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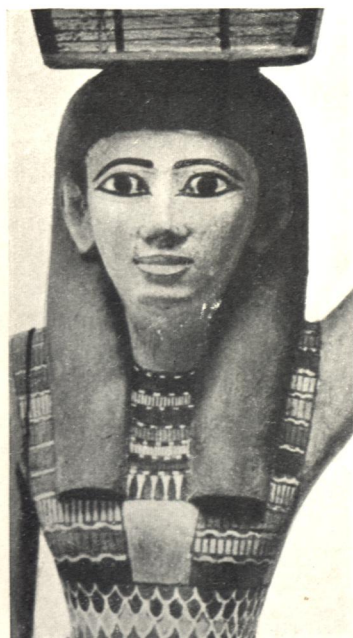
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UNIVERSITY COLLEGE (free without ticket), 25th MAY, at 2.30.

ANCIENT EGYPT

1921.

PART II.

CONTENTS.



1. THE BRITISH SCHOOL IN EGYPT.
W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.
2. ORIGINS OF SOME SIGNS.
M. A. MURRAY
3. BORDERS OF LOTUS AND GRAPES.
E. MACKAY.
4. HEAD OF A BARBARIAN.
PROF. E. A. GARDNER.
5. THE TRANSMISSION OF HISTORY.
W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.
6. A CARTOUCHE OF AUGUSTUS.
F. W. READ.
7. REVIEWS.
8. PERIODICALS.
9. NOTES AND NEWS.

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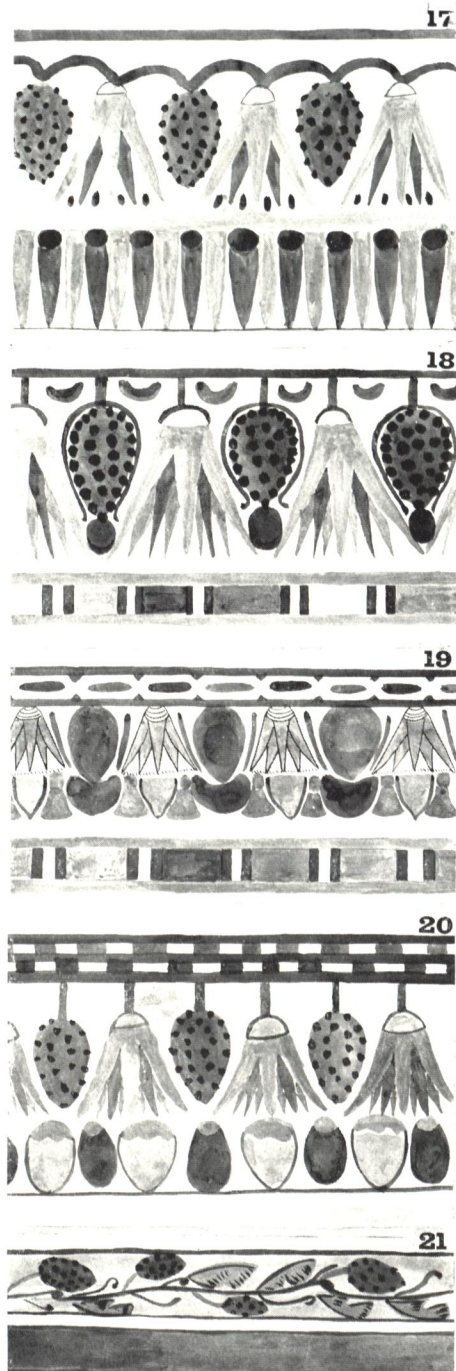
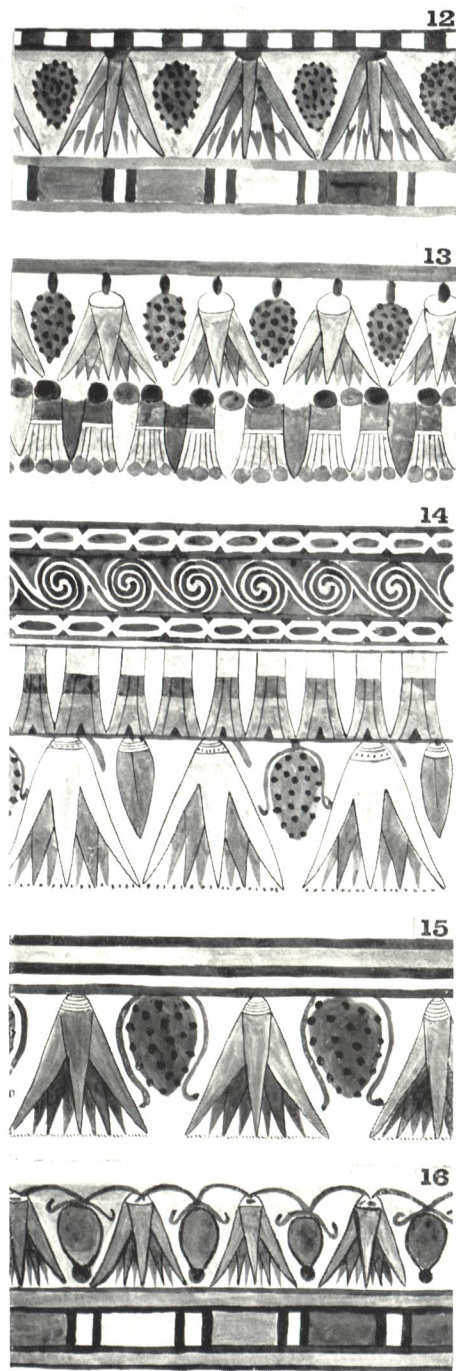
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BORDERS OF THEBAN TOMB-PAINTINGS.
 LOTUS FLOWERS AND BUNCHES OF GRAPES.

COLORS IN ORDER OF TINT, YELLOW, GREEN, BLUE, RED, BLACK.

TEHUTMES IV TO HEREMHEB.

1420—1330 B.C.

ANCIENT EGYPT.

THE BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN EGYPT.

THE work of the British School has been moving southward, in the course of a systematic clearing of the western bank of the Nile valley. At Lahun the search beneath the small pyramid of the queen of Senusert II occupied Mr. Brunton most of the season. Tunnels were cut at two levels, in the most likely strata, running diagonally and to the faces, but no chambers or passages were found. It seems, therefore, as if the burials were all on the south side, and the small pyramid and mastabas on the north were cenotaphs. A few remaining tombs were also cleared at Lahun.

While this was going on, the rest of the party were finally searching the cemetery of Ghurob, where a few more graves were found, including some of the earlier dynasties, one having a primitive black cylinder of a man named Pypy. The other graves were of the XIXth dynasty. Several granaries were found, some of which had blue glazed amulets put in them for protection. One rare find was a perfect wooden sickle. This site, worked at by various diggers for over thirty years, seems to be practically exhausted.

The main camp then moved south to the cemetery of Herakleopolis, now Ehnasya, which had been wrecked anciently, and worked by Dr. Naville and several later searchers, but without giving plans or record. There was, however, much to be done by careful and complete clearance, which well rewarded us, and after this it may be regarded as exhausted. The site has a remarkable history. In the geologic past the Nile had found an exit to the Fayum about ten miles south of the Lahun entrance. The strata collapsed into the worn channel, and lie tilted up at 45 degrees. This break in the ring of the Fayum basin gave later an easy access from the west into the Nile valley. Through this gap various waves of Libyans have come, the best known of which are the Libyan chiefs of Herakleopolis in the XXIIInd dynasty. Doubtless that city was founded at first by such an invasion, which accounts for its unusual position, far from the Nile. In recent times it is likewise the seat of a large and unruly Libyan invasion, from Tunis and the Oases. Looking at the flatness of the desert opposite to Herakleopolis, it seems likely that the two miles of mud now between the Bahr Yusuf and the desert have only recently been flooded, and probably the canal ran along the old desert edge, and the city was founded on the opposite bank. This would have been in prehistoric times, as it is a city of the earliest class, having the worship of the Corn Osiris (*Historical Studies*, II, pl. ix). The first cemetery is therefore probably below the present cultivation.

Upon the desert the oldest graves are of the Ist dynasty. Of the IIInd dynasty there are many, including large tombs with stairways, sometimes turning at right angles. A few of these were found intact, with characteristic stone vases. The objects found will be described in the next part of this journal, as, owing to robbery of some boxes on the Egyptian railway last year, it is undesirable to publish objects until in England.

The great period of the cemetery began in the VIth dynasty, with the tombs of some nobles, and continues till a maximum was reached about the IXth dynasty, of which age there were hundreds of graves. They contained principally pottery, and in many instances the bodies had been spitefully burnt in the graves or entirely removed. This points to an extreme hatred of these people by later residents, and indicates that they were foreigners. No trace was found of the burials of the great men of the IXth dynasty which centred on Herakleopolis. It is certain that no large group of their tombs can have escaped us there, and it seems as if they lay in some other district. Strange to say, the flourishing age of the XIIth dynasty, so abundantly active at Lahun, has not left a single grave that can be dated by any remains. The site seems to have been deserted at that age.

The XVIIIth dynasty began again here about the time of Tehutmes I or II, and from that age on to Ramessu II there were frequent and rich burials. Of these some were left of fine quality. One of the earlier tomb chapels was complete, with a large painted stele of the finest work, representing four generations of the family; before it was an altar inscribed, and in front of that a kneeling figure with a tablet of adoration. The whole group is now in the Cairo museum. The greatest tomb was that of the two viziers of Ramessu II, Parahetep and Rahetep. It had originally a large chapel on the surface, of which pieces were found widely scattered and reused. The various statues and steles of the family had been defaced, broken up, and partly thrown down into the tomb. The extensive family of these nobles (see *Student's History*, III, 90) has had a few more names added to it from these monuments.

Though the XXIIInd dynasty generals were so largely of Herakleopolite titles, not a single fine burial of that age was found. This suggests that their connection was purely titular, like our Prince of Wales, and not of local authority. Only a few of the usual coffins were found, with illiterate inscriptions belonging to the period. The late tombs of Roman age were very poor, and some dozens that were worked yielded nothing. The surprise of this site is the prominence of the IInd dynasty, and the deficiency of the XXIInd.

The number of well-dated skeletons gave opportunity to compare them with those of sites on either side, at Medum, Tarkhan and Deshasheh. The main results are that the IInd dynasty heads were longer and narrower than in the VIth. Those of the VIth dynasty were larger in all ways than skulls of other ages and places, perhaps owing to their being those of nobles. In the IXth dynasty the heads diminished, but yet were larger than others of that age. The limb bones are larger in the IXth dynasty than in any other time or place; the leg 3 mm. longer than at Deshasheh, 7 mm. longer than at Tarkhan; the arm over 4 mm. longer than at other sites. The people of the IXth dynasty were therefore distinctly larger than the Egyptians elsewhere, in head and in limbs.

The party of workers this year consisted of Major Hynes, Mr. Neilson, M. Bach, Mr. Miller, with the Director and Mrs. Petrie. Later Mr. West came over from Mr. Brunton's work, which he had assisted, and joined us for a short time. Subsequently Mr. Brunton took over the excavation at Herakleopolis, and Mrs. Brunton has taken a large part in the drawing of objects. The exhibition will, it is hoped, be held during the four weeks of July, 4th to 30th, at University College, London.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

ORIGINS OF SOME SIGNS.

THE variants in the form of the HN sign show that the root-meaning of the word is "Young, youth." The sign represents the young leaves or flower-buds of a plant; though the species of plant varies, the essential point is never forgotten. The earliest example (Fig. 1) is from the tomb of Rahotep at Medum, and represents the sprout of a marsh plant; similar plants occur in the tomb of Nefermaat (Fig. 2) the slight variations being due to the drawing by different artists. The open flower, of which the hieroglyph represents the bud, is seen on the head of the boatman (Fig. 3), also from the tomb of Nefermaat. This example shows that the plant was a flowering rush, perhaps *Juncus acutus*. Figs. 1, 2 and 3 are taken from Prof. Petrie's original facsimile drawings, and are reproduced half-size. Figs. 4 and 5 appear to me to be the same plant drawn with a good deal of artistic licence; the tombs at Meir show that the artist's sense of the dramatic often overpowered his sense of truth, both in the scenes and in the hieroglyphs, and these two examples seem to be a case in point. Fig. 6 is another flowering rush, *Juncus effusus*, coming into blossom; it appears to be a form of the sign used in the XIIth dynasty, for it occurs both at Beni Hasan and at Meir; I am not aware of its use at any other period. Figs. 7 and 8 represent the young sprouts of a succulent plant such as grows after rain in the desert at Saqqara, near the tombs in which it is represented; it is probably a *Zygophyllum*. Figs. 9-13 are clearly representations of one species of plant, but without sufficient definition for accurate identification. Fig. 9 may be one of the *compositae*, but it also suggests *Cakile maritima*. This is the form which was in common use as a hieroglyph, and became gradually conventionalised; Fig. 12 shows the usual hieroglyph of the XVIIIth dynasty, and 13 a slightly varied form of the XIXth dynasty.

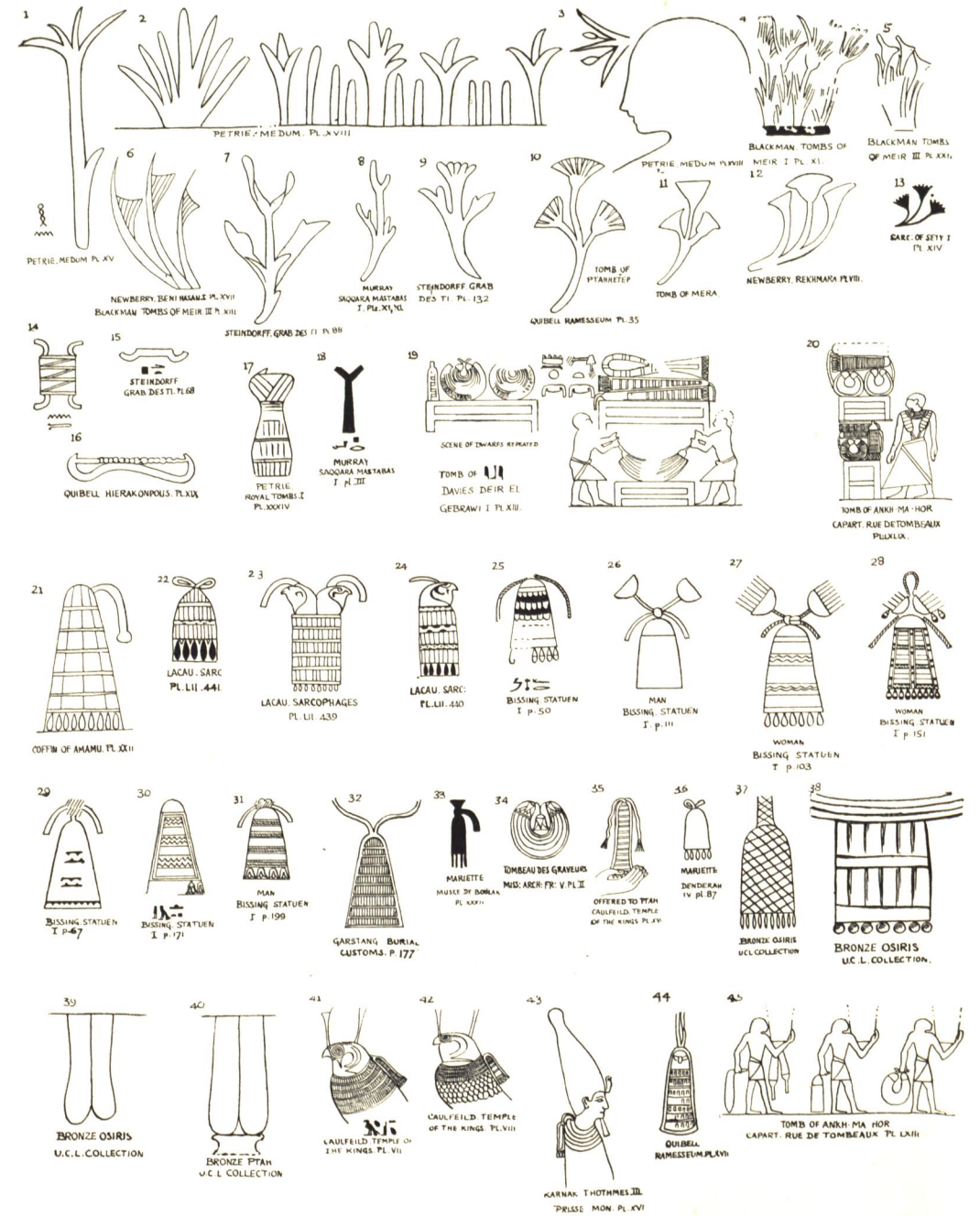
Neith has two emblems; one is certainly two arrows across a shield, and many suggestions have been made as to the meaning of the other. The most usual explanation is that it represents a shuttle, thus connecting the goddess with weaving. But the shape of the emblem shows that it cannot be a shuttle. A shuttle must of necessity taper at each end in order to pass freely between the warp threads, whereas the emblem shows two projections curving outwards at each end. Such an object, if thrown like a shuttle between threads, would inevitably catch in the threads and entangle and break them. Again, there is no proof that the shuttle was invented so early in the history of Egypt. The use of the shuttle presupposes some mechanical method of alternating all the warp threads at once; the earliest process of weaving was by laboriously passing a ball of thread in and out of the warp threads by hand. This method was continued even after the invention of the shuttle, as the width of the cloth shows; the cast of a hand-thrown shuttle is at most 4 ft., while the cloth in the tomb of the Two Brothers in the Middle Kingdom was 9 ft. wide; this must have been made by the slow and laborious method of passing the thread in and out by hand, but the skill shown proves that the weaver was well accustomed to the process. The emblem in question then is not a shuttle; the hieroglyphs of the Old Kingdom, which give the sign in detail, show that it represents two objects, curved sharply at each end and lashed back to back in a kind of case. The only object which at all resembles these things in shape is a bow of the type of Fig. 15, which

is itself a stylised form of the bow carried by the men in the Hunters' palette, and is carved on the scorpion vase of Hierakonpolis (Fig. 16). The curious folding of the bow-string in the Hierakonpolis example seems to indicate that the material was a strip of thick leather, which became "goffered" by pulling. Prof. Petrie, however, suggests that the bow-string has had beads threaded on it to be used as a primitive musical instrument, a kind of early sistrum for rhythmic rattling. Both emblems of the goddess are therefore weapons of war; the one is the crossed arrows and shield, the other the two bows.

The \bar{a} -sign occurs as early as the Ist dynasty, where it appears on a stela from the Royal Tombs (Fig. 17). It appears to represent a bead tassel, with a single tie. This is in accordance with later forms of the sign, and also with representations of the actual object. The sign as a phonogram reads $\bar{a}pr$ and means, "To equip, to provide." The actual object was an ornament or tassel of beads which was attached to the two ends of the bead-collar and hung down the back of the wearer; as an ornament it is called *mānkht*.

In the IIIrd dynasty the form shows two ties (Fig. 18), but is without the characteristic pendant beads; this example is from the monolithic granite false-door in the tomb of the Sheikh el Beled at Saqqara. In the Old Kingdom the actual object is often represented, and always among the jewellery with the necklaces (Figs. 19, 20); on Middle Kingdom coffins (Figs. 21-24), it occurs beside the necklaces in the representations of the property of the deceased, each necklace having an $\bar{a}per$ matching it in colour and material; if the necklace has hawk-head or plain semi-circular terminals, the $\bar{a}per$ has the same (Figs. 23, 24), this may account for the third hawk-head found in the tomb of King Hor at Dahshur (de Morgan *Dahshur*, p. 100); two of the hawk-heads were obviously the terminals of the necklace, and de Morgan supposed the third to be the top of the flagellum, though he acknowledges that the supposition is doubtful. In the same tomb there was a model of a collar with plain terminals, and a model $\bar{a}per$ in gilded wood, also with a plain terminal (p. 100). In the tomb of Nub-hetep there was again a third hawk-head terminal, which must have belonged to the hawk-head necklace of the princess (p. 114). On statues of the Middle Kingdom the $\bar{a}per$ is represented with plain terminals (Figs. 25-31); the greater number of examples on both coffins and statues are finished with a row of pear-shaped pendant beads, but Figs. 30, 31 have hanging lotus-blossoms instead. Fig. 32 is from the remarkable cartonnage found at Beni Hasan, probably of the early XVIIIth dynasty. Later in the dynasty the hieroglyphic sign (Fig. 33), shows a reversion to the form with a single tie, in use in the Middle Kingdom (compare Fig. 21). Fig. 34 from the "tombeau des graveurs" at Thebes, shows lotus-blossom terminals with a lotus-blossom $\bar{a}per$ to match. The long narrow type of the actual object, as represented in the Old Kingdom, is found again in the example from Abydos (Fig. 35), where King Sety is offering it to Ptah. Fig. 36 is one of the amulets in the list at Denderah. On comparing it with Fig. 22, it is seen that the type has persisted from the XIIth dynasty to the Ptolemaic era. Figs. 37-40 are from bronze figures of gods in the collection at University College; only one, Fig. 37, has the characteristic form of the $\bar{a}per$, the others possibly represent some other kind of ornament.


The actual method of attaching the $\bar{a}per$ to the collar is not easy to understand. In Figs. 22 and 36 the strings are arranged in loops through which perhaps



the strings of the necklace were passed, but the method of making the loops is not shown. Fig. 27 shows in detail what is presumably a reef-knot with the ends of two strings hanging down; this can only represent an instance of the $\bar{a}per$ with a loop at the top, either made of its own string, or being actually part of the terminal. The strings of both the necklace and the $\bar{a}per$ are made of the threads on which the beads are strung; the terminal is pierced with several holes along the base which unite in one hole at the top. The threads on issuing from the top of the terminal are twisted together; in the case of the $\bar{a}per$, they form sometimes one string, sometimes two. The method of attachment in Fig. 28 is

inexplicable, the loop at the top serving no purpose whatever. Figs. 41-43 show the *āper* in use; Thothmes III as Osiris wears an *āper* with a long tie; a short-stringed *āper*, as long as the collar is wide, is worn by the Horus-hawk at Abydos (Fig. 41).

The *āper* is generally found among the ornaments of men, very rarely among those of the women. This is probably on account of its position on the person; the woman's hair or long wig would cover it, while on a man it would be easily visible. In early times it seems to have been worn only by nobles of high rank; in and after the New Kingdom it appears to have been confined to a few gods and to the King as god.

Its amuletic quality is indicated by its dedication to Hathor, who is called at Denderah  Lady of the *Āper* (Brugsch, Wtb. 182). As an amulet it was for protecting the wearer from the assaults of spirit-foes, and was part of the great spiritual armoury by which evil demons were repelled and routed. With a powerful amulet placed between the shoulder-blades—one of the most unprotected parts of the body—the wearer would be fully "equipped" against unseen and ghostly enemies. For this reason it survived as a small amulet, generally carved in hard stone, down to the Ptolemaic period.

The actual object made in beads has never been found, but at the Ramesseum a model *āper* was found (Fig. 44). It is made of leather embossed to represent beadwork, and was attached to a leather *menat* and leather braces. Though this dates only to the XXIInd dynasty, the use of the *āper* and braces together goes back to the Old Kingdom. Fig. 45 shows a procession of bearers of offerings, each carrying a jar and a personal ornament; the first holds a necklace, the second an *āper*, and the third has the wide beadwork braces on his arm with the strings hanging down. Fig. 20, from the same tomb, shows a man in full dress wearing a necklace and braces, and standing beside tables loaded with beadwork; on the lower table are laid a collar, an *āper*, and two braces.

M. A. MURRAY.

THEBAN BORDERS OF LOTUS AND GRAPES.

(See Frontispiece.)

A VERY popular border was a design of lotus flowers and bunches of grapes, which is to be seen in twelve tombs (Nos. 8, 38, 49, 64, 74, 75, 90, 147, 151, 175, 181 and 249; for names see *Ancient Egypt*, 1920, p. 122). The simplest form is found in tomb 175 (Fig. 12), where open lotus flowers alternate with bunches of grapes, the latter appearing to be suspended in mid-air. On the western walls of tombs 38, 175 and 249 there are very similar borders, but it is probable that they are unfinished, and that it was intended to complete the stems, as there is a blank space left above the flowers and fruit. On the whole this design, as illustrated in Fig. 12, is very stiff and uninteresting.

It was somewhat improved, however, in tombs 8, 74, 75, 151 and 249 (Figs. 14, 15) by the addition of tendrils to the bunches of grapes. A further addition, and what appears to be an attempt to improve on Nature, is a series of looped stems joining the lotus flowers and clusters of grapes together, as may be seen in tombs 49, 90, 151 and 181 (Figs. 16, 17).

The borders of this type in tombs 151, 181 and 249 differ from the others in having a red spot just below the tip of each grape cluster. As the bunches of grapes in tomb 181 do not show the spots which usually serve to represent the separate grapes, it has been suggested that it was really intended to represent cornflowers, but the presence of the tendrils hanging down on either side of the bunches makes any question as to whether or not grapes are here represented quite superfluous. The red spot below each grape cluster in tomb 249 has a black base, and is probably an attempt to represent a poppy petal (Fig. 18).

It will be noticed that in tombs 8 and 90 (Figs. 13, 14, 17) there is a border of another design either above or below the floral border, a circumstance which will be more fully dealt with later in this section.

The floral border in tomb 8 (Fig. 14) has the additional feature of lotus buds alternating with the lotus flowers and grape clusters, and is the only example at present known in the necropolis, of lotus buds occurring in conjunction with both lotus flowers and grapes. The end of a stem showing on the right of the calyx of each flower is also only to be seen in this tomb. The whorl pattern between two rows of tail-edging ornament above this border is curious, but there is some doubt as to whether it belongs to the ornamentation of the border proper or to that of the barrel-vaulted roof.

In tomb 64 (Fig. 19) there is a border made up of a row of crescent-shaped ornaments, which may represent lotus leaves, alternating with mandrake fruit and cornflowers (?) below a row of lotus flowers and grape clusters. The cornflower is probably the species *Centaurea depressa*, Bieb., now only found in Asia Minor, the Caucasus, and neighbouring countries. This species has been found in ancient wreaths and garlands of the XVIIIth and XXth dynasties and again in the Fayum in the Graeco-Roman period. See article by Percy E. Newberry in *Proc. Bibl. Arch.*, May, 1900.

The same crescent-shaped ornament, but without the mandrake fruit, is to be found in tombs 147, 151 and 249 (Fig. 18). The crescents form the upper part of the frieze in the inner chamber of tomb 249 and the outer chamber of tomb 147, while in the shrine of tomb 249 they occur both above and below the

other components of the border. In tomb 151 (one wall) they form the lower portion of the border.

There is an auxiliary band of alternate mandrake fruit and rounded red objects, which may perhaps be identified as poppy flowers or petals, to be seen in the frieze in the inner chamber of tomb 151, and the whole frieze is further widened by two rows of chequers in red and black from which the lotus flowers and grapes depend (Fig. 20).

The design on part of the north-eastern and north-western walls of tomb 151 differs somewhat from that on the remaining walls. The grape clusters have no tendrils, and are connected by looped red stems with the lotus flowers on either side of them, instead of hanging down from straight stems as shown in the previous illustration (Fig. 20). A narrow band of yellow on which is placed a row of crescent-shaped objects, again suggesting lotus leaves, also replaces the mandrake fruit and poppy petals, and is repeated above the frieze between it and the chequer bands.

Tomb 147 has an effective border in its inner chamber which is, however, too much blackened to be copied. It is composed of the usual alternate lotus flowers and grape clusters suspended by short red stems from a single line of black chequers on a yellow ground, and between the flowers and bunches of grapes there is a series of red objects which are practically the same in form as those in tomb 151. Below the main design is a row of yellow mandrake fruit on a blue ground, and above the single band of chequers a green-margined border.

A very free treatment of grape clusters and vine-leaves as a running pattern is to be seen in tombs 149 and 259 (Fig. 21); in the former tomb, on the northern wall of the outer chamber above the Hathor and Anubis frieze. In tomb 259 it is found above a Kheker frieze on the north-eastern wall at the northern end of the tomb. This design, therefore, can hardly be accepted as being a border in the strict sense, for it was merely used to fill up a vacant space between the border proper and the ceiling of the tomb. In both tombs the design is painted on a yellow ground and forms a very distinctive ornamentation, all the more to be valued on account of its extreme rarity in the necropolis. There is also a very similar border, but coarsely executed, on the eastern wall of the inner chamber of an unnumbered tomb a little to the west of tomb 154, which belonged to the XIXth or XXth dynasty. The illustration is taken from the design in tomb 259 (Fig. 21), which is practically identical with that found in tomb 149, except that the latter is more roughly painted and has rather more angular stems. Both tombs are of late date, the former belonging to the period of Haremheb and the latter to the XIXth or XXth dynasty.

E. MACKAY.

[If we look at the historical order of these borders, the earliest is Fig. 15 of Zenuni, under Tehutmes IV, a simple and complete design. Similar, though obviously unfinished, is Fig. 12, of Tehutmes IV (?). Next come the group with a flower and seed border, Figs. 18, 19, 20; of these 19 is attributed to Tehutmes IV, but as Heqerheh was tutor to Amenhetep III, it is likely that his tomb was not decorated till Amenhetep III. Figs. 18 and 20 are dated to Tehutmes IV (?); but the flower and seed borders are scarcely as early as that, and seem to belong to the naturalistic schools of Amenhetep III. The borders with rows of bouquets (Figs. 13, 14) are obviously later; of these 14 and 17 are of Amenhetep III, and 18 probably the same date. The loops connecting the lotus flowers in Fig. 17 are developed further in Fig. 16, which is dated to late XVIIIth dynasty,

and is obviously degraded in its Pompeian style. Lastly, the old design vanishes under the influence of Akhenaten's realism, and Fig. 21 shows a degraded running border, probably of the time of Haremheb, which continued in other examples into the XIXth or XXth dynasties. Thus there is a consistent development in these borders, which ran through all their changes in about a century.—F.P.]

FRIEZES OF LOTUS FLOWERS AND BUNCHES OF GRAPES.

1. WITHOUT TENDRILS OR STEMS; PLATE 12

Tomb 38. Northern wall of western end of outer chamber.	Tuthmosis IV.
" 175. Northern, southern and eastern walls.	" "(?).
" 249. Western wall of outer chamber.	" " "

2. WITH STRAIGHT STEMS ONLY; PLATE 13

Tomb 90. Western end of southern wall.	Amenophis III.
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3. WITH TENDRILS; PLATE 14 15

Tomb 8. Side walls of vaulted chamber.	Amenophis III(?).
" 74. Southern end wall of outer chamber.	Tuthmosis IV.
" 75. Right hand jamb of entrance to inner chamber.	" "
" 151. South-eastern wall of north-eastern end of inner chamber.	" "(?).

4. WITH LOOPED STEMS CONNECTING FLOWERS AND GRAPES; PLATE 16 17

Tomb 49. Inner chamber.	Early XIXth dynasty(?).
" 90. Eastern end wall and western end of Southern wall.	Amenophis III.
" 151. North-western wall of inner chamber.	Tuthmosis IV(?).
" 175. Western wall.	" " "
" 181. All walls of outer chamber.	Late XVIIIth dynasty.

5. WITH LOTUS LEAVES(?); PLATE 18

Tomb 147. Above false door at southern end of outer chamber.	Tuthmosis IV(?).
" 151. North-western wall of inner chamber.	" " "
" 249. Inner chamber and shrine.	" " "

6. WITH LOTUS LEAVES(?), MANDRAKE FRUIT AND CORNFLOWERS(?); PLATE 19

Tomb 64. Northern end of outer chamber.	Tuthmosis IV.
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7. WITH POPPY PETALS AND MANDRAKE FRUIT; PLATE 20

Tomb 147. Inner chamber.	Tuthmosis IV(?).
" 151. South-eastern wall of inner chamber.	" " "

8. WITH POPPY PETALS(?) AT BASE OF THE FRUIT; PLATE 16 18

Tomb 181. Outer chamber.	Late XVIIIth dynasty.
" 151. North-eastern end of north-western wall of inner chamber.	Tuthmosis IV(?).
" 249. Inner chamber and shrine.	" " "

9. WITH AUXILIARY PETAL BAND; PLATE 14 17

Tomb 8. Side walls of vaulted chamber.	Amenophis III(?).
" 90. Ends of southern wall of outer chamber.	" " "

10. RUNNING DECORATION OF GRAPE CLUSTERS AND VINE LEAVES; PLATE 21

Tomb 149. Northern end wall of outer chamber.	XIXth.-XXth. dynasties.
" 259. North-eastern wall of chamber.	Haremheb(?).
" (?). (a little west of Tomb 154). Eastern wall of inner chamber.	XIXth.-XXth. dynasties.

A HEAD OF A BARBARIAN FROM EGYPT.

THE marble head represented in the accompanying plate was brought from Alexandria by Mr. Alfred E. Rand, now a student in the Architectural Department at University College, who was serving in Egypt during the war. The following facts as to its discovery are kindly supplied by him; we also have to thank him for his permission to publish the head here. "The head was found in sandy soil, about 10 feet deep, whilst a trench was being excavated in connection with an ammunition dump at Mex—a short distance from Alexandria. As far as I could ascertain no further portions were discovered."

There appears then to be no external evidence as to the nature of the monument or other work of sculpture from which the head has come; but there are some indications in the head itself. It is about half life-size. A thick iron cramp is fixed by lead into a hole in the top of the crown, and must have served to attach the figure to a background or to a projecting cornice. The left side of the head is only roughly blocked out. It is therefore clear that the head must have been part of a figure in high relief. Its portrait character is obvious, and it most probably comes from a tombstone; many tombs of Hellenistic or Roman date have been found in this region.

The head itself is in several ways remarkable, chiefly for its heavy square shape and the peculiar treatment of the moustache. This is, so far as my own observation and memory goes, unique in an ancient work of sculpture. I shall be very grateful if any reader can point out a similar instance. It is true that Gauls and other "barbarians" often wear a moustache only, the rest of the face being shaved. But these moustaches are of a quite different character. They are usually long and drooping, as in the famous "Dying Gaul" and the Ludovisi group. Here the moustache is short and bushy, and apparently brushed up at the ends in a way familiar to us in modern Germans and in some Indian races. It therefore affords us no definite clue as to the racial character of the subject. The shape of the head itself, however, appears distinctive, and indicates the assignment of the man to the so-called "Armenoid" race,¹ which spread from western Asia into eastern Europe in the early centuries of the Christian era, and which is now most familiar to us in the Prussian type. The resemblance which strikes one at first between this head and that of a Prussian soldier is therefore not fortuitous. There were probably many barbarians from northern and central Europe in the Roman garrison of Egypt during the second and third centuries of our era, the period to which this head apparently belongs. And it therefore need not surprise us to find such a racial type and such a fashion in wearing the moustache on a monument erected to one of these barbarian mercenaries. There is nothing Egyptian about the style of the head, which is an ordinary product of later Graeco-Roman art.

ERNEST A. GARDNER.

¹ I am indebted for confirmation of this identification to the high authority of Prof. Elliot Smith

[The peoples engaged by the Romans as auxiliaries in Egypt comprised the Franci and sub-tribes Sugambri and Chamavi, which are perhaps too western for the above type; but it might represent one of the Germani, Alamanni, Vandali, Rhoeti, Quadi, or Sarmatae. None of these were stationed in Alexandria, but a veteran might well have retired there from the upper country.]



MARBLE HEAD OF A NORTHERN TYPE, PROBABLY A GERMANIC SOLDIER.
ALEXANDRIA. ROMAN PERIOD.

THE TRANSMISSION OF HISTORY.

SURPRISE has been expressed that the various Greek versions of Egyptian history should show divergences in the lengths of the reigns and the totals of dynasties, and that these again differ so much from the amounts of the Turin papyrus, and the details that can be collected from dated monuments. We must remember that all these Greek versions are manuscripts, subject to all the corruption found in other manuscripts of such ages: there is no reason that in such manuscripts early Egyptian history should be better preserved than that of any other period. To see what the actual state of manuscripts is for a well-known period we may look at the various versions of Ptolemaic history. These are published in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Chron. Minores*, where the later annalists are given in full, leading on to European history: the volumes and pages are, Column A, Laterculus, III, 448; B, Beda Chronicon, III, 275—; C, Isidorus Chronicon, II, 451—; D, Prosper Tiro, I, 398—; E, *Computatis* ccclii, I, 52; F, *Lib. Gen.* I, G, *Lib. Gen.* II, of Chronographer of cccl, I, 137.

			A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.
	reign								
Soter,	began 325 B.C.	40	20	40	40	40	42	42	22
Philadelphus,	285	38	38	38	38	38	...	38	30
Euergetes I,	246	26	25	26	26	26	26	30	27
								F. 25	
Philopator,	221	17	17	17	17	17	18	17	
Epiphanes,	204	23	24	23	24	24	20	23	20
Philometor,	181	36	35	35	35	35	11		17
Euergetes II	} 145	28	29	29	29	29	27	F. 11	F. 25
Physcon									
Soter II	} 117-108	10	36	F. 17	17	17	F. 1	E. 26	E. 26
Lathyrus									
	} 88-81	7							A. 15
Alexander I,	108-88	20		10	10		19	20	28
				P. 8	8	8	S. 19		
Alexander II,	19 days						19 d.	18 y.	24
									P. 20
Dionysos	} 81-51	30	29	30	30		29	29	17
Auletes									
Cleopatra,	50-30	20	22	22	2			25	
Total ...	295						244	346	335
added up ...			(275)	(295)	(276)		(239)	(304)	(327)

These various writers are placed here in the general order of accuracy. The known reigns are stated with the names in the first column. Variations in the names are marked in the other columns: in A, Alexander is omitted, and 36


years all given to Lathyrus; in B, Lagus is Largus, after Euergetes II, Fiscon 17 (really Lathyrus), then Ptolemy 8, which is the latter half of Lathyrus. C and D follow the same order. In E, confusion begins with Fiscon I and Euergetes 27; after this, Alexander 19, Soter 19. F gives a fictitious brother of Euergetes I 25 years; and 11 years to Fiscon, omitting two previous reigns. G is the worst with "Iunior" 26, Fusci 25, Euergetis 26, Alexi 15, secundus Sothis 30, Alexi 28, Alexandri 24, Ptolemy 20, Dionisi 17, a jumble which we need not speculate upon.

The main result is that by A.D. 350 there was complete confusion in some authors about the reigns of some of the greatest line of rulers living only four centuries before. Further, none of the totals stated agree with the sum of the reigns, except in Bede. Of all these writers there is not one which is as exact as Bede: beyond assigning the 10 + 7 years of Lathyrus to a duplication called Fiscon, and repeating the 7 years as 8 of a Ptolemy, cut away from Alexander's 20, and making up the total correct by giving the 2 years over to Cleopatra, there is no other error; in the complication of the later reigns, with continual changes, it is pardonable to have strayed thus far. The surprising thing is that Bede, writing in the remotest corner of the former Empire, long after the other writers, and after the great breaks of the invasions, succeeded in getting a more correct version than any other chronicler.

This is Egyptian history, and the conclusion for us is that we must not be surprised at finding equal confusion and errors in the transcriptions from the earlier history of Manetho. Such errors do not reflect on the accuracy of the original writer, nor do they entirely vitiate the general scale of history. The average errors of all these writers for the total length of the dynasty is 35 years, or less than one-eighth of the whole period.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

A CARTOUCHE OF AUGUSTUS.

M. DARESSY published in 1908 a stela containing a cartouche which has been the subject of some controversy.¹ The inscription commemorates one of the sacred bulls of Hermonthis, and is drawn up in the style of the much better known Apis-stelae. It begins with the date of the bull's birth: Year 33 under the majesty of the king of south and north, lord of the two lands, .

We are then told that the animal was enthroned in year 39, and that he died in year 57, having lived 24 years. The stela, as M. Daressy remarked, cannot be older than the Ptolemies; and there is no Ptolemy or Roman Emperor who reigned 57 years. There is, however, a method of computation (the era of the *κράτησις*), the starting point of which is the taking of Alexandria on 1st August, 30 B.C., commonly named the Actian era. The years of this era were later reckoned from 29th August (the Egyptian New Year's day) in order that they might coincide with the regnal years.² The year 57 according to this computation would fall in the year 13 of Tiberius. M. Daressy calls attention to the unusual arrangement by which the words "year 33" are made to stand by themselves (on a level with the bull's seat in the tableau), above the first full line. As he well remarks, to the mind of an Egyptian a date was inseparable from the indication of a king's name, and the scribe took this means of combining the two ideas.

We may now consider the cartouche, which is as follows:—



Like the whole inscription, it is wretchedly engraved, and at a first glance is quite unintelligible. Daressy proposes to read the middle signs as $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, *Autokrator*, supplying the first \triangle and correcting — into — . In the characters at the end of the cartouche, together with the first two (misplaced) signs, he sees $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, *Augustus*, with the correction of 𓂏 into — .

Prof. Spiegelberg sought to explain the puzzle in a wholly different way.³ He admitted that Daressy was correct as to the era, but contended that in that case the year should not be followed by a king's name, and he pointed out that no such cartouche as *Autokrator Augustus* was known. His view was that the scribe had endeavoured to express in hieroglyphs the Greek formula: *ἔτους x τῆς Καίσαρος κρατήσεως θεοῦ υἱοῦ*. The signs — are doubtfully equated with $\tau\eta\varsigma$, though the doubt seems rather out of place in view of the daring correspondence which follows. The two bungled strokes, it is suggested, express *Καίσαρος*. The whole of the remaining signs are for *κρατήσεως*, 𓂏 (δ) being the helping vowel before the double consonant *kr*, and — or — = *εως*, perhaps

¹ *Rec. de trav.*, XXX, p. 10.

² Gauthier, *Le Livre des Rois*, V, p. 16, note 1.

³ *A.Z.*, XLV, p. 91.

with correction into — . The last two words of the formula are to be found in the title — , "Son of the Sun-god," preceding the second cartouche. Prof. Spiegelberg concludes by saying that the practice of the Egyptians in expressing dates will explain why the era was treated as a king's name.

The cartouches have been again published by M. Gauthier in the final volume of his splendid collection of royal names, where he has for the first time ventured to transcribe the second cartouche.¹ This is even more badly engraved than the rest of the stela, and is rendered specially illegible by the crowding of the characters at the end of the line. As, however, it begins with a clear — and contains a fairly recognizable — , there need be little difficulty in accepting M. Gauthier's view that *Καίσαρος* is intended. He regards Spiegelberg's explanation as more satisfactory than Daressy's, but places *Καίσαρος* as the last word in the Greek formula, in agreement with his reading of the second cartouche.

It seems to me, on the contrary, that the objections to Spiegelberg's view are, in their cumulative effect, overwhelming.

(1) The titles before the first cartouche are completely ignored, while "son of the sun" before the second is regarded as translating two Greek words.

(2) 𓂏 is explained as the helping vowel (δ) before *kr*; but it is surely very unlikely that the easy combination *kr* should require a helping vowel when the *Ps* of "Psammetichus" and the *Pt* of "Ptolemy" did not.

(3) If we are to see *Καίσαρος* in the second cartouche, it cannot very well be also found as part of the first; and in that case we leave two characters unexplained, besides departing from the usual order of the words in Greek.



(4) Instances have been found by Gauthier and Spiegelberg where the era of the *κράτησις* is actually expressed in Egyptian (not Greek), while the second cartouche of the Emperor (*Καίσαρος*) alone appears without any of the usual titles.² These facts are clearly against the suggestion that the Greek formula would be put into a cartouche. It may of course be argued that they also show that some words were required to indicate the era; but Daressy's explanation that this was done by placing the number of the year in a separate line seems a highly probable one. It may also be remarked that dating by an era is not altogether unknown in Egyptian inscriptions. Not to speak of the famous "Stela of 400 Years" (the meaning of which is still doubtful), there is the mention of year 59 of Horemheb, which is generally agreed to have been counted from the death of Amenhotep III.³

Whatever may be thought of the different opinions so far discussed, it will presumably be admitted that the two strange signs following — have not been satisfactorily dealt with. Daressy gives no account of them at all; and it is difficult to attach much value to Spiegelberg's suggestion that they stand for *Καίσαρος*, since they do not in the least resemble any known method of writing that word. If we admit Gauthier's much more reasonable view, that *Καίσαρος* is to be found (as might be expected) in the second cartouche, the two signs in question are again unaccounted for. Here, then, lies the crux of the problem. The suggestion I have to offer is that these two vertical strokes are simply a very bad attempt (in keeping with the character of the inscription as a whole) to write

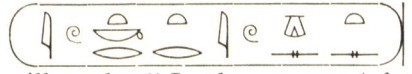
¹ Gauthier, *Le Livre des Rois*, V, p. 14.

² Gauthier, *loc. cit.*, V, pp. 10, 18.

³ Inscription of Mes, line S. 8, published by Loret, *A.Z.*, XXXIX, p. 1 = Gardiner, "Inscription of Mes," in Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, IV.

the common phrase , "deceased." There are many instances of these words (which would be readily supplied by the reader) being reduced almost to mere lines, even in better executed work than our stela.¹ It is even possible that the bend in the first of the two strokes may stand for the angle in the lower part of , but naturally we cannot lay much stress on this in such bad work.

If the above argument is valid, Daressy's original interpretation is the only possible one. We should, then, correct the cartouche into

; and the complete date of the bull's birth will read: "In the year 33 (of the *κράτησις*) and under the majesty of the king of south and north, lord of the two lands, Autokrator Augustus deceased, son of the sun, lord of diadems, Caesar."

F. W. READ.

The head on the cover of this journal is from one of the bearers of offerings, found by Mr. Winlock in the great group of models of the XIth dynasty at Thebes, see "Notes and News," p. 64 here. Illustration and discussion of this group will appear in a subsequent number.

¹ Several examples will be found in Ahmed Bey Kamal, *Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines* (*Catalogue général du Caire*). The worst written are Nos. 22197 (line 1), and 22212 (line 10), both of which must be very close in point of date to the Hermonthis stela.

REVIEWS.

Balabish.—By G. A. WAINWRIGHT. 1920. 4to. 78 pp., 25 pls. 42s. (Egypt Exploration Society.)

This is a detailed account of a small site, on the east of the Nile, about equidistant from Abydos and Farshut. Not much was found that is new to us; but the careful working allows scope to Mr. Wainwright for two comprehensive discussions, of the Pan-grave people and the foreign pottery of the XVIIIth dynasty, which give value to the book.

The graves equivalent to those called "Pan-graves" at Diospolis were here deeper and of three forms, cylindrical and oval with contracted burials, and long with full-length burials. Yet no exclusive difference could be traced between the objects buried, which would show different dates or races. The burials of this kind are found from Rifeh near Assiut, up to El Khizam, south of Thebes. An earlier invasion of probably the same people, with much the same pottery, extended north to Herakleopolis in the IXth dynasty, as found this year. The contracted bodies at Balabish were lying on the right side, with head to north and facing west. The generality of the material is already well known, old vases of the middle kingdom re-used, leather work, shells and shell bracelets, ostrich-shell beads, and the peculiar pottery as at Diospolis. Two new classes were, however, found; the archers' wrist-guards of leather with incised patterns, and the curved horn implements, which appear to be strigils. Two copper axes that were in the graves are the thin fighting axe and the stout, long-backed, carpentry axe. Some things were probably continued in use like the kohl pots, from the middle kingdom, such as the fly amulets, the much worn carnelian beads, the amazonite beads, and perhaps the blue glazed crystal and black manganese-glaze beads, all of which are familiar in the earlier period. There appear to be three classes of peoples whom it is difficult to identify:—(1) The "Pan-grave" people; (2) the C-group people of Nubia; (3) the Kerma people having their fine pottery with trumpet mouths. There are difficulties in connecting any of these; and as the XVIIth dynasty and early XVIIIth fought against Nubia, it is also barred from being identified with (2) or (3). Whether there are connections or identities of any of these contemporary peoples is not yet clear.

The cemetery of the XVIIIth dynasty did not produce anything unusual, except an alabaster figure-vase, of a girl playing on a lute. One of the penannular white stone rings was found in position on the ear of a mummy; this proves that such rings were used on the ear, although other examples have so narrow a slit that only hair could possibly be passed into them. If such rings were tied on to a hole in the ear the slit would have been inconvenient. It is certain, therefore, that the penannular rings were for both ears and hair.

The presence of types of foreign pottery gives rise to a useful summary and discussion of the extent of each variety and its limits of date. The *bilbils*, little

straight-necked flasks, with conical foot and lip, were found in south-west Palestine and Cyprus, as well as widely in Egypt under Tehutmes III; they do not belong to north Syria, Asia Minor, or the Aegean. The remark that this type has not been found to contain ointment is superseded by an example at Herakleopolis.

The long tubular bottle, otherwise called spindle-shaped, is found in Cyprus, Crete (Gournia), and Gezer; the clay is not Egyptian, but its source is unknown. An example of double the usual size was found at Herakleopolis.

The pilgrim-bottle type is found in south Palestine, rarely in the north, and is only in Cyprus at a later date. It cannot be dated in Egypt before the swamp of Syrian influence under Tehutmes III. The occurrence of a similar form in the stone vases of the second prehistoric age, which is Asiatic in its source, suggests to the author that the origin is probably eastern. As the form is probably copied from leather, it might be that it was seldom made in more permanent material until it was adopted by a stone- or pottery-using people. Thus it might be native to Nabathaea and south Palestine without leaving a trace. The sites in south Palestine, which were certainly ancient cities by their names, have not a scrap of pottery upon them; only leather and wood were in use.

The false-necked vase, or *bügelkanne*, is known in the Aegean and Cyprus, and was probably brought thence into Egypt. It was copied there in blue glaze (Univ. Coll.). The globular forms with broad bands are the earlier, about Tehutmes III and Amenhetep III (Naqadeh and Ghurob), and the flatter forms and narrower bands are of the close of the XVIIIth dynasty (*Illahun*, xvii, 28; xx, 7, 9). The ring base to vases is not Egyptian, but is found in Syria and Troy; also the hollow conical foot. The present position is tantalising; we have several distinctive forms foreign to Egypt, and do not know the source of any of them, owing to our lack of enterprise in Asia. There is nothing more promising in archaeology at present than a search over the early pottery of sites in Syria and Asia Minor, to find the extent, and trace the source, of the various styles of pottery. This will give the key to the relations of countries more readily than any other work.

The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part XIV.—By B. P. GRENFELL and A. S. HUNT. 1920. 244 pp., 3 pls. (London: Egypt Exploration Society.)

This volume contains about a hundred papers on business and letters, and about fifty abstracts, another large slice of the enormous mass of material now in hand. Who will extract all the results that can give a social and economic view of the country? Some interesting details appear at first sight. The very long date-formulae, naming all the Ptolemaic priesthoods, were cut short by saying, in such a year of the king "and the rest of the formula as written at Alexandria." The last day of the year and the new-year-day were both kept as holidays (p. 172). In mentioning children it was usual to say "the unbewitched," probably as a prophylactic against the evil eye. A son urges his father to avoid danger, and to have an identity mark, to verify his body if he were killed. A long list of all the operations of a vineyard is given in a contract (p. 18). Christian phrases appear in saying that there was no witness to a loan, but God and the sister and wife of a man, and a letter is written jointly by Didyme and her "sisters in the Lord." The monstrous depreciation of the copper substitutes for silver coin appears again in a contract to pay a donkeyman 2,000 drachmae a day, showing a depreciation of at least 1,000 to 1, only rivalled now in Russia.

The Hittites.—By A. E. COWLEY. 1920. 94 pp., 35 figs. 6s. (Schweich Lectures, 1918, British Academy.)

This is the most valuable summary and study of the Hittite question, describing the localities, the history, the questions of race, of language, and of decipherment. The interest in this people started with the allusions in the Old Testament. This was greatly increased by the identification of them with the Kheta of inscriptions and sculptures in Egypt. The discovery of the Hittite capital at Boghaz-keui, and the archives, with the cuneiform duplicate of the treaty with Egypt, the many letters in Hittite language, and to crown all, the discovery of the names of Indo-aryan gods there, has made this a subject of the highest importance. The Czech scholar Hrozný has urged the Aryan relationship of the Hittite language, mainly from grammatical forms which can be detected in the cuneiform versions, though the roots of the language are still unknown. To this Dr. Cowley barely assents, though it has been largely accepted by others.

The whole question of the hieroglyphic inscriptions is entirely separate. Here Dr. Cowley starts from the Tarkondemos boss, as everyone else has done, assuming that the Hittite signs there are equivalent to those in cuneiform. Unfortunately the linguistic scholars have not had any technical knowledge of workmanship. The centre part of the silver boss was never wrought in metal; the cutting is that in stone; it is a silver cast from a stone seal. Then when this silver was cast, a broad flange or border was cast around it, and on that was punched the cuneiform inscription, so strongly as to come through on the back. There is thus no proved connection of the two inscriptions, but rather a reason for a difference in age and sense between them. It is like the case of a Roman intaglio being put in a mediaeval setting, inscribed for a seal. The whole of the structures of interpretation which have started from the six signs on the central seal must remain in suspense until some firm basis can be proved. The guess at some of the often-repeated city names gives more hope; but the best chance is in the immense mound of Carchemish, which seems as if it must contain some cuneiform bilingual, or perhaps even a Hittite hieroglyph version of the Egyptian treaty. At the end of the volume is a list of over a hundred signs. The work is essential for anyone dealing with Oriental history.

Ancient Egyptian Fishing.—By ORIC BATES. 1917. 73 pp., 26 pls. (*Harvard African Studies*, Vol. I. Cambridge, Mass.)

This important collection of materials is the last work of one who promised to be a leader in the organising of knowledge. His comprehensive study of the Eastern Libyans (*Ancient Egypt*, 1914, p. 181) will scarcely be superseded in its fullness of detail and reference; and the present work systematises all that can be gleaned from the monuments, and from actual specimens, published in dozens of works. Had his life been spared, doubtless he would have become more accustomed to deal with facts, rather than rely on the opinions of those with whom he was familiar.

For the prehistoric age, it is suggested that the animal form of palettes—especially of fish—was intended to convey a magic value to the paint ground on the palette, as Pliny says that those who hunt crocodiles anoint themselves with its fat. Thus malachite ground on a fish palette might convey power over fish to the wearer; and in support of this it may be noted that all the animals represented are used for food—Barbary sheep, hartebeest, stag, elephant, hippopotamus, hare, turtle, birds, fish; the only exceptions are two falcons and a crocodile

in later time. The great royal palettes were for the war-paint of the king, to enable him to overcome his enemies, as figured on the palettes. The importance of fisheries, and the veneration of some species, are fully described.

The means of fishing by papyrus rafts and papyrus boats is minutely detailed. The *sa* amulet sign is linked with the loops of papyrus stems, which are often shown beside fishers or worn by them over the shoulder. This agrees with its meaning of "protection," and the examples of it in use seem to leave no doubt as to its origin. The harpoon is next discussed at great length; the rise of the copper harpoon is placed too late, as it is certainly of the first prehistoric age by the graves where it has been found. The bident is described, and all the variety of fish hooks. Fish traps, hand nets, casting nets and the seine, are next considered in all the detail of working. The lead net-sinkers are dated too late, as they abound in towns of the XVIIIth dynasty. The curing of fish, the sale of fish, and the social position of the fishermen, complete this study, which will long be the work of reference for the whole subject.

Worship of the Dead as practised by some African Tribes.—By J. ROSCOE. 1917. 15 pp. (*Harvard African Studies*, Vol. I.)

This is an illuminating comment on Egyptian usages, from the customs of Uganda at present; the more so, as the writer recounts from an English rectory what he observed without any reference to Egypt. The great concern for a sick man, and the gifts and sacrifices at burial, are held to be due to a wish to stand well with the ghost. The cemetery is the property of the clan, and only those of the same totem may be buried in it. In no case may two bodies—even of mother and infant—be placed in one grave, as in the second prehistoric age. At the head of the grave a small shrine is erected in which offerings are placed, like the soul-houses of the Xth dynasty. On the death of a king the war drum is beaten, and there is a state of anarchy, since peace, law and order cease with the king's life. Pillage and war follows until another king rules. The queen must be a princess, if possible a sister of the king and daughter of the previous king, as in Egypt. The body of a king is disembowelled, all the juices are pressed out into sponges of fibre till the body is dry and hard; the entire mummifying takes six months. The body is placed in a shrine, and widows, chiefs, and personal servants stand around it and are clubbed to death. In the second courtyard outside, four or five hundred victims are executed. This is like the burial of Hepzefa, and the rows of burials of servants around the tombs of the Ist dynasty kings. An extraordinary feature is that the shrine of a king's mummy is guarded by a group of his widows, who are replaced when they die, by others of the same clan, so that the worship is kept up for even hundreds of years. A widow may, however, retire and marry, if she can get a substitute. This seems to explain the frequent cases anciently of a wife being a *nesut khaker*, or adorer of the king. These were girls who had been brought into the harem, and after the king's death had adorned the body, but married after a time. At the back of the shrine lives the medium, a man who had been familiar with the king, and who is subject to the king's spirit, passes into trances, can ask questions of the king, and receive the answers. This may be parallel to the *neter-hon* of the king. Ghosts are expected to be re-born. Each child when a year old is tested to find which family ghost animates it. Then the shrine of that ancestor is left to decay, as his spirit is reincarnated. Among the Basoga, north of Lake Victoria, the new chief opens the grave of his predecessor after a year, takes the skull out, cleanses it, wraps it tightly in

skins, and places it in a temple with a medium to speak for the ghost. In common burials the objects buried are broken "to free the spiritual essence that it may escape to their late owner," like the broken offerings in Egypt.

The Paleoliths of the Eastern Desert.—By F. H. STERNS. 1917. 35 pp., 18 pls. (*Harvard African Studies*, Vol. I.)

The 120 worked flints here figured came from the desert between Qeneh and the Red Sea. They are of the forms already familiar in the flints from the plateau of the Nile valley. It is to be noted that there are scratches on these flints like those which have been attributed to glacial action, or to ploughing, in England; as neither method can have acted in Egypt, so neither need be true in England.

Notes on Egyptian Saints.—By R. H. BLANCHARD. 1917. 11 pp. (*Harvard African Studies*, Vol. I.) This paper describes some of the principal festivals, pointing out the primitive nature of them, and that most are connected with fertility charms.

A new Solution of the Pentateuchal Problem.—By M. G. KYLE. 1918. 39 + 18 pp. (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, January-April, 1918.)

The new idea presented here is that there are three different types of law, always distinguished by different names. (1) The Judgements are decisions of judges, often old traditional law, expressed in a proverbial style, as a mnemonic aid, and concerning law between man and man. (2) The Statutes, which are decrees or regulations, of legal offences which are not criminal, but only *mala prohibita*; also laws of offerings. (3) The Commandments, which are fundamental laws and moral principles. A different style of writing naturally goes with each type of law, a brief proverbial style, or description, or hortatory, and this style belongs also to the narrative portions connected with each type of law. These styles are then found to correspond with the three main divisions already proposed, the JE documents, the Priestly and the Deuteronomic. The argument then is that this division of character accounts for the distinctions already proposed, and is consistent with the single date for the Pentateuch. The name Elohim belongs to the legal phraseology, while the name Yahveh is religious. Here is at least a fresh criterion brought into critical questions, and all such are welcome.

Die Griechisch-Ägyptische Sammlung Ernst von Sieglin. III teil, Die Gefässe in Stein und Ton, Knochenschnitzereien. By RUDOLF PAGENSTECHE. 1913. Folio. xi + 253 pp., 60 pls., 188 figs. (Leipzig.)

This volume deals with material from Egypt in various German museums. Sumptuous as this is (weighing 16 lbs.) it is disappointing to find so few unusual or important objects in such a work. First there are nine plates of purely Egyptian stone vases of all periods. A few good prehistoric are all catalogued as Old Kingdom. A canopic jar (p. 2) has Bissing's description of it quoted as a translation; it is really of a palace official, Huy. The only notable vases are two of alabaster with names of Pepy I and II. Only seventeen pages refer to the Egyptian remains, and 225 are given to Hellenistic and Roman pottery. Scarcely any dating is assigned to this material, which varies over six centuries. The only self-dated vase of importance is a blue glazed flask with applied relief figures

having the name of Ptolemy Philopator (225–205 B.C.), which gives a fixed stage of such work. The variety of design in the IIIrd century vases from Hadra is the most artistic product, as given in pp. 34–52, pls. xv–xviii. There was a school with good sense of form, and passably good decoration, without the vulgarity of the late Italian work: it is the most creditable result of Alexandria. The difficulty of trade during the war has prevented this work reaching us till this year.

Nekropolis, Untersuchungen über Gestalt und Entwicklung der Alexandrinischen Grabanlagen und ihrer Malereien.—By RUDOLF PAGENSTECHE. 1919. 4to. 216 pp., 127 figs. (Leipzig.)

This elaborate work is the historical comparison and summing-up of the results of the Ernst von Sieglin expedition at Alexandria. It is a kind of study that is much wanted in all subjects, bringing together material from the collateral examples, and drawing conclusions about sources and dating. The wielding of classical material seems complete, but in some earlier matters wider search would have been useful. More use might also have been made of some of the pottery models of buildings, such as are in University College.

The first chapter deals with the type of monument on the surface. This is of three classes, Hellenic, Asiatic and Egyptian. The Attic stele is the source of the Hellenic class. The earliest cemetery contains coins of the Satrapy and Ptolemy Soter, and cannot be placed later than 250 B.C. There seems, indeed, no reason why it should not be before 300 B.C., as there must have been a cemetery within a generation of the founding of the city. The stele, though starting with Attic tradition, was in very different conditions from the original. It was no longer a free-standing monument, but was only the decoration of a larger structure, of an altar-shape. This may be due to the influence of the Egyptian tomb, in which the false-door was only a part. Another large difference from the Attic steles was that the painted relief sculpture was simplified as a mere painting on a flat panel. In the earliest cemetery—of Chatbey—there are twenty-one painted steles and only eight sculptured. The steles of the earlier date have whole length figures; later there are some half-length figures in a naos border, and in the western cemetery are busts of stucco. In the tumuli over the tombs there are small vases and statuettes in the earth; these are supposed to have been deposited on the tumulus, and to have been covered over by disturbance of the soil. More accurate observation is evidently needed, to see if the positions agree to this, or if the objects were placed in the earth at first, which seems the more likely course. The larger monuments have statues around them. There are commonly altars by the tombs, of a large size and square in the chambered tombs, or of a small size and round, by the tumuli. These suggest the continuance of offerings of incense or of food for the dead, as in ancient times in Egypt. The placing of the stele varied considerably: it was at first on a high base, then upon steps, or on an altar over the grave, or on a long rectangular base, or a square base, or placed upon a short column. The type ascribed to Asia Minor is the cubic die placed upon steps. This began about 250 B.C., as dated by two black-figured vases in such a grave. The stepped form of monument is stated to be devoted to gods and heroes. The great cenotaph of Hephaestion at Babylon was in five stages, probably borrowed from the *ziggurat* of the country (Diod. XVII, xii). Next reference is made to the pyra of Pertinax and Severus; but such funeral pyres in stages are figured on coins from Antoninus to Saloninus.

Another omission is the heroic character of the Mausoleum, as the stepped pyramid had the chariot of Mausolos at the summit. If there is any precedent from early times in these Roman forms it is hardly in the solitary step pyramid of Saqqarah, but rather in the *ziggurat* copied by Alexander for Hephaestion.

The Egyptian form of monument is expressly stated to be the horned altar, that is to say, with triangular elevations at the corners. It is called "a real Alexandrian type," and said to be "the first form by which the impress of Egypt became perceptible." This view is astonishing, as the form is unknown in Egyptian work. The example of brickwork towers, quoted from the Praeneste mosaic, has nothing to do with this form, as the top edge is curved in a circular sweep, due to the usual curved courses of Egyptian brickwork; the horned altar has sharp triangular corners. A parallel to the grave-altar, with doors partly open on the upright face, is in a Pompeian fresco where a tower some 18 feet high has an open doorway, and triangular corners at the top. Such altars of pottery on a small scale are common in Roman tombs (see *Hawara*, XV, 8; *Roman Portraits*, XV, 6, 7), and they have burnt marks on the top, showing that they have been used as fire altars. It seems clear that in Roman times towers were sometimes built over graves, with a way to ascend to the top, for burning offerings; and small models were placed in graves. This form of monument was copied in relief at the tombs of Medain Saleh in Arabia (26½ degrees N.) of the first century A.D., so it was known to Semitic people. It is not Babylonian, as the altar on the cylinders is a column with a pile of flat loaves on the top (HAYES WARD, *Cylinders*, 824, 826, 827), or a bowl (876). It appears, however, as a Persian altar (*Cylinders*, 1144). Long before that, it is figured in the seventh century B.C. as the altar of a high place, on an Assyrian relief (*Botta*, 114, copied in WARD, *Cylinders*, 1258). Possibly it is the form intended by the rough figure of a fire-altar on cylinder 1260. The horned altar, being expressly a fire-altar, can hardly be separated from the rock-cut fire-altars of Nakshe Rستم (DIEULAFOY, *Art Antique de Perse*, III, v), which have corners raised and three pinnacles along the sides. These are dated before Cyrus, as the earliest monuments of Persia, akin to Assyrian work (p. 8). All of these have their parallel in the horns of the altar of burnt offering and of incense; while the table of shewbread had no horns, being probably like the Babylonian altars with a pile of round loaves. The horned fire-altar was then certainly known to Sargon in the eighth century B.C., and probably used by Israelites centuries before that; it was adopted as the Persian fire-altar in the sixth century; next, enlarged as a tower over a tomb, with an entrance to lead to the top, it was copied in central Arabia and in Pompei, and used in miniature over the graves in Alexandria, while in the form of pottery models it was, down to the third century A.D. a common offering in Egyptian graves. In the later Ptolemaic tombs at Alexandria a portrait was painted on the side of the fire-altar.

A truly Egyptian loan was the pyramid over a tomb. This appears in late Ptolemaic time, of the steep form then fashionable, as seen at Meroe, the cemetery of Hawara (about 68 degrees, *Ro. Port.* 19), the pyramid of Caius Cestius (67 degrees), and Pompeian frescoes. The pyramid form had attracted Alexander, who intended to build a pyramid equal to the greatest, as the monument of his father Philip (Diod. XVIII, i). Altars in the form of a truncated pyramid were found at Alexandria, but only 9 inches high. An error should be noted on p. 29, as the pyramids represented at Qurneh are not on columns, but on tomb chambers.

The Egyptian naos or shrine, often with a cornice of uraei, was a favourite memorial, with a figure or bust of the deceased person occupying the shrine. Such were made in the second century B.C. to the first century A.D., and spread from Egypt to Sardinia.

The painted steles are classified according to the figures. There is a resemblance to Pompeian frescoes in some of the attitudes, probably both drawn from some celebrated pictures that were familiar. The work is but poor and careless, always upon local limestone, and without any background or accessories. A most interesting census of the origins of the Alexandrian population is given by the ethnic names. Thirty-nine are recorded, and of these fourteen are Europeans (six being Thessalians), four islanders, only three Africans, and eight Greek Asiatics, with ten Galati and Kelt. This prevalence of Keltic mercenaries is mentioned when Philadelphos had 4,000 (PAUS. I, 13), and later in 213 B.C., 4,000 Thracians and Gauls were enlisted from settlers, and 2,000 more imported. That a quarter of the burials are Keltic shows how largely northern the Alexandrian was.

The covers of the loculi are often painted, with various forms of double doors; some with lattice in upper part, mostly with ring handles or heads. Sometimes one door is drawn as partly open. The Egyptian ideas remain in an instance of a full-length figure standing in a doorway, with groups of gods and the deceased down the sides.

The plans of the tombs are classed as (1) the Oikos type, from Europe, with a burial chamber and antechamber; (2) the Peristyle type, from the Egyptian house and temple; and (3) the Loculus type of Roman origin. The Oikos type is compared with the Greek house, an example from Priene having a close agreement with a tomb at Chatbey in the position of the chambers. The decoration is elaborated at Ras et Tin, with the walls painted in squares of marbling, and Egyptian niches and cornices. The use of horizontal divisions on columns is noted as Egyptian (bands at Beni Hasan). The Peristyle type has a peristyle court, open to the sky between the pillars. This is compared with the Egyptian buildings for the living; but no tomb in Egypt has an open peristyle court, and closed peristyle halls are very unusual there. It seems doubtful if an Egyptian house or temple plan would be intentionally adopted as a new type of tomb by the Greeks. This type appears in Cyprus, but whether before or after the Alexandrine tombs is not settled. In any case the open peristyle court is at least as familiar in Greek and Italian houses as in Egyptian, and the Greek source is much more likely to have been copied by Alexandrians. Various other tombs are described, the greatest of which is the catacomb at Meqs; the great hall there is 52 feet square, with side chambers having three tiers of loculi, while the axis continues to a hall 23 feet across, with a cupola and side chamber, with places for nine sarcophagi. Certain criteria are stated, as that there is neither peristyle nor cupola in any tombs fixed to Roman age; also that loculi began to be made in Hellenistic times. The Meqs catacomb is placed to the first century B.C. In the Roman tombs the loculi are arranged in rows along corridors. A summary gives the dates of tombs as Chatbey 320-250 B.C., Anfushy 270-200, Station cemetery fourth to third century, Hadra 280-150, Antoniadis and Meqs first century.

The last chapter deals with Alexandrian painting. Chatbey, the earliest cemetery, has no colour left. The vertical division of wall surfaces into painted panels, by half-columns, began as early as the third century. Later the system

was by horizontal division into zones. Marbling became usual, and there was a great use of blue colouring, especially for ceilings. At Suk el Wardian there is pure Greek work of the late fourth century style. At Anfushy (Ras et Tin) the surfaces are painted in squares of marbling copied from inlays. The ceilings are plain at Chatbey; at Sidi Gabr long coffering appears; at Suk el Wardian square coffering; and at Anfushy decoration in the coffering.

The whole subject is of value as showing the gradual swamping of purely Greek work by native style, in some respects, though hardly as much as the author suggests. The changes to the Roman Pompeian style moved as in Italy, showing the unity of feeling round the Mediterranean. The endeavours of the author to reach definite dates and criteria are most welcome.

Catalogue of Textiles from Burying-Grounds in Egypt. Vol. I.—By A. F. KENDRICK. 1920. 142 pp., 33 pls. 5s., posted 5s. 6d. (Victoria and Albert Museum, S.W. 7.)

This catalogue is valuable for the historical and technical introduction which occupies half of it, and discusses the dates and origin of the decorated garments of Roman age in Egypt. After an outline of the history of the period in question, the various sites where textiles have been found are described. The nature of the burials, the various preparations of the body with cartonnage, painted cloth, or portrait, and the dates of some garments, are fully stated. The technical weaving is noticed and the use of silk. The tunics, which are the main subject for decoration, and the large hangings or cloths, are discussed, with other material for comparison. The subjects of the woven tapestries are then catalogued in detail, under Gods, Portraits, Horsemen, Huntsmen, Warriors, Dancers, Vintage, Playing Boys, Animals, Plants and Ornaments.

The broad conclusions are that these patterned textiles were not peculiar to Egypt, but belong equally to the whole Roman Empire. A further evidence may be given for this from the gold-in-glass figures of the third and fourth century, which are apparently Italian and not Egyptian. The circular tapestry patches on the knees are shown on these figures. The date of this work is assigned to the latter part of the third century and onward. The main difference between this dating and that of Gayet is in the circular purple patches worked over in fine thread in interlacing square patterns. Here they are placed, like the figure work, to the third to fifth century, while Gayet put them into the Arab period. This work by its complete discussion of the materials will be a standard textbook for long to come. We hope the succeeding volumes will be as thoroughly treated.

The Life of Hatshepsut.—By TERENCE GRAY. 8vo, 260 pp., 13 pls. 14s. 1920 (Heffer, Cambridge).

This work is described as "A Pageant of Court Life," and "A Chapter of Egyptian History in Dramatic Form." It is a serious attempt at historic reconstruction, using the actual documents that can be connected with the subject of the Great Queen. Let it be said at once that this is entirely clear of the ill-informed absurdities which have been produced when trying to exploit Egypt for the stage. The scheme is well arranged, and the various scenes reasonably fulfil the actual conditions. In this form the striking historic position will doubtless interest many who might not read the scattered records at first hand. With the dramatic quality of this work this journal is not concerned; but we may note the difficulty of treating the long-winded pomposity of official formulae in

harmony with a conversation. Some familiarity with the talk of modern Egyptians might have given more likely phrases than "Thou hast no further theory," or "the magnificence of this great civilisation," which we cannot imagine put back into vernacular intimacy of talk. This alternates with too sharp a contrast of very intimate talk of royal persons. It does not accord with the XVIIIth dynasty for courtiers to "smell the earth," only foreigners did so then, and courtiers bowed. We may regret to see the Greek form of termination Tahutmosis put in the mouth of an Egyptian, and Amen called Yamoun, a form impossible at that time, and perhaps at any other. There is much thought and perception in the stages of antagonism of Tahutmes III, and it is hard to say if such episodes could be better treated.

Bantu Methods of Divination.—By REV. NOEL ROBERTS. 12 pp., 3 pls., 1917. (South African Journal of Science, April, 1917.)

Everything that can be gleaned from African beliefs and customs that have any parallel in Egypt is a priceless key to understanding the mute evidences that we find, especially those of prehistoric age. This description of the apparatus and methods of divination may interpret some of the slate and bone objects, such as are figured in *Prehistoric Egypt*, xlv–xlvi. Mr. Roberts begins with an outline of magic and its purpose. "Among all primitive people who practise magic, however, we find the belief that a *rapport* exists between the *name* of a thing and the thing itself—in fact, a man and his name are often regarded as identical." This is well known in Egypt, where an object, such as even a walking stick, had its name, and nothing really existed unless named.

"Almost every Bantu tribe is distinguished by the name of an animal or other natural object, and that animal or object is regarded as *taboo* to all members of the tribe which bears its name. This identity of man and totem is expressed not only by vocal imitation of the animal, but also by gestures of a more or less conventional type, which are supposed to represent the characteristic movements of that animal. These gestures are woven into the ceremonial dances, so that the tribal origin of a man may be ascertained by noting his actions during the dance." In Egypt the animals representing the different tribes are well known; on the slate palettes the standards are shown of the falcon, jackal, lion and scorpion, while later on, the nome signs include the falcon, hare, gazelle, jackal, ibis and bull. Can we trace any of the gestures or other imitations of animals in representations? Certainly the women taking out offerings to the tomb at early dawn imitate the howl of a jackal, as heard in 1892 at El Amarna.

The casting of lots for divination is fully described. The knuckle-bones or astragali are mainly used for this, and they are called by Boers "toy oxen," *dol-ossen*, hence the English term dolosses for such casting pieces. "As a rule the set contains the astragali of the totem animals of the neighbouring tribes. In the case of larger animals some other bone or part of the body is used to replace the knuckle-bone. Thus in the case of the lion one of the phalanges is usually chosen, and parts of the carapace of different species of tortoise are commonly seen. . . . From what we know of magic and totemism, it is clear that each bone or object in the set represents the animal of which it once formed part, and hence the *tribe of which that animal is totem*." One end of the knuckle-bone is recognised as the "head," the convex side as the "back," the concave side as the "belly." When the bones are thrown, they may fall with the "head" facing either towards or away from the operator, and with one or other

of these faces uppermost . . . the various positions assumed by the bones may be generally classified as follows:—

- (1) *Anterior position*.—Head away from the operator="lost," "strayed," etc., generally *negative* character.
- (2) *Posterior position*.—Head facing toward the operator="will be found," etc., generally *affirmative* character.
- (3) *Dorsal aspect*.—Back uppermost indicates "health," etc.; and, by a grouping of ideas, "success," "prosperity," etc.
- (4) *Ventral aspect*.—Belly uppermost, representing "death," "failure," etc.
- (5) *Right pectoral aspect*.—Right side uppermost.
- (6) *Left pectoral aspect*.—Left side uppermost.

Either pectoral aspect may represent "sleep," "sickness," "uncertainty," and hence "try again."

Now here are three aspects, back, belly or side up; or, with a pair, six aspects. The use of astragali for playing games is certain in Egypt, as a pair have been found in the drawer of a gaming board. The three or six types of throw here were all simply indicated by the players calling out that they have three or six in the throw, and by the game boards being three squares in width across, so that a throw of three gives an advance of one row. It is remarkable how games have been derived from divination. Here the throw of astragali, and hence of dice derived from them, is for divination; the throw of four arrows, the early Chinese divination, is the source of the four suits of cards; the diviners' bowl with divisions all round it, to which a floating object may point, seems to be the parent of the roulette table.

How remote a connection of ideas may seem to us, appears in the throwing of a plate of the carapace of the tortoise; if this falls back up, it is in the walking position, and as the proverb is "the tortoise only walks when it rains," the position indicates rain.

Various tablets are also used for divination. Unfortunately Mr. Roberts has been misled by Churchward's "Signs and Symbols." The tablets quoted from Egypt are clearly the labels of offerings, all from one tomb, and that of a queen of the 1st dynasty, found by De Morgan, and not from "Naqada and Ballas." The set of tablets used in several different districts in Africa are of a tongue shape, with a guilloche twist on one, a zigzag border, rows of zigzags across, and rows of triangular hollows. These four types are associated, by the Malaboch, and slightly varied by degradation among the Mountha and Matala. We need to recognise any parallels to this system that may turn up in Egypt. The guilloche twist may be the degradation of the two serpents—caduceus fashion—on the prehistoric handles. (*Prehis. Eg.* xlvi, 4, and Berlin.)

The paper concludes with figures of two diviners' bowls, with signs around the edge representing different tribes. The bowls were filled with water, and seeds or buttons thrown in to float; the position which they took in relation to the signs on the edge served to give the answer.

Prehistoric Arts and Crafts of India.—By PANCHANAN MITRA. 8vo. 66 pp. 10 pls. 1920. (University of Calcutta, Anthropological papers No. 1.)

The comparative studies of the author have already been noticed here (p. 18), and the present work is a more systematic account of prehistoric India. It is fortunate that zealous research is being given to these remains, though much more is needed for so vast a region. The earlier chapters discuss the glacial period

on the north, and the contemporary river terraces, the palaeoliths, and the rock paintings of hunters. In this connection there are on pl. VI two pieces of decorated pottery obviously of Islamic age. Regarding the earliest date of pottery it must be considered that the favoured civilisations of the warm river valleys of Mesopotamia and Egypt were probably far in advance of savage Europe in starting various arts. For the resemblances stated between Egyptian and Indian pottery, we need to see a series of forms of each set side by side in plates, before we can weigh the evidence. The occurrence of the "chess-board patterns" in India, like those of Elam and Anau, is fair ground for a general Asiatic connection; such pattern is always foreign to Egypt.

On coming to the age of metals, there are many questions on which more precise details are needed. No dates, even approximate, are given for the earliest examples in India. It is useless to say that iron is known in "primitive India," when the earliest assignable date is not before the early European iron of 1200 B.C. In India as in Africa we must have definite evidence of a date before that, if the European origin of iron is to be set aside; it is useless to speak of a "primitive" age, in regions developing later than the Mediterranean. It is claimed that wootz steel is electrum, "where we get the very same name." What name? Greek *electron*, shining like the sun, or Egyptian *uasm*? We read "we think steel, especially wootz, was imported from India in (to) Egypt as objects of high value in those early times about three to four thousand years before Christ." How is such date reached for Indian wootz, or where is it found in Egypt? A reasonable passage is quoted from Dr. Coomarswamy that "the most ancient part of Indian art belongs to the common endowment of early Asiatic culture," and he speaks of a "Mykenaeen facies" and designs "of a remarkably Mediterranean aspect." This is reasonable enough for about 1000 B.C., but it will not take back India to any comparison with early Egypt, still less to originating anything of Egyptian culture. The author has a wide field of the greatest interest, on which we all want to have exact information, and any proofs of connection, or still better of priority, will be heartily welcomed.

PERIODICALS.

Journal of the Society of Oriental Research, Chicago.

In October, 1919, Prof. Mercer discusses the question *Was Ikhnaton a Monotheist?* The definition of monotheism is drawn very rigidly: "there is but one God, whose being and existence pervades all space and time"; this involves attributes which have nothing to do with the denial of any other gods. Taking such a rigid view, and looking for any survival of notice of the other gods, it is not surprising that Akhenaten is reduced to the position of "a clever and self-centered individual henotheist." This seems rather too theological a view of a change, which was hedged about with continual difficulty, and which had to be carried out practically and not merely discussed in the study. If some minor inconsistencies remained, if there were political views on the suppression of the priesthood of Amen, yet these cannot hide from us the intense fervour of the adoration of the Aten, and the repudiation of tolerating any other god. The figure of Maot used for *truth* cannot be adduced as a divinity, as Maot was never worshipped; not a stele nor a temple belongs to her, she was only an impersonation like a figure of Justice at present. Dr. Mercer not only denies the king the name of monotheist, but also "especially ethical monotheist." Now the insistence on all occasions of his personal motto "living in truth," utterly unknown before or since, may give him the right to be valued as an ethical reformer. We cannot expect any one of his age to have the keen sense of congruity which has been developed in us by centuries of dogmatic discussion of rival creeds and heresies.

The "Eye of Horus" in the Pyramid Texts is studied by Prof. Mercer in March, 1920. He concludes that the sun and moon were originally regarded as the eyes of Nut, the sky goddess. Later they were named the eyes of Ra, and as the sun was Ra, so the eye of Ra was Ra himself. Then the consuming eye of Ra became transferred to Hathor, Tefnut, Sati, Bast, Sekhmet, and the Uraeus. Osiris was popular at the early date and usurped the place of Ra. Here we must require strong evidence for such a sequence, as the worship of the Osiride group appears to precede the Ra worship; no proof of the precedence of Ra is given. The loss of the eye of Horus, in combat with Set, made the Horus-eye one of the most sacred symbols of sacrifice. It became the synonym for every kind of offering. As the eye-sun became identical with the Horus-sun, so the eye was Horus; and as the king was Horus, the eye was the king. In short, the vagueness of Egyptian thought and lack of consistency, led to the eye being taken as "anything that was construed sacrificially"; it was conceived, born every day, lived and addressed the king, avenged the king, and sat before the king as his god. These views were probably never all held as one, but they show the meanings that different worshippers might attach to the sacred eyes so abundantly found in house and in tomb, and the scenes of the king offering the eye.

Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society. IX. 1921. 18 + 56 pp. 5s. (Longmans.)

The Egyptian article in this is *The Problem of Akhenaton*, by T. ERIC PEET. In this Dr. Mercer's denial of Akhenaten's monotheism is discussed, and the general influence of that king. The principal matters are that Aten worship was already started under Amenhetep III, both at Thebes and as a transformed Ra worship at Heliopolis. It is therefore the exclusiveness of Aten worship that was due to Akhenaten. The attempts to show that other gods were recognised by the king are all reduced to mere conventions of speech (as Aten being the Nile, the king being the "strong bull"), which have no religious authority. The artistic reform is rather hesitatingly attributed to the striving after truth, professed by the king. It is surely late in the day to debate the unity of the religious, ethical and artistic revolution carried out by the king who "lived in truth." It is curious to note how nothing has modified the summary of dates and changes stated in *Tell el Amarna* (Petrie), twenty-seven years ago. Nothing has been found—not even from the mummy of the king—to alter or amplify that outline.

Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Part II. October, 1919. New York.

This supplement is a monograph on the statues of Sekhmet from the temple of Mut at Karnak. These figures were so abundant that they are found in many museums, and rather lose their attraction by familiarity. The whole history of them here put together is, however, an interesting outline of the general exploitation of antiquities in the past. Anyone who remembers the temple of Mut some years ago, will know the zigzag line of black granite figures, half buried in the salt soil, and tipped about at various angles in various stages of decay. Mariete estimated that there had been 572 of them originally. They were set up by Amenhetep III, as well as many others in his own temple at Qurneh. Later on, many of these statues were appropriated by the pirate kings, Ramessu II, Panezem II, and Sheshenq I. The modern stripping of the place began in 1760, when one was sold for an exorbitant sum to a Venetian. The French expedition found, and removed to Alexandria, many of the figures. The next stage in the clearance of Egypt was when Salt arrived in 1816 as British Consul-General. He had known Belzoni, who was then in Egypt as an engineer. Burckhardt proposed to Salt to employ Belzoni to bring down the bust of Ramessu II from the Ramesseum, later presented by Salt and Burckhardt to the British Museum. Drovetti, the French Consul-General, was also employing agents to collect at Thebes, so Belzoni set earnestly to work, uncovered a whole row of Sekhmet figures, and began active transportation of them. Next year, in 1817, Belzoni continued work with a young Greek from the Consulate, Yanni Athanasi. The excavations went on with various changes till 1819, when Belzoni retired from the work. Salt went on employing Athanasi, mainly at the temple of Amenhetep III, on the western bank. Many more Sekhmet figures were found there, also the two colossal heads of the king in quartzite, now in the British Museum. Salt died in 1827, and without his protection Athanasi found his work impeded. Much of Salt's gatherings were sold to the French Government in 1827. It appears that the sale in 1833 in London was also of Salt's things, mixed up with Athanasi's management. At this sale, seven of the complete Sekhmet figures were too heavy to go into Sotheby's rooms, and were placed in the recesses of Waterloo Bridge. A relic of this sale is the head of Sekhmet which stood for

years over one of the entrances of Sotheby's sale rooms. Of the seven figures, one was sold for twenty guineas (not the cost of transport), the rest were bought in. All seven were, however, re-united as a group in the great collection of all kinds in the hands of that eccentric *virtuoso* Dr. Lee of Hartwell. They appear in his catalogue, published in 1858. By 1865 they were in the collection of Mr. Tyssen-Amherst at Didlington, later Lord Amherst. From thence in 1914 they were acquired for New York.

The great mass of Salt's gatherings were gradually unloaded. In 1823 he sold much to the British Museum. In 1826 a far larger amount to France. In 1833 came the first sale at Sotheby's, followed by another in 1835, and a final sale in 1837, was perhaps entirely of Athanasi's separate work. It is easy now to revile Lord Elgin, Salt and others who brought away so much from ancient lands. They were great benefactors; they saved much from destruction, and they secured it for study and the education of western people, which would never have advanced without some striking appeal to popular imagination. They did vastly less harm than Layard and other explorers in Assyria, who destroyed most important documents and remains from sheer ignorance. Little could be lost by moving away statues from the temples; and until whole buildings were pulled to pieces by French speculators, there was nothing to detract from the benefit of such salvage work.

It may well be asked how it came about that such an immense number of statues of Sekhmet should be made by Amenhetep III. They were not placed in a temple of that goddess, but in temples of Mut and of the king. They were sheerly stacked together, touching side by side and even placed row before row. They were not, therefore, required for the place where they stood, but were merely stored. There is no evidence in other remains of any special devotion of Amenhetep III to Sekhmet; her name only occurs on one of fifty great scarabs, and on a hundred smaller she is never named. It would really seem as if an unlimited order had been sent to the quarries of black granite, to make Sekhmet statues, and it was never revoked, but was left to go on in forgetfulness, the official staff hoping that such a permanent job would not come to an end. They may have turned out about thirty a year, and despatched them to Thebes, where they were stacked till further orders. Afterwards it was no one's business to move them, and even the appetite of Ramessu for piracy was quenched by 700 or 800 black Sekhmets.



NOTES AND NEWS.

The excavations of the British School on the desert of Herakleopolis were continued till April. The division of the heavy sculpture and most of the objects was carried out in March by the Keeper of the Museum and the Inspector of Middle Egypt, after which the Director and Mrs. Petrie left, and Mr. and Mrs. Brunton closed their work at Mayana and took charge of the main camp. The continuance of the work brought to light more of the groups of servant figures and boats. Major Hynes then left, and three weeks later Mr. Neilson and M. Bach concluded their work. Mr. Brunton remained to see to the final arrangements of transport. The old system of a weekly steamer is practically cut off; the Italian line involves much difficulty, and the only certain and easy line, by Marseille, goes but once in three weeks.

At El Amarna the Egypt Exploration Society has been represented by Prof. Peet and Mr. Hayter. We hope to give an account of the results later on.

The work at Thebes, for New York, has been brilliantly conducted by Mr. Winlock. Last year, in a tomb which had been recently cleared, and left as finished, he detected a lower chamber, and found the most amazing series of models. The great group, about four feet long, shows the dais under a colonnade, where the owner sits with his scribes, while his cattle are counted before him. Another model of a tank, surrounded by sycamore trees and a portico, is of exquisite work. Some of these will be illustrated in one of our future numbers. This year Mr. Winlock came to the conclusion, in studying Dr. Naville's and Mr. Hall's publication of the XIth dynasty temple, that there must be another tomb there. On looking for it, the place was obvious, and in that was another great sarcophagus with scenes carved on it, like that of Kaut, now at Cairo, and a wooden statue and mummy of the Princess Aashait. Also in the northern shrine Mr. Winlock found a secondary burial with five silver and gold necklaces.

Prof. Schiaparelli has been working at Gebeleyn, and brought much away. Unhappily nothing is published of the Italian work in the past, but it is to be hoped that the Department of Antiquities will ensure a complete record being produced, according to the regulations.

The earliest example of graphite known is a large lump found at Ghurob, probably of the XVIIIth dynasty. Mr. C. A. Mitchell, who has been studying the history of graphite, has kindly supplied the following analysis of this specimen. Graphitic carbon and moisture, 37.4 per cent.; mineral matter, 60.6; of the latter 47.6 per cent. is of silicates insoluble in acid. This is similar to some of the Swedish graphite. The source of this specimen is unknown; it is now at University College.

The free public lecture (without ticket) on the results of the year, English and American, will be given, with illustration, on Wednesday, 25th May, at 2.30, at University College, Gower Street, W.C.

The annual exhibition will be at University College, during the four weeks of July, 4th to 30th, 10 to 5.

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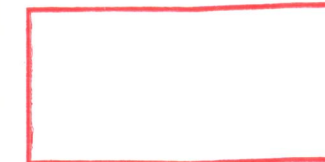
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