egyptian in the preservation of the dead.

The study of modern writers on the subject of mummification would also seem to lead to the same conclusion.

I have ventured to suggest, however, on two previous occasions, that possibly the general idea that bitumen or pitch was frequently used may be erroneous¹.

I will now summarize briefly the arguments on both sides of the question.

The Rhind papyrus written by an Egyptian of Ptolemaic times in describing the methods employed in mummification mentions various ingredients used, among which was pitch, and this is stated to have been put into the skull².

The Arab physician Ibn Betar writes "The name *mumia* is given to the drug of which mention has just been made (i.e. by Dioscorides who is quoted for the statement that *mumia* flows down from the lightning mountains and becomes hard and thick and has a smell like pitch) and to that which is called Bitumen of Judaea, and

¹ (a) Annual Report 1907-8 *Arch. Survey of Nubia*, Vol. II, Cairo, 1910. (b) *Preservative Materials used by the Ancient Egyptians in Embalming*, Cairo, 1911.

² A. Henry Rhind's *Zwei Bilingue Papyri*, trans. BRUGSCH, Leipzig, 1865, pl. v, p. 4.

to the *mumia* of the tombs...which is nothing else than a mixture which the Byzantine Greeks used formerly for embalming their dead...¹”

‘Abd-el-Latif states that “mumia or bitumen” taken out of the skulls and stomachs of mummies varied “very little from mineral pitch².”

Diodorus, who describes the Egyptian mode of embalming, omits any mention of bitumen or pitch from the list of materials he enumerates as being used, but in his description of the Dead Sea, this writer, referring to the bitumen found in the neighbourhood, states “This source of wealth the Barbarians possess, and they take it into Egypt, and there sell it for embalming the dead, for unless bitumen is mixed with the other spices the bodies will not remain long undecayed³.”

Strabo, in his account of the various places from which bitumen was obtained, among which he includes the Dead Sea, writes “The Egyptians use the asphalt for embalming the dead⁴.”

Herodotus, however, although he refers to bitumen on several occasions, and describes in detail the method and materials used by the ancient Egyptians in embalming, makes no mention whatever of bitumen or pitch being employed for that purpose.

Pliny also frequently refers to bitumen, but says nothing about its use in mummification.

Josephus and Tacitus both describe the Dead Sea and the occurrence of bitumen, but make no mention of its use in embalming.

As already mentioned, most modern writers definitely state that bitumen or pitch was used, and even the very name mummy is said to be derived from a word meaning bitumen⁵.

Pettigrew states that he found bituminous matter in the head of a mummy, and quotes Rouelle, Granville, Greaves and Verneuil as also finding bituminous matter in mummies⁶.

Rouyer mentions bitumen as being used in embalming⁷.

Lortet and Gaillard state that bitumen “joue toujours le plus grand rôle dans la momification de l’homme et des autres vertébrés,” and particular mention is made of it having been found by them on the mummies of dogs, cats, bulls, antelopes, sheep, goats, monkeys, birds and reptiles, and in fact in at least some instances on all the different kinds of mummies they examined except fish, on which it was never found⁸.

Dareddy, describing various mummies he has examined, mentions bitumen as being found in several instances⁹.

¹ Quoted by BUDGE in *The Mummy*, Camb. 1894, p. 174.

² Quoted by BUDGE in *The Mummy*, Camb. 1894, p. 174.

³ Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Hist.* ed. P. Wesseling, Amster. 1746, XIX, 98.

⁴ Strabo, *Geogr.* ed. A. Meincke, Leipzig, 1853, XVI, ii, 45.

⁵ (a) BUDGE, *The Mummy*, Camb. 1894, p. 173. (b) BUDGE, *A Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum*, London, 1909, p. 158. (c) Article “Mummy,” *Ency. Brit.* 11th ed. Vol. XVIII, Camb. 1911.

⁶ T. J. PETTIGREW, *Hist. of Mummification*, London, 1834.

⁷ P. C. ROUYER, “Notice sur les Embaumements des Anciens Egyptiens,” *Description de l’Egypte, Antiquités*, Tome I.

⁸ LORTET and GAILLARD, *La Faune Momifiée de l’ancienne Egypte*, Lyon, Vol. I, 1905, Vol. II, 1909.

⁹ G. DARESSY, (a) “Note sur la Momie de Thoutmosis IV,” (b) “Ouverture des Momies provenant

Maspero writing of mummies in general says that "A mask of pitch was placed over the visage to preserve it," and with reference to Thûtmosis III and Ramses II respectively he writes "...the face which had been plastered over with pitch at the time of embalming..." and "The skin shows an ochreous yellow colour under the black bituminous plaster¹."

Elliot Smith writes, (a) "In the later (Roman) period the extensive use of bitumen as a preservative led to the rapid deterioration of the art," (b) "One of the seven crania...has been treated by the crude bitumen process which is distinctive of the Græco-Roman period. The cranial cavity is filled with pitch and the surface of the head is coated with layers of cloth soaked in bitumen," (c) "In the mummies of the Græco-Roman period the cranium is often filled, with pitch²."

Wood Jones, describing the mummies found during the Archaeological Survey of Nubia, writes (a) "The bodies are well preserved in bitumen and wrappings³," (b) "Molten pitch was passed into the vertex of the skull⁴," and (c) "It is certain that the pitch was melted and freely liquid when it came into contact with the mummy⁴."

Reisner states also with reference to some Nubian mummies that (a) "The bodies were mummified...that is, prepared with bitumen," and (b) "The rock-cut tombs were simply packed with mummies, some of them prepared with resin and wax, and some with bitumen⁵."

In view of the array of evidence in favour of the extensive use of bitumen or pitch by the ancient Egyptians, it seems very presumptuous to suggest that much at any rate of the material described as bitumen or pitch was probably something else, and that the eminent authorities who identified it were mistaken, but such I believe to be the case, and I will now give the reasons for my opinion.

In the first place, I cannot find it stated that any careful or systematic examination or analysis of the material has ever been made, and apparently nothing of the sort has been done, the recognition being based solely upon the appearance of the material, with, in some few cases, its behaviour on burning. But any such superficial examination is not only useless, but misleading, and nothing short of a chemical analysis is sufficient to establish the identity of these materials.

A large proportion of what is frequently called bitumen or pitch, I believe to be resin, gum resin, or gum, blackened like so many other organic materials by the changes brought about by age and exposure. In some cases, however, the black material is wood pitch, and so far I have not been able to find a single example of bitumen or mineral pitch.

But since resins and gums all contain oxygen in considerable amount, while few bitumens or mineral pitches contain oxygen at all, or only to a very limited extent, it would seem an easy matter to settle the question by ultimate analysis once for all

de la Seconde Trouvaille de Deir el Bahari," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, Tome iv, Le Caire, 1903.

¹ G. MASPERO, *The Struggle of the Nations*, Eng. Trans. London, 1896, pp. 289, 429, 509.

² Prof. ELLIOT SMITH, F.R.S., "A Contribution to the Study of Mummification in Egypt," *Mém. de l'Inst. Égypt.* Tome v, Le Caire, 1906.

³ Dr WOOD JONES, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, Bull. 1, Cairo, 1908, p. 38.

⁴ *Ibid.* Report 1907-8, pp. 205, 212.

⁵ Dr G. REISNER, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, Bull. 2, Cairo, 1908, pp. 9, 17.

in a manner that could admit of no doubt. Unfortunately, however, I have been unable to avail myself of this direct method up to the present, partly because the time at my disposal has been very limited, partly because the amount of available material has been too small, and partly because I have felt that the results were likely to be useless for purposes of identification, owing to the fact that much of the material was contaminated with fatty matter and other substances derived from the body, and also because the method is liable to considerable experimental error due to a tendency of the products of combustion to form acetylene and other unsaturated hydrocarbons, instead of carbon dioxide and water, and so to increase apparently the amount of oxygen present which is always calculated "by difference."

Failing a direct method of analysis recourse has been had to indirect methods, which will now be described.

In the following table are given the mean results of the analyses of authenticated specimens of bitumen, mineral pitch, and wood pitch, and of various samples of black preservative material resembling pitch¹.

No. of Samples examined	Nature of Sample	Solubility in			Sulphur
		Petroleum Ether	Alcohol (hot)	Water (hot) after alcohol	
1	Genuine bitumen of Judaea ...	$\frac{\%}{44.6}$	$\frac{\%}{9.7}$	$\frac{\%}{0.7}$	$\frac{\%}{...}$
4	Genuine mineral pitch from Judaea and Dead Sea	42.3	10.8	0.2	8.7
2	Genuine wood pitch	62.3	89.1	trace	...
10	Pitch-like material believed to be resin	4.5 ²	65.6	3.4	1.4
4	Pitch-like material believed to be gum	0.7 ²	4.7 ³	44.8	...
5	Pitch-like material believed to be wood pitch	46.0	77.8	1.0	1.2

In order to be able to interpret the analytical results of the black pitch-like materials it is necessary to know first what are the respective characteristics of resin, gum, bitumen, mineral pitch and wood pitch.

The following points, I think, will be conceded by all chemists, namely:—

- (1) That resins are freely soluble in alcohol, and either are not soluble in water at all or only soluble in water to a very limited extent.
- (2) That gums are freely soluble in water, and either are not soluble in alcohol at all or only soluble in alcohol to a very limited extent.

¹ A large number of other samples of preservative material have also been examined, but as these were not black, the results are not included: some proved to be resin, some gum resin, and some gum.

² Largely fatty matter.

³ Partly fatty acids.

From the analyses of the samples of genuine bitumen, mineral pitch and wood pitch, the following points may also be accepted, namely:—

- (3) That the marked characteristics of bitumen and mineral pitch are (*a*) low solubility in alcohol, (*b*) high sulphur content, and (*c*) comparatively high solubility in petroleum ether.
- (4) That the marked characteristics of wood pitch are (*a*) high solubility in alcohol, (*b*) comparatively high solubility in petroleum ether.

On reference to the analyses of the preservative materials given in the table, it will be seen that the samples may be divided into three classes; first, those with a high solubility in alcohol, accompanied by a low solubility in petroleum ether and a low sulphur content; secondly, those with a high solubility in water accompanied by a low solubility in alcohol and in petroleum ether; and thirdly, those with a high solubility in alcohol accompanied by a high solubility in petroleum ether and a low sulphur content.

The first class I believe to be resin, the second gum, and the third wood pitch.

In addition to the analytical results recorded in the table there are many other proofs that the samples in question are not bitumen or mineral pitch, such, for example, as the facts that none of the samples gave the marked fluorescent appearance with the various solvents which is so striking a feature of bitumen and mineral pitch, and that the alcohol and petroleum ether extracts were brown and resinous looking.

It may be noted that a characteristic feature of wood pitch is that it is generally found to soften during the summer.

It is believed that the various specimens of resin and gum which are now black were not so originally, and some proof of this is shown by the fact that portions of one sample which is black and pitch-like are brown, while one corner is almost ruby red, and that other samples are in part brown.

That bitumen or mineral pitch may have been used in Ptolemaic or other times as a mummy preservative material is in no way denied, all I wish to show is that it is unsafe to apply this description to any preservative material that happens to be black and pitch-like, and that in the past many mistakes in identification have undoubtedly been made.

THE SAWÂMA CEMETERIES

BY PROFESSOR THOMAS WHITTEMORE

THE cemeteries known to the Department of Antiquities as Sawâma lie to the east and north of the village of Sawâma near Akhmîm, and extend to the promontory of the great bay north-east of Siflag. This concession was graciously granted to me for the season of 1913-14 by Sir Gaston Maspero for the American Committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund. Mr G. A. Wainwright was associated with me in the excavation.

Preliminary tests to the east of Siflag showed an extensive ancient Coptic cemetery used continuously, and even for recent burials. The high tongue of land to the south of the cemetery near the Deir gave scanty evidence of completely plundered XVIIIth Dynasty graves. On the other side, at the north end of the cemetery, a similar tongue of land showed New Empire shafts in which scarcely so much as a bone remained. Among these shafts were traces of a considerable number of burials of people of mean degree, of Roman date. The bodies were without accompanying objects, or with but a few inferior beads, and they were placed in small niches such as are common in the catacombs.

We began finally to dig on two tongues of land between these extremes of north and south. On one of these we built our house; but here we found that the deep shafts and large chamber-tombs had been only recently searched. In the other, the more northerly tongue of land, we were fortunate. In this we found a small XVIIIth Dynasty cemetery, for the most part unplundered since ancient times. The burials were chiefly in the western end of the mound, crossing it from north to south. Shafts averaging 2 m. 50 cm. by 1 m. by 2 m., with one or two chambers running uniformly lengthwise with the shaft, and never from the ends of the shaft, were in somewhat less than equal proportion with trench graves, generally found in the lower slopes, and finally lost in the *sabâh* digging and in the cultivation. These graves recognize no uniform orientation. More than 150 were dug. The remains of women so largely predominated that it must have been a cemetery to which, as Sir G. Maspero suggests, men were occasionally admitted.

The coiffures of these women were the most striking feature of the cemetery. Disarranged as these coiffures invariably were, the hair was yet to be studied in a considerable variety of forms: ringlets; long, slender, string-like braids; and shorter hair parted in the middle of the head and braided to lie flat on either side; all dressed with great care, and showing evidence of personal taste and pleasure.

Although few bodies were actually undisturbed, the graves had been plundered long ago, and principally for gold. Many objects which particularly delight us to-day still remained to characterize the burials. Among these objects, all delicately feminine, were baskets; blue faience lotus-painted dishes; kohl pots, not only in the common

alabaster but in blue glaze and the still less common breccia; scales of tortoise shell; an ivory palette with red and black paint still visible; an ivory bracelet; an inscribed ivory spoon; a carved ebony bracelet; a lapis lazuli ring-bezel set in silver; silver flies and rings; a heavy gold ring; an ivory wand with carved head of Hathor; a set of three bronze instruments with their wooden handles intact; two small plaster masks, perhaps portrait models; one had the most exquisite portraiture, with faint traces of colour, and the other was less fine, in brilliant polychrome. There were fewer beads than one would expect to find. The pottery is to an unusually large extent Syrian or Syrianizing, and includes charming and rare forms. In one of the graves the majority of the dishes still contained food. Scarabs date the cemetery as belonging to the earlier half of the XVIIIth Dynasty; they include the royal names of Zeser-ka-Ra (Amenhotep I), Aa-kheper-ka-Ra (Thothmes I), and Neb-maat-Ra (Amenhotep III).

Excavation seldom yields a more fascinating experience than this, which allows one to recover the very sentiment that went with these women to their graves. The cemetery adds another page to what is already known of the elegance of the civilization of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

THE IBIS CEMETERY AT ABYDOS : 1914

BY PROFESSOR THOMAS WHITTEMORE

[See Plates XXXVII and XXXVIII]

THE Ibis cemetery at Abydos, discovered by Mr Leonard S. Loat in 1913, has yielded this year equally interesting results. On returning to the site, I tested the ground in every direction, but worked chiefly to the east into what appears distinctly to be the richest part of the cemetery, which still shows no sign of being exhausted.

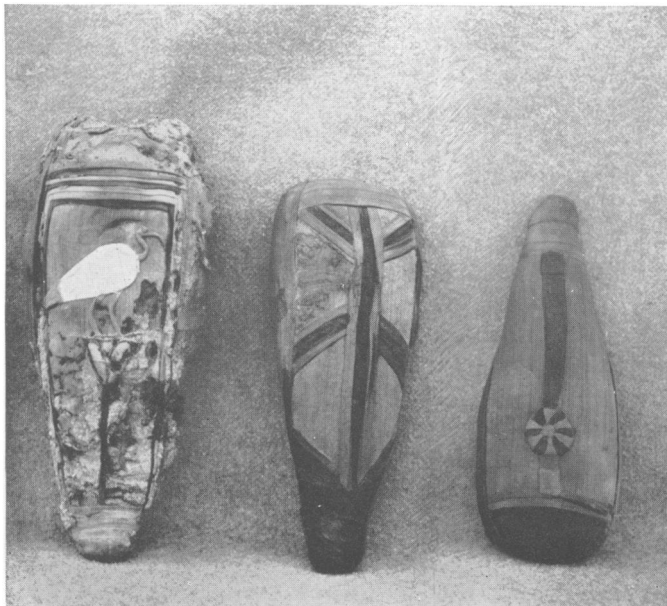
I opened 150 jars, and examined and recorded more than 2500 bundles of specimens. As before, the jars are of both sun dried and baked clay, and contained from two to 108 bundles. A considerable number of pear-shaped, rough baked, pottery jars, each containing a single bird, were found standing in groups. When these jars were made, a piece of the side was cut out of the clay, baked separately, and replaced as a cover, roughly plastered down with lime. Contrary to expectation, the birds in these small sealed jars were always plainly, and usually carelessly wrapped. While all were just below the desert drift sand, some of the large jars stood in earlier brick and mud-coated graves, which happened to be in the way of the cemetery as it advanced. A number of jars with yellow and purple bands painted around them contained from 40 to 200 ibis eggs, and a few hawk's eggs. Some of the ibis eggs were wrapped carefully in linen, and buried under the protection of a scarab in the form of the insect itself. Small pots were found in position near the large jars, containing mud and traces of wheat.

The wrapping of the ibis assumes two forms, according as the birds were shaped before *rigor mortis* had set in or not. In one case, the head was brought compactly down between the wings along the ventral surface of the body. In the other, the head was set up high, and only the beak brought down between the wings. In both the feet were brought up towards the head. Wads of linen, and ends and scraps, were packed in to round up the cavities, and the whole was wrapped in a coarse linen coat lashed down with linen thread. The wrapping was then continued with short bits and longer bands, similarly lashed down with thread, with here and there the slightest trace of gum. The whole was then finally wrapped into an ornamental case of fine linen strips, laid while still moist, without stitching and apparently without gum, into an amazing variety of geometrical patterns. The head of one of the birds was indicated in gold leaf. On another the body of an ibis was exquisitely modelled in low relief in limestone paste, the head and legs being in linen *appliqué*. Still others bore a disk with crossings, on a standard in *appliqué*, which may represent a degraded Neith sign on a pole.

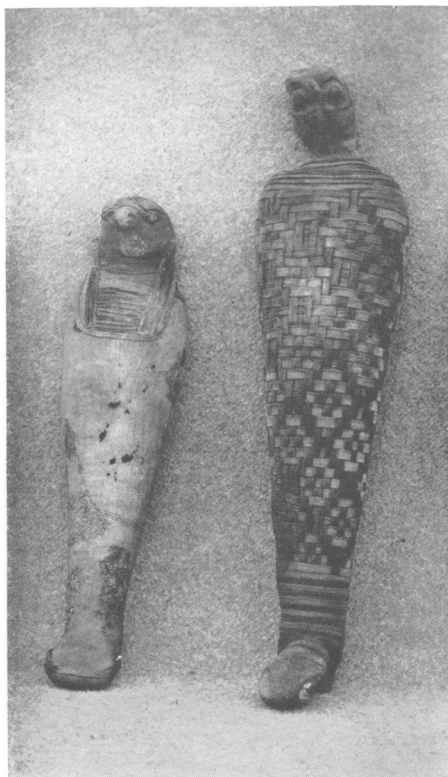
By far the most striking objects in the cemetery were the human mummy figures. These have the head of the ibis crowned with the Atef crown, except in one case, which had the Hem-hem crown.



Ibises made up in the form of the god Thoth. The small bundles probably contain snakes.



Three typical mummies: one with the figure of an ibis in cloth on the outer cover.



Mummified hawks.



Hermetically sealed jars, each containing a single ibis.

As in the crocodile cemetery at Hawara in the Fayoum, where Professor Petrie found bundles of portions of the animal made up into the form of the whole crocodile, so here the figures do not always contain complete birds, but are sometimes only wings made into bundles, or wings and linen made into the human form. The heads are either the head of the ibis itself, or a false head made of papyrus and bitumen. The crowns are formed of linen and bitumen. These crowns are characteristic of Osiris, Thoth and Shu. It seems to me probable that we have here in these figures a representation of Osiris. Other bundles contained the shrew or field mouse, the ichneumon, hawks, a dog, and some still unidentified animals.






General View of the centre portion of the Tomb-field near the Pyramid of Cheops.

This shews how about this time the hitherto observed principle of a complete lack of ornament in the chamber in which the dead man was laid was broken through, and doubtless to be taken in connexion with this is the fact that Unas is the first king to have the interior of his pyramid provided with spells.

Besides this we now see the statue-chamber approaching nearer and nearer to the tomb-chamber. In most cases it was brought up near the shaft; once, in the case of the priest of Hathor, Tena, to a side room half-way up the shaft. And in the tomb of Mery-ib a wooden figure seems to have stood near the coffin, as was the rule in the succeeding period. Also in the *serdáb* new types appear, which we know from the graves of the Middle Kingdom, such as the boat with rowers and cabin, and the peasant-women who bring food in baskets.

Further, the coffins of the tombs we are describing shew that we are no longer in the Sixth Dynasty: one would at first sight ascribe them to the Middle Kingdom.

The coffin of Mery-ib (Fig. 1) stood in an outer coffin, which was decorated in the same way as the inner one. All round the upper part runs a band of inscription. At the east end, turned towards the exit of the tomb-chamber, are placed the eyes () , at the foot-end are the legs () , and at the head-end the head () . The inner coffin bears in addition inside on the east side, before the eyes of the dead man, the great list of offerings.

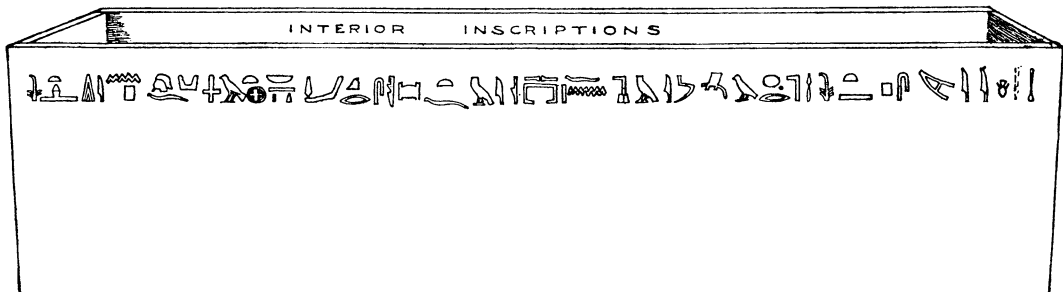


Fig. 1.











The coffin of Idew (Ádu) II was similarly decorated. Here also are the bands of inscription all round and on the lid, and the eyes on the east side; but the signs of the legs and head are absent: in their stead stood outside the coffin at the foot a pair of real sandals, for the dead man to use when he left the coffin. Inside stands again on the east side the great list of the food-offerings, but with before it the richly decorated palace-gate¹, immediately opposite the eyes represented outside, so that there can be no doubt as to the symbolism of the representation. On the inner northern small side are painted the seven vases of ointment, with under them the titles and name of the deceased².

To the dead man were given, besides the personal decoration, two balls of linen, one of coarser the other of finer weft, as well as seven walking-sticks, the knobs of which were covered with goldleaf.

¹ So also on the coffin of *Mrr.t-its* (Mereretitis, = "Mertitefs") of the same epoch.

² So we see the gradual development of the complete painting of the interior of the coffin, which was usual in the Middle Kingdom.

We must say another word as to the inscriptions on the coffins. They distinguish themselves clearly from the coffin-inscriptions of the foregoing epochs, first of all as regards their contents. Instead of the earlier offering-formulae now appear prayers or spells, which clearly are of the same style as the Pyramid-texts. So we read on the coffin of Mery-ib: "May he unite himself with the earth, may he pass through the waters of heaven, may he mount up to the great god!" Similarly on the coffin of *Ny-ih.t* (Niakheth). In connexion with this stands the fact that the inscriptions of the false doors of this time contain in part similar ideas: so in the tomb of Ity: "May the West stretch out its arms towards him, may he be accompanied on the noble ways by his *kas*!", and so forth.

Orthographically these coffin-inscriptions differ materially from those of the cult-chambers and false doors, and comparison brings a brilliant confirmation of the rules that Lacau has lately laid down in his article "Suppressions et modifications de signes dans les textes funéraires¹." In the latter were written for example  and , in the former on the contrary , ; in the latter were used , , ; on the coffins instead of these , , . As one is dealing with contemporary inscriptions, which were perhaps executed by the same people, only the explanation brought forward by Lacau is satisfactory, namely that it was believed the signs might be able in some way to harm the dead.

East of these graves of the Sixth Dynasty is a wall, which runs parallel with the pyramid; and parallel with it the rock has been cut away to some extent. There can be no doubt that this is the remains of the dividing line that separated the pyramid-field from the cemetery, the western wall of the great pyramid-temenos, which one must suppose to have existed.

Of the further results of the expedition I should like to mention here merely two which are of special interest:

1. In two graves we found the body covered with a layer of stucco-plaster, a method of treatment which is entirely peculiar. First of all the corpse was covered with a fine linen cloth, with the special purpose of preventing the mass of plaster from getting into the mouth, ear, nose, and so on. Then the plaster was put on, and modelled according to the form of the body, the head being in one case so accurately followed that one can clearly see the fallen-in nose and the twisted mouth. The explanation of this handling of the body is not difficult. The time was one in which the art of mummification was not yet known as it was in later days. It was then sought in this way to keep the dead man at least outwardly in perfect condition, which should guarantee him the enjoyment of the life on the other side. It is easily explicable why in the succeeding period this method was not followed, since already the real preservation of the body had been attained by means of mummification.

In two further cases it was not the whole body that was covered with this layer of stucco, but only the head; apparently because the head was regarded as the most important part, as the organs of taste, sight, smell, and hearing were contained in it. A similar idea led to the painting on the linen-enveloped head of the body of Idew II

¹ *Äg. Zts.* Vol. 51 (1914), pp. 1 ff.



Fig. 1. Plaster mask of the dead.

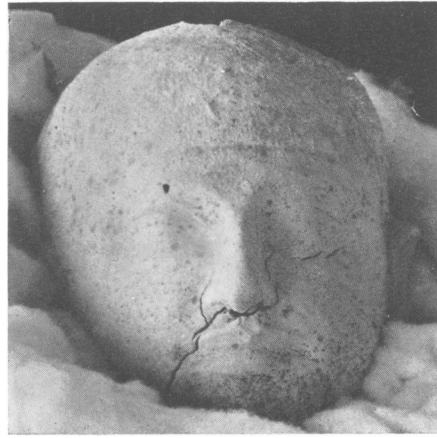


Fig. 2. Plaster mask of the dead.

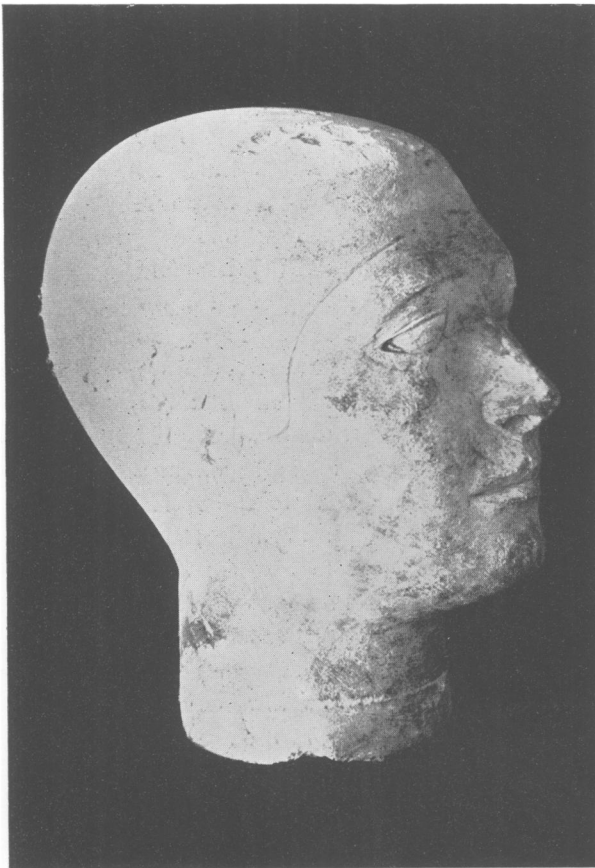


Fig. 3. Substitute-head of a man.

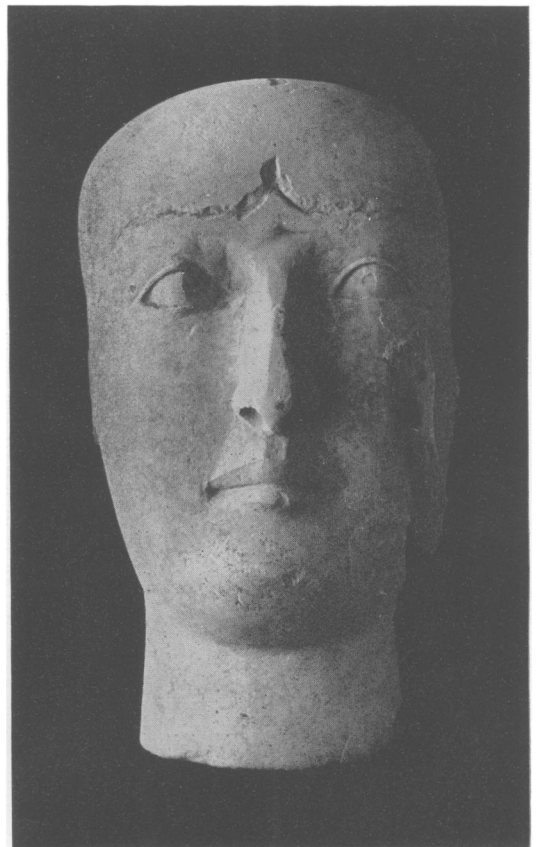


Fig. 4. Substitute-head of the Princess Iabtet.

(which already shews the beginning of mummification) of the face. In both cases the head of the dead at any rate was to preserve an unaltered appearance.

2. Now I believe that an inner relation existed between the plaster-covered heads and the so-called "reserve heads." By these one understands the heads, specially made as such, which appear among the paraphernalia of the dead at the beginning of the Old Kingdom, and are generally made of fine limestone¹. We found four of them in our campaign of this year (Plate XL); they all lay in the tomb-chamber, and all the other examples were found in the same place, so far as I can find out. They were therefore considered as belonging to the corpse itself. Now it occurs to me that their function with regard to the corpse was not that of an amulet or a genuine magical object, but simply that of a substitute for the fallen-away and decayed head, which however ought before all else to remain undamaged, if a happy further existence in the other life was to be made possible. So the substitute-head had the same function as the later plastered head. With this agrees extremely well the fact that the substitute-heads are mostly portraits, and what is of even more importance, were all made of the natural size. Further than this, it is no chance that the substitute-heads, so far as I can see, entirely or at any rate chiefly are found in the tombs that have no statue-chamber and probably possessed no statues. The statues certainly were made at any rate partly with the intention that they should take the place of the decaying body, although later the idea was modified. The placing of the substitute-head in the mastaba therefore became unnecessary at the moment when the complete figure of the dead was introduced.

¹ An example made of Nile-mud was found by us in a shaft before the grave of *Weneš.t* (Weneshet).

BIBLIOGRAPHY 1912-13-14: ANCIENT EGYPT

By F. LL. GRIFFITH, M.A.

Two full years have elapsed since the section on the Progress of Egyptology was prepared for the *Archaeological Report*, 1911-12, the last number published of the Society's annual review. Meanwhile bibliographies of Christian and Hellenistic Egypt have appeared in the January and July numbers of this magazine, so that the scope of the present instalment can be narrowed down to Ancient Egypt in the main during the two years 1912-13-14.

In the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy 1913 (IV) p. 117 Ed. MEYER reported that a commission (entitled Orientalische Kommission) had been appointed, and special funds assigned to it, to arrange for the publication of the accumulated hoards of Oriental monuments in various departments. ERMAN represents Egyptology on this committee, which has appointed DÉVAUD to edit the Kahun papyri, ROEDER the New-Kingdom inscriptions, GRAPOW to assist in the Lexicon, SCHÄFER for researches in the domain of the older Nubian languages. It also interests us to know that O. SCHROEDER is charged with a final edition of the cuneiform texts of Tell el Amarna.

The proceedings of Section H (Anthropology) of the British Association 1912 included (1) Physical Anthropology: Elliot SMITH, human remains from QUIBELL's work at Saqqara, Dynasty II-III; Wood JONES, ancient and modern Nubas, and the effects of judicial hanging (founded on bodies excavated at a Roman frontier fort in Nubia); DERRY, an Egyptian macrocephalic skull from near Helwan. (2) Archaeology: PETRIE, the Tarkhan cemetery; QUIBELL, the Saqqara excavations and the tomb of Hesy; Elliot SMITH, the earliest attempts at mummification in Egypt; WELLCOME, remains of primitive Ethiopian races at Gebel Moya; DERRY, red pigment on skeletons derived from the garments. Cf. *Man*, 1912, No. 91.

LEFEBVRE reports malicious blackening of the walls of five chambers in the temple of Ramses II at Abydos. The substance used was analysed by Dr Baj and fortunately proved to be removable so as to leave scarcely any trace. *Ann.* XII, 77.

COUYAT reports briefly on the composition of the Nubian sandstone used in the temple of Philae and the question of its resistance to immersion. Apparently the cement which holds the particles together is soluble, but only very slowly, and the stone can sustain weight better when soaked with water than when dry. *Ann.* XI, 279.

Mr WAKELING has struck out a new path of research in *Forged Egyptian Antiquities*. He figures a number of typical specimens and dilates on them with due enthusiasm and has moreover something to say about the local Egyptian "schools" or workshops which produce them.

Captain LYONS has already explained the new law regulating antiquities in Egypt which was promulgated last year, amongst other things restricting the antiquity trade to licensed dealers, *E. E. F. Journal*, I, 45. The text in French and Arabic is given in *Ann.* XII, 245. A description with some criticism, PETRIE, *Ancient Egypt*, I, 128.

WIET's elaborate and valuable edition of Maqrizi's *Khitat* has been continued to ch. XLVI (tome I, p. 128 of the Bulaq edition).

Of BAEDEKER's *Handbook to Egypt and the Sudan*, the seventh German edition was published in 1913, the seventh in English in the beginning of 1914, each as usual having been brought up to date under the supervision of Prof. STEINDORFF; reviewed by W. M. MÜLLER, *OLZ*, XVI, 364.

Summaries of recent progress in Egyptology include PETRIE (1911-12) in *The Britannica year book* 1913; ROEDER (1911-12) *ZDMG*, LXVII, 391 (1913), *ib.* LXVIII, 442 and (to the end of 1911 from the standpoint of archaeology) *Praehistorische Zeitschrift*, 1912, 419; FARINA (1910-12) *Riv. d. Stud. Orient.* VI, 215; LEHMANN-HAUPT (Ancient East generally, grouping the phenomena around the two leading centres of Babylonia and Egypt) *Das Jahr* 1913, p. 434.

The past year has seen the foundation of two new English periodicals devoted to Egyptology, our own *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, and *Ancient Egypt* edited by Prof. Flinders PETRIE as the organ of the "British School of Archaeology in Egypt."

EXCAVATIONS AND EXPLORATIONS.

MEROË. In the fourth interim report (1912-13) of the Liverpool excavations, GARSTANG describes the continuation of systematic clearances in the royal quarter. Amongst the finds are two fragments of Attic pottery of about 400 and 200 B.C. respectively, and large numbers of incinerated burials in urns which in form and decoration resemble those found by BRECCIA at Alexandria. Prof. GARSTANG gains the impression that Roman troops occupied Meroë for some time. Mr GEORGE reports on the careful survey made of the buildings disclosed in the recent excavations including the bath or palaestra. The discoveries belong principally to what the authors call the "Middle Meroitic" period from 300 to 32 B.C.; the later remains seem to occupy a much smaller area. Mr Robert MOND writes a note on his device for facilitating the removal of debris to a distance by means of a rope-way carrier, *Liverpool Annals*, VI, 1. The work of 1911-12 is described briefly in *Klio*, XII, 388. Brief note of last season's work by Mr PHYTHIAN-ADAMS with the discovery of a magnificent Meroitic inscription, *E. E. F. Journal*, I, 216.

KERMA. Note of Dr REISNER's great finds, founded on the *Bulletin* of the Boston Museum, *E. E. F. Journal*, I, 219.

MACIVER and WOOLLEY's *Buhen* is reviewed by WRESZINSKI, *OLZ*, XVII, 274.

ANIBA. The results obtained by the SIEGLIN expedition in 1912 are described by STEINDORFF in an illustrated guide to the exhibition at Leipzig. The discoveries include an Early Dynastic cemetery of the Nubian variety, three C-group cemeteries, and good finds in the New Kingdom cemetery: *Städtisches Kunstgewerbe-Museum zu Leipzig, Ausstellung aegyptischer Alterthümer*. Cf. BORCHARDT in *Klio*, XII, 497. Note on further excavation of C-group cemeteries, *E. E. F. Journal*, I, 218.

LOWER NUBIA. I omitted in the *Archaeological Report* to note *Bulletin No. 7* of the Archaeological Survey of Nubia, describing the final season of excavations (1910–11). So large a portion of the valley remained unexplored, from Dakka to Korosko, that Mr FIRTH, working single-handed, was obliged to make the examination more summary than in previous years. Prehistoric cemeteries in this region proved to be very rare, Early Dynastic cemeteries occurred and a remarkable find was made (in a grave of this period which had already been dug out for sebakh) of a mace with gold-plated handle having designs of animals in repoussé. C-group cemeteries were numerous. The rare pan-grave type of pottery (which Prof. PETRIE found at Diospolis in Egypt) was represented in one grave. New Empire cemeteries occurred and one grave was clearly of the Ethiopian period or of the XXVIth Dynasty. Meroïtic graves were met with first a little south of Maharraqa, and after that at Aqêba and at Wadi-es-Sebua. It is remarkable that X-group graves continued into this Meroïtic region; FIRTH considers them to be rather later than the Meroïtic.

The final memoir of the work of the second season, *Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Report for 1908–9*, has appeared in two volumes recording the numberless finds between Ginari in the north and Koshtamna and Ikkur fort in the south. They include a survey of the ruined Christian town of Sabagura and the XIIth Dynasty fort of Ikkur. Well-preserved examples of Early Dynastic and C-group pottery were found for the first time in considerable numbers. In the introductory text to the catalogue of graves, Mr FIRTH endeavours to bring the archaeological finds into proper relation with the records of historical events and movements, but he is unable to fill the surprising gap between the New Kingdom and the Ptolemaic age; in an interesting appendix he distinguishes the effects produced in the cemeteries respectively by sebakh-digging for agricultural purposes, and by plundering for antiquities. Dr REISNER's *Report for 1907–8* is reviewed by WRESZINSKI, *OLZ*, xvii, 123.

UPPER EGYPT. H. DE MORGAN reports on his excavations for the Brooklyn Institute in 1907–8 at Esna, Adimia, el Kelabia, East Sabaia, Charawna, Mohamaria near the Kula pyramid (considerable finds of prehistoric graves); Kom el Ahmar, El Kelh, Edfu, El Qara (prehistoric burials); El Kenan, Adimia (early village sites); Esne (New Kingdom graves), also Gebelên, Rizagât, Luxor.

THEBES. To Dr A. H. GARDINER and Mr WEIGALL we owe a most valuable *Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs at Thebes*, including all the decorated tombs or rather tomb-chapels at present or recently accessible, 252 in number. Photographic key-plates show the position of nearly all; the catalogue gives the permanent number of each tomb, name and chief titles of its former occupant, its period, state in regard to conservation, and situation; there are also a number of useful indexes and a very business-like Introduction by GARDINER containing general remarks on the tombs. This gives an idea of the forlorn state in which they were until WEIGALL took vigorous steps for their conservation, supported by the generosity of Mr Robert MOND and backed by the energy and expert knowledge of GARDINER, and shows the systematic progress which has been made in the last seven years. Down to ten years ago it was usual for excavators, after the intoxicating pleasure of uncovering a tomb with highly interesting wall paintings, to give at most a summary account of it with bad copies and photographs and then pass on to search for more, leaving the painted walls to decay or be torn in pieces by the Arabs. The result in the case of one tomb after

another has been that scholars and tourists alike have little left to work from and admire but scraps of scenes that were discovered intact but a few years ago. Now many precautions are taken officially and excavation is wisely discouraged. The Catalogue is the firstfruits of a rich scientific harvest, in gathering which it is hoped that many will take a share. It is reviewed by HALL, E. E. F. *Journal*, I, 154.

A fourth sheet of BARAIZE's *Plan des nécropoles thébaines* has been issued by the Service des Antiquités.

Restorations and clearances at the temple of Deir el Medina with list of the finds (small stelae, statuette, etc.). BARAIZE, *Ann.* XIII, 19.

The smaller archaeological finds made during the excavation of the Menthotp temple at Deir el-Bahari, including inscribed votive monuments, statues of Sesostris III and a selection of the figurines, faience objects, beads, etc. which had been dedicated in the temple and were found in the rubbish heaps. NAVILLE, HALL, and CURRELLY, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari*, pt. III.

Mr Theodore DAVIS' latest volume is on the tomb of Harmais (Horemheb) and a find of the age of Tutankhamon in the valley of the Tombs of the Kings. Sir G. MASPERO writes on the life and monuments of the two kings and the inscriptions of the tomb of Harmais, and M. DARESSY catalogues the principal objects discovered. The illustrations comprise fine photographic views of various parts of the Biban el Molúk as well as the decoration of the tomb of Harmais, the fine sarcophagus, etc. According to the preface the late Mr AYRTON possessed the material for a systematic account of the excavation; it is to be hoped that an opportunity will be found for publishing it. *The Tomb of Harmahabi and Touatankhamanou*.

Tomb containing jar stoppers stamped "Re-Amenhotp great of festivals" found in 1896 near the tomb of Amenhotp III. CHASSINAT, *Bull.* x, 165.

In an interesting article DARESSY throws light on the discovery of the coffin of King Kamosi (identified by him in 1908) from indications in writings of MARIETTE and others. The coffins of Queen Ahhotp and Kamosi were found together about 1859, not placed in a tomb, but evidently hidden by plunderers along with their valuable accompaniments. *Ann.* XII, 64.

Mr WEIGALL replies to GAUTHIER's complaint about his publication of a scene from one of the Theban tombs: the main point being that he had found the painting unprotected after GAUTHIER's excavation and therefore asked Mrs PETRIE to copy it for his publication. *Bull.* IX, 185.

ABYDOS. Two volumes of the *Cemeteries of Abydos*, Part II, 1911-12, Part III, 1912-13 have appeared. In the former Mr PEET describes much of the work of the Fund in tomb excavation during the four seasons 1909-13, instructing us as to the position and ages of the cemeteries, which cover the whole range of Abydos history. He deals also with a prehistoric village settlement, a great well which might be that referred to by Strabo, and a cemetery of dogs. The latter volume gives an interesting explanation of certain kilns for parching corn which seem to be confined to the prehistoric age, cemeteries of the IIIrd Dynasty to the XVIIIth, and a few Coptic remains; Mr LOAT writes in it on a late cemetery of mummied ibises and other birds and animals and carefully describes them. Part I is not yet published. A preliminary account of the cemetery work in 1913-14 by PEET and of the ibis-cemetery by LOAT is given in E. E. F. *Journal*, I, 37.

The work on the "Osireion" is described by NAVILLE, E. E. F. *Journal*, I, 2, with the recent great discovery (illustrated) *ib.* 159; *Ancient Egypt*, I, 103; see also *id. Rev. Arch.* XX, 281. Cf. BORCHARDT, *Klio*, XII, 389, where a sketch plan is given of its condition in 1911-12.

MIDDLE EGYPT. Excavations in cemetery of Shekh Mobader (objects of New Kingdom) and Arabet bil Sohag. LEFEBVRE, *Ann.* XII, 81.

ANTAEOPOLIS. Note by STEINDORFF of his excavations 1913-14. E. E. F. *Journal*, I, 217.

AMARNA. The excavations of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft begun in January-April 1911 were resumed in November of that year and continued till March 1912. Three architects and Dr ABEL as archaeologist were employed continuously. Dr BORCHARDT reports with his usual vividness the progress of the excavation; the supposed garden tanks, at least in the smaller enclosures, proved to be wells with steps from which the water was drawn by shadufs. Bath rooms were again found and with them *cabinets d'aisance*, and good examples of ovens for baking. Apart from architectural finds the harvest was important, the most interesting of all the discoveries being sculptors' workshops with instructive remains in the rubbish including a few models and fragments of first-rate value as works of art. Current views of the history of the site are corrected by the discovery of traces of earlier occupation beneath the Akhenaton city and, at one spot in the ruins, of some Ramesside sculptures re-used in a large building. One tragedy occurred during this season, no less than the spiteful destruction by the natives of the beautiful pavement which was found by PETRIE in 1891.

In the interval before the next season's work (1912-13) one of the southern tombs, though protected by an iron door, was spitefully attacked and the sculptures hacked. On resumption of work further information was obtained regarding the disposition of the houses. The most remarkable of them was that of a "superintendent of the royal herds": here the garden beds and the spots where trees were planted are marked in the sand by the patches of soil brought from a distance, and it is even hoped that the trees themselves will be identified from their remains. The greatest find however was of another workshop, apparently belonging to the "chief sculptor Thutmose"; out of it were obtained casts from the face of human originals as well as from statues, and parts of statues of the royalties in every degree of finish and in materials which vary from soft sandstone to obsidian. For the history of Egyptian plastic the value of this great find cannot be exaggerated, and it includes examples of singular beauty and novelty. The general map of the site on both sides of the river has been completed and revised; on the west bank some interesting Roman tombs were found containing mummies with stucco masks. *Mittheilungen* of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, nos. 50, 52.

ANTINOE. Short memoir on the locality and the excavation, with numerous illustrations. J. de M. JOHNSON, E. E. F. *Journal*, I, 168.

MEIR, etc. Tomb of Chnemhotp with inscribed coffins, etc., KAMAL, *Ann.* XII, 97; excavations at Dara (Manfalût) in which tombs of VIth Dynasty about a large mastaba were found and a fragment of sculpture with the new king's name Khiu, *id. ib.* 128; excavations of Said Bey KHASHABA at Deir el Gebrawi (VIth Dynasty) and Kuseir el Amarna on the east bank, and at Meir and thence to El Akhsâs on the west bank, *id. ib.* XIII, 161.

Work of the Archaeological Survey, BLACKMAN, E. E. F. *Journal*, I, 41; with list of the tomb-chapels at Meir and Kuseir el Amarna (illustrated), *ib.* 182.

ZAUYET EL MEIYITIN. In excavations at the beginning of 1913 M. WEILL found beneath town-ruins of Roman and Christian age a prehistoric cemetery, two cemeteries of the Old Kingdom, three of the New Kingdom and one of Graeco-Roman epoch. The first was partly occupied by the site of an early pyramid of which the foundations remain. *Catalogue des Antiq. Ég. exposées au Musée des arts décoratifs* (in *Bull. de la Soc. Franç. d. fouilles archéologiques*).

EL HIBA. A short experimental dig resulting in finding a pit full of late coffins, and another at Feshn, are reported by JUNKER, Vienna Acad. *Anzeiger*, 1912, 86.

LOWER MIDDLE EGYPT. In *The Labyrinth Gerzeh and Mazghuneh* Prof. PETRIE describes the excavations at the site of the Hawara Labyrinth, revealing important sculptures and a cemetery of Dynasty XII; WAINWRIGHT, excavations throwing light on the construction of the pyramid of Meidum, and discovery of the burial chamber of Atet, etc.; also prehistoric cemeteries with evidence of mutilation of bodies, iron beads, and Early Dynastic cemeteries at Gerzeh; MACKAY, on the construction of two small pyramids of Dynasty XII, and cemeteries of various periods at Mazghuneh (just south of Dahshur).

In *Ancient Egypt*, 1914, ENGELBACH writes on finds of jewellery of Dynasties XI and XVIII at Riqqa, p. 3; G. BRUNTON on the excavation of the British School at the pyramid of Illahun, revealing a small pyramid of the queen(?) and a row of mud pits for planting trees outside the enclosure wall, *ib.* 49; Prof. PETRIE on the continuation of the work there in 1913-14, including a list of the splendid jewellery of a XIIth Dynasty princess, *ib.* 97; and ENGELBACH, GUNN and WILLEY on the excavation of cemeteries of all periods at El Harageh, *ib.* 101; cf. Mrs PETRIE, *E. E. F. Journal*, I, 185. These articles are illustrated.

At TARKHAN (near Kafr Ammar) in two seasons the British School discovered important cemeteries of the latest pre-dynastic period to early Dynasty I, the graves having their superstructures well preserved. PETRIE, *Mon.*, 1912, no. 73, 1913, no. 85; *E. E. F. Journal*, I, 43. The memoir by PETRIE and WAINWRIGHT on these excavations in 1911-12 is printed in *Tarkhan I and Memphis V* (reviewed by MILNE, *E. E. F. Journal*, I, 77): the finds were particularly rich in wooden objects—beds, coffins, etc., some made from materials that had been used in the construction of dwellings—also basketry, bronze implements, etc. Prof. PETRIE has formed and here publishes a special sequence series for the Early Dynastic pottery.

In *Tarkhan II* PETRIE describes the results of the second and final season which included the examination of some large mastabas. The method of record is very complete and includes some new features; the skeleton measurements were carefully made by H. B. THOMPSON and are important for this interesting period of transition at a place where great mastabas of the earlier princes lay near the city of Memphis founded by Mena. The plates include types of slate palettes and a novel register of beads. A few graves of the Hyksos period also were found.

At GEBEL EL KENA in the desert east of Atfih, Hassan Effendi HOSNI cleared twelve out of a group of deep pits which he believes to have been Ancient Egyptian, but no finds of importance were made. *Ann.* XII, 51.

DARESSY describes an expedition from Saqqara to some ancient quarries named Qaret el Gindi, 45 kilometres S.W. and on the edge of the Fayum: on the way, near Saqqara, he picked up a fish-shaped implement of flint. *Ann.* XI, 269.

SAQQARA. Mr QUIBELL's *Excavations at Saqqara 1911-12, The tomb of Hesy*, is a volume of extraordinary interest and shows the great importance of his rediscovery of the famous tomb. The underground chambers, rough though they are, are in three stories and reach a depth of about 100 feet from the top of the great brick mastaba: unfortunately they had all been completely plundered, probably more than once, and yielded little besides the sealings which make known to us the name of the reigning king, Neter-khet or Zeser, the builder of the great step pyramid of Saqqara. The interest centres in a long narrow corridor towards the east end of the mastaba where remains of wooden panels in the niches of the west wall show that MARIETTE's description of the discovery of the famous panels was so far correct. The opposite wall had been covered with paintings of funeral equipment, and of these a considerable quantity survive, representing tables and pieces for games, cloth, beds, cases of instruments, etc.; they are very finely executed on wonderfully smooth plaster but are often difficult to interpret, being for the most part without parallel elsewhere.

Report on the condition of the tomb of Bocchoris. QUIBELL, *Ann.* XI, 275.

MEMPHIS. Several large monuments discovered in 1911-12 are published in *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, notably a statue of a royal scribe Amenhotp with long inscriptions (translated and interpreted by GARDINER) which are instructive as to the local funerary temples of the Pharaohs and their endowments.

ZAUYET EL ARYAN. In Nov. 1911 BARSANTI resumed the work, suspended since 1906, at the great tomb-pit, carefully removing the enormous and well-fitted blocks of granite which seemed intended to mark some important deposit such as the coffin of the king. The marks on the blocks include the name Neb-ka-re (IIIrd Dynasty) preceded by the royal titles. *Ann.* XII, 57.

GIZA. Illustrated report on Prof. JUNKER's excavations for the Vienna Academy and Herr PELIZÄUS: systematic clearances on the concession (lying to the west side of the north half of the Great Pyramid) resulted in the discovery of the well-preserved mastabas of a princess Nenzeserka and of a man named Nefer, a number of statues in limestone and one in granite; *Anzeiger* of the Vienna Academy, 1912, 86. The report of the second season states that at the west end of the concession at a distance from the pyramid were large mastabas laid out in regular rows and contemporary with the pyramid, while nearer to it the space had been filled irregularly with tombs of the Dynasties IV-VI (illustrated). Eight of the great mastabas in the west part were cleared; there was no chamber in them but only an exceedingly shallow niche at the S. end of the E. wall for a painted stela which was sometimes covered up by a large slab fixed in front and projecting from the mastaba wall; this niche was enclosed in a small offering chamber of brick. In the eastern part where the mastabas were later this arrangement was seldom found; here there were offering chambers in the body of the mastabas and serdabs with statues. Over the slit of one serdab was engraved the label "House of the *Ka*," settling a dispute of no little importance for the *ka*-question. In two cases untouched chambers were found containing the coffin, the mummy with its beads, etc., and offerings outside but of little richness. The results of the excavation altogether were most brilliant, including fine sculptured and painted chambers and numerous statues. A single serdab yielded nine statues and a fragment of another. An artist and an architect assisted in the work. *id. ib.* 1913, 152.

ABU ROASH. M. MONTET reports on the discovery by the Institut Français of plundered mastabas and pit graves with jar-sealings of King Den of the Ist Dynasty and various other remains. *Comptes Rendus* of the Académie, 8 April, 1914.

DELTA SITES. After some preliminary paragraphs on the monumental poverty of Lower Egypt owing to the absence of local sources of stone, and stating his belief that most of the monuments even of Tanis were brought from Memphis, Heliopolis, Leontopolis, Avaris, etc., M. DARESSY reports on his explorations in the Delta. The gleanings in the Menufia province are small indeed—those at Dosheh, at Zauyet Razin (perhaps Prosopis) an interesting statue of a priest of the local Amen-Re, at Bendaria, and Mostai (Tell umm Harb) are the most important, *Ann.* XII, 169. A further exploration at Bendaria, *ib.* XIII, 1; the archaeological condition of mounds in Daqahlia, including Baqlia (Hermopolis), Roba' (Mendes), Tmai (Thmuis), Tanbul (Leontopolis ?), *id. ib.* XIII, 178.

Report on the demolition of a small Tell at Dondit near Tell Moqdam with inscriptions of Rameses II and Nekhtharheb. EDGAR, *Ann.* XIII, 122.

PELUSIUM. Plan of Farama mounds; at the west end remains of a temple of Zeus Casius with Greek inscription of Hadrian. CLÉDAT, *Ann.* XIII, 79.

SYRIAN ROUTE. A Ptolemaic and Roman cemetery at Qantara; two brick-vaulted tombs contained three sarcophagi with inscriptions (see DARESSY below, p. 271, Geography); most of the interments are in stone coffins or in jars without superstructures. Muhammed Effendi CHABAN, *Ann.* XII, 69, with supplementary note by EDGAR.

Excavation at Kasr Gheynt about 5 m. S.W. of Qatya, the site of a large Roman (?) station to protect the caravan route, with a temple on the altar of which is a Nabataean inscription, and cemetery yielding a few gold and silver ornaments, etc. CLÉDAT, *Ann.* XII, 145.

PUBLICATION OF TEXTS.

(a) *From sites in Egypt, etc.*

The series of supplements to LEPSIUS' *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopen* has been completed by the issue of the fifth volume of the Text, and Plates XLIX-LXIII of the *Ergänzungsband*, with a brief preface by ERMAN, in which he states that the publication of the original *Denkmäler* was begun in May 1850 and finished in October 1859. Owing to various hindrances the supplementary publication from LEPSIUS' and ERBKAM's notes and journals has been spread over more than twenty years. The final fascicule of plates concerns only Nubian sites, Kalabsha, Dendur, Sebuia, Ellesia, Barkal, Meroe and Naga, and all the subjects are Ptolemaic, Roman, or Meroitic with the exception of New Kingdom scenes from Sebuia and Ellesia and two Ethiopian scenes from the great temple of Barkal. The volume of text however, edited by WRESZINSKI, comprises with Nubia the miscellaneous outlying districts Hammamat, Sinai peninsula and Syria, and even includes a few notes of objects in Europe. GRAPOW has furnished a valuable concordance of the Plates of the great work with the new Text. We now have as complete a record as is possible of the archaeological results of the great expedition of 1842-45. The Text not only fixes the situation of the scenes and inscriptions figured in the Plates but also contains descriptions of sites and monuments of every period as they then were; these descriptions are of the utmost value to students of the present day, since most of the antiquities that then existed above the soil have greatly deteriorated. Reviewed by WIEDEMANN, *OLZ*, XVII, 230.

AMADA. In the series of *Temples immergés de la Nubie* GAUTHIER has published *Le temple d'Amada* with bibliographical introduction: some plates are to appear later, otherwise the work is complete.

DERR. The Ramesside temple by BLACKMAN in one volume with full bibliography and useful indexes.

ES SABU'. This temple is completely published in two volumes by the same scholar.

DAKKEH. The second volume (plates only) of ROEDER's *Tempel von Dakkeh*. The inscriptions include fragments of Dynasty XVIII besides the original texts of the present temple dating from Philopator, Ergamenes and later, together with graffiti in demotic, Meroitic, Greek and Arabic on 147 very fine photographic plates.

In the same series a beginning has been made with the publication of the valuable drawings, especially architectural, and notes made of Nubian temples by HAY, ARUNDALE, BURTON, CATHERWOOD, DUPUY, LANE and LAVER between 1826 and 1838, and now preserved in the Hay MSS in the British Museum. The first livraison of the *Documents* contains those which relate to Dakka and Kalabsha: they are extracted from the MSS by Mr Somers CLARKE and Mr G. H. MILEHAM.

Most of the published volumes of the series are reviewed by WRESZINSKI, *OLZ*, xv, 420, xvi, 362.

SILSILA. Epigraphic results of BISSING and KEES' visit to Wadi es Seba Rigâle. *Bavar. Acad. Sitzb.*, 1913, No. 10.

THEBES. Mr N. de G. DAVIES has given to our Archaeological Survey a volume of *Five Theban Tombs*, copied with the minute care which we have learnt to expect from him. They include the tomb of a wazir Dega contemporary with the Menthotp temple of Deir el Bahari, and several tombs of Dynasty XVIII with instructive funerary and other scenes. The strange funerary rites shown in Menthuherkhepshef, now unfortunately much injured since their first imperfect publication, are happily illustrated by fragmentary parallels from the tomb of a certain Amenemapt. In re-clearing the tomb an interesting Cretan vase of the second Late-Minoan age was discovered amongst the débris.

Remnant of the tomb of Senmen, brother of the famous Senmut of Hatshepsut's reign. DAVIES, *PSBA*, xxxv, 282.

Song in praise of death from the tomb of Neferhotp. GARDINER, *PSBA*, xxxv, 165.

COPTOS. The temple of El Qala described with photographs and plan; small and of very bad style, it was erected under Claudius. The inscriptions are hardly legible and for the most part are not copied. REINACH, *Ann.* xi, 193.

Collection of texts, hieroglyphic, demotic and Greek and many of them bilingual, referring to Parthenios, son of Paminis, the *rit* or *προστάτης* of Isis at Coptos during the restoration of the temple under Tiberius Claudius and Nero. REINACH and WEILL, *Ann.* xii, 1, cf. xiii, 48.

HAMMAMAT. Copies of inscriptions in this and the adjacent wadis including many new documents with fine photographs and indices. COUYAT et MONTET, *Inscriptions du Ouadi Hammamat (Mém. of French Institute at Cairo, t. xxxiv)*.

SOHAG. Monuments of the age of Amasis II and granite shrine of Hakoris at the White Monastery. WEILL, *Rec. de Trav.* xxxvi, 97.

AKHMIM. Inscriptions of a small obelisk dedicated to Min for a Ptolemaic queen, whose cartouche is left blank. DARESSY, *Ann.* XII, 214.

The long neglected rock-shrine of Min described with extracts from the inscriptions. The earliest is of Ai; there is a curious late representation with the cartouche of Tuthmosis III, and most of the inscriptions date from the Ptolemaic period when a priest, Harmachoros, son of Hor, decorated it. KEES, *Rec. de Trav.* XXXVI, 51.

QAU EL KEBIR. Limestone sarcophagus with inscriptions of a priest Portais.

ISFAHT (Sebeht, Apollinopolis Parva). Remains of Roman temple.

ASSIUT. Inscribed coffin, LEFEBVRE, *Ann.* XII, 81; another with the interesting name Sent-useret (feminine of Sen-useret, Sesostris), usurped by Ipi, *id. ib.* XIII, 5.

TUNA. Ushabti and sarcophagus of a priest of Hermopolis Magna. WEILL, *Rec. de Trav.* XXXVI, 90.

ZAUYET EL MEIYITIN. Lid of coffin of Semtuartais.

KOM EL AHMAR. Stela of Amenhotp III.

GURAB. Stela of Tuthmosis III, dedicated to Harsafes. LEFEBVRE, *Ann.* XII, 93.

BENI HASAN. Notes on the scenes, and copies of all the short texts, with index and bibliography. MONTET, *Bull.* IX, 1.

HAWARA. Ptolemaic stela with invocations to Osiris, King Marres (Amenemhat III) and [Suchos?], and a long address to the public. DARESSY, *Rec. de Trav.* XXXVI, 73.

TURA. The hieroglyphic inscriptions of Tura and Masara. DARESSY, *Ann.* XI, 257.

SAQQARA. In the series of the memoirs of the SIEGLIN expedition Prof. STEINDORFF has edited in 143 photographs the sculptures of the tomb of Ti (*Grab des Ti*) of the middle of the Vth Dynasty, reaching to the reign of Ne-userre. We thus at length, fifty-three years after its discovery by MARIETTE, have a complete representation of the scenes in this, the most celebrated of all the tombs of Saqqara and the most admired for the beauty of its sculpture. Small portions had been reproduced before, and full publication had been projected time after time. By good fortune the sculptures seem to have suffered far less than might have been expected in the interval, and we must congratulate ourselves that photography even in dark and confined spaces has few things impossible to an expert like Herr KOCH, so that an almost adequate result has been secured. Prof. STEINDORFF holds out hopes of supplementing the photographs later by outline drawings and coloured plates.

Supplement to the publication of the tomb of Ptahhetep, in an appendix to DAVIES, *Five Theban Tombs*.

ABUSIR. The publication of the funerary-monument of King Sahure *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahure* is completed by a second volume, describing the sculptures from the walls of the Temple, the inclined Approach and the Gateway. Dr BORCHARDT calculates that there had been 10,000 sq. metres of relief-work, but subsequent builders and lime-burners have left us only about 150 sq. metres of scattered fragments. These form a unique collection of Old Kingdom sculpture, including numerous figures of divinities which are elsewhere so rare at this time, also foreigners, and *sed*-festival ceremonies, as well as the more usual scenes of offering, hunting, etc. on a magnificent scale. The plates and plans are beautifully drawn by hand. The inscriptions are dealt with by SETHE, and there are special chapters on the representations of ships by ASSMANN and the animals and birds by HILZHEIMER and HONROTH: amongst these last the Syrian bears are a

surprise, and several new results are reached, e.g. that the deer represented on the Egyptian monuments is not the Libyan stag but the Mesopotamian fallow-deer.

CAIRO. Fragment of sarcophagus of a prince of Sebennytus, inscriptions of Rameses I, Sebekhotp "III," and Alexander IV. DARESSY, *Ann.* XII, 284. Various inscribed and sculptured stones, *id. Rec. de Trav.* XXXV, 45.

GEBEL AHMAR. Ink graffiti in the quarries of red quartzite. DARESSY, *Ann.* XIII, 43.

KOM EBSHAN (near Mehallet el Kubra). Inscriptions on granite statue. DARESSY, *Ann.* XII, 281.

KOM EFRÎN. Inscriptions of Rameses II, and of the same king and a Tuthmosis at Bernug. EDGAR, *Ann.* XI, 277.

BEHBEIT. Inventory and copies of all blocks accessible without clearance, made by EDGAR, edited by ROEDER, with notes of early travellers largely derived from Miss PORTER's bibliography. *Rec. de Trav.* XXXV, 89.

BILGAI (south of Mansura). Ramesside stela of granite in which a "great mistress of every land," whose title has been tampered with, perhaps Tewosri, dedicates a chapel to Ammon of Rameses II, probably at one of the mouths of the Nile. GARDINER, *ÄZ*, I, 49.

MENDES. Two inscriptions on one block recording the accession of two princes—Smendes, son of Harnakht, and his son Harnakht—to the local rule. The second seems to be named in the Story of Petubaste and they must belong to the time of disruption in Dynasty XXIII. DARESSY, *Rec. de Trav.* XXXV, 124.

(b) *From Museums, etc.*

ISMAILIA. Various monuments from the Isthmus of Suez, chiefly from Tell el Maskhuta. CLÉDAT, *Rec. de Trav.* XXXVI, 103.

ROME. Corrections to published copy of a Vatican monument of Hatshepsut, etc. FARINA, *Sphinx*, XVIII, 65.

AVIGNON. Stelae with photographs. MORET, *Rec. de Trav.* XXXV, 48, 193.

PARIS. Engravings on two archaic cylinders, two clay impressions of a cylinder of Cheops (evidently taken from PETRIE's cylinder (p. 269)), cylinder of King Isesi of Dynasty V, a (second) hound named Behuka(?), cartouche Maare, and two others, all from the Musée Guimet. WEILL, *Rec. de Trav.* XXXVI, 83.

GRAZ. Three stelae, one showing King Sebekemsaf before Ptah. BISSING, *Ancient Egypt*, I, 14.

RUSSIA. Three stelae, including a representation of the *teknu* or supposed human sacrifice, from the author's collection; stele of reign of Uah-ankh Enyotf-o at Moscow, and old copies of two other stelae. TURATIEFF, *Zapiski* of the Imp. Russian Arch. Soc., T. VII, 1912.

BERLIN. Two parts of the *Aeg. Inschr. aus den Kön. Mus. zu Berlin*, I, 4, containing autographed copies of inscriptions of the Middle Kingdom and Hyksos period; and II, 1 of the New Kingdom by ROEDER: reviewed by WRESZINSKI, *OLZ*, XVI, 495.

Late Theban funerary papyrus. FRANK-KAMENETZKY, *OLZ*, XVII, 97, 145.

LEYDEN. Collection of 56 tablets of Dynasty XVIII—XXVI in magnificent photographs with text and indices by BOESER, *Beschr. d. Aeg. Sammlung in Leiden, Denkmäler des Neuen Reichs*, III. The previous volume *Gräber des Neuen Reichs* is reviewed by RANKE, *OLZ*, XV, 515.

COPENHAGEN. Stela, with hymn to Ptah and Sekhmet at Ny Carlsberg. Miss MOGENSEN, *PSBA*, xxxv, 37, retranslated by PLATT, *ib.* 129.

LONDON. Two more parts (3, 4) of *Hieroglyphic Texts from stelae etc. in the British Museum*, each of 50 hand-drawn plates. Most have not before been published, and there are many which bear royal names of great importance for the history of the obscurer periods of the Middle Kingdom. Part III reviewed by ANDERSSON, *Sphinx*, xvii, 83.

Eight coloured plates representing the fine Theban wall-paintings in the British Museum. Short illustrated introduction by BUDGE on the history of tomb-decoration in Egypt. *Wall decorations of Egyptian Tombs*.

NEW YORK. *The Stela of Menthu-weser* (17th year of Sesostri II) in the Metropolitan Museum, photographed and translated by Miss C. L. RANSOM.

Miscellaneous: fragments of Old Empire decrees, probably of Dynasty IV, obtained by MASPERO in Upper Egypt, DARESSY, *Ann.* XIII, 109; various small monuments, CHASSINAT, *Bull.* x, 161; ditto, WIEDEMANN, *Sphinx*, xviii, 62, SAYCE, *PSBA*, xxxvi, 47. Plaque with prisoner in relief and cartouches of Sheshonq III and throne of Saite, statue of a priest of Soped at Goshen. WEILL, *Rec. de Trav.* xxxvi, 83.

Copies of the engraved hieroglyphs on early cylinders, classified, with attempts at interpretation. PETRIE, *Ancient Egypt*, 1914, 61.

Hieratic. Prof. GOLÉNISCHEFF has published fine photographs and transcriptions of three literary papyri of great importance, viz.: The Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor, the Instructions of a Heracleopolite king to his son the King Merikare (see Dr GARDINER's translation, *E. E. F. Journal*, I, p. 20), and the Prophecies of a Sage before King Senefru (II, p. 100). The last two were practically unknown, as GOLÉNISCHEFF had only published brief analyses of them previously, when they were first unrolled as long ago as 1876. On the back are accounts which date the copies to the joint reign of Tuthmosis III and Amenhotep II. *Les Papyrus Hiératiques nono. 1115, 1116 A et 1116 B de l'Ermitage Impérial à S. Pétersbourg*.

In the first volume of the official publication of the Museum at Moscow, TOURAIEFF publishes a dish inscribed inside with a letter of Dynasty XVIII, from the GOLÉNISCHEFF collection; a hieratic stela from his own collection recording a gift by "the great prince of Libya" in the 10th year of Sheshonq I. *Zapiski of the Imp. Russian Arch. Soc.*, T. VII, 1912.

Ostracon with directions for making four frames, in the Musée Guimet at Paris. WEILL, *Rec. de Trav.* xxxvi.

The magical-medical papyrus of the New Kingdom in the British Museum is reproduced in 19 excellent photographs in WRESZINSKI's *Londoner Medizinische Papyrus und der Papyrus Hearst*.

Excellent photographs, with transcription, translation and commentary, of three papyrus documents of Dynasty XXI in difficult script, belonging to a large group first collected by SPIEGELBERG. ERMAN, *Ein Fall abgekürzter Justiz in Aegypten (Abh. of Berlin Ac.* 1913). See also below, p. 286, Law.

A fine ostracon containing four model letters is edited with the texts of several of less importance by GARDINER in *Theban Ostraca* (Toronto Studies).

Two Theban ostraca in the PETRIE collection, one dated in the second year of Setnekt and containing the record of a curious commercial transaction, the other a hymn. SPIEGELBERG, *Ancient Egypt*, I, 106.

Demotic.

Two early contracts in the British Museum. REVILLOUT, *Rev. Ég.* XIV, 92.

Edfu has yielded a series of papyri of the early Ptolemaic age (Ptol. II—IV) most of which are now in the Berlin Museum. Fifteen are edited in *Die demotischen Papyri Hauswaldt* with a few scattered pieces by Prof. SPIEGELBERG, who displays his wonted skill in the task; and it is a sign of the times that the demotist acknowledges the help of the Greek papyrologists SCHUBART, PLAUMANN, and PREISIGKE, while Dr PARTSCH as a jurist has contributed a considerable essay on the legal aspect of the contracts. The practised hands of IBSCHER have overcome the difficulties of preservation due to the rottenness of all the papyri from this locality. The documents are chiefly sales of land with a few marriage contracts, a loan, a mortgage, etc.

Sale of land under Ptol. Euerg. II with Greek docket and sale of a horse, both from the Strassburg collection. SPIEGELBERG, *Rec. de Trav.* XXXV, 82.

Two remarkable documents of the reign of Philadelphus in the Lille collection from Ghoran in the Fayum. In each an individual takes over a prisoner from the captain of the guard and undertakes to produce him again on demand. SOTTAS, *Journ. As. Sér.* XI, t. III, p. 141. This successful first appearance of a French demotist since REVILLOUT's death is very auspicious and we look forward eagerly to M. SOTTAS' intended publication of the rest of the papyri in the collection.

Sir H. THOMPSON has published forty-four ostraca—tax receipts, letters, leases, oaths, lists, and memoranda of all kinds—selected from the large collection of about 400 specimens obtained by CURRELLY and MILNE, in *Theban Ostraca* (Toronto Studies); two horoscope-ostraca, *PSBA*, XXXIV, 227; healing oracle of Amenhotp, *ib.* XXXV, 95; selected tax receipts from Dendera and Thebes, *ib.* 114, 150, 187, 227, 261.

Collection of Greek and demotic ostraca from Ombos, dating from 71–53 B.C. The former furnish the text for an important discussion on the religious and civil organization; the demotic give little beyond local names of persons. PREISIGKE u. SPIEGELBERG, *Die Prinz-Joachim-Ostraka*.

Hand-copies of three ostraca at Strassburg—a list of words concerning the face, protocol of Ptolemy IV and receipt of contribution for sacred crocodiles, SPIEGELBERG, *ÄZ*, L, 28; dedication to Serapis of an Egyptian statue found in Rhodes, *id. ib.* 24; limestone flakes with story of a king's dream, and letter in year 1 of King Harmakhis, *ib.* 32; stela from Dendera with record of rebuilding the dromos of Isis, and limestone mummy-labels, *ib.* 36; gravestone, coffin inscriptions, altar to Amenophis, son of Paapis, *ib.* 43, cf. corrections of readings, *ib.* LI, 137; long inscription recording the formal opening of a quarry in the Gebel Sheikh Heridi in the reign of Ptol. XIII, *ib.* LI, 65; new inscriptions of Parthenios, son of Paninis from Coptos (cf. above, p. 262), *ib.* 75.

MÖLLER has re-published in full-sized photographs the two bilingual funerary papyri which Rhind found in a tomb at Thebes. Heinrich BRUGSCH's valuable edition was published 50 years ago, so that it was high time that they were re-edited. MÖLLER gives a transcript of the difficult hieratic into hieroglyphic, a transliteration of the demotic, translation of each version in parallel columns, commentary and full glossary: also a discussion of the texts and of the high personages for whom they were written, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind*.

The first volume of a supplementary publication of the demotic texts in the Berlin Museums is devoted to the collection of mummy labels in demotic and Greek, edited

by MÖLLER with indices and autographed by his skilful hand. From the scanty records of their finding, it appears that such labels were tied to the necks of mummies; and occasionally besides the name-label, which is a cheap substitute for a funerary tablet, a second is found on the same mummy, as it were a luggage-label giving directions for its transport or the like. *Demotische Texte. I. Mumien schilder.*

Two mummy labels with hieroglyphic and demotic inscriptions, SPIEGELBERG, *ÄZ*, L, 40; demotic-Greek invoice, etc. for a mummy, in the Berlin Museum, from Akhmîm (cf. No. 45 of MÖLLER), *id. ib.* LI, 89.

Meroitic.

TOURAIIEFF publishes an inscription of 21 lines, unfortunately incomplete at beginning and end, on a slab of greenish slate in his own collection, purchased in Petrograd. *Zapiski* of the Imp. Russ. Arch. Soc., Tome VII, 1912.

GRIFFITH, *Karandg*, vol. VI, *The Meroitic Inscriptions*, reviewed by ROEDER, *Lit. Centralblatt*, 1913, 1049; CROWFOOT, *Isle of Meroe* and GRIFFITH, *Meroitic Inscriptions*, I, II, reviewed by ROEDER, *ib.* 107; FOUCART, *Journal des Savants*, N.S. XI, 517.

HISTORY.

Mr H. R. HALL has performed a very important service, especially to English readers, in producing his *Ancient History of the Near East*. In it Egypt naturally takes a leading place and its fortunes are presented with great freshness as a part of the general history of the world. Reviewed by KING, *PSBA*, XXXV, 133; BREASTED and LUCKENBILL, *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.* xxx, 2 Jan. 1914; J. L. MYRES, *Man*, 1913, no. 109; NIEBUHR, *OLZ*, XVI, 512; S. R[EINACH], *Rev. Arch.* xxii, 144; BISSING, *E. E. F. Journal*, I, 225.

A third edition of vol. II, part I of MEYER'S *Geschichte des Altertums* (prehistoric period to Hyksos) shows numerous small changes in the Egyptian section.

G. JÉQUIER has written an interesting popular handbook on the civilisation of Egypt at the principal epochs. *Histoire de la civilisation Égyptienne*.

Herr von BISSING has also given us a handbook *Die Kultur des alten Aegyptens* on the political condition, social life, art, religion, etc. of Ancient Egypt, with illustrations, many of which are taken from objects not previously published.

A remarkably cheap and richly illustrated handbook of the same class treats of Egypt, Assyria, Hittites, Phoenicia, Persia, etc. HUNGER and LAMER, *Altorientalische Kultur im Bilde*.

Two works on Egyptian morals and moral ideas have been published simultaneously by J. BAILLET, *Introduction à l'étude des idées morales dans l'Égypte Antique*, and *La régime Pharaonique dans ses rapports avec l'évolution de la morale en Égypte*, both furnished with references, indices, and bibliographies. The second is in two volumes and the bibliography and indices occupy 200 pages. As an index of material it should be of good service, but many of the original documents on which it is founded are of great difficulty; it must be some time before they can be adequately represented in translations, and it is unfortunate that the remarkable editions and commentaries that have seen the light in the past year or two came too late to be utilised by M. BAILLET. Reviewed by WIEDEMANN, *OLZ*, xvii, 22.

The concluding part (3^{me} fasc.) of LIEBLEIN'S *Recherches sur l'histoire et la civilisation de l'ancienne Égypte* contains the last essays of the veteran Egyptologist recently deceased (on the origin of Egyptian writing, the relations of Egypt with Europe and Asia, etc.) and a biography by his pupil SCHENKE. Reviewed by W. M. MÜLLER, *OLZ*, xv, 425.

BURCHARDT and PIEPER have compiled a handy and complete list of royal names and titles with necessary references. The first part contains the names to the end of Dynasty XVII. *Handbuch der Aegyptischen Königsnamen*. Reviewed by WIEDEMANN, *OLZ*, xvi, 157.

From a study of the original papyrus of kings at Turin, PIEPER is able to give a number of new readings. He considers that it represents a Lower Egyptian list, excluding the kings who did not rule over Lower Egypt. Guided by the forms of their names he makes several groups out of the known kings between Dynasties XII and XVIII. Of the Sebekemsafs with Dehuti, Rahotp and the late Antefs he makes a local Theban dynasty contemporary with the beginning of Dynasty XIII: and from various indications suggests that between the Middle and New Kingdoms Egypt was an elective monarchy. *ÄZ*, li, 94.

Review of Vol. II of the *Studies* of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt, with special attention to PETRIE'S chronology. FOUCART, *Sphinx*, xvi, 191.

NEWBERRY offers ingenious explanations of the wooden and ivory tablets from Nagada, seeing in them labels for strings of beads, oil-jars, etc. (with fresh copies of some of them), *PSBA*, xxxiv, 279. On a broken royal stela of Dynasty I in Cairo he recognises the name Zer so formed as to fix the reading of the king's name which had also been read Khent, etc., *ib.* xxxvi, 35.

Completion of an article written in 1907 by AMÉLINEAU on the Chronology of the earliest kings, *Rev. Ég.* xiv, 153. Analysis of the king's name Kaiechos, MASPERO, *Rec. de Trav.* xxxv, 48.

SETHE discusses the evidence that Nefermaat was son of King Senefru by the latter's own eldest daughter and recalls the story told of Mycerinus by Herodotus (II, 131), *ÄZ*, l, 57; SOTTAS upholds ERMAN'S view that he was grandson of the king, son of his daughter, quoting a parallel use of "daughter" and "son" for daughter and grandson, *Rev. Ég.* 150. SETHE distinguishes a king Isi not later than the middle of Dynasty V from the well-known Isesi at the end of it, and suggests that he may be identical with Shepseskare of the Sakkara tablet; he also establishes the important point that (with two exceptions) when a king has two cartouches the name of his pyramid is combined with the first only in contemporary texts, while names of persons are compounded only with the second or personal name, *ib.* l, 1.

Am. HERTZ explains the method of representing a new reign on the Palermo stone. *Rec. de Trav.* xxxvi, 101.

On the chronological position of King Uaz-ka-re of the Coptos decree. HALL, *PSBA*, xxxiv, 290.

The king of the Eloquent Peasant identified with a Heracleopolite Kheti. NEWBERRY, *ÄZ*, l, 123.

Dynasty XI has received much attention. GAUTHIER gives the new material since his *Livre des Rois*, *Bull.* ix, 99; BISSING suggests (inter alia) that a *Neb-hept-Re* should be distinguished from a *Neb-kheru-Re*; NAVILLE upholds his own previous reconstruction,

ÄZ, L, 9; SPIEGELBERG corrects the translation of a passage on a stela regarding a prince Antef, *ib.* 119. DARESSY suggests (inter alia) that the sculpture of Saba Rigâla may belong to an Antef of the end of the Middle Kingdom, representing Menthotp of Dynasty XI as a deity, *Sphinx*, xvii, 97. After visiting the spot and republishing the scene, BISSING considers that its colossal scale and careful execution point to its being the record of a peace between the representatives of the Menthotp line of Hermonthis, and a separate Antef line then confined to the extreme south of Egypt, Antef submitting to Menthotp as his overlord, *Sitzb. Bav. Ak.* 1913, no. 10.

The *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs etc. in the British Museum* contains descriptions and in most cases photographs of nearly 2900 historical scarabs from this colossal collection, few of which had been previously published. Mr HALL's introduction describes the origin and history of the scarab seal.

Names of kings and interesting personages on 20 scarabs and other monuments in various collections, NEWBERRY, *PSBA*, xxxvi, 35. A large number of new Middle Kingdom and Hyksos scarabs of great interest observed in the past year, with a few scarabs and other small historical monuments of Dynasties XVIII, XIX and XXVI, and an example of a priest of the goddess Nebt-u of Dynasty XIII, *id. ib.* 168. In view of MEYER's opinion that the Hyksos came from Asia Minor, BURCHARDT shows that most of the known names admit of a Semitic interpretation. He considers that they probably came from Syria or Arabia, perhaps through pressure from the Hittites of Asia Minor, ÄZ, L, 6.

PETRIE publishes a cylinder from Giza engraved with the name of Cheops and of his pyramid; a Syrian seal with Egyptian hieroglyphs and cartouche: a bronze seal attributed to Akhenaton; a large gilt bronze ring with a portrait head, in Greek style, probably of Ptolemy IV: and a gold ring engraved with the name of Antoninus Pius in hieroglyphic. *Ridgeway Studies*, 92.

PIEPER gives titles to Amenemhat I which had been thought to belong to two separate Amenemhats. BURCHARDT similarly unites the two Sekenenre Tao's who are treated as distinct by the scribe of the Abbott Papyrus. ÄZ, L, 119.

WEILL supplements his paper on the Hyksos, in part from the Carnarvon writing-tablet, which he considers to be romance. For the chronology between Dynasties XII and XVIII he explains away the two largest of the "Manethonian" figures as corruptions, leaving only 594 years in the Manethonian record, *Journ. As.* xi Ser., t. I, p. 535. He afterwards begins a classification of the kings between the end of Dynasty XII and the New Kingdom, relying largely on the forms of the throne-names for establishing family groups, with many corrections in detail of statements by other writers and some new copies and collations of inscriptions, *ib.* t. III, 71, 259.

Notes on the Carnarvon Hyksos tablet. NEWBERRY, *PSBA*, xxxv, 117.

Statuette of Amunezeh temp. Tuthmosis III, Todtenbuch of User wazir under the same, tomb of Tetiemre under Hatshepsut, officer of the royal barge of Amenhotp III (see also Brussels statue, CAPART, *PSBA*, xxxvi, 8), Isis daughter of Amenhotp III. NEWBERRY, *PSBA*, xxxv, 156.

Classification by WIEDEMANN of scarabs of Amenhotp III with historical remarks, also on Akhenaton, of whose personality he considers that we know almost nothing. *PSBA*, xxxv, 252.

HALL publishes a glazed saucer from the Martyn KENNARD collection representing that Yuia, the father of Queen Taie, was prince of Zahi or Phoenicia. He does not

however appear to be sure of its genuineness, *PSBA*, xxxv, 63. W. M. MÜLLER suggests that the saucer is an ancient forgery of some time later than 1000 B.C., looking upon it as a particularly interesting case of pseudepigraphy, *OLZ*, xvi, 495.

The true reading of Tutankhamon's titles. DARESSY, *Ann.* xi, 273.

On the vulture-pectoral of prince Chamois. WIEDEMANN, *PSBA*, xxxiv, 306.

Name of Seti II in a shekh's tomb at Dishna. MASSIGNON, *Bull.* ix, 88.

Dr BUDGE's publication of *The Greenfield Papyrus* in the British Museum written for the Princess Nestanebtasheru, daughter of Pinetem II of Dynasty XXI, contains also a bronze libation vase and two ushabti of the same lady, and a wooden tablet (parallel to that of ROGERS-Bey in the Louvre) inscribed with a decree of Ammon regarding the ushabti of her mother Eskhons (Nesikhonsu). Reviewed by ANDERSSON, *Sphinx*, xvii, 26.

PETRIE reviewing NAVILLE's *Papyrus Funéraire de la XXI^e Dynastie* points out that Mutemhat is the second name of the queen Kamare, not the name of a daughter of hers. *Ancient Egypt*, i, 43.

DARESSY publishes or republishes inscriptions belonging to period of Dynasty XXII-XXIV and makes a new tabulation of contemporary kings with high priests of Ammon and of Ptah, *Rec. de Trav.* xxxv, 129, and fixes the Horus-name of Sheshonq III by a new inscription from Mendes, *Ann.* xiii, 86.

A gift of land to the temple of Busiris under Sheshonq III from the Musée Guimet and a similar text in Berlin, both mentioning a "son of Rameses." SPIEGELBERG, *Rec. de Trav.* xxxv, 41.

Amended translations of DARESSY's Mendes monuments and of the inscription of Osorkon under Takellothis II in the Louvre from Karnak. SOTTAS, *Sphinx*, xviii, 76.

Zet in the Manethonian entry "Zet 31 years" at the end of Dynasty XXIII an abbreviation of *ζητεῖται* or the like as a kind of mark of interrogation. PETRIE, *Ancient Egypt*, i, 32.

Inscription of Shabako referring to conflict with Bedouin tribes engraved on a very large scarab in Toronto purchased in Jerusalem 1910. W. M. MÜLLER, *OLZ*, xvii, 49.

Study of monuments of the family Esptah-Mentemhat-Esptah continued and completed. LEGRAIN, *Rec. de Trav.* xxxv, 207, xxxvi, 57.

The king's name Psammetichus. W. M. MÜLLER, *OLZ*, xvi, 49.

The Assyriologist PRÁŠEK has written lives of *Kambyses* (treating also the difficult questions of his Egyptian expedition) and of *Dareios I* in the series *Der alte Orient*.

Supposed occurrence of the name of Xerxes in the Demotic Chronicle is false. SPIEGELBERG, *ÄZ*, i, 125.

The article on Herodotus by JACOBY for *Pauly's Real-encyclopädie* has been printed in the second part of the supplement and occupies no less than 300 pages. Messrs HOW and WELLS in their compact *Commentary on Herodotus* acknowledge their indebtedness to Mr H. R. HALL for help on Book II. Attention may be called to ROEDER's elaborate article on Rampsinitos in *Pauly's Real-encycl.*, vol. ix, and to Ed. MEYER's contention in *ÄZ*, li, 136 that Sesosis, the organiser of the warrior caste in the text of Diodorus, should be corrected to Sesonchosis (Sheshonq), the reading given in the same passage where quoted by Justin Martyr.

In eponym datings the demotic is translated from Greek originals, often clumsily and inaccurately. PLAUMANN, *ÄZ*, l, 19.

SPIEGELBERG translates with full commentary the two land-sales found and published by Lord CARNARVON and dated in the reign of King Harmachis. He considers that this king and his successor were probably Ethiopians, and that the possessions of the temple of the Theban Ammon may have been especially put under their patronage during the troubles in the reign of Epiphanes, *Rec. de Trav.* xxxv, 150. A statue dedicated to Serapis and Isis by Dionysius of Iasos, *id. ÄZ*, L, 24, and many other demotic notes of interest to papyrologists and the like.

Is. LÉVY discusses the statue of a Ptolemaic high priest of Ptah named Petubaste found at Cherchel. The personage is already known as having died at the age of 16 on 1 Aug. in 30 B.C., the day that Octavius entered Alexandria as conqueror. (Statue with BENÉDITE's comments published in *Bull. Arch. du Comité des travaux historiques*, 1908, 254 and Pl. XLVII.) Probably Cleopatra Selene's marriage with Juba was the cause of the statue being taken to the city which Juba made the capital of Mauretania. *Rev. Arch.* xxii, 73.

MILNE suggests that the drawing on a jar from the ibis-cemetery at Abydos is a satirical representation of Antony and Cleopatra. *E. E. F. Journal*, I, 99.

GEOGRAPHY.

GAUTHIER collects and discusses the geographical names belonging to the Xth nome of Upper Egypt (Aphroditopolite with its centre at Kôm Ishgau, Aphroditopolis), making a very substantial memoir. Ancient Egyptian, Greek, Coptic, and Arabic sources are all made to contribute, the greater part of the Greek material being provided by J. MASPERO, *Rec. de Trav.* xxxvi, 162.

The same scholar, having eight years before published collections on the IXth (Pano-polite) nome, compiles an elaborate supplement acknowledging the help of J. MASPERO and DARESSY, *Bull.* x, 89 with Index to the whole, *ib.* xi, 49; DARESSY writes critical and supplementary notes, *Sphinx*, xvi, 177.

NEWBERRY identifies the Eastern Crocodile nome of very early texts with the XIVth of Lower Egypt, *ÄZ*, L, 124: makes interesting suggestions as to the meaning of the cerastes in two adjacent nomes in Middle Egypt, the bull in five nomes of the Delta, and the ostrich feather, as indications of tribes or nationality, with additional note by PETRIE, *Ancient Egypt*, I, 5.

Inscriptions of three limestone sarcophagi found by natives at Qantara seem to establish the fact that it is the site of the Egyptian frontier city of Zel, later Sile. DARESSY, *Bull.* x, 29.

Recent articles on ancient Egyptian geographical names for *Pauly's Real-encyclopädie* are written by PIEPER.

COUYAT publishes a description of the desert from Siut to the Red Sea by Alexis BERT who commanded the artillery of Napoleon's army in Upper Egypt. The MS was found by LUMBROSO in the Turin library. The journey was undertaken in Nov. 1800 especially with a view to rediscovering the sulphur deposits, and the account is full of observations of minerals and plants and has some details about Arab tribes and archaeological remains. *Bull.* ix, 137; x, 1.

G. W. MURRAY gives an interesting map and geographical and geological description of the Hamada country, the turquoise and copper region of Sinai, in the *Cairo Scientific*

Journal, VI, 1912, p. 264. He picked up fragments of a stela of Amenhotp III in Wadi Nasb.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.

Last year Ed. MEYER presented to the Berlin Academy a report on an expedition sent to Egypt to photograph all representations of foreigners on Egyptian monuments. Dr Max BURCHARDT provided the scientific leadership and Herr KOCH the technical skill, and needless to say the results have been excellent. The collections made are briefly reviewed in historical order and the full catalogue according to localities is given of about 800 numbered negatives, prints of which were obtainable on application to Prof. MEYER. Over 500 were taken at Thebes without however exhausting the material there: for the Theban tombs Dr GARDINER's *Catalogue* (then in MS) formed an excellent guide. Elsewhere the programme was completely carried out, except that owing to an unfortunate accident to Herr KOCH the projected visit to Abu Simbel had to be given up: for this, however, Prof. BREASTED's photographs provide nearly all that is required. The collections in Cairo and Berlin are also largely represented. Prof. MEYER hopes to edit the series in three groups belonging to Africa, Western Asia and the Aegean world respectively. *Sitzb. Berlin Ak.* 1913, 769, cf. *ÄZ*, LI, 139.

BISSING has printed a lecture on the share of Egyptian art in the artistic life of the nations, *Der Anteil der ägyptischen Kunst am Kunstleben der Völker*, with a long appendix of references and discussion of the phenomena in individual countries and periods down to the present day. Reviewed by BRANDENBERG, *OLZ*, XVI, 410.

Europe.

In the *Ridgeway Essays*, p. 493 is a long paper by Prof. Elliot SMITH arguing with more fullness than before that megalithic monuments were derived from Egypt. The elaborate mastaba and pyramid are entirely a home growth in Egypt induced by the peculiar natural conditions prevailing in the country and by the wealth and ambition of its people. The megalithic monuments of Sardinia and South Italy are degraded local imitations of essential features in the Egyptian mastaba, the serdâb being developed into a corridor with a "holed stone" or chamber.

Elliot SMITH's *Ancient Egyptians and their influence upon the Civilisation of Europe* is reviewed at some length by J. L. MYRES, *Man*, 1912, No. 100. PEET, contending that the megalithic monuments are the work of one race, combats SMITH's theory of their derivation, considering that there is something in the shapes of stones which caused the primitive peoples to attach a religious sentiment to them and so employ them in funerary monuments. *Liverpool Annals*, v, 112.

Prof. SAYCE writes on the date of Stonehenge in the light of Egyptian beads from the barrows resembling those of Dynasty XVIII, with a note by HALL who well names them "segmental" beads. *E. E. F. Journal*, I, 18.

Suggested connexion between the myths of Marsyas and of Osiris. W. M. MÜLLER, *OLZ*, XVI, 433.

Writing on Phoenician trade on the west coast of Italy, KAHRSTEDT details the scarabs etc. of true or imitated Egyptian style which have been found there. *Klio*, XII, 461.

Egyptian Naucratic scarabs found in SKADOVSKI's excavations at Berezan in 1900-1901, terracotta lamp with group of Bes and a female counterpart, said to have

been found at Olbia, with illustrations of Bes-lamps and glazed figures of the god borne on the shoulders of a woman; TURAIEFF in publications of Russian Imp. Arch. Commission, XLV. Small glazed figurine of Imhotp mounted as a pendant, found with jewellery of the Greek period in 1912 by Beselovski in a tumulus at Marinsk on the river Kuban in South Russia, *id. Bulletin (Izviesta)* of the same XLIX, 128.

Fragment of statue naming Seti I found at Grotta Ferrata near Rome, WIEDEMANN, *PSBA*, xxxiv, 307. Traces of Isis worship in Gaul, GUIMET, *Rev. Arch.* xx, 197. Roman temple of the Egyptian divinities at Gortyna, HALBHERR, *Rev. Arch.* xxii, 403. In HEBBARD and ZELLER's *Spalato, le palais de Dioclétien* JÉQUIER has published two sphinxes, one of Amenhotp III, the other of Dynasty XVIII with list of conquered cities probably due to Seti or Ramesses II, cf. ANDERSSON in *Sphinxæ*, xvii, 30.

Aegean, Asia Minor, Hittites, etc.

In the series *Der Alte Orient* we have the fragmentary work left by the late Prof. H. WINCKLER on his expedition to the Hittite capital *Nach Boghazköi!* The interest culminates in the dramatic finding and identification of the Babylonian text of a large part of the celebrated Egyptian-Hittite treaty in a letter from Ramesses II to the Hittite king.

The same scholar had prepared a memoir *Vorderasien im zweiten Jahrtausend* showing the political state of the nations from the tablets of El Amarna and Boghaz-keui, with new information regarding the relations of Egypt with the Hittites and Amorites: this is printed in *MVAG*, xviii (1913), 4, reviewed by PEISER, *OLZ*, xvii, 163.

G. A. WAINWRIGHT elaborately discusses the Keftiu and the "islands of the sea," collecting and examining all the representations of people and tribute bearers from these two regions in order to separate between them. He concludes that the famous representations in the tomb of Senmut belong to the Minoan culture of the islands, and that whereas the tribute of the Keftiu shows connexion with the island culture in a small degree and with Syria in a greater degree, Keftiu should be placed in Cilicia, not in Crete, Liverpool *Annals*, vi, 24. N. de G. DAVIES publishes the figure of an islander(?) from the tomb of Puyemre at Thebes, *ib.* 84.

GARSTANG publishes a vase of Cretan fabric (Mid. Minoan II) with the associated objects of Dynasty XII from an unmixed tomb group found at Abydos in 1907, all now in the Ashmolean Museum. Liverpool *Annals*, v, 107.

A lecture by HALL on the land of Alashiya and the relations of Egypt and Cyprus under the Empire is printed in the *Journal of the Manchester Eg. and Or. Soc.* 1912-13, p. 33. He considers Asy to have been on the south coast of Asia Minor, and Alashiya perhaps Cyprus but more probably on the same coast as Asy. In the *E. E. F. Journal*, i, 93, 197, is another lecture by the same authority on the relations of Aegean with Egyptian art, illustrated.

Mesopotamia, Syria, Semites.

Relations of Egyptian and Semitic with comparison of many roots, EMBER, *ÄZ*, l, 86, li, 110; another word, *id.* *OLZ*, xvii, 6; prefixed *h* in Egyptian is paralleled in Mehri amongst the Semitic languages, *ÄZ*, ii, 138.

Lecture on the Egyptian Empire in Asia, especially defining the degree of meaning in this use of the word "empire." HOGARTH, *E. E. F. Journal*, i, 9.

The latest light on Bible Lands, by P. S. P. HANDCOCK, gleans much from Egyptian sources including the papyri of Elephantine. DUNCAN's *Exploration of Egypt and the Old Testament* is reviewed by F. G. WALKER, *E. E. F. Journal*, I, 78.

From the photographs lately obtained by the expedition of the Prussian Academy, BURCHARDT publishes the scenes in the temple of Luxor of the capture of Satuna, to which attention was recently drawn by W. M. MÜLLER. They contain a curious mixture of Libyan and Asiatic details. Apparently Satuna (unidentified) was in Asia and the artist by mistake made its inhabitants Libyan with characteristic features and dress until, finding his error, he changed the faces (but not the dress) of most of them by cutting in Semitic features more deeply. *ÄZ*, LI, 106.

W. M. MÜLLER discusses the interesting Palestinian names in the accounts of the time of Tuthmosis III on the back of GOLÉNISCHEFF's papyri. Megiddo seems to be the leader of a group of eleven small principalities belonging to Zahi who send messengers to the king, *OLZ*, XVII, 103. On the first occurrence of the name of Lachish in hieroglyphic, *ib.* 202.

ROEDER condemns the fantastic ideas set forth in VOLTER's *Mose und die Aegyptische Mythologie* in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1913, 721, cf. *ib.* 1044-5.

Reviewing Prof. NAVILLE's startling work on the *Archaeology of the Old Testament*, LEEPER criticises it but concludes that the case for Moses' authorship of the Pentateuch may never have been so brilliantly stated. *PSBA*, XXXVI, 40.

Supplementary note on Shittim wood in the ark and tabernacle, NAVILLE, *PSBA*, XXXIV, 256. Suggestion that Zoar in the difficult passage Gen. xiii, 10 represents *Zr*, the city on the north-east frontier of Egypt, *ib.* 308.

HERZ suggests some Egyptian words and idioms in Job. *OLZ*, XVI, 343.

The fifteenth part of KNUDTZON's edition of the *El-Amarna-Tafeln* has been issued, containing WEBER's notes to the last of the letters (293-358) and the first part of EBELING's glossary (*a-kir*).

W. M. MÜLLER has printed an important revision of his theory (dating from twenty years back) that the so-called syllabic orthography in which the Egyptians wrote foreign names is an imitation of the cuneiform syllabic system. He considers the use of cuneiform to have been widespread at a very early period, and traces the beginnings of syllabic orthography in the writing of Canaanite-Semitic words as far back as the Old Kingdom and the Pyramid Texts. *Die Spuren der babylonischen Weltschrift in Aegypten* (*MVAG*, XVII, 236).

Paul HAUPT writes a closely-packed article on Magan and Melucha as the Babylonian names for the desert between the Nile and the Red Sea, promising to deal with them more at length elsewhere. When Narâm-Sin of Akkad states that he smote Magan, the reference is to a Babylonian invasion of Egypt at the end of the reign of Pepi II. *OLZ*, XVI, 488.

BURCHARDT explains a foreign name in Egyptian as Mitra-šemi "Mithra hath heard" written in Assyrian style without the *'ayin*. *ÄZ*, I, 122.

The Egyptian name Hapeu "Hapi comes" in Phoenician from Elephantine, BURCHARDT, *ÄZ*, I, 122. Various readings in the Elephantine papyri, TORCZYNER, *OLZ*, xv, 397. Demotic writing on papyrus 8, SPIEGELBERG, *OLZ*, XVI, 15. Two more Egyptian names, *id. ib.* 346. Interpretation of the difficult papyrus F as a divorce, FISCHER, *OLZ*, XVI, 306.

In the fine memoir on *Jericho* by SELLIN and WATZINGER the discovery of pottery jar-handles curiously stamped with Middle Kingdom scarabs is recorded, Pl. 42 and p. 156. The objects found by Dr MACKENZIE in the excavations at Ain Shems (Beth-shemesh) described in the P. E. F. *Annual for 1912-13*, present many points of contrast with Egypt; they include numerous scarabs. It is interesting to compare these with the finds made in Egypt, and the same may be said of the late terracottas, etc. from Babylon figured on some of the pages of KOLDEWEY's *Wiedererstehende Babylon*.

Writing on the influence of Egyptian art in Nineveh, KING explains that it is difficult to trace owing to the complete spoliation of the small objects at the capture of Nineveh. He publishes an ivory figure of a goddess with Egyptian headdress, etc. from the South West Palace. E. E. F. *Journal*, I, 107.

Africa.

In a survey of the ethnography of Africa, Sir H. H. JOHNSTON attributes to Egypt the main rôle in its civilisation, *Journ. R. Anthropol. Inst.* XLIII, 375. AUTRAN brings forward parallels to Ancient Egypt from Dahomey, *Sphinx*, XVII, 208. SELIGMANN, writing on physical characteristics and customs of the "Hamites" of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, sees among them a certain common groundwork independent of negro and Islamic or Arab culture and influence, and refers to parallels in Ancient Egypt, *Journ. R. Anthropol. Inst.* XLIII, 593. The same authority discusses representations of vanquished enemies on the early slate palettes: they have been described as wearing the Bantu sheath, but seem in reality to exhibit a peculiar form of circumcision still in use among the Masai. One palette giving negroid features to such persons probably refers to a southern conquest, the other to a northern, *Liverpool Annals*, VII, 43.

Writing on the African origin of Egyptian civilisation, NAVILLE is inclined to attribute very little influence on early Egypt to Asia and asks for research in the Nile valley for cereals in a wild state, *Rev. Arch.* XXII, 47. Flinders PETRIE writes on "Egypt in Africa," believing that the abundant parallels which he enumerates between the burial practices of Egypt and those of various African tribes point to a descent from a common source, *Ancient Egypt*, I, 115.

W. M. MÜLLER makes the 'aperiu' people of the New Kingdom dwellers on the Palestine coasts later occupied by Philistines, and suggests that the name is identical with Afri by which the Phoenician inhabitants of Carthage were designated and from which Africa has taken its name. *OLZ*, XVI, 255.

ORIC BATES has printed an extensive memoir on *The Eastern Libyans* with materials drawn from Ancient Egyptian history—in which their nomad and semi-nomad tribes played an important part,—from classical and Arab authors and from the observations of modern travellers, including his own experiences. An appendix traces the important C-group graves of the Middle Kingdom in Nubia to a Libyan origin.

Discussion of Old Libyan names explained by Berber, BATES, *PSBA*, XXXIV, 234; nomad burials in Marmarica, including some of the fourth or fifth century A.D., *id. Man*, 1913, No. 88.

In the magnificent memoirs of the Abyssinian archaeological expedition, especial attention may be drawn to Professor LITTMANN's new reading of the long inscription which records the expedition of King Ezana against the Nōba and Kāsu. It must fall about the middle of the fourth century A.D. and resulted in a great destruction of temples and cities of the Nōba (Nubians) along the Atbara and the Kāsu (Meroites?). In all his inscriptions Ezana includes Bēga and Kāsu in his empire; most of the inscriptions are pagan, but in this one there is little trace of paganism and Ezana had probably embraced Christianity. *Deutsche Aksum Expedition*, Band IV: *Sabäische, Griechische und Altabessinische Inschriften* (inscr. No. 11).

PHILOLOGY.

Grammar.

LACAU continues and completes his very valuable notes on the third edition of ERMAN's *Aegyptische Grammatik*, *Rec. de Trav.* xxxv, 59, 216. The same *Grammatik* is reviewed at some length by W. M. MÜLLER, *OLZ*, xv, 450.






An adaptation of ERMAN's grammar for French students by LESQUIER is published in the *Bibliothèque d'étude* of the French Institute in Cairo (*Grammaire Égyptienne d'après la troisième édition de la grammaire d'Adolf Erman*). The whole of the matter of the original is preserved except the references for examples, but it is boldly rearranged; the most striking innovation being that the language is treated separately from the writing in the first part, the subjects of writing and orthography occupying the second part.











ROEDER has written a short practical Egyptian grammar for beginners, with reading book and vocabulary: *Ägyptisch* in the series *Clavis linguarum Semiticarum*. Reviewed by MÖLLER, *OLZ*, xvi, 449.

Expressions for "not yet," "before that," composed with the *sdm-t-f* form of the verb, ERMAN, *ÄZ*, L, 104; on the words for "here" and "there," forming three pairs of words connected in origin with three root words for "hand" and "arm," SETHE, *ÄZ*, L, 99; the negative adjective to be read *iwti*, not *niwti*, id. 109. On "the verbal themes" *pu* and *tu*, AUTRAN, *Sphinx*, xvii, 65. Late uses of the old absolute pronouns, generally with peculiar spellings, GARDINER, *ÄZ*, L, 114.

Vocabulary.

Professor ERMAN prints some results of the work on the Dictionary dealing especially with the words beginning with *w*. Of these he takes sample verbs with their various spellings, uses, constructions and meanings, and discusses two, *wḏy* and *wdy*, which were confused in late times and have branched curiously: he then gives a full list of the words first found in the Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom, New Kingdom and late Egyptian respectively, showing whether they survived in Coptic (with references also to demotic). The resulting statistics show that the richest period of the vocabulary was the XXth Dynasty, and such impoverishment took place afterwards that only 59 words are found to survive in Coptic out of 969 beginning with *w* in the Egyptian Dictionary. ERMAN next points out how little can have been contributed by Coptic to the decipherments of CHAMPOLLION and other early Egyptologists: even the trilingual inscription of Rosetta could help but little owing to the deplorable state of the hieroglyphic portion:

their progress was far more due to the determinative signs attached to most words, and in fact as far as external aids were concerned they had to spin their knowledge of the Egyptian language out of nothing. Finally ERMAN gives examples of inexact uses of phonetic signs in certain words, beginning from the earliest times ( properly *w* used for *ip* work,  properly '*d*' used for '*nd*' in the name of the sun-boat), and points out some new values ,  sometimes as well as *nw*, , and some curious attempts in the Pyramid Texts to indicate vocalisation in magical gibberish. *Sitzb. Berl. Ac.* 1912, 904.

In the report on the progress of the Dictionary during 1912, continued contributions from GARDINER are noted. The provisional MS was completed to the end of  with 3866 words and  is nearly ready. Names of places, kings and gods, had been put in order earlier for easy reference and the personal names were then in the same condition, *id. ib.* 1913, 105. In the following year Miss RANSOM of Chicago is noted amongst the new contributors of material. ERMAN and GRAPOW have carried forward the provisional composition of the Dictionary through ,  and  as far as , the letters , , ,  having been finished previously, *id. ib.* 1914, 119.

List of 48 names of the component parts of the sacred and funerary boats, from a religious chapter on the coffins of the Middle Empire from Aswan and Meir, elaborately identified, JÉQUIER, *Bull.* IX, 37; *diau* not a special garment but a general name for cloth of a certain moderate degree of fineness, *id. Sphinx*, XVI, 119. The title *khri zaza nesut*, SOTTAS, *Sphinx*, XVII, 1; *hb* target, *id. ib.* 145; the word *ushabti*, PIERRET, *PSBA*, XXXIV, 247. The old word *ts*, "phrase," "proverb," in late writing, *i*, "come," with falsely inserted alif, etc., DÉVAUD, *ÄZ*, L, 127. The title "chief of the southern thirty" probably to be read *wry m'b'*, FARINA, *Sphinx*, XVIII, 69. The days of the month are reckoned in ordinal numerals, one example being written out in a late papyrus, MÖLLER, *ÄZ*, L, 123; *ms*, intransitive, "be born" as well as "bear," PEET, E. E. F. *Journal*, I, 209.

The divine name Chesebai, SPIEGELBERG, *ÄZ*, L, 43. The name Imiseb varies once with the title *nisut-bit* (*insibiya*) and may be equated with it, *ib.* 124. Coptic derivatives from "district," "position," "condition," and *pr*, "house," *ÄZ*, LI, 122, and from *ha-sop*, "year," *ib.* L, 125, cf. LI, 138. The qualitative of *iri*, "do," in demotic, SETHE, *ÄZ*, L, 126.

On Old Coptic, REVILLOUT, *Rev. Ég.* XIV, 93.

Editions of texts, etc.

Valuable suggestions for the interpretation of the tablets of ivory and wood from the earliest Royal tombs. NEWBERRY, *PSBA*, XXXIV, 279.

VOGELSANG has produced his long-awaited commentary on the Story of the Eloquent Peasant (*Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern*). It is the first serious endeavour to interpret the whole of the text, which abounds in difficulties and rare words, and marks a considerable advance in our understanding of Middle Kingdom texts. It is reviewed by MASPERO, *OLZ*, XVII, 169. GRAPOW makes many useful corrections, in part due to DÉVAUD, in a review in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1913, no. 12, and GARDINER has published notes of great value, *PSBA*, XXXV, 264, XXXVI, 15, 69.

GARDINER supplements his notes on the Story of Sinuhe by publishing two more ostraca and reprinting all portions of the story where parallel texts occur. *Rec. de Trav.* xxxvi, 17.

GOLÉNISCHEFF's *Conte du Naufragé* is reviewed by ANDERSSON, *Sphinx*, xvii, 59.

In the *Bibliothèque d'Étude* MASPERO has published an edition of all the known texts of the Instructions of Amenemhe with introduction and glossary, *Les enseignements d'Amenemhaât I^{er} à son fils Sanouasrât I^{er}*. In all there are 28 sources but all except two are very corrupt, the earliest dating from the end of the Hyksos period, and most are mere scraps, so that the text is still far from ascertained. Prof. MASPERO makes the interesting suggestion that Amenemhe was practically deposed by his son. This would be the conspiracy referred to in the Instructions, and would fit well with some details in the Story of Sinuhe. Certain passages are commented on by the same author in *Rec. de Trav.* xxxv, 161, 192, xxxvi, 16.

Prof. MASPERO has published a similar edition of the *Hymne au Nil*, reviewed by ANDERSSON, *Sphinx*, xvii, 84.

Notes on the Hymn to the Aton. BISSING, *Rec. de Trav.* xxxvi, 68.

GAUTHIER edits *La grande inscription dédicatoire d'Abydos* of Ramesses II from his new collation, for the *Bibliothèque d'Étude*.

SPIEGELBERG transcribes and translates the interesting colophon of the papyrus 10188 of the British Museum (*Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in Brit. Mus.*, Pts. vi-vii) of the time of Alexander IV, with endless titles of the Theban priest Sminis, and at the same time publishes a coffin inscription of the priest Spotous with many titles found by the E. E. F. at Deir el Bahari. *Rec. de Trav.* xxxv, 35.

ERMAN examines critically the translation of an Egyptian obelisk in Rome recorded by a certain Hermapion in Greek and preserved in the later work of Ammianus Marcellinus (IVth cent. A.D.). Of the two MSS which record it one contains only the first few words, copied without being understood; the second, which seems to have contained half the text in a corrupt form, was copied and emended in the XVIth century, but soon afterwards the original MS was destroyed. A comparison of the text of the former MS shows how largely the editor emended the second according to his lights. Allowing for this the translation was evidently a free rendering of the inscription of a Heliopolitan obelisk of Seti I or Ramesses II (very like the Flaminian at Rome), contrasting with the laborious translations in the Ptolemaic decree of Rosetta. Prof. ERMAN's essay is probably the first serious examination of this interesting document since CHAMPOLLION, who made some use of it in his first decipherments; of CHAMPOLLION's predecessors, while the fantastic KIRCHER rejected the translation as utterly spurious, the judicious ZOEGA recognised its value. *Sitzb. Berlin Ac.* 1914, 245.

REVILLOUT finishes his hieroglyphic transcript and translation of the demotic Kufi story (pp. 1-12), *Rev. Ég.* xiv, 1; the Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden (p. 4), *ib.* 33; Ptolemaic and Roman texts, *ib.* 39; early demotic contracts of the Rylands collection, *ib.* 69; on the vignettes of the Rhind Bilingual 1, *ib.* 77.

Palaeography.




The article Hieroglyphen in *Pauly's Real-encyclopädie* is by BURCHARDT.

LACAU has written a masterly article on the superstitious treatment of hieroglyphic signs representing living creatures in those funerary texts which were destined to be

especially in contact with the dead. Such signs were mutilated by the scribe, suppressed altogether or replaced by other signs. The peculiar orthography of the Pyramid Texts, in which no fish hieroglyph is permitted to appear, is principally due to these alterations and their consequences. In the Middle Kingdom mutilation of signs was carried very far, but by the time of the New Kingdom the practise was confined within very narrow limits. *ÄZ*, LI, 1.

MONTET figures the fishes used as signs in hieroglyphic writing, ten in all, giving their names and zoological identifications. *Bull.* x, 39.

The history and varieties of the phallus sign: MONTET, *Sphinx*, XVI, 186.

After pointing out that the Egyptian word for "hand" is *zrt* SETHE finds the origin of the *d* value of  in an obsolete *yd* or *wd* "hand" agreeing with Semitic and with certain uses of the sign. Originally  was a real *d*, but by the time of the Middle Kingdom (when *z* became *t* and *t* became *t* and the distinction between *s* and *ś* was lost) it changed to *t*. So also  was originally *z*. *ÄZ*, L, 91.

NEWBERRY collects early representations of the tree in the Heracleopolite nome-standard and identifies it as probably the pomegranate. *ÄZ*, L, 78.

The late use of the jackal for *si*, "son," *ms*, "child," the former occurring often in a mummy text. CHASSINAT, *Bull.* x, 175.

MÖLLER's *Hieratische Paläographie*, III, reviewed by RANKE, *OLZ*, XVI, 18.

On the demotic syllabary, REVILLOUT, *Rev. Ég.* XIV, 112.

Meroïtic.

In a long review of the present writer's publications of Meroïtic inscriptions the comparative philologist Hugo SCHUCHARDT accepts the readings given provisionally at their face value, analyses the results very ably from the grammatical standpoint and suggests analogies with various languages. He considers that the term "Old Nubian" (Alt-nubisch) should not be applied to Meroïtic in the present rather disconcerting phase of the decipherment, and uses "Early Nubian" (Früh-nubisch) to designate the language of the Christian Nubians. His suggested identification of a Meroïtic name with Σεβιχως of Manetho will not be approved by those who know the hieroglyphic spelling of the latter, *WZKM*, XXVII, 163. In the previous volume, *WZKM*, XXVI, 416, the same scholar had made some suggestions regarding the grave inscriptions from the scanty material then available, which were not borne out by the full material published in *Karandg* and *Meroïtic Inscriptions*, and he has now specifically withdrawn them.

Prof. SAYCE suggests that the Meroïtic cursive alphabet was derived from early hieroglyphs under the influence of the Jewish Aramaic alphabet, perhaps as early as the age of Isaiah. *PSBA*, XXXVI, 177.

RELIGION.

Dr CAPART's elaborate *Bulletin Critique des Religions d'Égypte* for 1908-9 appears belated in *Rev. de l'histoire des religions*, 1913, 277.

Professor BREASTED has published a brilliant series of lectures on *The Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, tracing it with the help of abundant quotations out of the religious writings, from the prehistoric age of the earliest Pyramid Texts downwards to the Saite period. He shows how in remote times nature, the organisation of the state and the problem of death made their impression on the Egyptian mind,

how in the Middle Kingdom amid social discontent and disillusionment the moral sense emerged, and, in regard to the dead, there came the general application of the Osirian doctrine which had till then been reserved for kings. In the XVIIIth Dynasty he points out the widening of ideas, the extension of Egyptian theology to embrace the nations around, and the almost abortive attempt at monotheism of Akhenaton. The later age from 1350 B.C. onwards he characterises as the age of personal piety with chastening and resignation, ending in sacerdotalism. As will be seen the book is exceedingly suggestive. Reviewed by JÉQUIER, *Sphinx*, XVII, 148; [PETRIE?], *Anc. Egypt*, I, 42; S. R[EINACH], *Rev. Arch.* XXI, 247.

A second edition of Prof. SAYCE's *Religion of Ancient Egypt* has been published and is reviewed by HALL, E. E. F. *Journal*, I, 76.

G. FOUCART's *Histoire des religions et méthode comparative*, in which he proposes to make Egyptian religion with its long recorded history the principal type for comparative study, having reached a second edition is reviewed by SÖDERBLOM, *Sphinx*, XVII, 52, and in a considerable essay by NAVILLE, *Journal des Savants*, NS, XI, No. 5.

The last two volumes of the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (v, vi) contain articles by G. FOUCART, Dreams and Sleep, Dualism, Festivals and Fasts; A. H. GARDINER, Ethics and Morality (distinguished by knowledge and comprehension of difficult original texts); H. R. HALL, Expiation and Atonement (brief), Family, Fate; E. F. SCOTT, Gnosticism; MILNE, Graeco-Egyptian Religion; Fl. PETRIE, Egyptian Religion; J. BAIKIE, Hyksos; G. A. BARTON, Hierodouloi; K. SETHE, Heroes and Hero gods (elaborate and learned); WIEDEMANN, God.

MORET's interesting essays on various subjects, entitled *Rois et dieux d'Égypte* has been excellently translated by Mme. MORET under the title *Kings and Gods of Egypt*.

ZIMMERMANN has written a volume on Egyptian religion as represented in the Christian writers compared with the Egyptian monuments. *Die Aegyptische Religion nach der Darstellung der Kirchenschriftsteller und die Aegyptischen Denkmäler*. Reviewed by W. M. MÜLLER, *OLZ*, XVI, 498.

The late P. D. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF in his *Paganism and Christianity* has gathered the evidence as to the religious ideas of Egypt in its latest pagan phases from the end of the Ptolemaic era onwards, and the various foreign influences which affected them. Reviewed by WIEDEMANN, *OLZ*, XVI, 451; S. R[EINACH], *Rev. Arch.* XXI, 443.

D. A. MACKENZIE, the author of works on the myths of other countries, has written a good popular volume on *Egyptian Myth and Legend* with illustrations.

Miss M. A. MURRAY has given a version of certain Egyptian stories for popular reading: *Ancient Egyptian Legends* in the series of *Wisdom of the East*.

The report of a lecture by Dr A. H. GARDINER on the Ethics of the Egyptians is printed in *Ancient Egypt*, 1914, 55.

In the series *Das Alte Orient* WIEDEMANN has written a pamphlet *Das Tierkult der alten Aegypter* on the origin and history of animal-worship in Egypt, showing also how the classical authors misjudged its origin. An elaborate memoir by Dr Th. HOPFNER on the worship of animals, founded chiefly on Graeco-Roman sources, is printed in the *Denkschriften* of the Vienna Academy, LVII, 2, cf. *Sitzb.* 1913, 193.

From Leyden comes a doctoral dissertation on the titulary of the kings, *De religieuze beteekenis van het Egyptische Koningschap*, I, *de titular*, by THIERRY, which

seems excellent as the work of a trained anthropologist and philologist. The author does not admit the interpretations of the Golden Horus title as signifying "Horus victorious over Nubti" nor does he admit a totem hypothesis. Reviewed by JÉQUIER, *Sphinx*, xvii, 158.

Report of a lecture on Egyptian beliefs in a future life by Fl. PETRIE, especially endeavouring to distinguish the ideas belonging to different stages of prehistoric religion. *Ancient Egypt*, I, 16.

In a paper on the Egyptian ka, *Le ka des Égyptiens est-il un génie ou un double?* in *Memnon*, VI, 125-146, MASPERO upholds the view that it is the "double."

BISSING's *Versuch einer neuen Erklärung des kai* is reviewed by W. M. MÜLLER; *OLZ*, xv, 514.

SOTTAS in a short study of the ka would translate the name in the singular by "genius," but in the plural (where it concerns only one person) by "vital forces." Provisionally he obtains the following result: men, kings and gods alike after death possess a ka, and every king by his divine nature has a ka throughout his life, and all have "vital forces" of which death deprives them temporarily. *Sphinx*, xvii, 33. GUIMET writes on the ideas of the soul or of life after death in ancient Egypt, comparing those of other nations. *Rev. de l'Histoire des Rel.* LXVIII. KEES discusses two expressions associated with the royal ka, *zebat* and *pr-duat*, and concludes that they mean respectively "palace" and "royal vestry"; the latter is to be seen among the chambers of the temple of Edfu.

SOTTAS in an elaborate study of the texts relating to the preservation of funerary property furnishes a large collection of formulae of imprecation. He has made use of the materials collected for the Berlin Dictionary, and his work shows much research, *La préservation de la propriété funéraire dans l'ancienne Égypte* (*Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études*, fasc. 205); FARINA criticises ERMAN's latest translation of the common prayer for offerings, *Sphinx*, xviii, 71.

LAGIER contends that Akhenaton was not a great idealist, and that his monotheism was of a gross kind and was tempered with survivals of animal worship and superstition. *Le Pharaon du disque solaire ou la révolution religieuse de Tell-Amarna* in *Recherches de Science religieuse*, 1913, Nos. 4, 5.

FRANK-KAMENETZKY gives a very interesting interpretation of a Hymn to Amon in the Leyden collection as occasioned by the overthrow of the heresy of Akhenaton. *OLZ*, xvii, 289.

JÉQUIER combats Sir G. MASPERO's theory of the altar in the small chapel at Abusimbel as an altar of adoration and not of offering, points out that many so-called altars are really pedestals (a fact which was long since recognised in the *Verzeichniss* of the Berlin Museum), and contends that while in Ptolemaic times sacrifice of victims was a slaying of the enemies of the god, earlier it was mere butchering for his food. *Sphinx*, xvi, 109.

On the representation of censers and the significance of incense and libations in funerary ritual, the object of these being to revivify the body of god or man by restoring to it its lost moisture. BLACKMAN, *ÄZ*, L, 66.

CHASSINAT points out representations in the birth houses at Edfu and Dendera of the eating after accouchement of a cake made by the invalid herself. The birth house is

properly a kind of harim in which the child was also nursed after birth, and the mother remained until her purification was complete. *Bull.* x, 183.

WIEDEMANN writes an interesting paper on the conceptions which different peoples have formed of the vampire, and how such conceptions influenced the treatment of the dead in ancient Egypt, on the one hand towards the destruction of the disembodied soul or its expulsion from the neighbourhood of the living, and on the other for providing it (as was more regularly practised) with satisfactory board and lodging in the tomb. *Sphinx*, xviii, 31.

Miss M. A. MURRAY finds traces of a custom of killing the king having existed in ancient Egypt, especially in relation to the *sed* festival, which the author believes to be a survival of such a custom. *Man*, 1914, No. 11. She also collects recorded facts regarding the cult of the drowned in Egypt with parallels from other countries. *ÄZ*, li, 127.

Dr JUNKER in working over the inscriptions of Philae for the *Wörterbuch* has discovered a text concerning the Abaton of Osiris, which explains all the references to it in the Greek and Latin authors. It is written twice on the "Gate of Hadrian." In publishing it JUNKER has worked out the allied problems and obtained most interesting results. Diodorus' description is shown not to refer to Philae at all, as it has been made to do by the emendators of the Text, but to the Osireion of Memphis, and it appears probable that there were Abata—unapproachable tombs of Osiris—at all the principal centres of the Osiris cult. The ritual is indicated by the inscription. Milk was the libation, for the good of the soil and proper inundation. A bush called *mento* grew over the tomb, and around were 365 libation tables for daily use by the priests: music was not permitted, nor the capture of fish or fowl within a specified area. The *bai* or soul of Osiris was especially the object of the cult at the Philae Abaton, generally in the form of a hawk, less often in that of the ram as at Mendes. Incidentally much light is thrown on the heresies or sacrilegious acts inveighed against in the demotic Pap. Dodgson, which was found at Elephantine. *Das Gottesdekret über das Abaton* (*Denks.* Vienna Academy, Bd. lvi).

Another sacred hawk "coming forth from Punt" and symbolising the soul of Re was exhibited to the people on the balcony of the first pylon at Philae. This is the "falcon from Ethiopia" mentioned by Strabo as worshipped at Philae. JUNKER, *Das Bericht Strabo's über den heiligen Falken von Philae*, *WZKM*, xxvi, 42.

WIEDEMANN publishes a series of divine and other figures and fragments, with long and learned explanatory notes; those on Neith suckling two crocodiles are especially interesting. *PSBA*, xxxvi, 48, 199.

The goddess Zeritf as consort of Ra-Atum on coffins of Middle Kingdom at Asyut. CHASSINAT, *Bull.* x, 159.

Deities of Aphroditopolis and titles of a priestess from a stela in the Golénischeff collection. TURAIIEFF, *Rec. de Trav.* xxxvi, 72.

Relief showing Antaeus, Nephthys etc. at Wadi Sarga, 15 miles south of Asyut. R. C. THOMPSON, *PSBA*, xxxvi, 198.

Preference for the lunar deity Thoth, and various signs of moon-worship and the moon-god at Sinai. Miss ECKENSTEIN, *Ancient Egypt*, i, 9.

Greek graffiti of the sanatorium or shrine of Amenotes and Imuthes at Deir el Bahari. MILNE, E. E. F. *Journal*, i, 96.

LEGGE writes on the Greek worship of Serapis and Isis as opposed to the native Egyptian cult of Serapis. Imported by Ptolemy I from Greece and Syria, the former was in its essence the worship of a supreme being, bisexual, and at once father, mother and child, *PSBA*, xxxvi, 79. PARMENTIER'S *Recherches sur le traité d'Isis et d'Osiris* is reviewed by S. R[EINACH], *Rev. Arch.* xxii, 150. Odd-looking terra-cotta figurines of Osiris, moulded from Egyptian bronzes, a ushabti and some Romano-Egyptian figurines, all from southern France, GUIMET, *Rev. Arch.* xx.

To ROSCHER'S *Lexikon d. Gr.-Röm. Mythologie*, lief. 64, 65, ROEDER has contributed articles on Sobk and his varieties (with ZUCKER), Sokar, Sonne und Sonnengott, Sothis, Sphinx, and HÖFER short articles on Snephorses, varieties of Sobk such as Socnopaios, Sononaës, Sorapis, Sos, Suchos (i.e. Sobk). These valuable articles unfortunately take no notice of demotic evidence. In *Pauly's Real-encycl.* VIII, ROEDER has the article on Horos.

The name of the god Seth seems to have been originally Setekh, changing to Set in late times. Seth's animal, imaginary or mythical, ROEDER, *ÄZ*, L, 84; the wart-hog, NEWBERRY, *Klio*, XII, 397; or the orycteropus (ant-eater), SCHWEINFURTH, *Rev. Arch.* xxii, 402.

On the forms of the name of Suchos by itself and in composition, SETHE, *ÄZ*, L, 80. SETHE'S *Zur altägyptischer Sage vom Sonnenauge* reviewed by W. M. MÜLLER, who draws attention to the position of the myth in comparative religion, *OLZ*, xvi, 123.

MAHLER classifies the figures of the jackal gods on monuments of the Middle Kingdom, finding considerable confusion at that time between Anubis and Ophois. *PSBA*, xxxvi, 143.

Egyptian amulets of every variety, so far as they have survived, are treated in PETRIE'S *Amulets, illustrated by the Egyptian collection in University College, London*, which gives photographs of several thousand specimens preserved in that collection. It is the first of a series of volumes on similar lines intended to describe the different categories of objects amassed by the author for study in many years of Egyptian research.

On the vulture and uraeus diadem on the breast of mummies, WIEDEMANN, *PSBA*, xxxiv, 306; hippopotamus in red carnelian, *id. ib.* xxxv, 252; talismanic block of limestone engraved with a tortoise, ass-headed Seth and other maleficent creatures, DARESSY, *Ann.* xii, 143.

The Egyptian oil incantations (such as those in the *Demotic papyrus of London and Leyden*) are derived from Babylonia, where such usages go back to 2000 B.C. DAICHES, *Babylonian Oil Magic in the Talmud*, etc. (Publication No. 5 of the Jews' College, London).

SELIGMANN draws attention to some apparent survivals in modern Egypt of ancient Egyptian beliefs (1) the *ka* or double, (2) the importance of the placenta, (3) boat processions, (4) calendar superstitions, *Ridgeway Studies*, 448. Superstitious and medical uses amongst modern Egyptians of the hedgehog which is a common amulet, Mahmoud Effendi RUSHDY, *Ann.* xi, 281. List and figures of amulets used on native houses and shops in Cairo and for horses and donkeys, W. L. HILDEBURGH, *Man*, 1913, No. 1.

Dr Colin CAMPBELL has published a volume on *The Miraculous Birth of Amenhotp III and other Studies*, illustrated by numerous photographs of the scenes in the Birth room

of the temple of Luxor, scenes in the Colonnade of the same temple and in the XVIIIth Dynasty tombs of Sennezem and Pashedu (Nos. 1 and 2 of the *Catalogue*). Many of the photographs are of unpublished subjects and the author expresses new and interesting views, especially on the significance of the supposed divine birth of the Egyptian kings, which he takes to be not a political legitimisation of the royal claim, but a religious acknowledgment by the kings of the divine fatherhood of the sun-god. Reviewed by FOUCART, *Sphinx*, XVII, 163; HALL, E. E. F. *Journal*, I, 230.

Unusual expansion of the royal title "son of Re" at Beit el Weli. ROEDER, *ÄZ*, L, 126.

Translation of the long Pyramid Text, spell 571 of SETHE, with commentary. AMÉLINEAU, *Journ. As.* XI ser., I, 5.

Description of the coffin texts of the Middle Kingdom, with examples translated. Most identify the deceased with various gods: some few compel the deities by threats. ROEDER, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XVI, 66.

Dr BUDGE has re-edited *The Papyrus of Ani* with hieroglyphic transcript, translations and introduction and a facsimile of the whole papyrus on a reduced scale; also a fine and exceptionally long and well-preserved "Book of the Dead" precisely dated, having been written for the Princess Nestanebtasheru, daughter of Pinetem II of Dynasty XXI, reproduced in half-scale photographic plates with a specimen of the full size. *The Greenfield Papyrus* (British Museum).

Mrs TIRARD's *Book of the Dead*, with an introduction by NAVILLE, is reviewed by G. FOUCART, *Sphinx*, XVI, 125.

GRAPOW has issued part of his dissertation on the highly important 17th chapter of the "Book of the Dead," *Das 17 Kapitel des ägyptischen Totenbuches und seine religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung*. He divides the chapters into 12 sections, gives separate translations of the Middle Kingdom text and its commentary, and the same for the New Kingdom, and comments on the mythological incidents referred to. It is to be hoped that the complete dissertation, including a restored text, may be published soon.

A study of the Berlin papyrus of Invocations of Isis and Nephthys (published by de HORRACK) is printed in Russian by KOTSEIOVSKI (*Ieratičeska čast Berlinskago papirus 3008 prizoivanie Isidoi i Nephtidoi*, Trans. Imp. Russian Arch. Soc. VII, 133). A very late hieroglyphic funerary papyrus in the Moscow Museum is published by TURAEFF, Publications of the Imperial Museum at Moscow.

SCIENCE, ETC.

An exceedingly interesting lecture by Prof. Elliot SMITH on Egyptian Mummies is printed in E. E. F. *Journal*, I, 189.

LUCAS from analyses and experiments finds that there is evidence of the use of natron in Egyptian mummification to confirm the literary evidence of Herodotus and Diodorus, and explains the scarcity of it in actual mummies by natural causes tending to its disappearance. E. E. F. *Journal*, I, 119.

REUTTER analyses some resin from bird mummies preserved at Neufchatel and finds it to be Judaeian bitumen with cedar-resin, terebinthine and palm wine. They had been previously dehydrated by means of natron and probably anointed with a special oil. *Sphinx*, XVII, 110.

The same authority analyses a series of perfumes taken from vases showing commonly mixtures of either styrax or storax, incense, myrrh, terebinthine, Judaeian bitumen, henna, remains of aromatic herbs, palm wine, and extract of fruits of cassia, tamarind, etc. The age of these perfumes is not recorded in the paper. *Ann.* XIII, 49.

C. CAMPBELL notes an interesting illustration of the use of *antiu* in a scribe's outfit. *Sphinx*, XVI, 124.

GAILLARD has published in the *Revue d'Ethnographie et de Sociologie*, 1912, an illustrated paper on the experiments of the Egyptians of the historical period in domestication of various wild animals, *Les tâtonnements des Égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire à la recherche des animaux à domestiquer*. ANDERSSON prints notes on the paper, especially regarding the names of different kinds of oxen, *Sphinx*, XVII, 77, having previously sought for the name for hornless cattle, *ib.* XVI, 145.

WIEDEMANN discusses some fabulous animals which Paul LUCAS professed to have seen or heard of in Egypt. *Sphinx*, XVIII, 57.

KAMAL identifying the *nbs* tree with the Arabic *nebeq*, compares with the "cakes of *nebes*" in the inscriptions the bread made from *nebeq* or *sidr* fruit in Darfur. *Ann.* XII, 240.

Facts and suggestions about "mummy wheat." PETRIE, *Ancient Egypt*, I, 78.

HROŽNY writes on the important subject of corn in ancient Babylonia, and in the preliminary remarks surveying the species of corn grown in other countries in antiquity has a few pages on Egyptian corn, including that mentioned in the Elephantine Jewish documents. *Das Getreide im alten Babylonien* I. Teil (*Sitzb. Vienna Acad.*, Bd. 173).

WRESZINSKI is continuing his valuable and elaborate editions of medical papyri. The second volume *Der Londoner Medizinische Papyrus und der Papyrus Hearst* contains the transcription and translation of and commentary on a magical-medical papyrus of Dynasty XIX-XX in the British Museum and the "Hearst Papyrus" of the early XVIIIth Dynasty. The former being entirely unpublished, this edition of it is complete with a facsimile and glossary; the second had been recently edited by REISNER with glossary by SETHE but without continuous translation. Reviewed by RANKE, *OLZ*, XVI, 499. The third volume is to deal with the famous Ebers Papyrus, a new edition of which is much needed, since only the facsimile of the original edition of 1875 remains at all adequate; the first part of WRESZINSKI's *Der Papyrus Ebers*, containing the transcript only, has been issued.

In a long article on comparative metrology and weights in the cuneiform inscriptions (criticising an essay of WEISSBACH) LEHMANN-HAUPT makes many references to Egyptian weights and their relationship to Babylonian. *ZDMG*, LXVI, 607.

DECOURDEMANCHE examines dimensions of tombs at Abydos recorded by AMÉLINEAU with a view to ascertaining the standards of measurement used. *Ann.* XII, 215.

DARESSY draws attention to correspondences in the calendar predictions of the Sallier Papyrus and those of modern Egyptian calendars, the dates in the former being interpreted according to the modern Coptic year. *Bulletin de l'Inst. Ég.*, v sér., tome 6, p. 153.

LITERATURE.

CAPART has rendered into French the great petition of Peteisis in the Rylands Collection at Manchester. Hitherto it has been embedded in the three massive volumes of the *Catalogue* of the Demotic Papyri in that collection, and Prof. CAPART has done well to make this unique narrative of the worldly troubles of a priestly family, and of life in Egypt during the Saite and early Persian periods, accessible to a wider public. *Un Roman vécu il y a vingt-cinq siècles, histoire d'une famille sacerdotale Égyptienne aux VII^e et VI^e siècles avant J.-C. par Pétéisis fils d'Essemteu, adaptation de Jean Capart.*

It is hardly necessary to point out to our readers A. H. GARDINER's excellent translations of GOLÉNISCHEFF's papyri—the Instruction of an Heracleopolite king to his son, E. E. F. *Journal*, I, 20; the Predictions of Nefer-rohu before King Senefru, *ib.* 100. The translator points out the place of the latter in the series of prophetic documents from Egypt, the evidence for an incursion of Semites before Dynasty XII, and further the fewness of the "classical" texts read by the Egyptian schoolboy.

BURCHARDT compares the episode of the heart of Bata in the Tale of the Two Brothers with similar episodes in Scandinavian and Hottentot tales. *ÄZ*, L, 118.

On the adoption of Egyptian stories and subjects for illustration by Greek, Roman and Christian artists in the west. WIEDEMANN, *PSBA*, XXXIV, 298.

NIEBUHR considers the legend of the clever thief's dealings with the daughter of Rhampsinitus as a legend of the underworld, repeated in another form in the game of the king with Demeter, the dead hand in the one corresponding to the golden *χειρόμακτρον* in the other, which latter NIEBUHR would translate by "glove" (*Her.* II, 121-2). *OLZ*, XVII, 105.

LAW.

SOTTAS' *Étude critique sur un Acte de Vente immobilière* throws fresh light on the interesting Old Kingdom stela of the sale of a house found by STEINDORFF at Giza and edited by SETHE. REVILLOUT also has remarks on it in *Rev. Ég.* XIV, 87.

The Coptos decrees edited by WEILL, and allied documents of the Old Kingdom, are retranslated with commentary by MORET, *Journ. As.* x ser., XX, 73; GARDINER reviews WEILL's edition, *PSBA*, XXXIV, 257, with many corrections, and SETHE gives fresh translations of these very interesting documents made with GARDINER's co-operation, and from his great knowledge of the language satisfactorily disposes of nearly all the difficult passages. *Gött. Gel. Ang.* 1912, 705. Cf. FOUcart, *Sphinx*, XVII, 115.

GARDINER re-translates the Berlin papyri published by ERMAN (*Ein Fall abgekürzter Justiz*) with corrections in *Journ. Manchester Eg. and Or. Soc.* 1912-13, p. 57, showing that they refer to the assassination of persons who knew too much of a state secret, rather than to a case of summary jurisdiction (above, p. 265).

The demotic forms of marriage contracts figure largely in G. CASTELLI's *I Παραφερνα nei papiri Greco-Egizii e nelle fonti Romane.*

ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY.

ROEDER has produced an edition of MASPERO's *Guide* to the Cairo Museum in German, somewhat abbreviated and furnished with new illustrations, references to the

principal publications and indexes, *Führer durch das ägyptische Museum zu Kairo*. Reviewed by WIEDEMANN, *OLZ*, XVI, 261.

An illustrated *Guide to the collection of Egyptian Antiquities* has been issued by the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh.

In the Cairo *Catalogue* have appeared:

Stone Implements, classified as Eolithic, Palaeolithic and Neolithic, by C. T. CURRELLY.

Tongefässe (pottery vessels), the first part reaching to the end of the Old Kingdom, by F. W. von BISSING. The classification within these limits is by colouring, shape and ornament, not chronological. Reviewed by WIEDEMANN, *OLZ*, XVII, 174.

Models of Ships and Boats by G. REISNER with a valuable introduction on the varieties of wooden and papyrus craft, funeral barks, solar and other divine barks, details of construction, rigging and accompaniments.

Cercueils anthropoides des prêtres de Montou by H. GAUTHIER: thirty coffins found in 1852 with many others in the temple of Deir el Bahari. The indices comprise a valuable collection of names and titles of Thebans of the period from about Dynasties XXII to XXVI.

Sarcophages de l'époque Bubastite à l'époque Saïte by MORET containing the square coffins of the same and other finds, with genealogical tree of the chief families of the priests of Ammon and of Mont. The indexes include lists of Pyramid- and other funerary texts.

Sir Gaston MASPERO has written a valuable little manual of the history of Egyptian art, with abundant illustrations on a small scale but clear, bibliographies to each chapter, and index: *Égypte* in the series *Ars Una species mille—Histoire générale de l'Art*. Reviewed by S. R[EINACH], *Rev. Arch.* XX, 437; NAVILLE, *Rev. Arch.* XXI, 80.

MASPERO's semi-popular writings on the same subject are collected in a handsome volume with larger illustrations: in most of these essays some special masterpiece or group of works is selected as a type for discussion, and the enduring characters of certain local schools of sculpture are insisted on. *Essais sur l'Art Égyptien*. Reviewed by ANDERSSON, *Sphinx*, XVII, 92, translated under the title of *Egyptian Art*.

BISSING's great publication *Denkmäler Ägyptischer Skulptur*, commenced in 1906, has been completed this year by an extra part containing additional plates of Old Kingdom statues and reliefs, an essay on the art of the Old Kingdom (which here means Dynasties I-V only, the Middle Kingdom art commencing with the VIth Dynasty), errata and indices. The entire work consists of 150 magnificent plates with elaborate descriptions, discussions and bibliographies of each object figured.

CAPART in an illustrated memoir on the remarkable black-stone monuments formerly attributed by MARIETTE and others to the Hyksos, reviews the changes of opinion regarding them. He himself doubts the correctness of Prof. GOLÉNISCHEFF's attribution of these monuments to Amenemhat III, which has had a great effect in forming current opinion, and questions whether they do not belong to the time of the early dynasties. *Les monuments dits Hyksos* (*Annales de la Soc. Roy. d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*, XXVII, 121).

On portraits of Senusert I and II. [PETRIE], *Ancient Egypt*, 144.

CAPART has translated PETRIE's *Arts and Crafts* into French. *Arts et Métiers*. Reviewed by S. R[EINACH], *Rev. Arch.* XXII, 151.

JÉQUIER's *Décoration Égyptienne* is reviewed by WRESZINSKI, *OLZ*, XVI, 118.

Signatures of artists at Abusimbel. ROEDER, *ÄZ*, L, 76.

A review by WRESZINSKI of HÖLSCHER's *Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren* consists chiefly of a long and interesting comparison between the pyramid and temple of Chephren and those of Sahure at Abusir which are less grandiose but betoken a further development of culture. *OLZ*, XVI, 166.

On the model of the tomb of Userkaf-ankh lately acquired. Miss RANSOM, *Bulletin of the New York Museum*, June 1913.

CHASSINAT explains the well-known figure of the herdsman at Meir, thin almost as a skeleton, as a poor creature who has had an accident in the farmyard producing *genu recurvatum*. The same malformation of a herdsman's leg is seen in the tomb of Ptahhotp at Saqqara, *Bull.* x, 171. Statue of Amenhotp III from his funerary temple with long robe instead of the usual loin-cloth, attributed not to Asiatic influence but simply to the partial abandonment of conventional representation: parallel cases reach as far back as the Middle Kingdom, DARESSY, *Bull.* x, 25. STRUVE publishes two fine granite sphinxes of Amenhotp III in St Petersburg found by Yanni (ATHANASI) in 1829 in the temple of Mut at Karnak, *Zap. of the Imperial Russian Arch. Soc.* VII, 20-51.

Special exhibition at Berlin of the El Amarna finds, including those belonging to the Cairo Museum, described by SCHÄFER who suggests that the difference between Old and Middle Kingdom sculpture may be due to the invention of casting in plaster, corresponding to the advance in bronze casting at the same time. *Amtliche Berichte*, Jan. 1914.

The form of the skull in the princesses of the Amarna period is seen also in a statue of Nefru-re, daughter of Hatshepsut. KÜTHMANN, *OLZ*, XVII, 153.

BÉNÉDITE's *Scribe et Babouin* in the *Mémoires Piot* is reviewed by ANDERSSON, *Sphinx*, XVI, 140.

Granite sarcophagus of a Theban priest of the style of Dynasty XXX from Saqqara described and figured. Miss RANSOM, *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum, New York*, May 1914.

Discussing JUNKER's excavations at Tura, NAVILLE admits that this particular cemetery is early, but apparently thinks that such might be found at any period, representing the Anu-population as opposed to the Pharaonic people. *Rev. Arch.* XX, 404.

PETRIE's sequence dating criticised. LEGGE, XXXV, 101.

NEWBERRY figures examples of decorated prehistoric pottery with representations of boats bearing emblems at the mast head. He considers them to have been sacred vessels on their ceremonial visitations, and points out that the bird so often figured in association with them resembles most closely the flamingo which is commonest in Lower Egypt, and that the most frequent of the cult emblems agree with nome-emblems in the Delta. A full table of these is given with references to the collections in which they are found. *Liverpool Annals*, v, 132. PETRIE combating the theory that towns not boats are represented, figures an example in which four men are clearly poling or rowing. *Ancient Egypt*, I, 33.

Prehistoric bowl painted with huntsman and lassoed (?) animals in the GOLÉNISCHEFF collection. TURAIIEFF, Publications of the Imperial Museum at Moscow.

Jar with primitive royal name, one of several found in 1910 at El Beda on the caravan route to Syria. CLÉDAT, *Ann.* XIII, 115.

Early dynastic alabaster vase, purchased at Qena, engraved with a figure of Seth and a pair of human arms enclosing some object. This group appears on objects from Hieraconpolis, and is compared with one on the early stela of Sekerkhabau. GREEN, *Ridgeway Studies*, 268.

SCHWEINFURTH, attempting to fix the ages of the graffiti of animals on rocks in Egypt by the patina, technique and style, and by the inscriptions with which they are associated, publishes a number from Aswan, including a figure of a led camel near to an inscription of the VIth Dynasty. Arabic graffiti are also there, but of a different colour. The species of animals and birds represented are identified and discussed; one figure appears to represent a bustard caught in a trap. *Zeits. f. Ethnologie*, 1912, 627.

BURCHARDT publishes a very fine bronze sword in Berlin supposed to be from Zagazig but evidently of N. European origin, and another in bad condition said to be from Tell Fir'un but bearing the name of Seti II, and discusses the interesting name of the sword, an entirely foreign weapon in Egypt. The Egyptian word *sefi* was borrowed by the Semites, but the Egyptians borrowed another word *harb* from the Semites. *ÄZ*, I, 61.

MÖLLER figures and describes an honorific chain of gold flies, and some other jewellery; and a board inlaid with amulets in different materials with the names of the materials written, which may have served as a sample for a maker or vendor of amulets. Berlin, *Antliche Berichte*, Nov. 1912.

Clay models of handles apparently for silversmith's work. BISSING, *Ancient Egypt*, I, 112.

DUCROS examines mathematically the beam of a balance from Luxor and decides that it belonged to scales standing on a foot. *Ann.* XI, 251.

DECOURDEMANCHE discusses the weights recorded in WEIGALL's Catalogue of *Weights and Balances* at Cairo, endeavouring to establish the succession of types employed in Egypt from the Old Empire to the Roman period. *Ann.* XIII, 125.

Memoir on a jointed bit made of bronze of the New Kingdom from Thebes. LEFEBVRE DES HOËTTES, *Ann.* XI, 283.

DARESSY finds mittens with running string of XXIst Dynasty among the mummies of the priestesses of Amon, and fine leather socks having big toe separate, also with running string. *Rev. Arch.* XX, 170.

Graeco-Roman leaden tesseræ from Abydos, with head on one side and sacred bird or animal on the other, perhaps to mark property belonging to the temple. MILNE, E. E. F. *Journal*, I, 93.

WIEDEMANN publishes fragments of schist bowls of the Roman period having in relief in the interior mythological representations which he discusses in detail, at the same time combating the theory which derives St George and the dragon, St Menas on the crocodiles, etc., from Egyptian mythological designs. *PSBA*, XXXVI, 107.

KAUFMANN publishes systematically a large collection of terracottas of Roman period representing figures of deities, animals, etc., obtained in the Fayum and now in the Frankfort Museum; many hundreds are figured in photography, with an introduction on the technique, etc. *Aegyptische Terracotten, Griechisch-Römischen und Koptischen Epoche*

The Berlin Museum has published an elaborate catalogue of its Aegypto-Greek terracottas by W. WEBER in two volumes, one of text, the other of 42 large plates containing nearly 500 figures.

A. REINACH has arranged in the Musée Guimet at Lyons the greater part of his finds from Coptos; the famous Old Kingdom decrees are retained at Cairo, but a good series of inscriptions of different ages, including a remarkable altar(?) attributing to Khons of Thebes the safety of Philadelphus and set up by Arsinoe, Palmyrene stelae from a meeting-place of the Palmyrenes in the city, bronzes, Roman and Coptic terracottas, etc., are enumerated in his *Catalogue des Antiquités Égyptiennes recueillies dans les fouilles de Koptos en 1910-11*.

CAPART, *Donation d'Antiquités Égyptiennes*, reviewed by WRESZINSKI, *OLZ*, XVI, 542.

Several antiquities from Egypt, including a gold plaque with the name of Kamosi. NASH, *PSBA*, XXXV, 196.

FOUCART reviews Miss MURRAY's *Tomb of two brothers* (Manchester Museum). *Sphinx*, XVI, 165.

GARDINER publishes an ostrakon with a very curious sketch of a funeral in a pit tomb. *PSBA*, XXXV, 229.

Photographs of scenes in the tomb of Menna at Thebes and of a portrait statue of his wife. PETRIE, *Ancient Egypt*, I, 95.

BISSING publishes a little skeleton figure of ebony placed in a small wooden obelisk-shaped shrine 5 cm. high recalling Herodotus' description of the passing round of a corpse-figure (one or two cubits long) in a coffin. *ÄZ*, L, 63.

MONTET in an interesting article analyses the representations of vintage and primitive wine-pressing in the Old and Middle Kingdoms. *Rec. de Trav.* xxxv, 117.

Miss RANSOM figures and describes a number of pieces of furniture and three harps from Tarkhan, Meir and other sites. *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum, New York*, 1913.

H. LING ROTH has published an important study of *Ancient Egyptian and Greek looms*. The illustrations include drawings by Mr N. de G. DAVIES from Beni-Hasan and the Theban tombs. ROTH concludes that the ancient Egyptians had the vertical as well as the horizontal loom with the lower ends of the threads attached to the frame, not merely weighted as in Greece and in Egypt in Roman times; that the girdle of Rameses III could have been made in a simple loom; and that the "reed" from Beni-Hasan is of Coptic age, not of the XIIth Dynasty. *Bankfield Museum Notes* (Halifax), IIInd Ser., 2.

Captain F. M. BARBER writes in *The Open Court* for Dec. 1912 on the problem of placing an obelisk on its pedestal as detailed (though obscurely and faultily) in the Pap. Anastasi I. The papyrus was lately edited and explained as far as possible by Dr GARDINER in his *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, Pt. I. Captain BARBER's article is interesting, but his combination of several problems in the papyrus seems unwarranted.

On supposed representations of glass-blowing. PETRIE, *Ancient Egypt*, I, 33.

PERSONAL.

The much-regretted death of E. R. AYRTON in Ceylon, where he had recently been appointed Archaeological Commissioner, has received notice in the *E. E. F. Journal*, I, 212.

Charles-Eugène REVILLOUT, the well-known editor of demotic and Coptic texts and late assistant conservator of the Egyptian antiquities in the Louvre, died in Paris 16 Jan.,

1912. An obituary notice written by Seymour de RICCI, *Rev. Arch.* XXI, 243, states that REVILLOUT was born in 1843; his first work appeared in 1868; later he joined the staff of the Louvre, studied Coptic, and about 1876 attacked demotic. He copied nearly all the demotic material that was known, and in his publications often threw much new light on the documents, especially those of a legal nature. In this particular department for long he worked almost single-handed. It is announced that the *Revue Égyptologique*, founded and edited by REVILLOUT, is to be continued under the editorship of MORET.

K. HAMADA and T. CHIBA contribute a note on the late Professor TSUBOI and the study of Egyptology in Japan to *Ancient Egypt*, I, 59.

In the *Bibliothèque Égyptologique* two more volumes (VII, VIII) have appeared of Sir G. MASPERO's *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptienne*. The essays date in general between 1891 and 1905. Tomes IV, V are reviewed by FOUCART, *Sphinx*, XVI, 136, 173, and LEFEBURE, *Oeuvres diverses*, II by the same, *Sphinx*, XVII, 223.

NOTES AND NEWS

Dr George A. Reisner, Curator of the Department of Egyptian Art in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, has been appointed Professor of Egyptology at Harvard. Dr Reisner is a Harvard man, having graduated in 1889 and received the Ph.D. degree four years later. His Egyptological work will be well known to most readers of the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. Dr Reisner began as an Assyriologist, and made one or two acute contributions to Assyriological science, but soon turned into the broader way of Egyptian art and archaeology, in which he has since distinguished himself so highly. He is an advocate and practiser of the most severe scientific methods, which, it must be admitted, often involve the drawback of greatly delayed publication. However, good work takes time to produce, and Dr Reisner gives us the best, when he does give it us. His remarkable success in the Pyramid-field of Gîzah, which has enriched the Museums of Cairo and Boston with so many priceless statues, is a brilliant refutation of those who thought that the often-explored environs of the Pyramids must by this time be exhausted. His work at Nag' ed-Dêr, near Gîrgah, though not productive of such sensational results, is probably better known to Egyptological students, partly because it is older and so has been published in full in an accessible form, but chiefly because of its great value to the historian of Egyptian civilization. Reisner worked out the grammar of the development of the early Egyptian culture with a meticulous care unrivalled in archaeology. In his work at Gîzah he followed in the steps of the Germans at Abusîr as they had followed in the steps of the French at Dâshûr and Lisht. And the scientific value of this kind of work has increased with the progress, knowledge and development of more rigid processes of investigation. In archaeology, as in everything else, the present day sees the universal speeding-up and turning of the screw. The happy-go-lucky ways of the past will not do to-day; and of the new order of things Dr Reisner is one of the chief prophets. His work and that of his helpers in Nubia is probably a model of scientific method, and its speedy publication in brochure form by the Egyptian Survey Department has been of the greatest use to students. This work was undertaken for the Egyptian Government, to avoid by immediate action the prospective loss of much possible archaeological material in Lower Nubia, threatened by the coming overflow of the whole valley by the Nile on account of the raising of the Aswân Dam. Dr Reisner has since transferred his energies to the Sûdân, where, as we saw in the last number of the *Journal* (p. 218), he has made very interesting discoveries at Kerma, including burials of the people who used the fine "Pan-grave"

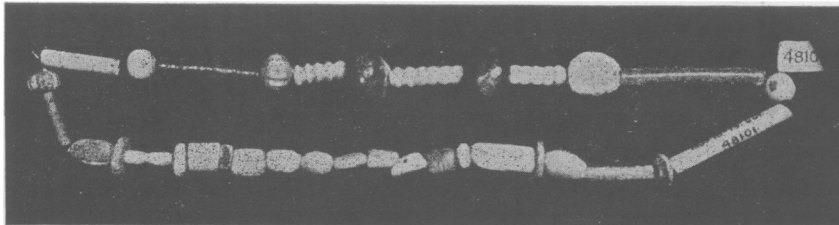
pottery first discovered by Garstang and by Peet at Abydos. Prof. Reisner was probably the first to dig all the year round in Egypt, and he has amassed an enormous amount of material, much of which remains to be published. Meanwhile, the notices of his work that appear from time to time in the *Bulletin* of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts are most useful.

H. H.

The August number of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts *Bulletin* contains a note on the arrangement of the new Egyptian galleries of the Museum. One room contains objects from the earliest predynastic period to the Third Dynasty; in the wall-cases the pottery has been arranged chronologically, "the white-line decorated ware, the earliest, in one case; the later red line ware in another; and in a third the black-topped polished ware which was contemporaneous with both the other kinds and extended down into the Early Dynastic period." Other cases contain stone vessels, jewellery, etc. The Old Empire Room and Mastaba Gallery contain many of the treasures lately recovered from the sands of Gîzah by Prof. Reisner; the unique funerary outfit of Im-thepy, described in the January number of the *Journal* (I, p. 73), the wooden figure of Mehy, which the Authorities of the Boston Museum consider ranks with the "Shêkh el-Beled," and the fine little figure of Prince Khunere' (Khu-en-Ra) seated as a scribe (IVth Dyn.) which is illustrated in the *Bulletin*. Wall-reliefs from the Fifth Dynasty mastaba of Meryt-aket-nesut, King's Chief Gardener, are also exhibited in the Mastaba Gallery. They shew several interesting features. In the New Empire Room are shewn some of the antiquities from Kerma in Nubia described in the July number of the *Journal* (I, p. 219). Among these are fine specimens of the Nubian red-and-black "eggshell" pottery, already discovered by Garstang and by Peet at Abydos. This ware is very interesting, and the types of it found at Kerma are very fine, and some are new; but it is of course not unique, being quite well represented in museums on this side.

H. H.

The general interest which has been expressed in the subject of Professor Sayce's and Mr Hall's papers in the first number of the *Journal* (p. 18) causes us to republish here a block from the *Fund's* publication *The Eleventh Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari*, III. (Pl. XXVIII, 8), which shews Eighteenth Dynasty beads of the same type as those found in British tombs on Salisbury Plain and published by Professor Sayce in Plate III of the present volume. These beads are in the British Museum (Egyptian Department), and bear the number 48,101.



OBITUARY

We greatly regret to record the death of the American scholar, Robert Francis Harper, which occurred in London on August 5th. Although Harper's work had little direct connexion with Egypt, it is fitting that he should be commemorated in our *Journal*, inasmuch as he was the personal friend of most British and many foreign Egyptologists. His figure was perhaps more familiar than that of any other scholar in the Students' Room of the Egyptian and Assyrian Department of the British Museum, for he spent a considerable proportion of the last twenty-three years of his life in that central meeting-place for all those engaged in Western Asiatic or Egyptian studies. Harper's own interests were mainly confined to the later epistolary literature of the Assyrians. His duties as Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Chicago naturally entailed a good deal of lecturing and of active supervision of students' work; but the University authorities, recognizing the value of his textual editions, rendered it possible for him to devote long periods to research in London. The first volume of his *Letters* appeared in 1892, and at the time of his death he was reading the proofs of the fourteenth volume. The plans for the fifteenth volume, which was to be mainly palaeographical and was to complete the series, were talked over and were left with Dr Wallis Budge, who made notes as to his wishes; and it is hoped that Dr Judson, President of the Chicago University, will see that the undertaking is completed in due course. We may add that, should this volume appear, it will contain a short notice of Harper's life and work from the pen of Dr Budge.

The letters, on which Harper had been so long engaged, did not exhaust his literary energies. As editor of *Hebraica*, rechristened in later years *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, he exercised a considerable influence on Semitic study in the United States. The same editorial skill and capacity for organization were evident in the volume on *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*, which he edited in 1901, and in the two memorial volumes which he, in collaboration with Professors Francis Brown and G. F. Moore, produced in 1908 in memory of his brother, William Rainey Harper, late President of Chicago University. In 1904, in the interval between these two enterprises, he brought out for his University an edition of the *Code of Hammurabi*, which two years previously had been published by the French Expedition to Susa. In addition to his long academic experience, Harper enjoyed the advantage of a practical knowledge of life in Western Asia. In 1888, soon after taking his degree in Germany, he accompanied the First Expedition sent out to Niffer by the University of Pennsylvania, and in later years he served a term as Director of the American School of Archaeology at Jerusalem. He also acted as Director of the Oriental Exploration Fund of the University of Chicago, during the course of the work it carried out at Bismâya in 1903-4.

But there can be no doubt that his most lasting contribution to science has resulted from his labours at the British Museum. Harper was a man of one book, in the sense that his standard edition of the Nineveh letters is the work by which he will always be remembered. He, perhaps in as great a measure as any worker, has justified

the policy of the Trustees in throwing open their unrivalled collections to scholars and in organizing their co-operation in working them out. It was no small achievement to have laboured at one task for so many years, and Harper's friends have a certain consolation in knowing that, in spite of his sudden and premature death, the end of that task was practically in sight.

L. W. K.

Egyptology in England loses much by the sudden death of Dr James Herbert Walker on July 21. He had joined the classes under Mr F. Ll. Griffith on the establishment of the chair of Egyptology at University College, London, in 1892; and he succeeded to the teaching in the Egyptian language and Coptic in 1903, which he continued until his death. In 1905, on the constitution of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt, he became a co-Secretary, with the special charge of the American correspondence. His was a specially honest and straightforward mind, which gave a cordial return in friendships. His unflinching readiness to help forward work and to give a far wider knowledge than might have been expected, will always be remembered by those who consulted him.

Among the officers killed in action during the present war occurs the name of Kingdon Tregosse Frost, M.A. 1905, B.Litt. 1909, Brasenose College, Oxford, whose loss we deplore.

After a course of study at the British School at Athens, he worked for the Egypt Exploration Fund in Sinai under Professor Petrie. Subsequently he was employed by the Egyptian Ministry of Education, and during the last five years he held the post of Lecturer in Ancient History and Archaeology in Queen's University, Belfast. At the outbreak of the war he was given a Lieutenant's commission in the Cheshire Regiment.

A brilliant archaeologist, whose contributions to science in written form are not at all commensurate with the extent of his knowledge. He was specially interested in the early history of sea-power in the Mediterranean, and his identification of Plato's Atlantis with Minoan Crete, first sketched in an article in the 'Times' newspaper, and developed in a recent number of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, may be mentioned as a typical example of his work.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The Hellenica Oxyrhynchia: its authorship and authority. By E. M. WALKER. pp. 149, 8vo. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1913. 5s. net.

The main purpose of this book is to show that the author of the extensive historical fragments first edited in the fifth volume of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri and now generally known as the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, was, after all, Ephorus. The attribution to Theopompus, though enjoying the powerful support of Wilamowitz and E. Meyer, is open to serious objection on grounds both of style and chronology, and has failed to meet with general acceptance. But it was easier to criticize than to find a more suitable theory. The case for the somewhat shadowy Cratippus—the alternative proposed in the *editio princeps*—was not a very strong one; and for some other candidates which were suggested there was still less to be said. As for Ephorus, it had been felt from the outset that both the style of the new fragments and their relation to Diodorus would suit him far better than any other historian who could be named; but this identification was rejected for two primary reasons. The scale of the fragments seemed too extensive for a universal history, and their annalistic method directly opposed to that of Ephorus, who is stated to have grouped events according to subject (*κατὰ γένος*) rather than time. These assumptions passed practically unchallenged except by Judeich, who in 1911, in an article in the *Rheinisches Museum*, restated the claims of Ephorus. Mr Walker, who has already figured as a stout opponent of Theopompus, now takes up the position of Judeich and defends it with a more copious and better reasoned array of arguments. He maintains with much cogency that the scale of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* is not too elaborate for a book of Ephorus covering the same events, and that the ordinary view concerning that writer's method of arrangement does not hold good of the period concerned. The latter of these contentions appears more likely to encounter opposition than the former. A dissentient voice has already been raised in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* by von Mess, who does not consider it to be warranted by an analysis of the narrative of Diodorus. But all will acknowledge the interest and importance of Mr Walker's contribution to the discussion and his masterly manner of presentment. Separate chapters are devoted to a consideration of the author's historical qualities as revealed in the fragments and of his account of the constitution of Boeotia, which must be reckoned their most novel and valuable portion.

A. S. HUNT.

The Life and Times of Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt. By ARTHUR E. P. BROME WEIGALL. pp. ix+267. 14 plates and 5 maps. London: Blackwood, 1914. 16s. net.

Mr Weigall has made an eloquent attempt to reverse the verdict of history on Cleopatra: but, while his arguments are interesting, they are not convincing. It is true that our information with regard to many incidents in Cleopatra's life comes from her professed enemies, and so may be regarded with suspicion: but it is not out of accord with evidence from less tainted sources. Mr Weigall, writing in the style of counsel for the defendant, has told us that the witnesses on the other side are hopelessly bad characters and must not be believed, and has proceeded to construct an entirely new Cleopatra on what must, we fear, be regarded as purely hypothetical considerations. For instance, he says that, "so far as we know, not one drop of Oriental blood flowed in Cleopatra's veins." This is

true: but we do not know who Cleopatra's mother and grandmother were, and there is just as much reason for saying that Cleopatra was three-quarters Oriental as for saying that she had no drop of Oriental blood. He proceeds to argue that "therefore her type must be considered as Macedonian Greek." The conclusion is not logically sound, but, if it were, it would not carry us much further, as we do not know much of the Macedonian type, and the Macedonians were not Greeks. It is not improbable that the purest descendants of the Macedonians are to be found in Montenegro: and, if this be granted, and if Cleopatra were of pure Macedonian type, she would probably be of very different appearance to the small white-skinned lady whom Mr Weigall depicts. But the most reliable portraits of Cleopatra show a profile which is distinctly Oriental, and it would seem safer to abandon any attempt to regard Cleopatra as a Macedonian. After all, she had comparatively little pure Ptolemaic blood in her veins: although the Ptolemaic house adopted, to some extent, the Egyptian tradition of brother and sister marriages, the line of ascent from Cleopatra to Ptolemy Soter shows only one instance of such a marriage: and Cleopatra's racial affinities are an unsolved problem.

From another point of view, it appears to us that Mr Weigall, in spite of his exhortation to us in his introduction to cast from us the shackles of our contemporaneous opinions, has omitted to do this himself. For instance, his description of Alexandria is a good one, as regards the modern city: but, when he argues from the estrangement between Alexandria of the present day and the rest of Egypt that a similar gulf existed in the time of Cleopatra, he is surely overlooking the difference in the status of the city. Alexandria is now a place to which no Egyptian needs to go except for purposes of trade or travel: under the Ptolemies it was the capital of Egypt, and the papyri show that there must have been a constant influx of inhabitants of the upper country, and that Alexandrians were concerned in all manner of affairs throughout the length of Egypt. For a correct description of Alexandria in the days of Cleopatra reference should have been made to the documents found at Abusir, which are only a few years later in date, or at any rate to the excellent summary of the evidence contained in them by Schubart in the fifth volume of the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*.

The same modern sentiment continually obtrudes itself in Mr Weigall's book: for instance, his insistence on the marriage of Cleopatra and Antony seems intensely modern. It may fairly be asked under what code of laws they were married: a Roman marriage is almost inconceivable, and, if anything of the kind had taken place, it would have been a mere travesty, of which we should certainly have heard from Cleopatra's Roman enemies: a Ptolemaic marriage-contract would have been meaningless and useless: and a marriage with the ancient Egyptian rites equally so. We may concede a wedding-feast, or several: but a legal marriage only suggests an attempt to make Cleopatra an honest woman according to modern ideas.

Finally, we must say that Mr Weigall has adduced no evidence in support of his assertion that the empire of which Cleopatra dreamed had an important influence in the creation of the Roman empire of Augustus and his successors. On the contrary, Egypt was essentially not part of the Roman empire, for three centuries at any rate after its foundation: it was a private estate of the emperor, in which the Roman people had no direct concern. Augustus no doubt adopted in his reorganisation of the provinces certain principles which were in force in the Ptolemaic government of Egypt: but these were probably all part of the common stock of the Macedonian kingdoms, and might as fairly be traced to any other of the successors of Alexander as to Cleopatra. The dream of Cleopatra, so far as we can conjecture its nature, can scarcely be supposed to have had anything in common with the edifice whose endurance was based on the old Roman principles with which she can have had little acquaintance and less sympathy.

J. GRAFTON MILNE.

The Philistines: Their History and Civilization. By R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1913. 3s. net.

This book is an expansion of a course of three lectures, delivered in 1911 before the British Academy under the arrangements of the Schweich Fund. Its 130 pages are full of information and contain many interesting suggestions. It is a book that was needed, for, as Mr Macalister shows, new light has been thrown on the origin and history of the Philistines by such discoveries as those of the Golénischeff Papyrus and the Phaestos Disk, and to some extent by a more careful study of the text

of the Old Testament. As regards the latter, Mr Macalister's standpoint is that of a moderate Higher Critic. One sometimes feels that he might well go a little farther (*e.g.* in his treatment of the Samson story), and occasionally that he goes out of his way to attack more radical critics (*e.g.* p. 92). But the subject is difficult and involved still in a good deal of obscurity; and we cannot all be of one mind. My friend, Mr H. R. Hall, is dealing with the Minoan and Egyptological data. Mr Macalister's contention that the Philistines were not a Semitic people, but a people composed of several septa (Zakkala, Washasha, Pulasati=Cretans, Rhodians, Carians) derived from Crete and the south-west corner of Asia Minor, has much in its favour. The suggestion that the name Beth-Car (1 Sam. vii. 11) is due to the fact that the Carians (Cherethites) brought their god (Zeus Carios) to Palestine with them is very plausible. So also are the suggestions that Delilah and Goliath were not Philistine at all. Goliath was one of the Rephaites or Anakim; Delilah is better regarded, as Mr Macalister urges, as a tribeswoman of the men of Judah. One feels more doubt about other conjectures. Such as that Ziklag echoes the name of Zakkala. The name is really pointed Ziklag (which makes the identification look less likely). Or that Sisera (comparing Badyra, the name of the Zakkala prince of Dor) was a Philistine, the name being a reduplicated form derived from the root of *şeren*. Why not a reduplicated form of שֶׁר-סַר ?

Mr Macalister's book tends to remove a number of misconceptions or prejudices. For instance, it seems clear, as he says, that in the reign of Ramessu XII, the domain of the "People of the Sea" (Zakkala) was much more extensive than it used to be thought to have been. Again, Dagon was not exclusively a Philistine deity. There is clear evidence of the presence of Dagon in Palestine before the coming of the Philistines. One of the Tell el-Amarna correspondents bears the name Dagan-takala. Beth-Dagan appears in the list of Asiatic towns conquered by Ramessu III at Medinet Habu, and Dagān forms a part of proper names in Babylonia about 2400 B.C. (Idin-Dagān, Išme-Dagān, Ibni-Dagān). It is possible, as Mr Macalister suggests, that the Philistines brought from their western home a god whose name was similar to Dagon, and that afterwards a conflation took place. But there was in Palestine a pre-Philistine Dagon. Moreover, it is probably incorrect to speak of Dagon as having the form of a fish. The name may be connected just as well with *dagān* "corn" as with *dāg* "fish."

Mr Macalister thinks we know "with tolerable certainty" that *şeren* is a Philistine word. This does not seem to me even tolerably certain. The word seems to occur in an Aramaic inscription with some such meaning as "prince" (Cook, p. 86). It may very well be connected with שֶׁר-סַר . The difference in form (*n* added) would denote a slight difference in meaning. *Seren* ("lord") might even be connected in some way with *şeren* "axle" (1 Kings vii. 30). Or the word might conceivably be a compound of two Semitic words (*cp.* *reşen*, Gen. x. 12, which seems to be equivalent to Assyrian *rēš ēni*). Our knowledge of many Semitic roots, though it is ever increasing, is still very incomplete. We may take another example of this from Mr Macalister's book. The author tells us that Amos speaks of the 'palaces' of Gaza and Ashdod (i. 8, iii. 9) and of 'palaces' in other towns as well; and adds that "to a rough herdsman many buildings would look palatial." But we cannot be sure that 'palace' is a correct translation of *'armōn* in Amos. The root is uncertain, and in other books the word sometimes denotes a "citadel" (*cp.* Assyrian *almattu* "fortress").

The impression made upon Mr Macalister as an excavator and as one who has studied daily many objects excavated is that, from about 1400-1200 B.C. onwards to about 800 B.C., Western Palestine was the scene of a struggle between the Aegean and Egyptian civilizations, with a slight mingling of Mesopotamian influences in the combat.

MAURICE A. CANNEY.

I have little to add to my friend Professor Canney's remarks on this interesting book except to express pleasure that Professor Macalister has accepted the views as to the Philistines which have been generally received among Aegean archaeologists since the publication of Mr F. B. Welch's remarkable paper in the Palestine Exploration Fund's *Quarterly Statement*, Oct. 1900 (= *B.S.A. Ann.* vi. p. 117 ff.). In *Excavations in Palestine* (1902) we found sub-Mycenaean pottery still described as "Palestinian." So it was, in the sense that much of it was made in Palestine; but it had no relation to anything native Palestinian in the ordinary sense, being entirely foreign and specifically Aegean, as Mr Welch had shewn.

Evidently it is much more than merely probable that this sub-Mycenaean pottery is that of the invading Philistines, who are said to have come from the sea. Whether Kaphtor be Crete or not, in any case the equation Kaphtor=Keftiu stands, however we explain the final *-r*, and the Keftians, we know, were, *pace* Mr G. A. Wainwright (*Liverpool Annals*, vi. (1913) p. 24 ff.), Minoans. Whether certain words, such as *şeren*, be Semitic or not, all the strands of evidence converge and intertwine, check each other and firmly knot together to shew that the Philistines were not Semites, that they were foreign invaders, that they invaded Palestine about 1196 B.C., in the reign of Rameses III, that they came from the isles of the west, and that they were users and makers of sub-Mycenaean (L.M. III*b*) pottery. All this is quite clear, and is clearly set out by Prof. Macalister: only, if they came from Crete, as the name *Cherethim* seems to bear witness, and Kaphtor was Crete, how is it that they in the twelfth century wear quite a different costume from the Keftians and Minoans of the fifteenth? Had fashions so changed? But we know that in the fifth century the Lycians wore costumes like those of the Philistines in the twelfth, and Lycia was closely connected with Crete in legend. May not the Philistines have come from Lycia to Crete, and have passed thence eastward to the conquest of Palestine? On this point I may refer the reader to my articles on the Cretan discoveries in the *P.S.B.A.* of 1909, and to my *Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 73. My book was published before Prof. Macalister's, so that I had not the advantage and pleasure of reading his before passing my final proofs; but in general we seem to agree on this subject with one another and with our predecessors, Principal Moore, Dr Noordtzÿ, and others. Here Prof. Macalister has suggested a new point, here I have done so: here we both agree with Noordtzÿ, there we do not; but disagreement is only upon minor matters: all students of the Philistines are now agreed upon the fundamentals of our knowledge of this remarkable ancient people, and we all welcome Prof. Macalister's admirably lucid and clear statement of the accepted facts and the theories which may legitimately deduce from them, to which he has added many new suggestions and views of his own.

It is the archaeological evidence that has so brilliantly confirmed the heretical ideas, formerly considered by Semitic scholars to be utterly wild and baseless, of those who thought there was something in tradition, and that the Philistines were really non-Semitic foreigners from the west, as the Egyptian monuments, too, gave us to understand.

H. R. HALL.

Coptic Martyrdoms etc. in the dialect of Upper Egypt. Edited with English translations by E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, LITT.D. lxxvi+524 pp., 32 plates. British Museum, 1914. 17s. 6*d.* net.

This rich collection, uniform with the other Coptic publications of the British Museum in recent years, contains far more than is capable of notice in a single short review. I shall content myself with some isolated remarks on a few passages, and end with a very brief general consideration of the method of publication.

(i) and (ii) Martyrdom of St Victor and Encomium of Celestinus on St Victor. I pass over these altogether, as they will be fully dealt with in the future by Dr von Lemm of Petrograd. The Russian scholar has another text of the Martyrdom (a slightly variant version) from a Tischendorf MS¹, and will be able to make from the two a most satisfactory edition.

(iii) Eustathius Placidus and his wife Theopiste. Although they are commemorated on the 20th of Thoth, the Theopiste of that day in the Synaxarium is a different person. P. 103, l. 2 from bottom $\pi\epsilon\ \sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\eta\ \pi\epsilon\ \xi\eta\ \tau\epsilon\phi\omicron\rho\iota\sigma\kappa\iota\alpha$ is translated (p. 357, l. 4 from bottom) "and by race he was a Greek": rather "he was a heathen in his worship." This passage² bears out my contention in the July number of this *Journal* (i. 207) that "Ἐλλην in Coptic can mean "pagan." The point here is certain: Placidus was a rich nobleman, and a heathen, *but* (the following $\alpha\epsilon$ is surely adversative) full of good works. In the other passage where $\phi\omicron\rho\iota\sigma\kappa\iota\alpha$ occurs (p. 152, l. 7 from bottom), it is correctly translated "religion."

¹ Dr von Lemm tells me that in spite of some *lacunae* the Tischendorf text is on the whole better and older than that in the present volume.

² The same probably, though not *quite* certainly, applies to the use of the same word on p. 157, l. 7 from bottom.

(iv) The life of Apa Cyrus. This document is interesting for the references to the death of Shenoute, every detail of whose career is as precious as it is unfortunately rare. P. 128, l. 4 of title **πτελιος καμε** is not "the perfect governor" (p. 381), but merely "the perfect indeed."

(v) Encomium of Flavian of Ephesus on Demetrius, Patriarch of Alexandria. The title (p. 137, bottom) ends with the words "about the saying written in Jeremiah the Prophet, 'I will raise up a righteous day-spring in the house of David.'" The translation on p. 390 omits **μαμε**, and for the Jeremiah passage there is a note "Compare Jer. xxi. 12." This is an occasion where the use of the English version has proved deceptive. The reference is to Jer. xxiii. 5, *ἰδοὺ ἡμέραι ἔρχονται...καὶ ἀναστήσω τῷ Δαυὶδ ἀνατολὴν δικαίαν*, while the English (and the Vulgate) have "I will raise unto David a righteous Branch."

The latter part of this Encomium deals with the Patriarch Peter (who sat from 300 to 311, not 289 to 295, as stated in a note on p. 390). On p. 149 (translation, p. 401) begins the story of the wife of a certain Zocrator or Socrates of Antioch, who baptized her children, in an emergency, with blood: when Peter, ignorant of this fact, attempted to re-baptize them at Alexandria, the water in the font turned into stone. The Coptic text should be compared with the account of the same incident in the Arabic Patriarchal History (*Patrol. Or.* i. 4, p. 385, ed. Evetts): the exact, sometimes verbal, correspondence goes far to corroborate the impression¹ that Severus of Ashmounain made the most conscientious use of the documents he could find for the histories of the earlier patriarchs, often translating almost exactly: so that however uncritical, his history is of the value of the material which he employed.

(vi) and (vii) Asceticon of Apa Ephraim and letter of Apa Ephraim to one he loved, instructing him. I have not, unfortunately, space to set out the many passages in these two pieces where I disagree with the English rendering: I would merely warn the reader that in these the thought is much less consecutive than in the more narrative pieces of the rest of the volume, and the translation accordingly more difficult. The rendering here given should be strictly controlled by the Coptic text. At the end of the second piece is an interesting confession of faith, closely allied to the Nicene Creed: the expressions "God *in* God, Light *from* Light, Lord *from* Lord" may be noticed.

(viii) The life of John the Monk, or John of the Golden Evangelium. The well-known story of the monk often called John the Calybite.

(ix) The life of Apa Onuphrius. As the four men whom Paphnutius saw were youths (**συνε σηνμ**, p. 219, l. 6 from bottom), they can hardly have been sixty years in the desert, and we must read **σο** for **σε** on p. 221, l. 4: unless the preservation of their youth was part of the miracle.

(x) The discourse of the Patriarch Timothy on Abbaton (Abaddon), the Angel of Death. Timothy wished to find out about the Apocryphal information given by Christ to His Apostles about the powers given by the Father to Abbaton, and searched the libraries of Jerusalem, finally discovering the account he wanted in the possession of an aged native of the city. It is then stated (p. 475, l. 16), "when one asked him what was the occasion for the discourse, he had forgotten what it was": but this (besides giving no sense) is not at all the meaning of the Coptic (p. 226, l. 12) **ϩῡ πρεχποϩ εταῖϯα ἄπϩαχε χε νερε πϩαχε ὀ προϩϩ παϩ**, which is simply "when he [Timothy] asked him [the elder of Jerusalem] the explanation of the saying [of Christ], because the saying troubled him." This Apocryphon is one of the most interesting pieces in the volume, and I hope that Dr M. R. James will express an opinion on it in the *Journal of Theological Studies* or elsewhere.

The volume concludes with lists of Greek and other foreign words, and of proper names. I hardly see why **ειοϩλ** and **σαμοϩλ** should be given as adopted from the Hebrew: they may have originally been Semitic loan-words, but to include all such would make a long list indeed. Nor is it necessary to find a Chaldee original for **ϩμη**, for it is nothing more than **τμη**.

I hope that it will not be considered presumptuous to point out the extreme desirability, in the present condition of Coptic Grammar and Lexicography, of an *exact* reproduction of manuscripts that are being edited. The whole bulk of literature extant in this dialect is not so large but that a volume like this makes a very considerable addition to the material available for these purposes: it is safe to say that we shall obtain from it both points of grammar and words hitherto unknown

¹ Lately most conveniently stated, with the evidence in brief, by P. van Cauwenbergh, *Étude sur les Moines d'Égypte depuis Chalcédoine jusqu'à l'invasion arabe* (Louvain dissertation), 1914, p. 54.

to us. As this is so, it is of first-rate importance that the grammarian or lexicographer should not be led astray by mis-spellings, however slight (and Coptic scholars know well how the omission of a single letter may change the whole construction of a sentence), and a re-collation of texts with the manuscripts from which they are printed is a laborious task which takes up the time of those who ought to be better employed. In the course of a rapid comparison of the facsimiles¹ (given at the end of the volume) with those pages of the text that profess to represent them, I have noticed seventeen mis-transcriptions: such a proportion gives the reader an uneasy feeling that the total number throughout the volume may be considerable. In two places the sense is materially affected by the mistakes. On p. 245, ll. 2 and 3 $\bar{\pi}\tau\alpha\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ should be $\bar{\pi}\tau\alpha\alpha\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma\iota\varsigma$, and the translation (p. 492, ll. 4 and 5 from bottom) "My Resurrection," and not "the Resurrection." On p. 155, between ll. 3 and 4 from the bottom a whole line of the manuscript is omitted, so that the sentence runs $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\iota\mu\epsilon \delta\epsilon \chi\epsilon \tau\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\lambda\eta \bar{\mu}\mu\epsilon \pi\epsilon \pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon\varsigma \alpha\tau\omega \alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota \psi\alpha\rho\omicron\iota\prime \alpha\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$, and the translation (p. 408), instead of "Let us then, we who are in the darkness and shadow of death, know the east!" will be, "And we must know that the righteous day-spring is Christ, and he has come to us, even us who were in the darkness and the shadow of death." I am sometimes inclined to wonder if the Trustees of the British Museum would consent to adopt with these Coptic texts the same course as that followed with the Christian Nubian documents—to spend nothing on the printing or translation of them, but to publish them exactly as they stand in colotype, with assistance from such experts as Sir Frederic Kenyon where really required, as in the difficult colophons. These reflexions, however, must not prevent Coptic scholars from expressing their very real debt of gratitude to the Trustees for making these texts accessible so rapidly and in so comparatively inexpensive a form: they will provide invaluable material for study, linguistic, apocryphal, and hagiological, for some years to come.

S. GASELEE.

Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley, A contribution towards the study of the Ancient Churches. By SOMERS CLARKE, F.S.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912. 38s. net.

We welcome this book as a valuable contribution to the history of Architecture and to the science of Christian Archaeology. It is the most important book which has appeared on a much neglected subject since the Clarendon Press published Butler's work nearly thirty years ago (*The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, by Alfred J. Butler, M.A., F.S.A., Oxford, 1884); in saying this, however, one must not overlook so valuable a contribution to the subject as Mr Mileham's volume on the *Churches of Lower Nubia*, published by the University Museum, Philadelphia, in 1910.

The magnificence and abundance of the remains of the monuments of the great Egyptian civilization must always overshadow those of the later times, but we must not forget the fact, quoted by Butler, that "the Coptic Church is still the most remarkable monument of primitive Christianity"; that it is "the only living representative of the most venerable nation of all antiquity" and that "the Copts were amongst the first to welcome the tidings of the Gospel, to make a rule of life and worship, and to erect religious buildings; they have upheld the Cross unwaveringly through ages of desperate persecution and their ritual is now less changed than that of any other community in Christendom."

It is almost essential to the successful and detailed study of such a subject that the investigator should be a highly trained architect. There are so many problems that can only be studied by special technical knowledge acquired in the course of such a training, and when added to this we have, as in the present case, an architect of eminence in the practice of his art and one who has specially identified himself with the ecclesiastical side of that art we may be sure that whatever he has to say will be well said and worthy of the most careful attention and study.

Mr Somers Clarke divides his subject under such distinct heads as History, Construction, detailed descriptions and drawings of typical buildings, and he gives, as an Appendix, a list of "Orthodox" Coptic Churches and Monasteries in Egypt. Six maps are included in the volume, showing the whole course of the Nile from the 13th Parallel to the Mediterranean and on these are marked all the places at present known to have Christian remains, from Sennar on the Blue Nile to the sea. Very careful

¹ They are out of order, but can be found by the references. Plate iii should apparently be fol. 19b, not fol. 38b, as stated, of B.M. Or. 7022.

and complete plans and sections are given of the principal buildings referred to, with interesting sketches of methods of construction and architectural detail.

In his historical sketch Mr Somers Clarke points out how little evidence exists on the subject of the introduction of Christianity into the Sudan and supports Dr Budge's theory (*The Egyptian Sudan, its History and Monuments*) that it did not enter by way of the Blue Nile from Ethiopia, but came through Nubia from Egypt, that it was the result of the teaching of St Mark and that it was of the form promulgated by the Monophysite Patriarch of Alexandria which advanced southwards very quickly after the first century of Christian era. In support of this he instances the early appointment of bishops—by the early part of the third century 200 bishops had been appointed—and concludes from this that churches were also built in quite early times. He accounts for the paucity of relics of Christian building in the Upper Nile by the conformation of the Nile Valley itself, which made it easy for it to be entirely overrun and devastated, by the terrible vicissitudes through which the valley and its inhabitants have passed since the beginning of the Christian era, and by the animosities engendered amongst the different sects of Christians which showed itself often in the wholesale destruction of buildings. He points out, further, that the monuments were not usually built of enduring materials and that the lasting nature of the climate is responsible for the fact that any remain at all.

In the chapter on Construction, Mr Somers Clarke refers to the conditions under which the early Christian Copts lived and had to work and shows how these materially influenced the nature and types of their buildings. He instances the fact that comparatively few of these were of stone—some notable exceptions being the White Monastery at Sohag, the church at Dendara, and probably the stately churches of Alexandria of which no traces remain—and he describes the Coptic methods of construction in brick, contrasting them with those of the earlier builders, and shows how the tradition survives down to the present day.

In his descriptions of the buildings he ranges them under three types. The first type—Basilican—consists of a nave ending in an apse, with aisles north and south, galleries over same, and a western staircase. Nave, aisles and galleries were covered by barrel vaults and the roof was flat. In the second type, domes appear in the roofing and the plan is modified accordingly, galleries were not universal and little rooms are found on either side of the altar.

The third and most recent type consists of a series of piers supporting domes. In his plans Mr Somers Clarke has adopted the very simple system of drawing them all to a uniform scale which makes comparison so easy. In the case of the larger churches, however, it has been found necessary, for economy of space, to draw these to half the scale of the others.

The descriptions and plans of buildings cover three chapters: Chapter III, those from SOBA to HALFA; Chapter IV, HALFA to PHILÆ; Chapter V, ASSOUAN to EL MADYNA.

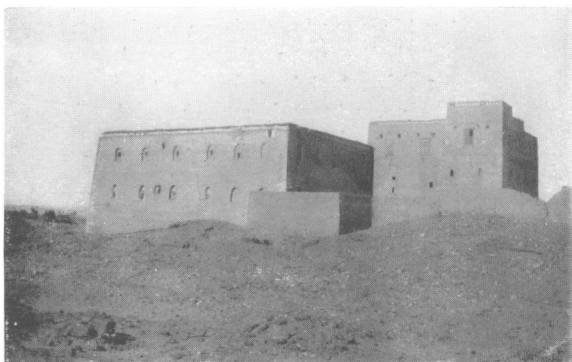
In the churches illustrated in Chapters III and IV, such architectural detail as exists is of an interesting if somewhat crude type, the columns and capitals, which were usually of gneiss, are cut with the pick, the forms of the capitals are simple but expressive and have a considerable amount of character. The plans vary considerably and should be carefully studied and compared. At the end of Chapter IV is given a *type plan* of the Basilican form. The illustrations of this are very clear and speak for themselves (plates xxv and xxvi). Here we see that the building outside takes the form of an oblong box pierced in the upper part with narrow round-headed windows. The lower part shows two doors (north and south). The sections give clearly the forms and construction of the vaults which are covered on top with a flat roof having a surrounding parapet.

Chapter V opens with a description of the Monastery of S. Simeon (Anba Sama'an) near Assouan. The remains of this monastery lie on the edge of a secluded valley on the west side of the Nile and a little way in from the river. They show an extensive group of buildings surrounded by enclosing walls. When the present writer visited the place some years ago these ruins were in a neglected state. This is such an important monument of Coptic art that it merits better care and protection. The conventual buildings still form an imposing pile and the vaulting of the Refectory is especially interesting and it is curious to note its similarity to that in the Persian palace of Ukheidhar in Irak, recently explored by Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. xxx, p. 74; cf. plate xxx of the volume under review).

Perhaps the most important examples illustrated in this book are the monasteries on the edge of the desert near Sohag. The "White Monastery" (Pl. XLI) is built of white limestone and the



Red Monastery, Sohag, from the North-West.



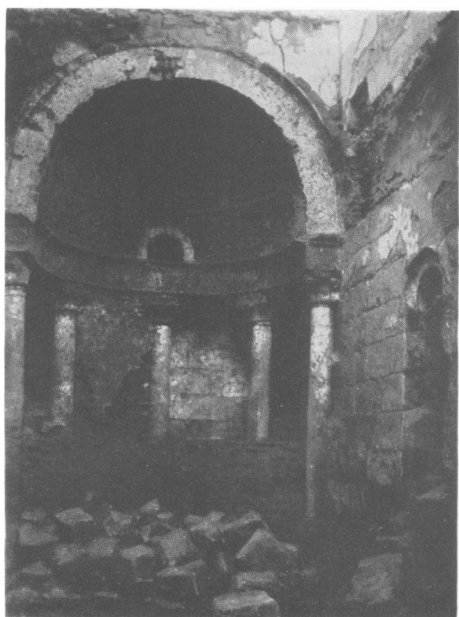
Red Monastery, Sohag. West side.



White Monastery, Sohag, from the North-West.



Monastery of S. Simeon, Aswân.



Red Monastery, Sohag.
Apse in Narthex. North end.



Red Monastery, Sohag.
Interior of Apse.

“Red Monastery” (Pl. XLI) of brick. The existing remains of the former represent merely the church and a long hall adjoining it on the south. The exterior is a huge oblong measuring about 75 metres by 37, with walls tapering in the manner of Ancient Egyptian buildings and with a typical ancient cornice on top. In general appearance it is reminiscent of an Egyptian temple. Some seven years ago excavations were made here under the direction of Professor Flinders Petrie. He concludes, and Mr Somers Clarke concurs, that an earlier church, of the time of Constantine, existed on this site and that the present building was erected in part from fragments of the older edifice.

The churches in both these monasteries are Basilican in plan and the type is that of the time of Constantine. At the east end we find the three apses—east, north and south—like those in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem—and the beautiful carving of the capitals to the columns in these apses is also of the same early character. All these evidences lead one to suppose that these apses at least are portions of the original church of Constantine’s time. We are glad to learn that a monumental volume on these two churches is in preparation. Mr Somers Clarke mentions also that an exhaustive work on the ancient churches in Cairo and Old Cairo—which he has purposely omitted from the present volume—is being prepared under the auspices of the “Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l’Art Arabe.” We await the publication of these two important books with much interest.

In his concluding chapter, Mr Somers Clarke says that his object in publishing this book “has not been to compile a catalogue of all the ancient Christian remains in the Nile valley, but to provide a considerable selection and thereby to assist in throwing a ray of light on a subject that has hitherto received but little attention.” It is to be hoped that this bright ray will guide others to the path and provide a strong impetus to further research. Many Christian sites are still unknown and numbers are being discovered from time to time. So little is yet known amongst us of the customs and ritual of these early churches that many problems in connexion with their arrangement must remain for the present unsolved, but with further research, and with greater knowledge thereby acquired, fresh light may come and what is at present obscure may be made clear. Let us hope that the example set by Mr Somers Clarke will lead others to work in this vast unexplored field of Christian Archaeology.

R. WEIR SCHULTZ.

The Eastern Libyans. An Essay by ORIC BATES, F.R.G.S. pp. xxii+298, 12 plates and 100 figures in text. London: Macmillan & Co., 1914. 42s. net.

Egyptologists will welcome Mr Bates’ long awaited book on the Eastern Libyans. It more than fulfils our expectations in every way, and if in what follows we seem mainly to find fault it is only because the volume is in the main so admirable that it needs no words of ours to recommend it and because its defects are so few and slight that their mention is no impeachment to the work as a whole. The author seems to have made use of every available source, Egyptian, classical, mediaeval and modern, but he is a little inclined at times to leave us in the dark as to whether he is merely quoting his sources or giving us a view of his own. The least convincing chapter is perhaps that on the Berber language and writing, where, though we do not deny the probability of an early relationship between Berber and Egyptian, we do not feel that it has been much strengthened by the list of parallel words given, so great are the demands which this list makes on the possibilities of phonetic equivalence. To the Egyptian archaeologist the attempt to identify the people of the Nubian C Group with a branch of the Libyans is one of the most interesting things in the book. Authorities will doubtless be divided on this point. The author makes out a strong case for the identity of the two, though it is fair to remember that there is a difference between burial in the contracted position on the side and burial in the seated posture, and that the comparison of the Nubian circular grave enclosures with megalithic monuments such as the east Algerian *rigam*, attributed by the author to Nordic invaders, might involve both chronological and ethnological difficulties. Mr Bates has, however, rightly seen that if the black-topped pottery of the C group is Libyan the occurrence of somewhat similar pottery in the predynastic period in Egypt proper may mean the presence of a Libyan element in the early population there.

In dealing with general points of Mediterranean archaeology outside the field of Libya and Egypt the author does not strike us as being at all at his best. He is a little apt to be dogmatic on such

matters and, with a reference to an antiquated source, to state as certain conclusions which are generally held to be no more than probable and to which equally likely alternatives have been proposed. For example, on p. 160 we read that the theory that the megalithic monuments of South Europe and North Africa are due to a Nordic race coming down into Africa via Western Europe "may.....be accepted as essentially true." One single fact is given as pointing to this conclusion, the other facts by which it "is fairly well sustained" are not mentioned, and the only reference given is to Faidherbe, Salomon Reinach's important paper on the subject not being quoted. No hint is given that this Nordic theory, be it right or wrong, is far from generally accepted, and no reference is given to numerous more modern works which advance, with fair, perhaps better show of reason, quite opposite conclusions. Similarly, the author accepts without a word of explanation the theory that the Sherden are the people who, either in the time of Rameses III or later, occupied Sardinia, a theory based on nothing more than a name and a supposed identity between two types of helmet which are in effect totally different. From these very shaky premises important deductions are drawn on pp. 120-121. Similarly, there seems to be no reason why the Sherden sword should be called, as it is throughout the book, South European; in fact this long sword, broad at the hilt, is by no means a common form in South Europe, least of all in Italy and Sardinia. On p. 220 we find a dogmatic statement that the Philistines had previously been settled in Crete, a point on which there is some diversity of opinion. In dealing with the Narmer palette the author falls into precisely the kind of dogmatism of which he accuses the propounder of the view he criticises. It is true that the Delta people over whom Narmer triumphed cannot "be shown to be Libyans" but it is rushing to the opposite extreme to assert that they were certainly Egyptians. We still know too little about the early history of the Delta to deny that there may once have been Libyans there. As a final instance of the trait we are remarking we may mention the race movements postulated on p. 226, where the Tyrrhenians are made responsible for very considerable changes in the population of Italy. They push before them the Italic Umbro-Latins, who in turn drive out the Sicels. One can only say that Italian palethnology knows nothing of these lightly postulated movements, the archaeological evidence being to the effect that the coming of the Etruscans, even if, as Mr Bates assumes, it happened before the Northern attacks on Egypt, did not give rise to any considerable displacements of peoples in Italy.

It is impossible to refrain from mentioning what seems to us to be the one serious blot in an excellent publication, and that is the very incorrect table of sounds given for the transliteration of Arabic (and Berber) words, pp. viii-ix. Thus for example the Arabic **ث** is not the voiced *th* of thus but the unvoiced of misanthrope, and *vice versa* **ذ** is not the *th* of misanthrope but that of thus. The English *t* in melt is (setting aside minute modifications due to the proximity of varying vowel sounds) the same as the *t* in tower; yet they are given as equivalents for **ت** and **ط**, two sounds which in Arabic are totally different in quality, one being a dental and the other an emphatic palatal. The other three emphatics **ص**, **ض** and **ظ** are equally badly treated, the *d* in brigade being the same sound as the *d* in dalliance, and so on for the rest. Similarly the Semitic **ع** is but ill described as "somewhat like the pause in co-operative"; there is in the first place no pause at all in this word in ordinary speech, but a smooth passage from one vowel sound to another, and if we make a pause for purposes of illustration it is the ordinary glottal stop (alif) and bears no resemblance to **ع**. Finally the *c* of caisson is the same as the *k* of keep, while the Arabic **ق** and **ك** to which they are respectively compared are quite different from each other in quality. In a guide book these would be venial errors, but in a scientific treatise containing a chapter of philology they are serious, especially since they throw suspicion, doubtless unjust, on the value of the author's own records of Berber words and phonetic changes.

It will readily be seen that the points mentioned here are for the most part not connected with the more important aspects of the work, for which we have nothing but praise. The Egyptologist and the general ethnologist will find there all they want and will find it well said and well arranged. The setting up, the illustrations and the indices are all admirable.

T. ERIC PEET.

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