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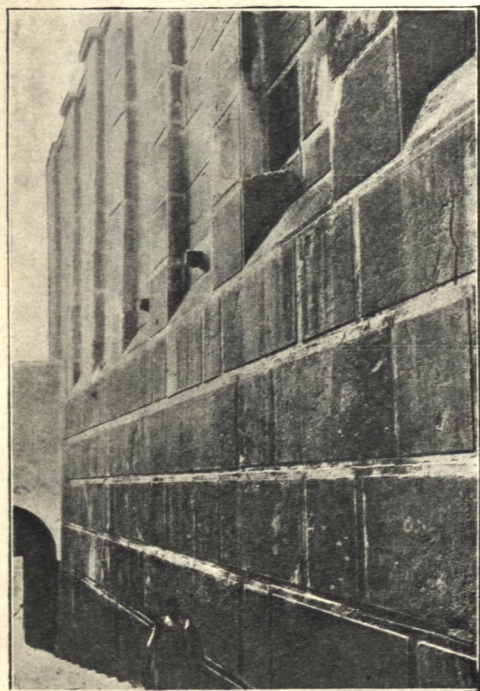
ANCIENT EGYPT

1923.

PART IV.

CONTENTS.

1. THE BRANCH ON PREHISTORIC SHIPS.
E. S. THOMAS.
2. EARLY HITTITE RECORDS.
A. H. SAYCE.
3. THE CAVE OF MACPELAH.
FLINDERS PETRIE.
4. REGNAL YEARS AND CALENDAR YEARS.
F. W. READ.
5. REVIEW, FOUILLES DE BYBLOS.
6. NOTES AND NEWS.
7. INDEX, 1920 E.
1921 F.
1922 G.
1923 H.



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ANCIENT EGYPT.

THE BRANCH ON PREHISTORIC SHIPS.

IN ANCIENT EGYPT, Part I, 1914, page 33, Professor Petrie enumerates the reasons for interpreting the well-known paintings on prehistoric pottery as ships and not towns. In two of the figures accompanying the text, the boats (as they are without any reasonable doubt) have a single frond or a pair of palm fronds in the bow; in one figure, a leafy branch (or bunch of small date-palm fronds, or a dôm palm leaf) bends over a small cabin amidships.

Both these are referred to in the text, as probably shelters from the glare or heat of the sun; but a single frond, or a pair of fronds, stuck high and upright in the bow of a boat would hardly afford a shelter worth resorting to, and another explanation perhaps fits it better.

Sir H. Johnston (*George Grenfell and the Congo*, II, p. 958), speaking of the boats of the primitive Bube people of Fernando Po, says: "On the extremity of the prow is fastened a kind of flagstaff, the top of which is decorated with a bunch of feathers. Bauman states that this can become the mast of a primitive sail." He continues: "It may resemble what the present writer has seen in the estuary of the Cameroons River, where the canoes are more or less propelled by a huge raphia frond being fastened like mast and sail in one, and serving the purposes of a sail." The figure accompanying is a rough copy of the author's sketch (reversed), and the resemblance to the Egyptian form is obvious.

E. S. THOMAS.



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EARLY HITTITE RECORDS.

THE Egyptians and the Hittites were so intimately connected in the age of the New Empire that Hittite ancient history is no longer out of place in ANCIENT EGYPT. Indeed it is by no means improbable that future discovery will indicate earlier relations between the two peoples than the time of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties; M. Montet's recent discoveries at Jebel show that as far back as the IVth dynasty the Egyptians had established themselves on the coast of Canaan, and had a colony in a port which was in maritime relation to the coast of Asia Minor, while we now know that the copper, lead and silver mines of the Taurus were worked by Babylonian firms as far back as the period of the IIIrd dynasty of Ur (B.C. 2400). It was from Cappadocia that Babylonia and Syria were at that time supplied with their bronze, and the geometric buttons which characterise the Syrian VIIth and VIIIth dynasties in Egypt point to Cilicia as their source.

To render the present position clear, it is well to state the following names of Hittite kings, which can now be put in historical order. The family descent is broken where a bar is placed.

- Pamba, conquered by Naram-sin.
Biyustis, contemporary of Anittas.
Dudkhaliyas I, the Tidal of Gen. xiv, 9.
 Labarnas, queen Tawannannas.
 Khattusilis I.
 Mursilis I, q. Kharabsilis; conquered the dynasty of Khammurabi,
 1926 B.C.
Bimbiras.
 Khantilis, q. Waliannis.
Bisenis (or Kassenis).
 Zidantas, q. Iyayas.
 Ammunas.
Zurus (short reign).
 Titiyas (short reign).
 Khuzziyas, q. Summiris.
 Telibinus, q. Istapariyas.
Mursilis II.
Dudkhaliyas II.
 Khattusilis II.
 Subbiluliumas (son), wrote to Akhenaten, 1383 B.C.
 Arnuwandas I (son).
 Mursilis III (brother).
 Muwatallis, or Mutallis (son); war with Ramessu II, 1292 B.C.
 Urkhi-Tessub (son).
 Khattusilis III (uncle); treaty with Ramessu II, 1280 B.C.
 Dudkhaliyas III (son).
 Arnuwandas II (son).
 Dudkhaliyas IV (son).

The Hittite cuneiform texts recently published by Dr. Forrer (*Die Boghazköi—Texte im Umschrift: Geschichtliche Texte aus dem alten Chattireich*, II, 1; Leipzig, 1922) throw new and unexpected light upon the early history of Asia Minor. As no translations of them have yet appeared, readers of ANCIENT EGYPT will probably be interested in the following extracts. At present, indeed, nothing more than extracts can be attempted; the Hittite language is still in process of decipherment, and most of the texts are so mutilated that in many passages only a word here and there is intelligible.

The earliest texts are translations into Hittite of the campaigns of Sargon of Akkad and Naram-Sin (B.C. 2750) in Asia Minor. The Assyrian version of the campaign of Sargon, which was found by the German excavators in the house of the Hittite ambassador at Tel el-Amarna, was translated by myself in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, December, 1915, and since then by Dr. Weidner in *Boghazköi-Studien*, VI (1922). It had been written by a Hittite, not by a Babylonian, though doubtless a Babylonian original lay behind it. But some Hittite writer who was acquainted with Assyrian had extracted from this original the history of the campaign in Asia Minor and put it into "Hittite" Assyrian, which was not exactly the Assyrian of the Babylonian scribes.

The beginning of the Naram-Sin text is lost; then we have:—

"Then the temples of Ellil which are in the city (of Babylon?) [I restored]:

"And I at that time against all the enemy lands made war.

"Mana-ila king of the Western coast (?), Bunana-ila king of Pakki . . .

"Lapana-ila king of Ullini, . . . innipa-ila king of . . .

"Pamba king of the Hittites (Khatti), Khutuni king of Kanis, Nur-[Dagan king of Buruskhanda],

"Akwaruwas king of the Amorites, Tissenki king of Parasi . . .

"Madakina king of Armani, Iz kibbu king of the Amanus mountains, Tess[inki king of . . .],

"Ur-Larag king of Larag, Ur-banda king of Nikki . . .

"Ilsunaïl king of Dur, Tisbinki king of Kursaura (Garsaura)."

"Altogether 17 kings who formed an alliance, I overthrew them."

"I entrusted the soldiery to a Kharrian and offered libations of sweet wine."

Kanis was the modern Kara Eyuk, 18 kilometres north-east of Kaisariyeh, which in the time of the IIIrd dynasty of Ur became an Assyro-Babylonian settlement. Nur-Dagan had been the antagonist of Sargon, whose campaign in Asia Minor had been directed against his capital Buruskhanda or Barsukhanda, and from whence he had brought back vines, roses, figs and other trees to Babylonia. The name of the city occurs frequently in the cuneiform tablets of Kara Eyuk, postal and commercial intercourse between the two cities of Kanis (or Ganis) and Buruskhanda being frequent and active.

The Kharrians (or Murrians, as the name may also be read, perhaps with better reason) spoke the Mitannian language and were of the Mitannian race. They were of Asianic origin, but at an early period occupied the northern part of Mesopotamia, which they called Mitanna, "the land of Midas," after the name of their leader, as well as the later Assyria.

The alliance which was formed against Naram-Sin is interesting since it embraced Babylonian cities (Larak or Larancha, and Dur) as well as northern Syria and eastern Asia Minor, and so proves the intimate connection that existed

between all parts of Western Asia in the third millennium before our era (*cf.* Gen. xiv). Dur is the modern Salihiyeh on the Euphrates, which the recent excavations of M. Cumont have shown was the Eurôpos of Greek geography.

A fragment of the second column of the tablet recounts the tribute received by Naram-Sin and includes "talents of silver," "talents of copper" and "lapis lazuli" which were brought to the city of Akkad.

On the reverse of the tablet is a paragraph referring to a war with some enemy whose name is lost but who was presumably of Asianic origin. It reads: "In the first campaign 190,000 soldiers I led; they defeated him. On the second occasion 120,000 soldiers I led; then they defeated him. The third time 60,000 soldiers I led; then they defeated him."

The fragment of another tablet (No. 5) relating to Naram-Sin mentions the Sa-gaz or Khabiri. They were the mercenaries who served as the body-guard of the king; inscriptions of Rim-Sin, the contemporary of Khammurabi, refer to them in Babylonia, and at Boghaz-Keui, where they were called Khâbiriyas, there were 1,200 of them, 600 of them keeping guard on one side of the palace of "the god," *i.e.*, the king, and 600 on the other side (*Hittite Texts from the British Museum*, 32, 37). *Khabiri* in Assyrian meant "companions" or "auxiliaries," the word having been borrowed from "Amorite" or West Semitic, and it resembled the names under which the free lances of mediaeval Europe were known. Heber the Kenite may have been one of them, and I am inclined to think that they were the prototypes of the Greek Kabeiri. Their communal god was called Khabiru, "the Companion." In one inscription mention is made of 3,000 Khabiri. Along with the Khabiri, but apparently of less consequence, another body of mercenaries called Lulakhi is also enumerated. The Khabiri of the Tel el-Amarna tablets must have been Hittite bands.¹

The fall of the Amorite dynasty of Khammurabi, in Babylonia, was brought about by the invasion of the country by the Hittites about B.C. 1900, during the reign of its last king, Samsu-ditana. We now learn from the Boghaz Keui tablets that the Hittite leader was Mursilis I, the son of Khattusilis I. A later king, Telibinus (whose name signifies "Son of Telis"), gives us the following information on the subject (No. 23):—

"Thus (speaks) the Lord Telibinus the great king: Originally Labarnas was the great king; then his sons, his brothers and his priests, family and soldiers were mustered. But the territory was small. From hence he went to war and with his arms conquered the enemy's country.

"So he annexed territory and extended his dominions. He made them subject as far as the sea. Afterwards he returned from the campaign, but his sons and whoever wished went from hence to the (new) country.

"Now the lands they governed were those of the cities Khubisna (the Greek Kybistra), Tuwanuwa (Tyana), Nenassa (also written Ninassa), Landa, Zallara, Parsukhanda² and Lûsna; the great fortresses were entrusted (to them).

¹ Lydian tradition related that Akiamos, king of Lydia, campaigned in Syria, and that his general, Askalos, founded Ashkelon, where the Lydian Mopsos, or Moxos, flung the goddess "Derketo" (Istar) into the sacred lake. Already in the time of Rim-Sin, or Erim-Aku, Ti'dal—the cuneiform Tudkhula and Tudkhaliyas, "Spear-holder"—king of "Nations" (the Babylonian Umman-Manda, or "Nations" of Asia Minor)—accompanied the army of Babylonia and Elam in its campaign against Southern Palestine (Gen. xiv).

² Miswritten Massukhanda. The Hittite scribes confound characters which closely resemble one another—*par* (or *bar*) and *mas*, *ma* and *ku*, *um*, *dub* and *ab*, *uk*, *ar* and *sum*, &c.

"Afterwards Khattusilis became king; then his sons, his brothers, his priests and his relatives and his soldiers were mustered; from hence he went to war and with his arms conquered the enemy's country. So he annexed territory and extended his dominions. He made them subject as far as the sea. When he returned from his campaign his sons and whoever wished went from hence to the (new) country and to their hands the chief fortresses were entrusted.

"When for the second time the slaves of the king's sons made sedition, they took possession (?) of their houses and . . . their masters; so they caused bloodshed.

"When Mursilis became king of Khattusas (Boghaz Keui) then his sons, his brothers, the priests and his relatives and his soldiers were mustered, and he invaded the land of the enemy in arms and extended his territory: he made them subject as far as the sea.

"He marched to Khalpa (Aleppo) and captured Khalpa. The abundant spoil of Khalpa he carried to Khattusas. After that he marched to Babylon; he captured Babylon and overthrew the Kharrians (of Mitanni); the abundant spoil of Babylon he gave to Khattusas. Now Khantilis was cupbearer; after this he took Kharabsilis, the wife of Mursilis, as a wife (after slaying Mursilis).

"And Zidantas was . . .; he took . . . the daughter of Khantilis as a wife. Now Zidantas plotted with Khantilis; evil words they [uttered] and they murdered Mursilis and shed blood.

"So Khantilis was supreme."

Here the tablet is broken, a few words only being decipherable: "soldiers," "he marched," "territory," "the cities of Khurpanas (Herpa) and Carchemish."

Then we read:—

"And when Khantilis descended upon the city of Tegarama (Togarmah) he spoke as follows: 'This have I done, since Zidanta . . .'"

Here again the tablet is broken and the paragraph ends with the words: "then the gods avenged the blood of Mursilis." It seems that they brought the Kharrians upon "the land of the Hittites."

"The queen of the city of Sukzia" next appears upon the scene. We are told that "she died," being murdered along with "his" (not "her") sons. This is followed by a paragraph of which the first half only of the lines remain:—

"When Khantilis the queen of Sukzia . . ."

"afterwards he avenged; whoever murders . . ."

"the chief of the palace officials delivered a message; then . . ."

"they were mustered; they the city of Tegarama . . ."

The following paragraphs are intact:—

"And when Khantilis became old he retired as a god (*i.e.*, abdicated). Then Zidantas murdered Bisenis (or Kassenis), son of Khantilis, along with his sons; his principal servants he (also) slew.

"So Zidantas became king; then the gods avenged the blood of Bisenis; the gods made Ammunas his son his enemy and he murdered his father Zidantas.

"And Ammunas became king; then the gods avenged the blood of his father Zidantas by [denying] to his hand wheat, wine, oxen and sheep."

Here follows another break. Then we read:—

"The lands were hostile to him . . . the soldiers of Adania (Adana), Arzawa, Sallapa (perhaps identical with Zalpa), Barduwata and Akhkhula (probably the Greek Anchiale) came hither on a campaign, but the attempt had

no success, and when Ammunas became a god (*i.e.*, died) Zûrus, the captain of the bodyguard of spearmen in those days, who was his own son, delivered Takharwailis to the Gold-stick,¹ whereupon Titiyas killed the whole brood together with their children.

"And he delivered Tarukhsus to the . . .-man; then he murdered Khantilis with his sons. So Khuzziyas became king and Telibinus took Istopariyas as his first wife. Then Khuzziyas murdered the others and published the statement: 'Telibinus has made away with them!'

"His 5 brothers, he has assigned houses to them; let them go and inhabit them; so let them eat and drink; but none (of them) must do evil; should I learn (that evil were done) for the evil they have done to me I will destroy them.'

"When I, Telibinus, had ascended the throne of my father, I made an expedition against the city of Khassuwas ('the royal city'), the city of Khassuwas I conquered. While my soldiers were at the city of Zizzilibbis, they wrought destruction on the city of Zizzilibbis.

"Later on I, the king, came to the city of Lawazzantiyas (Laviansênê?): Lakhkhas was my enemy; he had sent instructions to (?) Lawazzantiyas; the gods gave him (*or it?*) into my hands, and first of all the head of the agricultural bureau (?) Tessub . . ., [the head of the . . .] Karruwas, the head of the . . . Inaras, the chief cupbearer Killas, [the . . .] Tessub-mimmas, the chief scribe Zinwaselis and Lillis [all] great men to Tanûis the scribe, the spearman, gave . . ."

Telibinus now furnishes further details of his reign, and after a long break enumerates the cities over which he held rule. Fragments of two lists remain, one naming the cities north of south-eastern Cilicia, the other the cities of Syria. Among the first are included: Sukzias; Asur-nas, "the city of Asur," which implies an Assyrian settlement; Samukha, north of Boghaz Keui (occupied by the Kharrians); and the Mountain of the city Barsukhandas (or Buruskhanda), near the river Khulayas (the Pyramus, the modern Jihun which may preserve a reminiscence of the old name). Then follows a list of "the 34 cities" of Syria annexed by the Hittite king, of which only the last few names are left. These are: Kuwannas; then three lost names; Lakhkhurumas; two lost names; Kharakharas (the Assyrian Qarqar, Hebrew Aroer); Mallitaskurias; one name lost; Kharsuwas; Tipilas; Kursu . . .; one lost name; Suwanzuwannas; Tamlutas; Bikumias; Dammaskhunas (Damascus); one name lost; Khalip-passuwas (Aleppo); Kalasummiyas; one lost name.

The mention of Damascus is important; it is the earliest reference to the city yet found in the cuneiform inscriptions and shows that Hittite sovereignty extended as far south as the northern border of Palestine. There is no difficulty, therefore, in understanding how Hittite settlers could have found their way to Hebron in the time of Abraham.

We learn from an inscription of Mursilis II, the son of Telibinus (K.T.B.K. IV, No. 4), that Tegarama, or Togarmah, lay on the road between Carchemish and Harran. From the same inscription we also learn that Telibinus had made his son, to whom he had given the Semitic name Malik-Arakh ("a king is the Moon-god"), the vassal kinglet of Carchemish. Mursilis afterwards confirmed the son of the latter in the kingship of the city, and further made Rimi-malik, another son of Telibinus, kinglet of Aleppo.

¹ A high official who seems to have superintended the gendarmerie. His should probably be entitled "Gold-lance" rather than "Gold-stick."

Khantilis has left a fragmentary inscription (No. 20) in which we read:—

"After Khattusilis the king his son Mursilis became king, and he was a premier king. When he had invaded the lands of the enemy he handed over all the lands to Khattusas, and so he enriched Khattusas.

"Then he marched to Aleppo and afterwards avenged the blood of his father (who had apparently been killed there) when Khattusilis went to survey (lit. mark out) the kingdom of Aleppo. Mursilis made the country of Aleppo responsible and conquered all the lands of the Kharrians.

"All its wealth he seized. This he carried to Khattusas. Then he marched to Babylon and captured the city of Babylon."

Here the tablet is broken. The next intelligible fragment is:—

"Now the fortresses of the land of the Hittites (Khatti) no one had previously built, but now all the fortresses of the country I Khantilis have built and the city of Khattusas I Khantilis have built, and this tablet [according to] the words of the stela [have written]. . . ."

The "building" must have been a restoration or extension of the city. It will be noticed that Aleppo was "in the lands of the Kharrians" (or Murrians) of Mitanni. Many years ago I pointed out that Aleppo and the neighbouring Dunip must have been Mitannian, since in the Tel el-Amarna correspondence the letter of the people of Dunip (KNUDZTON, 59.) contains the Mitannian words *naprillan* and *ammati* "elders." Moreover, the names of Dunip (Tennib) and Khalip (Aleppo) which stood on the river Khal terminate in the Mitannian suffix *-p*.

The kings and many of the queens were regarded as incarnations of the Sun-god and were deified after death. Their images were erected in the temples and stated offerings made to them. In this way we have learnt the names of a considerable number of early rulers. Thus a broken tablet (No. 24) describes the offerings of food and drink made to "44 (former) kings" of which the following names remain:—

Alluwamnas and queen Kharabsilis, Khantilis, Zidantas and queen Iyayas, Khuzziyas and queen Summiris, Tudkhaliyas (Tid'al) and queen Nigalmatis, Arnuwandas (I); Telibinus, Malku-Arakh "king of Carchemish," queen Wallannis, Zidanzas, Mûwatallis (Mutallis I) and Ammunas.

In another list we have: Khattusilis (?) and queen Kassulauiyas, Kantuzzilis and queen Wallannis, Taki-malik and Asmi-malik, Telibinus "the High-priest," Malik-Arakh, "king of Carchemish." In another list Asmi-malik is stated to be the son of Arnuwandas.

Mutallis (K.T.B.K. No. 4) states that after confirming . . .-malik, the son of Malik-Arakh, in the kingdom of Carchemish, "I made Rimi-malik the son of Telibinus king in the country of Aleppo, and caused the country of Aleppo to swear obedience to him. Then I set in order the country of Carchemish, and marched out of the country of Carchemish and came to the country of Tegarama. Afterwards I arrived at the city of Tegarama. Nuwanzas, the overseer of the wine-cellars, and all the officers in the city of Tegarama came to me; they dissuaded me from marching to the city of Khayasas since the year was too advanced, and the officers said to me: 'The year is too advanced, so, our lord, do not go to Khayasas.' Accordingly I did not march to Khayasas, but went to the city of Kharran. The army flocked to me in the city of Kharran, for I had ordered the army to come there."

Yet another list gives us ; Pu-malik the son of Tudkhaliyas, Pawâkhtelmakh, Bimbiras, Ammunas, Khantilis and Alluwamnas, and in various fragments we find : (1) queen Tawannannas and Labarnas, queen Kattusis and Mursilis (I), Bimbiras ; (2) Kantusilis and queen Wallannis, followed by Taki-malik and Asmu-malik ; (3) Telibinus and queen Istapariyas, Alluwamnas and queen Kharabsilis, followed by Khantilis, while elsewhere the queens Dâdu-khepa and Khinti. . are coupled with Subbi-luliuma, the founder of the later empire.

Altogether I have recovered the names of the following kings from the various ritual texts :—

Khate-binus (*Hittite Texts in British Museum*, 42, No. 58) ; Wâlizanisûs, Takhbiltanus, Walizilis, queen Titi-ûtis, Wâsinzilis and Wakhsis the Kharrian, Ninnassarus, Yaliyas, Telibinus ; Mezzullas of Arinna ; Khasamnîlis " the swordsman " ; Khasawanzas, Sâuwaskhilas, Khilassiyas ; Zibarwas of Pâlâ (north-west of the Gulf of Antioch), Kalumziburis, Ilaliyantas ; Ziliburiyas, Takasûkh, Sulinkattis ; Zidkhariyas, Karzis, Khabantaliyas ; Argapas, Alkhisuwas ; Kattiskhabis ; Siwattis, Kuwansas ; Kantuzzilis ; Uriyadus ; Zakhbunas ; Tuskhapadus ; Kurusiyantis, Makhni. ., Khuwatassis ; Khantidasus ; Khebe-malik ; Tessub-GUR. To these must be added those of the Labarnas dynasty : Khattusilis I, Mursilis I, Khantilis, Zidantas, Ammunas, Khuzziyas and Telibinus. Telibinus came from Turmitta (Thermodon ?), north of Boghaz Keui, and founded a new dynasty (*Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazkôï*, iv, 1). The names between semi-colons belong to same group and with the exception of the Semitic Khebe-malik, which is compounded, however, with the name of the Kharrian Sun-goddess, are all Proto-Hittite, a language in which *kattis* signified " king " and *-zilis* " son of."

We must also add to the list the name of Biyustis, a contemporary of Anittas, son of Bitkhanas, king of Kussar, who seems to have lived not long after the time of Naram-Sin. Anittas tells us (B.K.T., II, i, p. 9) :—

" All the country from the city of Zalpu to the sea [I conquered]. Formerly Ukhnas king of Zalpu had taken my god (Khalmasuittum) from the city of Nêsas to Zalpu, but afterwards I, Anittas, the great king, took back my god from Zalpu to Nêsas, and carried Khuzziyas king of Zalpu alive to Nêsas. Now the city of Khattusas Bi[yustis. .]ed ; I annexed it. He subsequently surrendered it. My god Khalmasuittum took it away : I captured it by night by *agreement* (?), and defined its boundaries.

" Whatever king shall come after me, do you inhabit the city of Khattusas : may Tessub of heaven bless him."

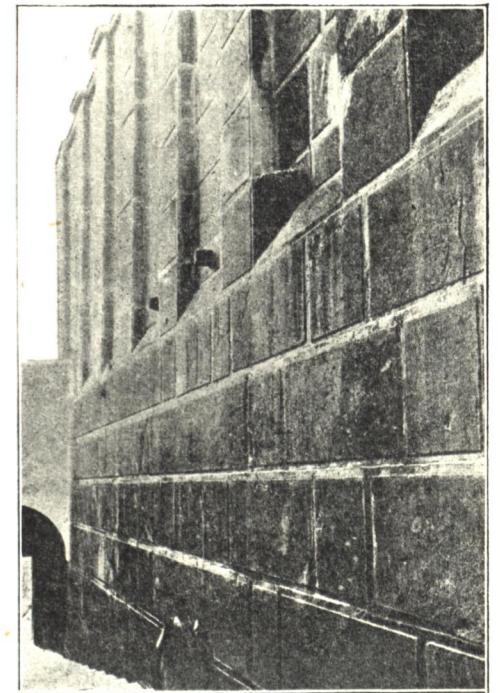
Zalpu, or Zalpa, is often mentioned in the Cappadocian tablets of Kanis (Kara Eyuk), and is coupled with Aleppo, Pâlâ, Parsukhuntas and Ussû (Issos) in K.T.B.K., IV, p. 71.

A. H. SAYCE.

THE CAVE OF MACPELAH.

THE magnificent work lately issued by Père Vincent and Captain Mackay on *Hebron, le Haram el Khalîl*, sets out fully the labours of these workers in 256 pp. 4to, with an album of 28 plates (Paris, Leroux). The production is a credit to the patronage of the Académie des Inscriptions. The former plans are set out, successive alterations of the building are discussed, with the help of eighty-six photographs and detailed drawings in the text, and the records are all quoted at length and compared with the actual site by Père Vincent. Capt. Mackay's plan is most careful in its detail of variations and irregularities, and, happily, is fully supplied with the measurements. The drawings of the pilastered outer wall give some idea of the nobility of its appearance (Fig. 1), and no point of interest seems to have been omitted. We must congratulate Père Vincent on such a monumental work, mainly from his own drawings.

The centre of interest, however, is in the original history of the Mu-kafaleh, or double cave (as named by the LXX), which underlies this great Herodian monument. The subterranean parts were strictly prohibited to the explorers ; they were not even allowed inside the Arab cenotaphs on the surface, so our main interest yet remains to be satisfied when the fanaticism of the present population may be less insistent. As the conclusions stated in this work depend on an erroneous reckoning of the mediæval measures, we here reconsider the subject.



To understand the history of the Haram we must begin with the subterranean parts, which were the whole cause of the superstructure. For the chambers and cave now hidden, the only material information is in the careful account of the examination in 1119 A.D. by the monks, which was written up in 1136 by a visitor from the testimony of two who had taken part in the work. This statement is fully published, in the Latin and French translation in the present work, together with every other fragment about the place recorded by pilgrims or historians. The essential parts of the account are that a monk resting by the cenotaph of Isaac found a wind blowing up between the paving slabs. This doubtless came in from the small opening in the outer wall below, where the Jews are permitted now to pray. This led to raising the paving, and finding a pit 11 cubits (7.6 metres, 25 feet) deep ; in this account all levels will be quoted as beneath the floor of the Haram area. This measurement raises the question

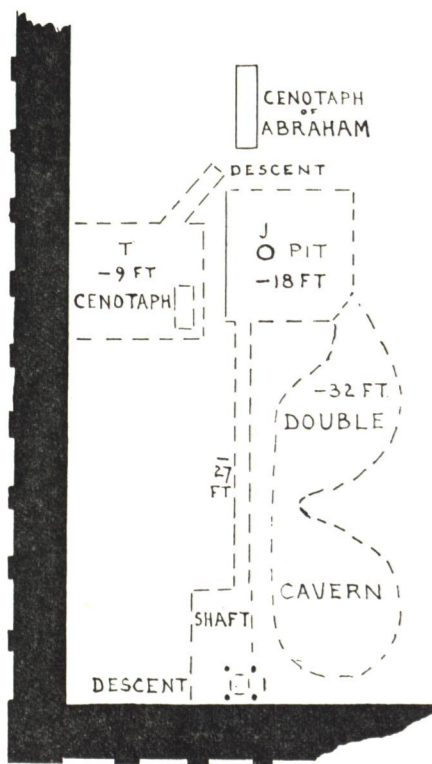
of what was the length of the cubit. Happily, this is fixed in the same document by stating the height of the Haram wall at 18 cubits, limiting it to between .67 and .95 metres, or 26½ and 37 inches, according to whether the back or the front was measured. This is further fixed by the breadth being stated as 49 cubits; this fixes the cubit at .695 metres, or 27.3 inches. In the present work these data have been neglected, and the cubit has been assumed as half a metre; it was really the modern *pic*.

The description of the pit as being near the tomb of Isaac leaves no doubt that it is beneath the mediaeval canopy (I) at the S.E. end of the church (Fig. 2) where paving slabs are secured by iron cramps. The pit was large enough to place in it a double flight of stone stairs in later times. There was no apparent exit from the pit, but by striking the wall a hollow was found, and, breaking away the stone, a passage was opened 11 cubits high (7.6 metres, 25 feet), 17 cubits

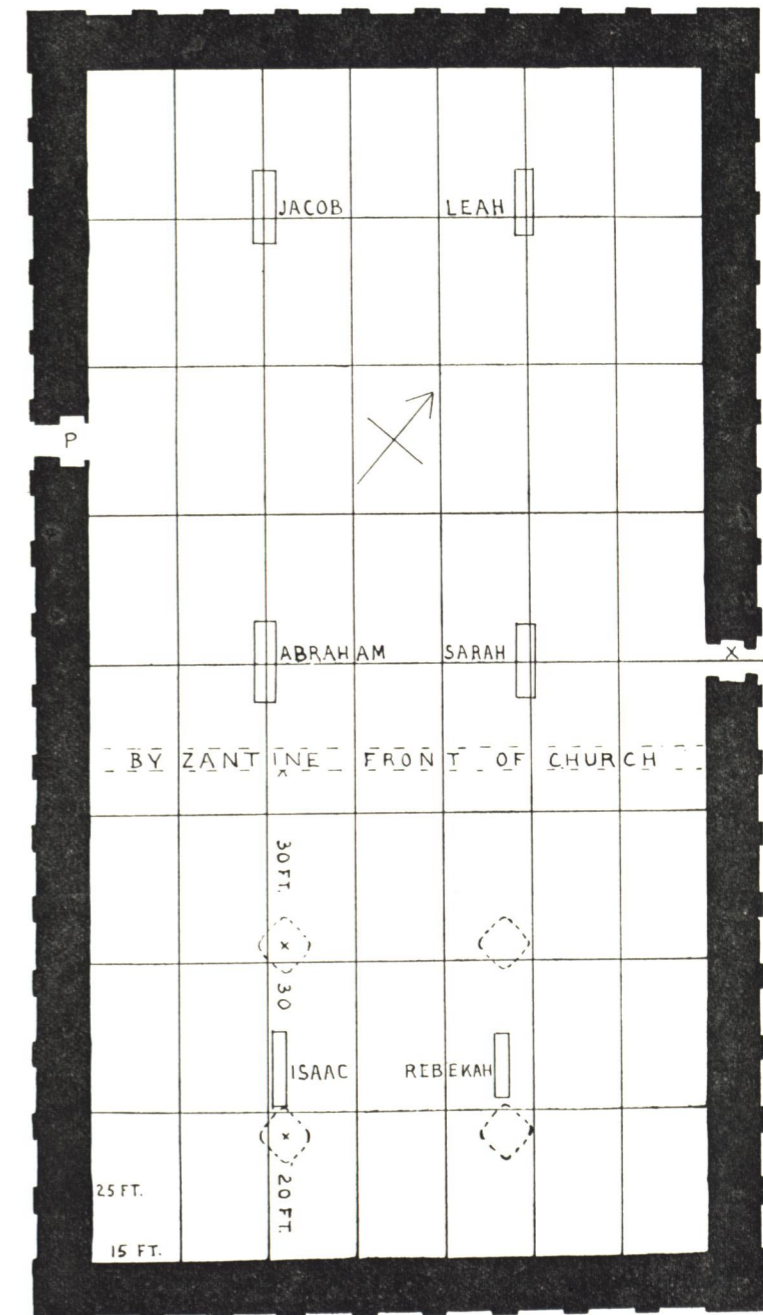
long (11.8 metres, 38 feet), and 1 cubit wide; the stones were like those of the Haram wall. This led to nothing, but by striking the wall a further hollow was found, and they broke into a chamber like a basilica but rounded, probably referring to a vaulted or domed roof. This was large enough to hold 30 persons and was of very fine work. Near the entrance to this hall an inserted stone was found, which closed a natural cave. In this cave bones were found, and an entrance to a second cave, where were also bones and 15 pottery jars full of bones.

To connect this with the visible parts is difficult. There are two clues, perhaps equally wrong. The description of a very narrow and high passage and fine building suggests that it ran along the inner side of the Haram wall; that length cannot be along the S.E. end, but must be along the S.W. side. The other clue is that it led to the vault under the other canopy (J). The length recorded would then imply that the first entrance chamber was nearly as long

as the vault under (J); also that this vault was the "basilica." As it is estimated (by view through an opening at the top) as being over 30 square metres area, that would be fairly in accord with its holding thirty people. Taking either view, it is impossible to suppose that the caverns described as opening near the end of the passage could be on the N.W. of the vault. They must lie off the E. corner of the vault, where some kind of closure was detected in viewing it from above. The floor of the cavern is said to be 14 cubits (9.7 metres, 32 feet) under the floor. This would be 2 metres under the level of the lowest part of the front wall, and probably 6 metres from the surface of the rock at the part indicated. The finely built passage may be the masking wall closing the naturally open front of the cavern. This position of the caverns would make it quite likely that the altar of the Byzantine church was over the inner cavern, thus consecrating it by the relics beneath. This custom seems to have been as early



in the Eastern as in the Western church. It will be seen then that, in any case, the description of the cavern as being entered near the end of the passage puts it quite out of the possibility of being near the N.W. end of the Haram. The cavern indicated in plan and section at pp. 63 and 155 of this volume would be



unlikely. It is double the size of an existing cavern, and would therefore have naturally a much more vaulted roof, while there is nothing to suggest so large a space.

A limit to the arrangements is given by the chamber (T) visited by Capt. Meinertzhagen, from the cenotaph of Abraham. The passage opened off

the S. side of the cenotaph; it must be longer than in his sketch, and the chamber lower, in order to be beneath the floor. I have reconciled it by supposing a passage 9 feet long, descending 9 feet, and leaving a foot or two for flooring over the chamber. The size of the chamber here would only just lie between the vault (J) and the front wall. It precludes any deeper chamber, like vault (J), being in this position. The chamber was evidently intended to contain a subterranean cenotaph; perhaps to withdraw attention from the actual caverns below.

The passage described by the monks was a planned mode of access, from the time of the original building. Whether the careful blocking by concealed stones was due to the builders, or was inserted by the Byzantines, we cannot yet say. Certainly the caverns were carefully concealed, and not intended to be visited.

Now we turn to the visible constructions (*see* Fig. 3). It is evident that the disposition of the cenotaphs can have no exact relation to natural caverns; they are too regular, and they do not accord with the record of the place of the caverns. The crossing lines here drawn over the whole area are placed to show the proportions of the arrangement. It appears probable that the Isaac and Rebekah cenotaphs have been slightly displaced, from a position symmetric with those of Jacob and Leah, by the requirements of the position of columns for the Byzantine church, which were almost certainly in the position of columns of the present church; these may partly be the original columns with altered capitals. It is clear that the space between the cenotaphs of Abraham and Sarah is to the space beyond them, as 3 : 2; this divides the breadth into 7. Lengthways the Jacob and Leah cenotaphs are at a quarter of the distance from the end to the middle, thus dividing the length into 8. Now these spaces are in simple relation to each other; the length is $8 \times 25 = 200$ Jewish feet, the breadth $7 \times 15 = 105$ Jewish feet, of 10·6 or 10·7 inches. This is the half of the 6-palm cubit, the commonest Jewish measure. The walls are 10 feet thick. A surprise comes, however, when the outside measures are taken, which conform to the Roman foot; it is 200 Roman feet long, 115 feet wide, walls 9 feet, buttresses 4 feet, and bays 7 feet. The dimensions inside and outside cannot all fit the same standard; it is Roman to the outer world, Jewish at heart, a type of Herod himself. The design is based on the fact that the Jewish and Roman feet could be worked together on a ratio of 10 : 11 in length, or 11·5 : 12·5 in the breadth, or 9 : 10 in the wall thickness. There is a little cooking in fitting the pilaster and bays on the Roman foot, as the corners ought to be 10 feet on the ends and 9 feet on the sides, yet they were made equal.

How was this grand structure entered? That the cenotaphs (but not the shrines over them) are parts of the original design is shown by their relation to the inner dimensions. They would hardly have been erected unless to be visited, and they imply some access to the enclosure. The N.E. entrance is exactly in the middle of the side, but it is stated to be clearly a forced hole; moreover, one would expect that the cenotaphs of the men would be near the entrance and the women behind them. On the S.W. side there is the opening P, which is thus described, "A spacious bay (P) in the old western wall, placed between two pilasters, has not any rigorous symmetry." On the contrary, when we revert to the original scheme of the interior this bay is seen to be exactly between the northern and the middle tombs; it leads evenly into the wide space between them. It is really 20 metres too near the northern end, agreeing

to the slightly lesser size of the northern cenotaphs. This position is too precise to be accidental, it clearly belongs to the original design. It is entirely covered by the added building against the side of the Haram, called the tomb of Joseph. How this entrance was reached from outside cannot be settled; whatever existed in front of it was swept away at the building of the shrine. In the section (p. 23), there is marked the "probable place of the primitive door," on the ground level, in the lower chamber which supports the shrine of Joseph; but there does not appear to be any authority for this, and it belongs to a scheme of western caverns for which there does not seem to be any reason.

We thus arrive at the idea that the old entrance of the caverns was masked by a wall, a passage ran along the front from the south to the north, there entering a chamber (J) from which the caverns had an artificial entrance. Over all this a large area was laid out, within a grand enclosure, 194 feet long by 111 feet wide, the wall of which was 30 feet high inside and 55 feet high on the front. This seems undoubtedly to have been one of the constructions of the magnificent Herod. It was closely like his work at Jerusalem, and also like the great tank at Hebron, which is not mentioned in the new account. The mode of access was by a door in the high front about 30 feet from the ground. It may have been reached by a ladder or moveable scaffold; but if there were a permanent entry it must have been all cleared away in making the new shrine. This shrine of Joseph already existed in 1047, when it is said that there was no entry. Yet there is a record that the E. door was made in 918 A.D. Probably it was made when the Joseph shrine covered the earlier entrance; and blocked up again before the visit of 1047.

The great internal change was when a wall was placed across the interior, and nearly half of it converted into a church. The date of this is not fixed, but it was in existence by 570 A.D. It may have been one of the Constantinian foundations, like the basilica at Bethlehem. It was divided by a balustrade into two portions, for Jews and Christians. This recognition of Jews continued for a century after Constantine, as in rather a different degree it is seen in 430 A.D. by the mosaics of the Church of the Circumcision and Church of the Gentiles in St. Sabina at Rome.

A remarkable detail of this church is that the spacing of it is on the same Jewish foot as the lay-out of the whole interior. From the S.E. end to the nearest pillar centre is 20 Jewish feet, thence to the next is 30, and on to the wall is 30 feet more.

During the century after the Arab conquest the shrines were built over the cenotaphs. Those of Abraham and Jacob, octagonal; of Sarah and Leah, hexagonal. The reason for the smaller square shrines of Isaac and Rebekah was doubtless that, as the church had been converted into a mosque, it was desired to avoid blocking it up by such large buildings as the other shrines.

The Crusading kingdom remodelled the church, with slightly pointed arches. The date is not recorded within this period of 1100 to 1187; but probably it was in the earlier part. After Saladin's re-conquest the mosque was emphasized by cutting a *mihrab* in 1332, and as late as 1755 there were porticoes built on two sides of the inner court. Changes are still being made, such as the columns of the Arab tribune (p. 16) being converted into an internal portico along the entrance wall. There is also an evidently modern feature in a gallery running round the nave, at the spring of the roof arches, supported on iron brackets let into the wall, and with a light iron grille front.

are in fixed months of the year, and that the years were counted from New Year's Day."¹

Prof. Breasted shows us in detail how this result is arrived at. Referring to Apis 39, he writes:—

"This stela furnishes the data for computing the exact length of Psamtik I's reign. Having lived sixteen years seven months and seventeen days, this Apis died in the sixteenth year of Necho, on the sixth of the second month. The bulk of his life fell in the reign of Necho, and he was only one year, six months, and eleven days old at the accession of Necho.² This period of his life thus coincided with the last year, six months and eleven days of Necho's predecessor, Psamtik I. Now, the Apis was born in the fifty-third year of Psamtik I, on the nineteenth of the sixth month; hence the total length of Psamtik I's reign was the sum of

	52 years, 5 months, 19 days
and 1	,, 6 ,, 11 ,,
	— — —
or 54 years, 0 months, 0 days.	

"This would indicate that Psamtik ruled an even number of complete years, but we cannot suppose that Psamtik I died on the last day of the year; it is evident that he died in the fifty-fifth year of his reign, and that the fraction of that incomplete year was, after his death, included in the first year of his successor Necho. It is thus clear that the years of the king's reign in the XXVIth dynasty began on New Year's Day."³

The result of the calculation comes out so neatly at exactly 54 years, without any odd months or days, that the reader is apt at first to assume that the conclusion drawn from it is correct; but in truth there is no connection at all between the arithmetical result arrived at, and the fact which it is supposed to prove. Let us imagine for a moment that the figures which Prof. Breasted discusses belonged to the XVIIIth instead of to the XXVIth dynasty. The figures being the same, and the same method being applied to them, the result must be the same; in other words, we can prove that "the years of the king's reign in the [Eighteenth] dynasty began on New Year's Day." Neither Prof. Breasted nor anyone else would admit this to be true, seeing that we have the clearest evidence that the years of the king at that time were true regnal years, exactly like the years of our English kings. Wherein does the fallacy lie? Clearly in the failure to observe that from the nineteenth of the sixth month in one year to the sixth of the second month in some other year *must* be a period of a certain number of years plus seven months and seventeen days.⁴ The method of counting the king's years has not the smallest bearing on the matter. For the argument to be valid it would be necessary to have a system

¹ *A History of Egypt*, Vol. III, p. 339.

² Prof. Breasted does not say how this figure is reached, and an explanation may make the argument more easy to follow. When the bull died on 16.2.6 of Necho, the king had reigned (assuming an assimilated year) 15 years, 1 month, and 6 days; and this being deducted from the 16 years, 7 months, and 17 days of the bull's life leaves 1 year, 6 months and 11 days. Similarly, when he was born on 53.6.19 of Psamtek I, the king had reigned 52 years, 5 months, and 19 days.

³ *Ancient Records*, Vol. IV, p. 497.

⁴ The bull really lived five days longer, the scribe not having counted the epagomenal days.

of "regnal months" running with the regnal year. Needless to say, the complications arising out of a regnal year distinct from the calendar year were not rendered still more troublesome by the use of "regnal months." The 1st January of the thirteenth year of George V means the 1st January, 1923, not the first day of King George's thirteenth year. Similarly in Egypt, the first of the first month meant the first day of the *calendar* year, no matter where it might happen to fall in the regnal year. Therefore the only possible difference in calculating a period of time by the calendar year and by the regnal year is in the number of *years*.

The argument may be further illustrated by a consideration of the famous Obelisk Inscription of Queen Hatshepsut.¹ In this we are told that the work on the obelisk occupied from the first of the sixth month in the fifteenth year to the thirtieth of the twelfth month in the sixteenth year, "making seven months." From this statement we see that the work was proceeding during the last seven months of a calendar year; and, as these seven months were divided between two regnal years, it is clear that the queen used a true regnal year commencing at some time between the second of the sixth month and the thirtieth of the twelfth month (both inclusive). It should be noted, however, that, while the fact of the regnal year changing within this period proves that it was not assimilated to the calendar year, the fact that it did not change within these seven months would not have proved that it was. Since there are many other days on which it might have changed besides New Year's Day, the assimilation would be a possibility merely. Let us suppose now that we had the text as it stands, but with the omission of the statement that the time occupied was seven months. There would then be two possible views (and two only). Either the whole period was comprised within one calendar year, and therefore amounted to seven months; or it commenced in one calendar year and finished in the next, and therefore amounted to *one year* and seven months. To state the conclusion as a general proposition, if we are dealing with dates expressed in regnal years, and do not know when the regnal year commenced, we *may* be a year wrong in our estimate of the time between any two days, but we shall not be wrong as to the odd months and days.

It by no means follows, however, from the foregoing argument that the regnal years of the XXVIth dynasty were *not* assimilated to the calendar years, and there is a very great probability that they *were*. Indeed, if there had been evidence for the period similar to that for the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties, the argument we have criticised could hardly have been put forward at all. We proceed, then, to a consideration of the chronological data in detail.

(1) Apis 37 died on 20.12.20, and was buried on 21.2.25 of Psamtek I. There being a regular interval of seventy days between the death and burial of an Apis, we know that the second date must have been in the *calendar* year immediately following the death. Therefore the regnal year changed between 12.20 and 2.25.

(2) Apis 41 was born on 5.1.7 and installed on 5.10.18 of Aāhmes. These dates, being necessarily in the same calendar year, prove that the regnal year did not change between 1.7 and 10.18, and therefore must have changed between 10.19 and 1.6 (both inclusive).

(3) Psamtek III must have had a very short reign (six months according to Manetho), and yet the only dated document of his time is of the fifth month

¹ Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, Vol. II, p. 238.

of the *second* year.¹ The obvious explanation is that he came to the throne late in the calendar year, and commenced to count his second year from the following New Year's Day.

(4) A difficulty is introduced by the stele of the third year of Aāhmes, recounting his conflict with the dethroned Apries.² Line 1 of this document commences with the date 3.10 (without day), while line 14 commences with the date 3.3.8. If, as has been hitherto assumed, the second date is later in time than the first, the regnal year could not have changed between 10.19 and 1.6, as it must have done according to the evidence cited in (2). It has been proposed to explain the contradiction by supposing that the assimilation of the regnal and calendar years was adopted by the people for practical convenience, but was not followed in state records. This seems to be altogether too modern a view. From the Egyptian standpoint, it is likely that the Apis steles were just as much state documents as the stele of the year 3.³ It may be suggested that the real solution is that the date 3.10 is that of the making of the stele, and therefore followed 3.3.8. The fact that no day is specified strongly supports this view, as the making of a stele could not well be attributed to any precise day.⁴ The famous Piankhy stele commences with a date that contains no day, and later has specific dates, exactly like the stele under discussion; and various opinions have been held as to the significance of the first date.⁵ Doubtless in both cases the opening date is that of the making of the stele.

IN THE XXIIND TO XXVTH DYNASTIES.

Unfortunately, the Apis steles do not give us the same amount of information for the period preceding the XXVIth dynasty, but what there is tends to show that the system of counting by true regnal years continued to the end of the XXVth dynasty. A reference to the table above shows that Apis 39 was installed at the age of 268 days, Apis 40 at 272 days, and Apis 41 at 281 days, an average age of 275 days.⁶ We do not know the age at which the first three Apises in the table were installed, but we may reasonably suppose that it was somewhere near the 275 days indicated by the later information. If this be so, the Apis installed on 28.2.1 of Sheshenq III was born about 28.5.1; and that installed on 26.8.9 of Taharqa was born about 26.11.9.⁷ As, therefore, in both cases the animal must have been born in the calendar year before the installation, while birth and installation were in the same regnal year, the latter was not assimilated to the calendar year.

¹ Gauthier, *loc. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 131.

² Gauthier, *loc. cit.*, Vol. IV., p. 114.

³ It will be seen later that there is good ground for believing that the assimilation came in with the XXVIth dynasty, and therefore almost certainly by royal authority.

⁴ It has been contended that when a month is written without specifying a day, the first day of the month is meant. This may be true in some cases, but is hardly likely to be so always.

⁵ Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, Vol. IV, p. 2.

⁶ In the case of Apises 39 and 40 the age *might* have been one year more; for Apis 41 only can we be certain of the exact interval between birth and installation. It is sufficient for the argument that the bulls were *not less* than the ages given above.

⁷ Apis 33 was born in the regnal year preceding his installation, which is consistent with either system of reckoning the regnal years.

To sum up, the Apis steles afford no conclusive evidence for either period. But, as the whole of the data for the XXVIth dynasty (with one easily explicable exception) are at the least consistent with an assimilated regnal year, while the data for the preceding period are apparently inconsistent with it, we may conclude that the assimilated year was introduced by Psamtek I.

F. W. READ.

REVIEW.

Academie des Inscriptions. Comptes Rendus, 1923, Mars-Avril.

Fouilles de Byblos.—A little sketch plan is given of the temple site as far as uncovered. The entrance was between two columns 7 feet apart. Before them are on one side the bases of three seated figures, and on the other side the base of a statue. Entering a hall, there is on one hand a large oval tank, 23 by 20 feet; on the other side is a space with remains of statuary. So far there is no dating for these remains.

A site a hundred feet away is that of the so-called Phoenician temple. Here two columns are 15 feet apart. Under the pavement was a jar in the ground in the line of the axis between the columns; it was half full of beads of carnelian, crystal, glaze, bronze, silver and gold, which formed collars. On one bead is "Life of Ra" in hieroglyphics. Many rings were found with bezels of carnelian, crystal, bronze, bone and soft stone; more than a hundred scarabs were also set, cut in carnelian, crystal and bone. There were eight diadems, one silver and seven bronze, bands with bosses. A hundred clothes-pins, with a hole through the middle to tie them on (*Tools and Weapons*, lxii, N 14-18), accompanied a hundred rings of wire, 2 to 4 inches across, which it is supposed served to pull clothing through before pinning it. A disc of gold is ornamented with filigraim work, in circles and crescents. There were also a silver cup, two cups and two vases of bronze, and many statuettes in stone, bone and bronze (? copper). Three small cylinders of stone are engraved in Cypriote style. A small plaque has hieroglyphs of the "sealer of Horus of the south and north" (Horus and Set). There were also two other foundation deposits, with vases of Pepy I, a vase of Pepy II in the form of a baboon with young, "discs of offerings" in alabaster and breccia, blue paste figure of baboon, quartz gaming pieces, a little gold sistrum, a copper chisel, votive axes of polished stone and flint knives. All of these should be published as soon as possible, for, being grouped in three deposits, they are of similar age and any one will serve to date the rest. It is a discovery which may be the foundation of Syrian archaeology if it is properly utilised. Above the pavement were many fragments of Egyptian sculpture, a head in basalt, the point of an obelisk, a cartouche of Usarkon and other fragments. The whole work seems to be carried on in a slow and insufficient manner, and the account is vague and without any dating by style or precise statement of character.

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE work of the British School at Qau will be continued this winter, especially the search for the source of the most ancient human remains which were found last season. The cemetery where the oldest Coptic MS. of St. John's Gospel was found will be completely explored, and the prehistoric cemeteries to the north will be worked in the hope of finding more of the strange group of ripple pottery and its associated styles. For this there will be a large party of workers. Mr. and Mrs. Brunton, M. Bach and Mr. Starkey have left already; the Director leaves at once, with Mr. Greenlees, Lieutenant Wheeler, and Mr. Yeivin; Mrs. Benson is also taking up work at the camp; Miss Caton Thompson comes as a student of the School, after her work at Cambridge, to deal with the palaeolithic remains. Lady Petrie is detained in London, but will continue working for the increased support required for these excavations.

The papyrus of the Gospel of St. John has been completely opened, photographed and mounted. It will be placed in the collection of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in Queen Victoria Street; in return for this a donation has been given which will provide for the complete publication of full-sized photograph of the 84 pages, transcription in Coptic type, and discussion of the results. As it is not only the oldest Biblical Coptic MS., but is older than any Greek MS. of the Gospel except the Vaticanus, it will be of great textual value. The fine writing of it shows that it was carefully transcribed. We are most fortunate to have enlisted the help of Sir Herbert Thompson to edit and discuss the text. The volume will be issued as the second volume of this year to all regular subscribers of two guineas.

The scale of work of the School involves heavy expense for travelling—about £700 yearly—owing to the great rise of fares. This, and collateral expenses, are all needful before the cost of excavating and transport can be dealt with. It is only by an increase of subscribers for the volumes of publications that such heavy costs can be met.

At the Tombs of the Kings, Mr. Carter, Mr. Mace, and their assistants are dealing with the very difficult problems of managing the vast treasure house of Tutankhamen.

Mr. Griffith and Mr. Newton are at Tell el Amarna, to carry on the excavations of the Egypt Exploration Society.

All Europeans in the Egyptian Government service are to leave by 1926, and therefore the English Inspectors will retire, and the monuments be left entirely to native protection. The recent letters of Sir Martin Conway in *The Times* are not reassuring as to the future of the treasures of Egypt.

The Palestine Exploration Fund has undertaken important work at Jerusalem, clearing part of Mount Ophel, south of the Temple area. Prof. Macalister and Mr. Duncan are carrying on the excavations.

The work at Kish is progressing under Captain Mackay.

In the review, p. 87, of Mr. Kendrick's Catalogue, No. 780 should be stated as correctly described, but two blocks were transposed by the printer.

INDEX.

Supplied in the last part of every fourth year.

1920 marked as E, 1921 as F, 1922 as G, 1923 as H.

(1918, 1919 suspended during the War.)

Letters are used for clearness along with the page numbers.

All entries are to be understood as referring to Egypt.

Books and articles are referred to by subject, and not *verbatim*.

This index will serve for the foreign periodicals, 1920-1923, as every ancient name is entered.

1914 Part I is out of print and cannot be supplied.

- Aärrt*, bunch of grapes, H 95.
 Aashait, burial of queen, F 64, G 59.
 Aäy, E 125.
 Ab stele, F 26, 28.
 Abaoi, prince of Edfu, F 26.
 Abbott, Dr., collection of, F 20.
 Abu Rowash convent, F 27.
 Abu Seif, H. Sculptors' models, G 87.
 Abydos ennead, G 25.
 work at, G 30, 33.
 subterranean temple, G 31.
 Accounts of palace, XIIIth dynasty,
 H 26.
 Adania, city, H 101.
 Adu stele, F 28.
 Aegyptus, revista Italiana, F 19.
 Africa drying up, G 27.
 African burial rites, F 7.
 survivals, E 126.
 Agag, Abu, sheykh of Luq̄sor, F 77.
äkh sign, not *aäkh*, H 91.
 Akhenaten, history of, G 20.
 life and times of, G 78.
 skull, cast and portrait, G 79.
 family genealogy, G 70.
 and Monotheism, F 61, 62.
 figure in Prisse, H 94.
 reforms of, G 21.
 or Okhlaton, like El Hakim, G 95.
 objects of, at New York, H 31.
 Akhkhula, city, H 101.
 Akhnute, chamber, E 94.
 Akwaruwas, Amorite, H 99.
 Alabaster jar, magic, E 67.
 vases in Babylonia, F 103.
 Aleppo, H 101.
 citadel passages, E 107.
 Alexandria, necropolis of, F 54.
 Alexandrian world maps, E 106.
 Alkhisuwas, H 104.
 Alphabet in XIIth dynasty, F 1.
 Alphabetic hymn, G 84.
 Alt, A. Sanehat, H 95.
 Altar, horned, F 55.
 over cave of Macpelah, H 107.
 Aluwamnas, H 103.
 Amanus, land, H 99.
 Amarna, art of, G 20-22.
 excavations, G 63.
 Amen decree for Osiris, F 30.
 ram-faced, F 124.
 gold statuette of, G 86.
 Amenemapt, chief artist, ushabti, F 20.
 Amenemhat I pyramid, G 59.
 cylinder, F 18.
 III at Byblos, H 31, 35.
 Amenemhat, stele, F 68.
 goldsmith, F 87.
 under Shabaka, G 87.
 Amenemheb, F 25.
 Amenhetep I, ritual of offerings to,
 F 24.

- Amenhetep III, figure, E 125.
 Amenhetep, high priest, Ramessu IX, H 95.
 son of Hapu, sarcophagus, F 87.
 servant of T. III, statues, F 86.
 son of Nebnekhtu, stele, F 68.
 Amenken, F 120.
 Amen-meryt, princess, F 84.
 Amenmes, stele, F 68.
 America, cubit in, G 98.
 Ammonios, stele, G 87.
 Ammunas, Hittite, H 98, 101, 102, 103.
 Amorites, Empire of the, E 21.
 ruling Egypt, E 22.
 king, Akwaruwas, H 99.
 Amurru, region of, E 22.
 Anba Tarabo, ceremony, F 110.
 Anher, F 26.
 Anittas, Hittite, H 98, 104.
 Ankhmachis, F 92.
 Ankh-uah-ab-re-sä-nit, tomb, F 25
 (see Onkh).
 Annals, see Chronology, E 123.
 Anpy, tomb of, E 68.
 Anra scarabs, E 24.
 Antefa, governor of south, F 29.
 Antef-hetep, F 26.
 Antem = "to have recourse to," G 122.
 Antihetep, G 23.
 Antinoe, Treasure of, E 10.
 Anubis, bronze, F 87.
 Anukit, gazelle, F 28.
 Any, royal son in Nubia, F 84.
 prince of Nefrus, F 28.
 Aohmes I, oracle of, E 31.
 II, door jamb, F 84.
 scribe, letter of, G 24.
 Apa Shenubi, acts, F 24.
 Apis bulls, age of, H 111.
 Apollonios, coffin, F 22.
 Apr, sign of equipping, F 36.
 Apries of royal birth?, H 57.
 Apu, prince of Edfu, F 26.
 Ar, auxiliary, G 119.
 Arab architecture in Egypt, E 125.
 Arabia a Semitic backwater, E 21.
 Aramaic inscriptions, F 26, H 38, 45.
 Arangio-Ruiz, V, code of Justinian, F 19.
 Architect Anpy, tomb, E 68.
 Architecture of Egypt, H 23
 Arer, G 84.
 Argapas, H 104.
 Arhapy, F 87.
 Arherus-nefer inscription, F 23.
 Armani land, H 99.
 Army of Saites, F 87.
 size of Naramsin's, H 100.
 Arneptah, F 87.
 Arnuwandas, Hittite, H 98, 103.
 Arphbikhis, G 87.
 Arrowheads, triangular, at Carthage, E 54.
 Art, Egyptian, F 17, H 63.
 Artemidoros, stele, G 87.
 Article, possessive, F 126.
 Artigas, J. L., *Pastes ceramiques*, H 23
 Arunefer, F 84.
 Arzawa, city, H 101.
 Asek, figure, E 125.
 Asfun decree, G 119.
 Ash tree, origin, F 23.
 Asmi-malik, H 103.
 Asselberg, H., Amenhetep IV, Prisse, H 94.
 Ass-headed figures, F 84.
 Asur-nas, H 102.
 Ast, princess of Edfu, F 26.
 Astemkheb, queen, scarab, F 82.
 "royal daughter of Ramessu," F 31.
 Ast-maot, place, E 92.
 Astragali for games, F 59.
 Ast-resh, F 20.
 Aswan obelisk, H 88.
 Asylum, rights of, F 85.
 Atef-amen tomb, G 59.
 Aten, history of, G 21.
 temple of Heremheb, H 94.
 Ates-senb, G 84.
 Athanasi, excavations of, F 62.
 Athribis, tomb of Mentu-em-taui, G 83.
 triad with Ramessu, G 87.
 Atlantis legends, E 127.
 At-uah, E 125.
 Augustus, cartouche of, F 46.
 Aurelius Ginus, F 23.
 Auuapat, F 31.
 Auy at Asyut, F 21.
 ushabti, F 20.
 Ayni statuettes, F 26.

- Babylon captured by Hittites, H 101.
 Bach, H., Mr., E 128, F 32, 64, H 45.
 Bak-ne-ptah, G 85.
 Balabish, F 49.
 Baraize, E., cast of Denderah zodiac, F 82.
 work at Great Pyramid, G 86.
 Hatshepsut's sarcophagus, G 86.
 tomb of XVIIIth dynasty, G 86.
 Barbarian head from Egypt, F 42.
 Barduwata, H 101.
 Barsanti, A., repair of Serapeum, F 27.
 repair of Ramesseum, F 27.
 decay in Nubian temples, F 27.
 death of, E 1, F 26.
 Barsukhanda, city, H 99, 102.
 Bashkatib cemetery, E 65.
 Baskets, Nubian, E 126.
 Bast-aus-onkh, priestess, F 84.
 Bates, O., Ancient Egyptian Fishing, F 51.
 Bay chancellor, F 28.
 Beads, Egyptian, at Carthage, E 53, 55.
 Beeswax in tombs, E 35.
 Beisan, stele of Sety I, H 30.
 Bell, H. J., Roman private letters, F 88.
 Bellows, African, E 126.
 Beltim, doorway, F 27.
 Belzoni, excavations of, F 62.
 Bénédite, M., on Egyptian and Mesopotamian art, F 17.
 Benna, town, F 32.
 Benson, Mrs., H 116.
 Bersheh, tomb opened, H 31.
 Biban el Meluk, tombs 6 and 9, F 31.
 Bikhumias, city, H 102.
 Bimbiras, Hittite, H 98, 104.
 Bird vases, E 53.
 Birth ceremonies in Egypt, H 9.
 Bisenis, Hittite, H 98, 101.
 Bissing, F. W. von, "The Road of the Gods," F 120.
 Cynocephalus of Thoth, H 28.
 oldest example of *Onkh*, H 91.
 Bitkhanas, H 104.
 Biyustis, Hittite, H 98, 104.
 Blacas, L. de, XXVth dynasty, statue of Osiris, F 86.
 Blackman, A. W., Sacramental usages, G 121.
 Blanchard, R. H., Notes on Egyptian Saints, F 53.
 Bluecrown, F 92.
 Boat building, E 8, 40-50.
 Boats, rig of, E 3.
 of Ra, E 93.
 Bonnet, H., *nems* and *khakhet*, F 125.
 Book of the Dead, Chap. 99, F 120.
 107-9, 111-6, H 24.
 Borchardt, L., *Die Annalen*, E 123.
 Borders of lotus and grapes, F 39.
 Borsha, F 85.
 Boulai under Severus, F 86.
 Bovier-Lapierre, P., Iron Smelting at Aswan, F 27.
 Bows, reflex, Eritrean, E 126.
 Boxing scene of cat and mouse, H 29.
 Boylan, P., Thoth, H 21.
 Branch on prehistoric ships, H 97.
 Breasted, J. H., Earliest Internationalism, G 27.
 Edwin Smith papyrus, H 87.
 Bristowe, S., oldest letters in the world, H 90.
 British Museum, inscriptions from Egypt, E 28.
 British School, work of, E 64, 65, F 33.
 Bronze, early, in Babylonia, H 30.
 from Cappadocia, H 98.
 Bruijning, F. F., Tree of Herakleopolite nome, F 104, G 1.
 Brunton, Capt. and Mrs., E 65, 128, F 32, 64, G 128, H 32, 45, 116.
 Bunana-ila, H 99.
 Bun-khetef, F 84.
 Bunt C., Coptic twists and plaits, E 97.
 Burchardt, M., Parallels to ancient tales, F 120.
 Stele of Anti-hetep, G 23.
 Burial rites in W. Africa, F 7.
 direction of, F 11, 12.
 Buruskhanda, city, H 99, 102.
 Byblos temples, G 57, 58, 63, H 31, 115.
 tomb described, H 33.
 Caesarios, Deir el Abyad, F 85.
 Calderini, A., Waterworks in Egypt, F 19, 20.
 Calendar, Ptolemaic, F 91.

- Cameroons ship, H 97.
 Candidianos, Deir el Abyad, F 85.
 Canopic jars of Tyi, G 22.
 Cantilever roof, G 31.
 Capart, J., Egyptian Art, F 17, H 63.
 Figure on knife handle, F 17.
 Horus and Set = Reynard and Isen-grin, G 57.
L'Architecture, H 23.
 Capitals, origin of, G 55.
 Carchemish, H 101.
 Carnarvon, Lord, excavations, G 96.
 death of, H 32.
 Carnoy, A., The Indo-Europeans, G 53.
 Carpentry in Egypt, E 48.
Cartaginesa, Estudio de Arqueologia, E 52.
 Carter, H., excavations, G 96, H 116.
 Carthaginian * imports from Egypt, E 53-5.
 Caskets from Labun, F 4.
 Caton-Thompson, Miss, G 36.
 Cavaignac, E., Army of XXVIth-XXVIIIth dynasty, F 87.
 Cave of Macpelah, H 105.
 Chaaban, M., Mnevis tomb of Ramessu II, F 30.
 Tomb of Ankh-uah-ab-res-neit, F 25.
 Chain for the body, E 11.
 Changes in Egypt, E 2.
 Charm papyrus, G 120.
 Chassinat, E., Stele of Paderpos, G 119.
 Notice of Maspero, G 119.
 Early standard of value, G 121.
 Passages in Plutarch, G 122.
 Acts of Apa Nahroou, G 122.
 Scarabs of Tehutmes IV, G 122.
 Chronology, length of, E 22-26, 30, 123.
 Middle Kingdom and Babylonia, F 102.
 Ptolemaic, F 28.
 of Akhenaten's family, G 70.
 Civilisations, independent, H 83-4.
 priority of, H 83.
 Clarke, Somers, Nile Boats, E 2, 40.
 Georges Legrain, E 18.
 Clay, A. A., Empire of the Amorites, E 21.
 Clédat, J., on Isthmus of Suez, E 95.
 Climatic changes, F 105, G 1.
 Cloché, P., Greece and Egypt, 405-342 B.C., F 88, 90.
 Coffins, types, E 126.
 Coins in jewellery, E 11, 12.
 Collart, P., Invocation of Isis, F 86.
 Collinet, P., Procedure by rescript, F 90.
 Cones of pottery, E 95.
 Copper age in India, F 18.
 mines in Taurus range, H 98.
 statue of Khosekhemni, F 92.
 obelisks and boats, F 92.
 Coptic survivals in Modern Egyptian, F 74, G 47.
 varia, F 127.
 hermitage, G 36.
 MSS., Sheykh Abadeh, G 84.
 St. Matthew and Ostraka, G 84.
 etymologies, G 123.
 Theotokia, H 85.
 Corn, history of, H 17.
 Courtiers, tombs of, G 33.
 Cowley, A. E., The Hittites, F 51.
 Creswell, K. A. C., Chronology of Mohammedan monuments, E 125.
 Cretan civilisation, G 50.
 vases at Byblos, H 36.
 Crocodiles in Palestine, F 22.
 Crompton, W., Stamp seal from Egypt, E 32.
 Crowfoot, G. M., Egyptian looms, F 97.
 Cubit, Egyptian, in America, G 98.
 Currency in Egypt reduced to copper, G 103.
 Cylinder seals, Ist dynasty, G 35.
 Dadu-khepa, H 104.
 Dagger, leaf-shaped African, E 126.
 Dakhleh, temples at, F 24.
 Dammaskhunas, city, H 102.
 Daressy, G., on sphinx type, E 105.
 Exodus, F 22.
 Coffins of Apollonias and Khayi, F 22.
 Statues of Mendes, F 22.
 Origin of the *ash* tree, F 23.
 Titles of high priest Piankh, F 23.
 Canopics of Peduhormehen, F 23.
 Statues of Ramessu II, F 23.
 Weights from Tombs of Kings, F 23.
 Teos of Athribis, F 23.

- Daressy, G.—*continued*.
 Stele of Pefnifdubast, F 23.
 God of Tukh el Meleq, F 23.
 Stele from Xoïs, F 23.
 Adoration of Ar-herus-nefer, F 23.
 Statue with Sinaitic signs, F 24.
 Stele of Heremheb, F 24.
 Inscriptions from Tentyra, F 24, 29.
 Sarcophagus of Dut-nefer, F 24.
 Ritual of Amenhetep I, F 24.
 Geography of Faqus, F 24.
 Pepi-nefer at Edfu, F 24.
 Tanite art, F 24.
 Origin of *Uas*, F 24.
 Osiris mysteries (?) at Athribis, F 25.
 Horus stele of Karnak, F 25.
 Forms of sun at different hours, F 26.
 Naos of Qus, F 26.
 Mentuhetep III at Dendera, F 26.
 Edfu, XII-XIII steles, F 26, 28.
 Alexandre Barsanti, F 26.
 Convent of Nahieh, F 27.
 Osiride doorway, Belim, F 27.
 Position of Takinash, F 27.
 Samtaui Tafnekht, F 27.
 Khent nefer, F 27.
 Chapel of Psimut and Hakor, F 28.
 Statues of Balansurah, F 28.
 Statue of Mnevis, F 28.
 Gazelle of Anuket, F 28.
 Statue of Zedher, F 29.
 Measure of 20 hin, F 30.
 Mnevis tomb of Ramessu VII, F 30.
 Decree of Amen for Osiris, F 30.
 Tombs 6 and 9, Bibun el Meluk, F 31.
 Antiquities from Fostat, F 31.
 Site of Benna, F 32.
 Statue of Seta, prince, F 32.
 Pa-neter-uahem, chief of stables, F 82.
 Ramesside statues with attributes, F 82.
 Heart scarab of Ast-m-kheb, F 82.
 Group of Sa-uas, Saft el Henneh, F 83.
 Steles of Bubastis, F 83.
 Any, royal son, in Nubia, F 84.
 Daressy, G.—*continued*.
 Princess Amen-merit, F 84.
 Piaay and Tausert, Yahudiyeh, F 84.
 The Set animal, F 84.
 Menphita fragments, F 84.
 Satf perhaps = Gaif or Naukratis, F 85.
 Her-pa-ast sarcophagus, Medamot, F 85.
 Hunters (*sheser*) of Mut, G 82.
 Golden boat of Kames, G 84.
 Seal of domestic of Ramessu II, G 85.
 Fragment from Ehnasya, G 85.
 Decree of Asfun, G 119.
 Date wine, G 3.
 Dead, position for offerings, F 93.
 worship of, in Africa, F 52.
 Deb, H. K., Svastika and Omkara, G 56.
 Debet, F 86.
 Debt, laws of, G 84.
 Delta submergence, F 28.
 Demotic notes, F 96, 126.
 Denderah zodiac cast replaced, F 82.
 Dennison, Prof. W., Treasure of Antinoe, E 10.
 D.E.R.E.E.B.T.S.S. formula, F 20.
 Dessication of Africa, G 27.
 Destruction of monuments, H 64.
 Dévaud, É., Two-slant stroke sign, G 119.
 Story of Shipwreck, G 119.
 "Baker" and "Nubian earth," G 120.
 Coptic etymologies, G 123.
 Dialects, modern, in Egypt, F 70.
 Diocletian, edict of prices, G 104.
 Divination, Bantu, F 58.
 Doctor sent to Hittites, G 67-8.
 Dogbite ceremony, F 110.
 Domitian, temple at Aswan, G 87.
 Dress, survivals of, G 81.
 Drums, African, E 126.
 Dualism in African religions, G 108.
 Dudkhaliyas, Hittite, H 98.
 Dudumes, G 87.
 Dudun, F 88.
 Duncan, Mr., at Jerusalem, H 116.
 Dunip (Tennib), H 103.

- Duns-pa-nefer, F 29.
 Dur, city, H 99.
 Dut-nefer, F 24.
 Dynastic race short, E 67.
- Eckenstein, L., History of Sinai, G 28.
 Edfu steles, XIIth-XIIIth dynasty,
 F 26, 28.
 Edgar, C. C., Ptolemaic chronology,
 F 28.
 Zeno papyri, F 29, 30, 82, 85, G 84.
 Egypt and the Old Testament, H 85.
 Elam, early civilisation of, H 83.
 Elephant hunting, E 29.
 Elephantine, clearance of, F 27.
 Elision of double letters, G 91.
 Ember, A., Semito-Egyptian words,
 F 94.
 Emmer corn, H 18.
 Em-ra-ef-onkh, F 86.
 Endowment at Tehneh, F 86.
 steles, G 91.
 Engelbach, Capt., inspecting in Syria,
 E 1.
 inspector in Egypt, E 64, 128.
 excavating, E 165.
 subterranean passages of Aleppo,
 E 107.
 Sarcophagus of Pa-ramessu, G 9.
 Report of Upper Egypt, 1920-21,
 G 83.
 Alphabetic hymn, G 84.
 St. Matthew fragments, G 84.
 Coptic ostraka, G 84.
 Notes of Inspection, G 87.
 Constantinople obelisk, G 100.
 Flag staves of pylons, H 71.
 the Aswan obelisk, H 88.
 Erman, A., Writing of *Khent*, G 24.
 Elision of double letters, G 91.
 Literature of the Egyptians, H 85.
 Ethiopian excavations, G 26.
 kings, E 39, 70, F 22.
 Eudemonis, G 87.
 Europos, city, H 100.
 Evans, Arthur, Palace of Minos at
 Knossus, G 50.
 Exodus, views on, E 61, 96, F 22,
 H 86.
- Exodus, Clédat's map of, E 96.
 in light of archaeology, H 64.
 Eye of Horus in Pyramid Texts, F 61,
 H 25.
- Falchion, African, E 126.
 Fallacies about history, H 78.
 Fan, revolving, Nubian, E 126.
 long-handled, E 126.
 used by cooks, G 81.
 Faqus, palace at, F 24.
 Farina, G., *I popoli del mare*, F 19.
 Fechheimer, H., Plastik der Ägypter,
 G 126.
 Ferryman and finger counting, F 121.
 Figures, pot-shaped, E 53.
 Filippi, F. de, Italy's protection of Art
 Treasures, E 27.
Fin du Moyen Empire, E. 22.
 Finger counting rhyme, F 121, H 27.
 Fishing, Ancient Egyptian, F 51.
 history of, G 28.
 Flag staves before pylons, H 71.
 Flint working, E 65, 126, G 36.
 in Eastern Desert, F 53.
 similar, far apart, F 117.
 Ethiopian, G 26.
 Floats of straw, E 51.
 Foot standard at Knossos, G 53.
 Foreign pottery, F 49.
 troops of Ptolemies, F 56.
 Forgery of antiquities punishable, E 89.
 Foundation deposits, G 59.
 plaque from Canopus, E 29.
 Frankfort, Mr., H 45.
 Friezes, kheker and others, E 111.
 Frost, K. T., death of, E 1.
 Funereal corn grinders, G 120.
 furniture, painted, G 80.
 liturgy, Ptolemaic, F 125.
 objects, Schmidt, E 126.
- Galla type of sphinxes, E 105, G 126.
 Game board, Sedment, F 68.
 Garden of Eden to Crossing of Jordan,
 E 60.
 Gardiner, A. H., Participial formations,
 F 90.

- Hat, F 87.
 Hathor priest's title, H 96.
 mistress of joy, F 94, G 25.
 Hatiay, G 84.
 Hatshepsut, Life of, F 57.
 in Nubia, G 61.
 sarcophagus removed, G 86.
Hbsuy, "wife," "covered one," G 25.
 Head covers, *nems* and *khakhct*, F 125.
 Head, preserved, F 9-11.
 Headrest, African, E 126.
 Heart scarabs of Kamo (Karoama?),
 G 83.
 Astemkheb, F 82.
 Shabaka, G 26.
 Tanutamen, G 26.
 Hebrew influence on Egypt, G 85, H 90.
 papyri, oldest, G 37.
 vowels, G 56.
 Hebron, H 105-10.
 Heddle jacks, G 71.
 Hemert, architect, F 86.
 Hennaw, the magician, F 91.
 Henu vizier, F 31.
 Hent-neferu, G 84.
 Henturt, F 84.
 Heqt temple at Hermopolis, G 87.
 Herakleopolis cemetery, F 32, 33, 65.
 statues, F 23.
 nome tree, F 104, G 1.
 Her-behudti-mes, G 84.
 Her-her-khutef, G 84.
 Her-hetep, G 84.
 Hermotybies, spearmen, G 93.
 Her-nekht, G 84.
 Heron, a Thracian god, F 85, G 82, 85.
 Her-pa-ast, F 85.
 Hertaui stele, F 24.
 Heta, F 86.
 Hetabu, F 85.
 Hetepu, F 84.
 Hibeh, letters, F 91.
 Hihor, the magician, F 91.
 Hin, double, F 30.
 Hippolenaos stele, G 87.
 Hippopotamus bones, mineralised, H 44.
 History, Transmission of, F 44.
 History of Egypt, Vol. I, H 22.
 Hittite letters on Egypt, G 65.
 records of kings, H 98.
- Gardner, E., Head of a Barbarian from
 Egypt, F 42.
 Garsaura, city, H 99.
 Garstang, Prof., at Askelon, E 128.
 Gauthier, H., Steles of Taharqa, F 30.
 "Sons of Ramessu," F 31.
 Three viziers, F 31.
 Nubian god, Dudun, F 88.
 Discoveries in the Delta, G 83, 87.
 "Royal sons of Kush," G 123.
 Gazelle sacred to Anukit, F 28.
 Gebel el 'Araq knife handle, F 17.
 Gebeley excavations, F 64.
 Geometrical designs, H 44.
 Germanic head from Egypt, F 42.
 Ghurob cemetery, E 68, F 33.
 Girgis, E., Inspection of Dakhleh, F 24.
 Giron, N. Aramaean inscriptions, H 38.
 Glass mosaic coffin, F 85.
 Glazes, H 23.
 Glazing at Iviza, E 54.
 Gold plates on eyes and mouth, F 9.
 Granite working, H 88.
 Graphite, analysis of, F 64.
 Gray, G. B., Crocodiles in Palestine,
 F 22.
 Gray, T., Life of Hatshepsut, F 57.
 "And in the tomb were found," H 89.
 Greece and Egypt, 405-342 B.C.,
 F 88, 90.
 Greek inscriptions in Egypt, E 28.
 Greenlees, Mr., H. 116.
 Grenfell and Hunt, Oxyrhynchus papyri,
 F 50.
 Griffith, F. Ll., work in Nubia, G 60.
 work at Amarna, H 116.
 Griffiths, J. S., The Exodus in Light of
 Archaeology, H 64.
 Guilloche, E 99.
 Gunn, B., Word for "short," G 122.
 Finger counting, H 27.
 Gypsum from *gassu*, Assyrian, H 96.
- Hakor chapel, F 28.
Häo = short, G 122.
 Hapnemaot title, G 45.
 Haram el Khalil, H 105-10.
 Harbas, figure, E 127.
 Harp, African, E 126.

- Hittites, F 51, G 63.
 ruled by a queen, G 68.
 HN, sign of youth, F 35.
 Hnn-neswt, palm grove of king, G 1.
 Hockey played at Athens, H 31.
 Hora, F 20.
 son of Hor-any, F 26.
 Horemheb at Heliopolis, F 30.
 Horkhab, figure, E 125.
 Hormachis, Nubian king, F 92.
 Hornblower, G. D., Ka-belief, modern, H 67.
 Hor-pen-êse letters, F 91.
 Hor-sâ-ast, judge, statue, E 125.
 Horses of Ethiopian kings, G 26.
 Horus, birth of, F 94.
 on lotus, XXIIInd dynasty, F 21.
 Horus-Apollo and Isis (?) swathed in serpents, F 30.
 Horus as physician, H 27.
 title, G 77.
 Horus and Set, War of, G 43.
 Reynard and Isengrin, G 57.
 Hough, W., History of Inventions, G 52.
Houhe = miscarriage, H 96.
 Hrozný, F., Corn in Babylonia, H 17.
 Hughes, Miss, E 65.
 Hukă, Libyan, G 91.
 Human remains, earliest, H 44.
 Humoy, G 84.
 Huy, artist, F 124.
 governor in Nubia, G 61.
 Hydrophobia ceremony, F 110.
 Hymn to gods on altar, H 29.
 Hynes, Major, E 128, F 32, 64.
- Idios Logos, gnomon for, G 93.
 Ilaliyantas, H 104.
 IIsunail, H 99.
 Imhetep, son of Săm, E 125.
 Imhetep-să-ptah, F 23.
 Inaras, H 102.
 Inbreeding of royal families, G 126.
 Independence of civilisations, H 83-84.
 India, prehistoric cultures of, F 18, 59.
 Indian religious development, E 59.
 Indo-Europeans, G 53.
 Internationalism, earliest, G 27.
- Inventions, independent, G 54.
 Iron age, early, in India, F 18.
 smelting at Aswan, F 27.
 Irrigation, G 20.
 Israel, prophets of, H 87.
 religion of, G 124.
 Istapariyas, Hittite, H 98, 104.
 Italy's protection of Art Treasures, E 27.
 Iuălhăănă, Libyan stele, G 91.
 Iuf stele, F 28.
 Iuf, king's sister, F 26.
 Iuf-senb, F 26.
 Ivory carving, Ist dynasty, G 35.
 Iyayas, Hittite, H 98, 103.
 Izkibbu, H 99.
- Jackson, M. T., The Museum, E 127.
 Japanese archaeology, E 63, 128
 Jefferis, Mr., E 65.
 Jequier, G., Ennead of Abydos, G 25.
 objects on sarcophagi, G 80.
 funerary corn grinders, G 120.
 the underworld, G 122.
 prefix M, G 123.
 Jewellery caskets from Lahun, F 4.
 dated, E 11.
 designs of, E 13.
 from Lahun, E 74.
 Jews, early dispersion of, H 88.
 John, St., Gospel of, H 45, 116.
 Jouguet, P., Senate in each nome under Severus, F 86.
 Journey to Hittites, distance of, G 65.
 Jug and basin for hand washing, H 34-36.
 Junker, H., cemetery of Kubanieh, F 17.
 Justinian coin in jewellery, E 11.
 law in Egypt, F 19.
- Ka and double, F 123.
 beliefs in Modern Egypt, H 67.
 Kalasummiyas, city, H 102.
 Kalumziburis, H 104.
 Kames boat of gold, G 84.
 Kamo, queen, heart scarab, G 83.
 Kanas, city, H 99.
 Kantuzzilis, H 103, 104 = Khantilis.

- Karamat, queen, heart scarab, G 83.
 ushabti, F 20.
 Karian stele, F 87.
 Karnak, study of, E 18, G 57.
 Karruwas, H 102.
 Karzis, H 104.
 Kassulauiyas, H 103.
 Kattis = king, Hittite, H 104.
 Kattiskhabis, H 104.
 Kees, H., Hymn from Horbeyt, H 29.
 Snake shrines, H 30.
Urmăău at Thebes, F 93.
 Kendrick, A. F., Catalogue of Textiles from Egypt, F 57, G 54, H 87, 116.
 Ketemut, priest, F 95.
 Khabantaliyas, H 104.
 Khabiri at Boghazkoi, E 22.
 = Hebrews, G 125.
 = Hittites, H 100.
 under Naramsin, H 100.
 Khafra, base of statue, F 31.
 Khalipussuwas, city (Aleppo), H 102.
 Khalpa (Aleppo), H 101, 103.
 Khantidasus, H 104.
 Khantilis, Hittite, H 98, 101, 103.
 Kharabsilis, H 101, 103.
 Kharakharas, city, H 102.
 Khargeh Oasis excavations, F 21.
 Kharran, city, H 103.
 Kharrians, H 99, 101.
 Kharsuwas, city, H 102.
 Khasamnilis, H 104.
 Khasawanzas, H 104.
 Khassuwas, city, H 102.
 Khatebinus, H 104.
 Khattusas, H 101.
 Khattusilis, H 98, 101, 103.
 Khayaras, city, H 103.
 Khayi coffin, F 22.
 Khayuy, E 31.
 Khebemalik, H 104.
 Kheker friezes, E 111.
 Khensu, F 84.
 Khent, written form, G 24.
 Khent nefer, F 27.
 Khepers, F 92.
 Kherp, head of family, F 86.
 sceptre, G 81.
 Khikhian, G 87.
 Khilassiyas, H 104.
- Khnumu of Elephantine, F 123.
 of Nefrus, F 28.
 Khnumu-hetep, F 31.
 Khnumu-nefer, F 87.
 Khobekhent, F 84.
 Khoemast and Mest, shabti, H 31.
 Khosekhemui copper statue, F 92.
 Khred-kep, E 95.
 Khubis, H 100.
 Khufu, standard measure, H 2.
 Khulayas, city, H 102.
 Khurpanas, city, H 101.
 Khut, F 29.
 Khutuni, H 99.
 Khuwatassis, H 104.
 Khuy stele, G 84.
 Khuzziyas, Hittite, H 98, 102, 103.
 Killas, H 102.
 King, Prof. L., Death of, E 1.
 King in shrine, E 15-17.
 King's burials with servants, F 52.
 Kings, list of, E 92.
 Kleppisch, K., Die Cheops pyramide, G 55.
 Knight, G. A. F., Nile and Jordan, F 115.
 Knossos, Palace of, G 50.
 Knots, G., 14.
 Knucklebones for casting lots, F 59.
 Kreglinger, R., Development of religious life, E 57.
 Religion of Israel, G 124.
 Kuban, stele of, F 86.
 Kubanieh cemetery, F 17.
 Kuraw, pyramids of, G 26.
 Kursaura, city, H 99.
 Kurusiyantis, H 104.
 Kush, royal sons of, G 123.
 Kussar, city, H 104.
 Kuwannas, city, H 102.
 Kuwansas, H 104.
 Kyle, M. G., Pentateuchal Problem, F 53.
- Labarnas, Hittite, H 98, 100.
 Lacau, P., Service works in 1919-20, G 25.
 1920-21, G 57.
 Ladder to heaven, southern, F 89.
 Lahun, excavations at, E 65.

- Lahun jewellery, E 74.
 tunnels under pyramid, F 33.
 Lakhkhurumas, city, H 102.
 Lamps, Carthaginian types, E 54.
 Christian names on, F 24.
 Landa, city, H 100.
 Langlois, P., Egyptian original of
 Musur, F 87.
 Lapanana-ila, H 99.
 Larag, city, H 99.
 Law on antiquities, alteration intended,
 G 96.
 Lawazzantiyas, city, H 102.
 Lead mines in Taurus range, H 98.
 Lebanon, name of, F 23, 26.
 Leeuw, G. van der, External Soul,
 F 123.
 Lefebvre, G., Petosiris tomb, F 82, 85,
 G 83, 85, 87.
 The god Hero, F 85.
 Caesarios at Deir el Abyad, F 85.
 Endowment at Tehneh, F 86.
 Greek steles of Fayum, G 85.
 Parallel of Egyptian and Jewish
 piety, H 90.
 Legrain, G., Notice of, E 18.
 on forum of Thebes, F 23.
 Lesquier, J., Ptolemaic calendar, F 91.
 Lethaby, W. R., Alexandrian world
 maps, E 106.
 Levelling staffs, G 81.
 Lexow, E., sculptured stones at
 Tarxien, E 32.
 Lidbarski, M., Assyrian word for army,
 G 24.
 Lillis, H 102.
 Lisht excavations, G 59.
 Lissos, Greek from, F 31.
 Literature of the Egyptians, H 58.
 Loom weights, G 75.
 Looms, models, F 97, G 73.
 Lots, casting of, F 58.
 Lotus cup, origin of, H 34-36.
 Louvre, Musée pendant la guerre, E 27.
 Lucas, A., Efflorescent butyrate of lime,
 F 24.
 Lumbroso, G., on founding of Alex-
 andria, F 19.
 on letter of Aristaeus, F 19.
 Lunations in Egyptian years, E 30.
 Lusna, city, H 100.
 Lyre, African, E 126.
 M, prefix, G 123.
 Macalister, Prof., work at Jerusalem,
 H 116.
 Mace, A. C., Lahun caskets, F 4.
 Egypt and Hebrew literature, G 61.
 loom weights, G 75.
 Mace and Winlock, Senebtisi tomb, E 56.
 Mace head of Hierakonpolis, E 15.
 Mackay, Capt., inspecting, E 1, 64.
 Beeswax as varnish in tombs, E 35.
 Kheker friezes, E 111.
 Borders of lotus and grapes, F 39.
 Excavations at Kish, H 32, 116.
 Work at Hebron, H 105.
 Macpelah, Cave of, H 105.
 Madakina, H 99.
 Magic jar of alabaster, E 67.
 skin, H 3, 46.
 text at Karnak, F 25.
 text at Athribis, F 29.
 Magician and birds, F 91.
 Mahaffy, Provost, biography by Hunt,
 F 20.
 Mahasaun = Massylioi, F 95.
 Malik-Arakh, H 102, 103.
 Mallitaskurias, city, H 102.
 Mallon, P., Mentuhotep statue, E 33.
 Malta, prehistoric art in, E 32.
 Mana-ila, H 99.
 Maneros, song of, G 93.
 Manetho, E 25.
 Marriage contract, Coptic, G 23.
 of concubine, F 125.
 "to enter a house," G 25.
 of sisters, G 94, 126.
 Maot amulet of judge, E 125, G 92, 94.
 Masaherta, high priest, F 91.
 Maspero, G., Egyptian vowels, G 118.
 Biography of, G 119.
 Mathematical papyrus, G 111.
 Maude, General, proclamation, E 88.
 Mauricius Tiberius coin in jewellery,
 E 11.
 Maynard, J. A., Were Phoenicians
 Semitic?, G 62.
 Mayt, burial, G 59.
 Maza land, F 84.

- Measures at cave of Macpelah, H 108.
 of Khufu, H 2.
 of Tahutmes III, F 30.
 of Ptolemaic age, F 20.
 of Knossos, G 53.
 at Byblos, H 33.
 Medical papyrus Smith, H 87.
 receipts, Coptic, F 32.
 Medium to dead king, F 52.
 Megaliths at independent centres, F 118.
 Mehti-en-usekht ushabti, F 20.
 Meinertzhagen, Capt., H 108.
 Menkaura, figure of, H 1.
 vase at Byblos, G 58.
 Menkh-ne-ra, son of Pa-ashem, F 29.
 Mentu-em-tauui tomb, G 83.
 Mentuhotep, king, wooden statue, E 33.
 Mentuhotep III, at Denderah, F 26.
 Merapu, tomb of, G 61.
 Mercer, Dr., Egyptian morals, E 62.
 Sumerian morals, E 62.
 Was Ikhnaton a Monotheist?, F 61.
 The Eye of Horus, F 61.
 Egyptian Morals of the Empire,
 G 61.
 Merymaot, F 86.
 Meshak = perhaps, H 96.
 Mesketit barque, E 93.
 Mesman, E 31.
 Mesniu of Horus, F 122.
 Mesqa skin, H 46.
 Messenger in all lands, F 82.
 Mesu, F 84.
 Mezzullas, H 104.
 Migdol watch-tower, E 96.
 Miller, Mr. Eustace, E 65, 128, F 32.
 Mines in Taurus, Babylonian, H 98.
 Mitra, P., Prehistoric India, F 18.
 Prehistoric Arts of India, F 59.
 Mitanna land, H 99.
 Mkhbr = Megabaroi, G 23.
 Mnevis bull, statue, F 28.
 tomb, Ramessu II, F 30.
 tomb, Ramessu VII, F 30.
 Mnu = socket or basis, F 86.
 Models, sculptors', at Thebes, G 87.
 Mogensen, M., Boxing scene, H 29.
 Moiy stele, G 123.
 Moks, case for papyrus, F 94.
 Möller, G., Lazuli Taurt, F 128.
 Möller, G.—continued.
 Coptic marriage contract, G 23.
 Mekbr = Megabaroi, G 23.
 Hbsuy = wife, G 25.
 Writing in XVIIIth dynasty, G 89.
 Maot worn by judges, G 92.
 Hermotybies, G 93.
 Maneros, G 93.
 Akhenaten like El Hakim, G 95.
 Portable sundial, G 95.
 Montet, P., Passages of Sanehat, F 90.
 History of Byblos, G 57.
 Montgomerie-Neilson, Mr., E 128, F 64.
 Monzet barque, E 93.
 Mooring pegs, E 93.
 Morals, Egyptian, E 62, G 61.
 Sumerian, E 62.
 Mordell, P., Origin of letters and
 numerals, G 56.
 Moret, A., *Un Jugement de Dieu*, E 31.
 St. Ferriol collection, F 85, 87.
 Morgan, J. de, *L'Humanité Pre-
 historique*, F 116.
 Mosaic, date of designs, G 97.
 Moscow University Sculptures, E 124.
 Motya, F 118.
 Mousterian flints, E 65.
 Mtkte, Assyrian for "army," G 24.
 Multiple vases in Egypt and Carthage,
 E 55.
 Mummifying, African, F 9, 10.
 Munier, H., Acts of Shenubi, F 24.
 Christian lamp, F 24.
 Hage = Zawyet el Meyitin, F 25.
 Eulogy of Constantine, F 28.
 Tinnis, and Delta submergence, F 28.
 Medical receipts, F 32.
 Coptic MSS., G 84.
 Murray, M. A., Mace head of Hierakon-
 polis, E 15.
 Origin of some signs, F 35.
 Nawruz, Coptic New Year, F 79.
 Anba Tarabo ceremony, F 110.
 Knots, G 14.
 Murrhine vases, F 21.
 Murrians, H 99.
 Mursilis, Hittite, Mursilis I, H 98, 100,
 101, 103.
 Mursilis II, H 98, 102.
 Mursilis III, H 98.

- Museum management, Jackson, E 127.
Musur, origin of, F 87.
 Mut, hunters of, G 82.
 Mutallis, Hittite, H 98, 103.
 Mutnefer, F 28.
 Muwatallis, Hittite, H 98.
- Nahieh, Deir, F 27.
 Nahroou, Apa, G 122.
 Naiäy and Ast figures, E 125.
 Naram-Sin campaigns, H 99.
 Naville, E., stele of Sä-setet, G 82.
 Names, hemi-theistic, F 127
 in cuneiform, G 92.
 Naram-sin vase, F 103.
 Natrun, Wady, G 60.
 Naville, E., on direction of writing,
 E 96.
 auxiliary *ar*, G 119.
 Nawruz, Coptic New Year, F 79.
 Neb-ant, F 26.
 Neb-em-khemt stele, F 68.
 Nebent, F 85.
 Neb-nekhtu stele, F 68.
Nebtem, "lord of all," H 96.
 Neferarkara obelisks of copper, F 92.
 Nefer hebef, goldsmith, F 87.
 Neferhetep tomb, Thebes, G 59.
 Neferkara, king, XXVth dynasty, G 85.
 Nefer-renpet, F 87.
 Nefrus, F 28.
 Negro captive figure, F 13.
 Nehems-menth, F 87.
 Nehemuat, god at Hermopolis, G 88.
 Neith emblem, F 35.
 Nekau I in Aramaic tomb, H 41.
 Nekht, priest, E 31.
 Nekht-hor-heb, head, E 125.
 Nek-onkh, Tehneh, F 86.
 Nemarth, F 31.
 Nemptahmo, F 87.
 Nenassa, H 100.
 Nero temple in Dakhleh, F 24.
 Nes-aoh, general, F 25.
 Nesas, city, H 104.
Nesut khaker, F 52.
 New York Historical Society, F 20.
 Newberry, P. E., Set rebellion of IInd
 dynasty, G 40.
- Nigalmatis, H 103.
 Nikki land, H 99.
 Nile and Jordan, F 115.
 Nile Boats, E 2, 40.
 Nile "new water" festival, F 81.
 history of changes, G 27.
 Ninnassarus, H 104.
Nnk, "belonging to me," F 122, H 95
 Nome senates under Severus, F 86.
 Notes and News, H 116.
 Nubian civilisation, G 60.
 errors in writing, G 23.
 excavations, G 60.
 Nub-nefer, F 87.
 Nub-nefert, F 87.
 Nubu-dudu, F 26.
 Nubu-ne-ab, F 28.
 Nur-dagan, H 99.
- Oamtu, vizier, F 86.
 Oanen, brother of Tyi, F 93.
 Oäshyt, burial of queen, F 64, G 59.
 Oasis sign, G 90.
 Obelisks of copper, F 92.
 transport of, E 40.
 of Sextius Africanus, G 95.
 at Constantinople, G 100.
 strength of, G 101, H 62.
 of pylon VII at Karnak, H 60.
 taper of, H 60.
 at Aswan, H 88.
 erection of, H 89.
 Offord, J., Greek inscriptions from
 Egypt, E 28.
 death of, E 92.
 Oils, origin of the seven, G 80-81.
 Old age represented, F 124.
 Oleander, F 106.
 O'Leary, de Lacy, Coptic Theotokia,
 H 85.
 Onhetep, F 84.
 Onkh sign, oldest example, H 91.
 Onkh-sam-taui, G 85.
 Onkhs-en-amen asks for Hittite hus-
 band, G 67.
 Onkh-thekr, G 85.
 Onkhu vizier, F 31.
 Onkhuas, G 84.
Oot, Copt., to be angry, F 94.

- Oracular judgments, E 31.
 responses, F 76.
 responses in XVIIIth dynasty, F 86.
 Orientation of burials, African, F 11, 12.
 Origins of signs, F 35.
 Osha-senb, G 84.
 Osiris legend in time of Ramessu II, F 24.
 mysteries (?), F 25, 27.
 statue of XXVth dynasty, F 86.
 patronised by Amen, F 30.
 Ostrich extinct in Siwa, F 29.
 Oxyrhynchos, work at, G 36.
- Paaru, prophet, E 31, F 76.
 Pa-da Bast, G 85.
 Padarpos, stele of, G 119.
 Padasmataui, G 119.
 Paganstecher, R., *Sammlung Ernst von
 Sieglin*, F 53.
 Nekropolis . . . (Alexandria), F 54.
 Pahaf stele, F 24.
 Pahen-neter, F 32, 68.
 Pakharu, F 84.
 Pakhred, F 24.
 Pala, city, H 104.
 Palaeoliths, earliest in Egypt, E 65.
 Palermo annals, E 123.
 Palestine, Historical Sites in, H 22.
 Palm wine, G 3.
 Pama statue, F 22.
 Pamba, Hittite, H 98, 99.
 Pamenches strategos, H 29.
 Pan grave people, F 49.
 Pa-nef-em-dat-amen, G 84.
 Paneter-uahem, chief of stables, F 82.
 Panezem, engraver, F 24.
 Papyri, Oxyrhynchus, F 50.
 Parahetep, F 32, 34, 68, 84.
 Paramessu, eldest son of Sety I (?),
 E 68, G 11.
 sarcophagus, G 9.
 Parasi people, H 99.
 Parsukhanda, city, H 100.
 Paruahet, F 29.
 Pasar, priest, E 31, F 76.
 Pasar granite coffin, F 67.
 Pa-shed-bastet, F 31.
 Pastophores might do lay work, G 94.
 Pawakhtelmakh, H 104.
- Pe, spirits of, F 20.
 Peacocks and vase design, G 97.
 Peda-ast, F 87.
 Peda-her, G 83.
 Peda-hor-samtaui, F 29.
 Peda-ne-hor, F 29.
 Peda-mahes naophorus, E 125.
 Pedatnubt, caravan leader, scarab,
 G 122.
 Peet, Prof., at Amarna, E 128.
 Problem of Akhenaton, F 62.
 Egypt and the Old Testament, H 85.
 Pef-nef-da-bast stele, G 85.
 Pef-nef-neit, high priest of Hermopolis,
 F 83.
 Penannular ring on the ear, F 49.
 Pen-khepra, son of Pedu-amen, F 20
 Pen-khred, F 24.
 Pentahatres, F 120.
 Pentateuchal Problem, F 53.
 Pep, G 85.
 Pepa scarab, G 87.
 Pepi-nefer mastaba, Edfu, F 24.
 Pepy II vase at Byblos, G 58.
 Perdrizet, P., Asyla, F 85.
 Pernerek statue, E 124.
 Persian misrule, G 88.
 religious development, E 59.
 Peserico, Luigi, *Cronologia Egiziana*,
 E 30.
 Petosiris, tomb inscriptions, F 82, 85,
 G 83, 85, 87.
 Petrie, W. M. F., *Treasure of Antinoe*,
 E 10.
 An early portrait, E 15.
 A Mentuhetep statue, E 33.
 Excavations at Lahun, E 65.
 Sphinxes of Tanis, E 105.
 Alphabet in the XIIth dynasty, F 1.
 A negro captive, F 13.
 British School, F 33.
 Transmission of History, F 44.
 Discoveries at Herakleopolis, F 65.
 Work at Abydos, G 30.
 Excavations at Abydos, G 33.
 The Shellal Mosaic, G 97.
 Old World Cubit in America, G 98.
 Rise of prices in Egypt, G 103.
 Portrait of Menkaura, H 1.
 History of Egypt, Vol. I, H 22.

- Petrie, W. M. F.—*continued*.
 The tomb at Byblos, H 33
 British School at Qau, H 44.
 Types of early scarabs, H 65.
 Current Fallacies about History, H 78.
 Cave of Macpelah, H 105.
- Petu-kem, high priest of Hermopolis, F 83.
- Pharbaethos, stele of building at, G 119.
- Phatres, G 85.
- Philadelphus naos, F 26.
- Philae, damage at, F 27.
- Phoenician imitations traded west, E 55.
 fortress of Motya, F 118.
 colonies, F 118.
 Semitic origin of, G 62.
- Piaāy and Tausert group, F 84.
- Piankh, titles of, F 23.
- Pig-tail figures, E 16.
- Pilgrim bottles in Syria, F 50.
 bottles at Carthage, E 54.
- Pillars laid in to bond walls, E 125.
- Pisidian soldiers in Egypt, E 29.
- Pithom and Raamses, H 75.
 position of, H 75, 86.
- Plaits and twists, E 97.
- Plants used medically, H 13.
- Plaster casts, Amarna, H 96.
- Plutarch, *De Iside*, G 122.
- Pomegranate, F 107.
- Possessive article, F 126.
- Pottery, XIIth dynasty, styles, E 57.
 Syrian, H 35.
- Pottier, E., *Musée du Louvre pendant la guerre*, E 27.
 on the 'Araq knife handle, F 17.
- Pregnancy, months of, H 94.
- Prehistoric cemetery, Kubaniyeh, F 17.
 man, F 116.
- Prices rise in Egypt, G 103.
- Private letters of Roman age, F 88.
- Prophets of Israel, H 87.
 prerequisites of, G 94.
- Psamtek I in Aramaic tomb, H 41.
- Psamtek sphinx, G 83.
 treasurer, F 20.
- Psamtek-aā-neit, general, H 59.
- Psamtek, son of Seba-rekhtu, F 87.
- Psamtek-neb-pehti, F 87.
- Psimut chapel, F 28.
- Ptah-em-heb, F 25.
- Ptah-kho, stele, F 85.
- Ptolemaic family history, G 126.
 history in late writers, F 44.
- Ptolemy III, E 29.
 XI, H 27.
- Pu statuette, E 125.
- Publication, slow, E 56.
- Pumalik, H 104.
- Pupuy, F 87.
- Pylons and flag staves, H 71.
- Pyramid fitted up for tourists, G 86.
 theories, G 55.
- Pyramids, late acute forms, F 55.
- Pypy cylinder, F 32, 33.
- Qarin*, spirit, H 68.
- Qargar, city, H 102.
- Qau, excavations at, H 44, 116.
- Qednezes, title of Horus, G 119.
- Queen ruling Hittites, G 68.
- Quibell, J. A., Visit to Siwa, F 28.
- Qus naos, F 26.
- Raamses, position of, H 76-77, 86.
- Racial origins of Jewish types, H 21.
 type due to conditions, H 79.
- Radcliffe, W., Fishing from earliest times, G 28.
- Rahetep, vizier, F 32, 34, 68, 84.
- Ra-mery-ha-shetef statues, F 65.
- Rames, Memphis, F 25.
 Thebes, F 84.
 F 87.
 tomb at Heliopolis, G 87.
- Ramesseum repairs, F 27.
 ostraka, H 94.
- Ramessu II, offering to Amenhetep I, F 24.
 statues, F 23.
 reliefs at Athribis, F 25.
 "royal sons" of, F 31.
 black granite obelisk, F 31.
 triad Athribis, G 87.
 high priest of Amen, H 96.
- Ramessu VII ushabtis, G 87.
- Ramessu-user-pehti, F 84.
- Ramesside statues with attributes, F 82.

- Ramet el Khallil, H 110.
- Rāmo, F 84.
- Ra-nekhu, F 84.
- Ranke, H., Names in cuneiform, G 92.
- Raphia palm, F 108, G 1.
- Read, F. W., Cartouche of Augustus, F 46.
 was Apries of royal birth?, H 57.
- Rebirth rites, H 7.
- Reed floats, E 51.
- Reisner, Dr., List of Ethiopian kings, E 39.
 pyramids of Kuraw, G 26.
- Religion of Israel, G 124.
- Religious development, Kreglinger on, E 57.
- Rennay, E 125.
- Renonkhemu figure, E 125
- Renty, F 87.
- Rere, judge, F 22.
- Resins in Egypt, source of, E 37.
 solvents of, E 37, 38.
- Res-senbu, vizier, F 31.
- Return to research, E 1.
- Rimi-malik, H 102.
- Risks of antiquities, G 86.
- Road of the gods, F 120.
- Roberts, N., Bantu Divination, F 58.
- Ronzevalle, S., Name of Lebanon, F 26.
 on Aramaic and Sinaitic inscriptions, F 26.
- Roscoe, J., African worship of the dead, F 52.
- Roth, Ling, Egyptian looms, F 97.
- Roussel, P., Egyptian shrines in Delos, F 86.
- "Royal sons of Kush," G 123.
- Ruffer, Sir Armand, Consanguineous marriages, G 126.
 death of, E 1.
- Rusch, A., The dead and offerings, F 93.
- Russian scholars' deaths, G 123.
- Rusu, F 84.
- Sacramental ideas and usages, G 121.
- Sahura, diorite group, E 127.
- Sails, forms of, E 3-5.
- Saints, Egyptian, F 53.
- Salaman, R. N., Origins of Jewish types, H 21.
- Salihiyeh, H 100.
- Sallapa, city, H 101.
- Salt, H., biography of, E 32.
 collections of, F 62.
- Sa-menkht, F 86.
- Samsu-ditana, H 100.
- Samtaui-tafnekht, F 95, G 85 (*see* Sma).
- Samukha, city, H 102.
- Sandals, African, E 126.
- Sanehat, F 90, G 120, H 95.
- Sankhkara, scene, F 20.
- Sarapis shrine in Delos, F 86.
- Sarcophagi paintings of objects, G 80.
- Sa-setet stele, G 82.
- Sat-ameny, G 82.
- Satf = Naukratis?, F 85.
- Sat-hathor-ant alabaster vase, E 67.
- Sat-khati-ur, G 82.
- Sat-sebek, G 82.
- Sa-tha, F 84.
- Sat-ta ushabti, F 20.
- Sauas and Onkhs-mut group, F 85.
- Sauwaskhilas, H 104.
- Sayce, A. H., Ethiopian kings at Meroc, E 70.
 Date of Middle Kingdom, F 102.
 Hittite letters on Egypt, G 65.
 Early history of bronze, H 30.
 Early Hittite records, H 98.
- Schäfer, H., Watering land, G 20.
 Art of Amarna, G 20.
 Canopic jars of Tyi, G 22.
 Ancient Nubian errors, G 23.
 Hathor, mistress of joy, G 25.
- Scarab of Pedatnubt, G 122.
 Tehutmes IV tribute, G 122.
- Scarabs revived in IXth dynasty, H 44.
 before XIIth dynasty, H 65.
- Scharff, A., Accounts of palace, XIIIth dynasty, H 26.
- Schiaparelli, Prof., at Gebeleyn, F 64.
 avoiding publishing, G 84.
- Schmidt, V., *Levende der Dode*, E 126.
- Schubart, W., Rule for Idios Logos, G 93.
- Schwarz, E. H. L., The Kalahari, G 27.
- Scroll pattern, E 13.

- Sculptors' models at Thebes, G 87.
Sculpture, Egyptian, G 126.
Seal of domestic of Ramessu II, G 85.
of man and antelope, E 32.
Sebakh digging, G 36.
Sebek-hetep IV, figure, G 84.
Sebek-hetep, statuette, E 125.
Sebek-neferu, F 23.
Second dynasty kings, G 40.
Sed festival of thirty years, E 29.
chapel, E 68.
Sedarbu, G 85.
Sedem oshu, E 93.
Seer, greatest, at Thebes, F 93.
Segre, A., Ptolemaic measures, F 20.
Money and prices in Egypt, G 103.
Sekhmet, statues of, from Thebes, F 62,
H 95.
Semite words in Egypt, F 94.
Semites before Sumerians, E 21.
home of, E 21.
Senebtisi tomb at Lisht, E 56.
Sen-nefer stele, Sedment, F 67.
figure, E 125.
Sen-nezem, discovery of tomb, F 84.
Senti, son of Pen-sebek, F 32.
Senusert I, grandson of, G 82.
Senusert III, sphinx, E 127.
block, F 23.
date by Sā-setef, G 82.
Septuagint and Jewish worship, G 54.
Serapeum repairs, F 27.
Serpent for *z*, G 24.
shrines, H 30.
Service des Antiquités, 1919-20, G 25.
Seshu, high priest of Hermopolis, F 83.
Set, rebellion of, IInd dynasty, G 40.
animal, F 84, G 44.
and pig, G 122.
Seta, prince, F 32.
Setau, grotto with Ramessu II, G 61.
Sethe, K., Harmachis and Ankhmachis,
F 91-92.
Early metal statues recorded, F 92.
Userkaf bowl at Cerigo, F 92.
Chapter of the ferryman, F 120.
Nnk, "belonging to me," F 122.
Mesniu of Horus, F 122.
Incest of Snefru, F 123.
Participial origin of suffix, F 126.
- Sethe, K.—*continued*.
Ur beginning titles, G 23.
Sign for Oasis, G 90.
Book of the Dead, 107-109, 111-16,
H 24.
Names ending in *y*, H 28.
ākh sign, not *aākh*, H 91.
mesnau = harpooner, H 91.
Coptic varia, H 91.
ā = and, or with, H 92.
Book of the Dead, Ch. 112, H 93.
months of pregnancy, H 94.
Regnal years from accession, N.K.,
H 95.
Sekhmet statues, H 95.
aārrt, bunch of grapes, H 95.
N-nk and *nb tm*, H 96.
Ramessu II, high priest of Amen,
H 96.
Meshak = perhaps, H 96.
Sety I, stele, Beisan, H 30.
Seven oils, origins of, G 80-81.
Sha, a god, F 85.
Shabaka cowroid at Carthage, E 53.
Shedes-nefertum adoring Horus on
lotus, F 21.
Shellal mosaic, G 97.
Shem-en-Nessim festival, F 81.
Shenb, probably a trumpet, F 94.
Sheshenq II at Memphis, F 84.
Sheykh Fadl Aramaic tomb, H 38.
Ships, prehistoric, with branch, H 97
Shipwrecked sailor story, G 119.
Shrines with serpents, H 30.
Sieglin, Ernst von, Sammlung, F 53.
Silver mines in Taurus range, H 98.
Sinai, History of, G 28.
Sinaitic inscriptions, F 24, 26.
Sinuhe, *see* Sanehat.
Sister marriage, G 94, 126.
Siwa visited, F 28.
Siwattis, H 104.
Sixteen = joy, F 94.
Slave trade from Syria, F 29.
Slolay, R. W., Egyptian Mathematics,
G 111.
Sma-nebti, title, G 77.
Smenkhu-ptah, head of, E 18.
Sneferu-men statue, E 124.
Snefru incest, F 123.

- Soap in Old Kingdom, G 80.
Sobhy, G. P. G., Survivals of Ancient
Egyptian, F 70, G 47.
Customs of Child-birth, H 9.
Solar boats of day and night, E 93.
Solomon's queen, H 86.
Sottas, H., *mnu* = socket, F 86.
Poeme Salirique, F 87.
Spearheads, African, E 126.
Speleers, L., Papyrus charm, G 120.
stele of Moiy, G 123.
Spiegelberg, W., Letters from El Hibeh,
F 91.
Hi-hor, the magician, F 91.
Varia, F 94.
Demotic varia, F 96.
Coptic varia, F 119.
Khnum of Elephantine, F 123.
Figures of old age, F 124.
Ram-faced Amen figure, F 124.
Huy, artist, F 124.
Ptolemaic funeral liturgy, F 125.
Marriage of concubine, F 125.
Possessive article, F 126.
Demotic business notes, F 126.
Name hemi-theic, F 127.
Coptic varia, F 127.
"Two brothers" shrine, G 20.
Serpent sign *z*, G 24.
Letter of scribe Aohmes, G 24.
"enter a house" = marriage, G 25.
Endowment steles, G 91.
Obelisk of Sextius Africanus, G 95.
Datum of Ptolemy XI, H 27.
Horus as physician, H 27.
Pamenches strategos, H 29.
Ostraka of Ramesseum, H 94.
Amenhetep, high priest, Ramessu IX,
H 95.
Plaster casts, Amarna, H 96.
Houhe = miscarriage, H 96.
Title of Hathor priest, H 96.
Spirals, origin of, E 32, G 51.
in Magdalenian age, F 118.
Sphinx of Gizeh, unique, G 64.
of Psamtek, G 83.
Sphinxes from Tanis, E 105.
Starkey, Mr., H 45, 116.
Statue, archaic, G 94.
Staves used by kings, G 81
- Steatopygy in Tunisia, E 127.
Steindorff, G., Blue crown, F 92.
Metternich coffins, F 120.
Early statue, G 94.
Steles in Greek Egypt, F 54, 56.
Sterns, F. H., Palaeoliths of Eastern
Desert, F 53.
Strazulli, A., Excavations at Elephan-
tine, F 27.
Strokes, sloping, sign, G 119.
Suab = Soap, G 80.
Subbiluliumas, Hittite, H 98, 104.
Sukzia, city, H 101, 102.
Sulinkattis, H 104.
Sumerian civilisation older than
Egyptian, H 83.
Morals, Dr. Mercer on, E 62.
Sumerians, date of, E 21.
Summiris, Hittite, H 98, 103.
Sun boats of day and night, E 93.
dial, portable, G 95.
names in different hours, F 26.
God incarnate in Hittite kings, H 103.
Survivals in dress, G 81.
of Ancient in Modern Egyptian,
F 70.
Suwanzuwannas, city, H 102.
Svastika and Omkara, G 56.
"Sweet heart every day," G 35.
Syrian civilisation of XIIth dynasty,
H 33.
pottery, F 50.
Szy, "night time," G 122.
- Tā-aosh-sent, F 84.
Ta-au, F 84.
Tadath nebha, F 87.
Tafnekht Samtaui, F 27.
son of Nes-nebhat, F 22.
Taharqa in Aramaic tomb, H 41.
steles, F 30.
Tahutmes III, Men-kheper-ra, Men-
kheper-ka-ra, F 86.
reliefs, F 87.
at Byblos, G 57.
Tahutmes IV, tribute scarab, G 122.
Tahutimes, priest, E 31.
Tahuti-rekh, high priest of Hermopolis,
F 83.

- Tail worn by kings, E 94.
 Takerat, son of Sheshenq II, F 84.
 Takharwailis, H 102.
 Takhbiltanus, H 104.
 Ta-khredet-ahet, F 29.
 Takhredet-netaasut, F 29.
 Taki-malik, H 103.
 Takinash = Diqnash, F 27.
 Tamlutas, city, H 102.
 Tanefert-hert, F 29.
 Tanekht-ne-tahat, F 87.
 Tanis, sculptures at, F 25.
 sphinxes from, E 105.
 Tanuis, the scribe, H 102.
 Tapakhent, F 87.
 Tarkondemos boss, F 51.
 Tarukhsus, H 102.
 Tatitouos stele, G 87.
 Taurt figures, F 128.
 Tawannannas, Hittite, H 98, 104.
 Tayhes, F 29.
 Tayua, F 84.
 Teda-asar-unnefer, G 83.
 Tegarma, city, H 101, 102, 103.
 Tehneh, endowment of Nek-onkh, F 86.
 Tehuti-nekht tomb cleared, H 31.
 Takasukh, H 104.
 Teknu, H 1, 48.
 Telibinus, Hittite, H 98, 100, 102.
 Tenat, F 87.
 Teos, king of Athribis, F 23.
 Terenuthis, G 87.
 Tessinki, H 99.
 Tessub, H 102.
 Tessubgur, H 104.
 Tessub-mimmas, H 102.
 Tetares figure, E 125.
 Tetisheri, queen, F 14.
 Textiles from Egypt, F 57, G 54, H 87.
 Thackeray, H. St. J., Septuagint and Jewish worship, G 54.
 Thacsis, G 87.
 Thanfer, priest, E 31.
 Thanure, stele, Bubastis, F 85.
 Thara, F 84.
 That-unth, F 87.
 Thay, priest, E 31.
 Theatre of Oxyrhynchos, G 37.
 Thebes, forum of, F 23.
 Then-asheru, F 87.
 Thent-ua, E 125.
 Theodosios stele, G 87.
 Theodosios coins in jewellery, E 11.
 Thomas, E. E., Oracular responses, F 76.
 The Magic Skin, H 3, 46.
 Thomas, N. W., Burial rites of West Africa, F 7.
 Dualism in African Religions, G 108.
 Thompson, Miss Caton, G 36, H 116.
 Thoth, aspects of, H 21.
 Thuau and User, F 86.
 Throwsticks, African, E 126.
 Tidal, Hittite, H 98, 100.
 Tilak and northern Aryans, G 53.
 Tin early in Babylonia, H 30.
 Tinnis submergence, F 28.
 Tipilas, H 102.
 Tisbinki, H 99.
 Tissenki, H 99.
 Titiuttis, H 104.
 Titus temple in Dakhleh, F 24.
 Tityas, Hittite, H 98, 102.
 Tlaktota, G 87.
 Toda, E., Tomb of Sen-nezem, F 84.
 Toilet tray with girl, Sedment, F 68.
 Tombs, development of, E 66.
 West African, F 8.
 late plans of, F 56.
 Toronto, Archaeological report, E 127.
 Trade westward by Carthage, E 53.
 Transport of heavy blocks, E 41.
 Trap for game, African, E 126.
 Trident flesh-hooks, Syrian, H 34-35.
 Trumper, V. L., Sites in Palestine, H 22.
 Tubby, Col., Excavations at Alexandria, E 32.
 Tudkhaliyas, H 100, 103.
 Tuf, G 84.
 Turaeff, B. A., Sculptures in Moscow University, E 124.
 magic papyrus Salt 825, E 125.
 Deaths in Russia, G 123.
 Turin papyrus, E 25.
 Tuskapadus, H 104.
 Tutonkhamen at Heliopolis, F 30.
 in Nubia, G 61.
 tomb of, G 96, 127, H 116.
 Tutua, F 84.
 Tu-uaă, F 125.

- Tuwanuwa, H 100.
 Twists and plaits, E 97.
 Tyana, H 100.
 Tyi, canopic jar, G 22.
 tomb, G 78.
 Uah-ab-rā-aāqenen, general, H 59.
 Uas stick, F 25.
 Uasarken, F 31.
 Uazet statue at Buto, G 83.
 Ukhnas, H 104.
 Ukht, belief in the, H 67.
 Ullini, city, H 99.
 Unas vase at Byblos, G 58.
 Underworld, G 122.
 Unnefer shrine, G 35.
 Uotu, F 85.
 Up, messenger, F 82.
 Upuat-hetep, F 31.
 Ur = greatest, in titles, G 23.
 Uraeus first worn in XIth dynasty, E 33.
 Ur-banda, H 99.
 Uriyadus, H 104.
 Urkhi-Tessub, Hittite, H 98.
 Ur-Larag, H 99.
 Urmāău at Thebes, F 94.
 Urs, "daytime," G 122.
 User, F 87.
 and Thuau, F 86.
 Userhet figure, E 125.
 Userkaf bowl at Cerigo, F 92.
 Ushabti box, coffin-shaped, E 18.
 of Dr. Abbott, F 20.
 numbers 384, 367, F 25.
 Ussu, city (Issos), H 104.
 Uzot-ohet statue, Moscow, E 124.
 Values, standard of, G 121.
 Varnish in tombs, E 35.
 Vegetation, changes in, F 105.
 Vespasian, temple in Dakhleh, F 24.
 Vignard, E., Aurignacian station, E 126.
 Vincent, Père, work at Hebron, H 105.
 Vitelli, O., *Trimetri Tragici*, F 86.
 Vives e Escudero, A., *Arqueologia Cartaginesa*, E 52.
 Vowel values, G 118.
 Wainwright, G. A., Inspector in Middle Egypt, E 128.
 General Maude's proclamation, E 88.
 Ancient survivals in modern Africa, E 126.
 Balabish, F 49.
 Wakhsis, H 104.
 Waliannis, Hittite, H 98, 103.
 Walizanus, H 104.
 Walizilis, H 104.
 Wapra scene, H 47.
 War crown, F 92.
 War risk to museums, E 27.
 Wasinzilis, H 104.
 Water festival at new year, F 80.
 raising, G 20.
 Waterwheel, *Qd*, or ushabtis, F 95.
 Waterworks in Egypt, F 19, 20.
 Weaving, F 97.
 Weigall, A., Life of Akhenaton, G 78.
 The Glory of the Pharaohs, H 63.
 Weight of objects, oracular, F 76.
 Weights, F 23, G 59.
 Nabathæan, G 58.
 Weil, R., *Fin du Moyen Empire*, E 22.
 Welman, F., capitals and bases, G 55.
 West, J. G., Mr., E 128.
 Wheeler, Lieut., H 116.
 Whitaker, J. I. S., Motya, F 118.
 Wiener, H., Pithom and Raamses, H 75.
 Prophets of Israel, H 87.
 Wiesmann, H., Coptic notes, F 119, 120, G 23, 95.
 Seated man, determinative, H 28.
 Willcocks, W., Garden of Eden, E 60.
 Wine of dates, G 3.
 Wine-palm, F 108, G 1.
 Winlock, H. E., Jewels from Lahun, E 70.
 Queen Tetisheri, F 14.
 Discoveries by, F 64.
 Heddle jacks of Middle Kingdom, G 71.
 Wooden statuettes from Sedment, F 65.
 Writing in first half XVIIIth dynasty, G 89.
 Yaliyas, H 104.
 Ya-nefer-tha, F 84.

- Year, New, Coptic, F 79.
 Years called after events, F 95.
 regnal from accession N.K., H 95.
 regnal and calendar, H 111.
 Yeivin, Mr., H 116.
 Ymeru, vizier, F 31.
 Yrra, F 87.
 Yrrares, F 87.
 Yzanbu, priest, E 31.
- Z serpent sign, G 24.
 Zakhbunas, H 104.
 Zallara, city, H 100.
 Zalpa, city, H 101, 104.
 Zedher of Hermopolis, F 83.
 the reader (?), F 29.
 Zedher-pa-asheru, F 29.
- Zedher-auf-onkh, F 31.
 Zed-ptah-auf-ankh, F 31.
 Zed-tehuti-auf-onkh, F 83.
 Zeno papyri, F 29, 30, 82, 85,
 G 84.
 Zibarwas, H 104.
 Zidanzas, H 103.
 Zidantas, Hittite, H 98, 101, 103.
 Zidkharayas, H 104.
 Ziliburiyas, H 104.
 Zilis = son of, Hittite, H 104.
 Zinwaselis, H 102.
 Zizzilibis city, H 102.
 Zodiac cast at Denderah, F 82.
 in mosaic, Jericho, G 57.
 Zoroastrianism, E 59.
 Zowyet el Meyitin, F 25.
 Zurus, Hittite, H 98, 102.



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