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Petrie, Flinders; Clarke, Somers; Petrie, W. M. Flinders; and Murray, M.A., "Ancient Egypt 1920 Part 1" (1920). *Dr. Kent R. Weeks Book Collection*. 11. https://knowledge.e.southern.edu/kweeks\_coll/11

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# ANCIENT ECYPT

1920.

PART I.

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## EDITOR, PROF. FLINDERS PETRIE, F.R.S., F.B.A.

YEARLY, 75. POST FREE.

QUARTERLY PART, 25.

MACMILLAN AND CO., LONDON AND NEW YORK; AND EGYPTIAN RESEARCH ACCOUNT, Boston.

ANCIENT EGYPT. Net price of each number from booksellers is 2s.
Subscriptions for the four quarterly parts, prepaid, post free, 7s., are received by Hon. Sec. "Ancient Egypt" (H. Flinders Petrie), University College, Gower Street, London, W.C. 1.

Books for review, papers offered for insertion, or news, should be addressed :--Editor of "Ancient Egypt," University College, Gower Street, London, W.C. 1.

#### THE TREASURE OF ANTINOE.



PL. I. GOLD NECKLET ABOUT A.D. 540. SCALE 1.2.

# ANCIENT EGYPT.

#### THE RETURN TO RESEARCH.

At last it is justifiable again for writers to meet their friends in these pages. Our perils as a nation are by no means over, but they do not need to be met by every kind of energy that was required two years ago, to save our civilisation from the flood of destruction. Great have been the changes since the peace of the world was broken. In Egypt the main actors are gone : Sir Gaston Maspero, his son Jean Maspero, the indefatigable Legrain, worn out prematurely, and the ever-useful Barsanti. With the passing of these the face of affairs is changed. On the English side other losses are felt : Sir Armand Ruffer, Horace Thompson, James Dixon, and K. T. Frost, were all victims of the war, to the loss of Egyptology ; and at home the early death of Prof. Leonard King has left history and archaeology crippled.

The necessary inspection of sites in Syria and Palestine was carried out by two former workers of the British School in Egypt, Capt. Mackay and Capt. Engelbach, under the orders of Field-Marshal Sir Edmund Allenby. This was the first step towards preservation, and their reports give details of the work and restrictions necessary on each site.

The latest School of Archaeology is that for Jerusalem, founded by a joint committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the British Academy. Prof. Garstang has actively organised it, Capt. Mackay will be Chief Inspector of Sites, and probably another of our former excavators will be Librarian and Registrar.

The British School in Egypt, with a large staff, hopes to have as full a season of excavation as in the past. In the United States a new basis of work has been started as the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, under the efficient management of Prof. Breasted. In his recent address he takes his stand on the importance of all kinds of evidence for history, and places philology in its true position as an interpreter of some evidence of historic times, but only thus touching a brief part of man's past. The whole evidences of the past are to be the care of the new Oriental Institute, which thus comes in line with what has always been the system of the British School in Egypt.

With much regret it is found that the present costs of production, being about doubled, must make some difference to the issue of this Journal. At the present time it is unreasonable to expect anyone to pay more to meet the cost, and therefore some reduction in pages and illustration is necessary. So soon as our readers will expand the circulation to its former extent, the previous scale of issue will be resumed. The summarising of what has been published abroad during the war is the prime requirement to place readers in touch with present conditions. The reviews will therefore be fully carried on in this and following numbers.

#### Nile Boats and Other Matters.

was sadly changed by an overdose of "washing blue"; indeed all white garments were, and are, spoiled by this nasty stuff. Another thing. It is the mark of distinction in these days to wear boots or shoes, no matter how burst, split or disreputable they may be. Socks, or the relics of them, are very essential to a complete effect.

Cast-off European clothes have had a deplorable influence, especially since the war began. The King's livery is everywhere dragged in the mire.

Egypt does not possess a long list of native musical instruments, but the list has now been increased by one. The Scotch bagpipes have been enthusiastically welcomed by the native population, and are on sale in Cairo.

We now come to sailing boats, especially those of small size.

The old latine rig is passing away; the lugger takes its place; just as many years since the latine sail displaced the horizontal yard and square sail.

Before we touch upon the build of the boats we may be permitted to say a few words on the rig.

There is not any need in this Journal to do more than refer to the numerous sculptured representations and models of ancient Nile boats, which show us the square sail stretched between upper and lower horizontal yards.

At what period did this type of sail disappear ?

The earliest observation which I have been able to find, by a European writer, relating to types of rig, is by De Lannoy. A Survey of Egypt and Syria undertaken in the Year 1422 by Sir Gilbert de Lannoy, Knt., from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, by the Rev. John Webb, M.A., F.S.A. (Archaeologia, XXI, 281)

De Lannoy states :---

"Item. Y'a sur ceste rivière tout du pay's du soudan une si tres grosse quantité de barkes alaut de lun a lautre en marchandise qui s'appellent germes<sup>1</sup> les aucunes et le plus avoiles latine et les autres voiles quares."

Perhaps some reader of this paper may know of a writer more ancient than de Lannoy from whom we may gather some statement about the rig of boats on the Nile, but it is the habit of most travellers to leave such details out of account, overlooking the fact that what is commonplace to-day, becomes more or less of ancient history in a very few years.

My search has been for illustrated books, as in them I felt I should find my best chance of information. The earliest book I have met with is Pocock— *A Description of the East and some other Countries*. Vol. the first. "Observations on Egypt," by Richard Pocock, LL.D., F.R.S. London, 1743."

On Pl. VIII is a representation of a boat with three masts, the mainmast a little the tallest. Across this, part of the way up, swings a yard. From the way it is canted one may suppose that the yard carried a triangular and not a square sail. The other masts are without yards or indications of sails.

Pocock does not give any other representation of a boat.

On p. 69 he tells us as follows: "The large boats called marshes, such as we embarked on, have a mast about the middle, and another towards the prow." We are not much the wiser for this as he tells us nothing about the sails. The next book I know of is by Norden, a Dane, who was sent out by the French Government in 1737. He died at Paris in 1742.

<sup>1</sup> This name for a cargo boat was in use in the time of Curzon, 1838. See Monasteries of the Levant, p. 18, 3rd Edition, 1850.

#### NILE BOATS AND OTHER MATTERS.

2 .

WE have been told many times how unchanging is the East, and undoubtedly at the root of things there is but little change; but the statement must be taken with considerable reserve. In many directions things go on in Egypt even as they did in the times of the Pharaohs, in others fresh fashions are eagerly sought after, fresh methods succeed one another with considerable rapidity.

We have but to compare the appearance of Cairo to-day, with its aspect as shown to us in the drawings of David Roberts, Prisse d'Avennes, and others, to see that, except in the eastern quarters of the city where some of the older streets are yet untouched, the changes are radical.

Glass windows have chased away the beautiful Mushrabiya; the picturesque open shop front is dying in all directions; nor does the change stop here.

The old style of costume so pleasant to see, so well suited to the climate, so easy to keep clean, has almost disappeared. The Egyptian of all classes is now ashamed to admit that he belongs to this wonderful old country; he will not appear in the old style; he must ape the ugly, inconvenient and dirty European coat, trousers, starched collars and uncomfortable hat.

The changes have of late become so rapid, that photographs of street scenes taken but twenty years since, show a crowd quite differently dressed from that which we see to-day.

To give some particulars of changes in the region of fashion and clothes. Within the last twenty-four years I have observed considerable variation to take place in, for example, the material of which the qallabiah, the universal garb of the fellaheen must be made. This convenient and comely garment, of cotton, was usually dyed either of a light blue tint or of a blue so dark as to pass for black. The native term for the light blue tint is "labany." "Laban" is the Arabic for milk. We may suppose that the Egyptian saw in the colour of the blue dye something suggesting the colour of milk, but I venture on this speculation not without fear.

The cotton was usually dyed locally. It took but a few months to make a change. That mean looking stuff glazed calico was introduced; in this material all new qallabiahs must be made: the shining surface, which soon wore off, immensely pleasing the purchaser.

In the course of a few years there came another change, which spread through the country as quickly as the preceding had done.

Although the shape of the garment was retained, fashion decreed that the stuff of which it must be made must be of a material so "dressed" on its surface as, when it was new, to look not unlike silk.

Head-gear also underwent a variation. The soft and charming white of the turban ('Emma) was voted old fashioned, next time it was washed its colour

#### Nile Boats and Other Matters.

#### Nile Boats and Other Matters.

The book (I quote from the second edition, Paris, Didot, 1795, in three volumes) is well supplied with engraved views, in which the Nile is frequently depicted with many boats thereon. There is always difficulty in estimating the value of the evidence given by engraved plates. In many, if not most, cases the travellers knew but little how to draw; this is notably the case with regard concock. The traveller had, at any rate, seen the objects. The engraver, on the other hand, had no knowledge whatever of the original; but he did his best to "invest with artistic merit" the clumsy handiwork of the author.

Scenes in Egypt were tricked out with European adornments. Uncertain indeed may be the value, as evidence, of an engraving that has been thus produced, and yet it may be better than nothing or than the foggy smears which are now so usually printed as photographs.

In the case of the engravings in Norden's book we find the Nile dotted with boats of an extremely European rig. Many boats carry the latine sails, but on the same plates, as for example Pls. XXXVI, LII, LIII, LXXII, etc., we find boats of a considerable size with a very tall mainmast carrying two square sails, one above the other, on horizontal yards; a mizenmast with one square sail and a bowsprit with a horizontal yard and a sail on it. As we look through the plates we come to that numbered CXXXVI—a view of Philae (also called Heiff). On this plate we see the horizontal yard and square sail, also the horizontal yard on the bowsprit. It seems very improbable that a boat with such a heavy top rig was hauled, standing, up the cataract. All further plates of places in Nubia south of Philae show boats with latine sails.

Are we to conclude from what is above stated that there were square rigged boats in use on the Nile and at a date as late as Norden so far up the river as the First Cataract, or may we assume that the engraver had enlivened Norden's drawings with a marine type of square rigged boat which was not really to be seen in Egypt ?

In 1780 C. S. Sonnini brought to a conclusion certain travels in Egypt which he undertook at the instance of the French Government. An illustrated translation of his travels was published in England in 1800. Boats are to be seen in several of the engravings in this book, always with latine sails.

Then follows Denon, who accompanied the French expedition, and published a book of travels. This was issued several years before the monumental *Description de l'Égypte* appeared. Denon was a draughtsman by no means dependent on the engraver. Not a single horizontal yard is seen in the engravings in his book. This type of yard seems completely to have disappeared by the year 1798, the date at which, with the years 1799 and 1800, the materials for the *Description de l'Égypte* were being collected by the French savants.

It is easy to observe that in many engravings in this great work some very indifferent drawings have been largely "made up" by the engravers, but however that may be, square rigged boats are not represented.

If we consult Gau (published in 1822), a book in which are beautiful and scrupulously careful engravings, evidently prepared under the author's eye from admirable drawings, very few boats are seen, none of them square rigged.

Few men were more observant than Edward William Lane, who in the year 1826 ascended the Nile to the Second Cataract, and afterwards published that delightful book *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*. In Chapter XIV, "Industries," he refers to the navigation of the Nile, and tells us that the boats have two large triangular sails.

Many of Lane's drawings are preserved at the British Museum, amongst them those made during his voyage up the Nile. I admit that I have not studied them with a view to the methods of rigging boats, but am disposed to believe that had there been horizontal yards depicted, my attention would have been arrested.

On the exterior of the little temple of Rameses II which lies in the desert east of the great walls at El-Kab may be seen, perfectly well-preserved, incised drawings of boats with horizontal yards.

I am not able to recall any other place where I have found this type of rig depicted as a mere rough drawing. It is evidently an ancient piece of work. Scratchings of boats with latine rig are sufficiently common, but they are undoubtedly more modern than the drawing first described.

Mr. Quibell tells me that at the monastery of S. Jeremias at Saqqara he found a rude painting of a ship with three masts and horizontal yards. This painting he attributes to the sixth century A.D.

Sir Gardiner Wilkinson gives a drawing of a sailing boat which he names "cangia." This was evidently a near relation to the dahabeah of to-day with its latine rig.<sup>1</sup>

I am much indebted to my friend Mr. G. Walter Grabham, of the Sudan Geological Service, for notes he has collected during his extensive travels on the Blue and White Niles,—notes as careful as they are accurate, and relating to the types and names of the types of boats he has found in these distant places. Of the "gyassa," which we see so commonly on the Nile as far as Halfa, built with ribs and planked, he says : "Of this type of Egyptian cargo boat few are seen higher up the river than Berber, most of them apparently belong to the Government. The type is essentially exotic." It is probable that these boats are the relics of the Gordon expedition, 1884.

He then speaks of the "naggr," the common type of native-built boat, ribless and with a width of beam often approximating to half its length. The bottom curved, the sides continuing the same curve. These boats range in size from small feluccas to large craft, such as can carry 500 ardebs.

"The naggr type of boat was evidently in use in the times of the old Government, as shown by pictures in the later books of travel, but I have been unable to find pictures or descriptions of any boats in the early books at my disposal. With the establishment of the Egyptian *régime* the need for river carriage must have increased, and we know that travellers and goods generally came by boat from Berber to Khartum.

"It was only after 1840 that traffic arose on the White Nile. At present (1917) we find the largest boat owners at Omdurman, and their craft are sailed up either the White Nile or the Blue, according to season and demand.

"Kawa and Shawal are important centres on the White Nile from which boats ply up the river. Considerable numbers are to be seen as far as the mouth of the Sobat, and a few penetrate the lower part of the Zeraf. The 'sunt' wood of which the naggr is made, grows on sandy soil in damp situations. On the White Nile sunt is not met with beyond Kosti, but on the Blue it is found as far up as Roseires, and that is the limit of navigation. It also grows near the river north of Khartum. At present the main centre of boat building is certainly

<sup>1</sup> Manners and customs of the ancient Egyptians. New edition by Sam. Birch, Vol. II, Murray, 1878. Omdurman, and, for this purpose, the wood is chiefly obtained from the large forests between Dueim and Kosti.

"The naggrs are Arab-owned craft, and are the only kind of boats used by the inhabitants for carrying merchandise.

"The Nilotic negroid tribes use canoes for ferry and fishing purposes. The Shilluk on the White Nile possess rather large built canoes which are put together somewhat after the style of the naggr, but by means of rope. They have a rising bow and stern like the gondola, and a V-shaped section, save that the point of the V is cut off leaving a narrow flat bottom.

"These built canoes are only met with on the White Nile; not on the swift waters of the Bahr el-Jebel. The Shilluks also make use of the hollowed treetrunk, which is almost the only type found amongst the Dinkas, Bari, Madi, Alur, etc., who inhabit the river banks as far as Lake Albert."

Mr. Grabham calls my attention to a book by Legh, Legh's Journey in Egypt, second edition, 1817. He was travelling on the Nile in 1812–13 and remarks that there are three kinds of boats used in the navigation of the Nile. He hires a "maish" at Rosetta to convey him up the river (p. 15). This boat is large enough to take Legh, Smelt and their servants, also three British officers. They were nine days from Rosetta to Cairo.

Legh also mentions a "djerm" (p. 14). This has two masts, but not a cabin; it is chiefly used for the conveyance of merchandise.

He also refers to the "cangia," which he describes as having but one mast, but from eight to fourteen oars and two cabins.

Mr. Grabham tells me that he heard the term "maish" used by the Reis for the capacious barge attached to the steamer side on his journey to Roseires. None of the boats here referred to, bear square sails.

Must we not conclude that several centuries back the square sail began to yield to the triangular ?

At the present day we see evidences of an important change. About twelve years ago a few private sailing boats made their appearance in Cairo, lugger rigged and provided with a centre board. Some were soon to be seen at Aswân. In the secluded regions of Wadi Halfa a similar type of boat and rig appeared. The type was found where groups of British officials were stationed. The "lines" of the boats were quite different from those of the clumsy craft which then, and now, are produced and reproduced, as they probably have been for centuries by native hands. The new type was by the natives called "London," which we may take as a compliment. At Aswân there has grown up quite a profitable business in building boats on these improved lines, with centre boards and lugger rig. None of these boats are of sunt. All are with ribs. The old "felucca" has in many parts of the river almost given place, for light work, to the new "London"; the improvement is so manifest that even the conservative Egyptian bows before it and adopts it. So far as I have been able to observe no boat carrying cargo has yet been built in the new mode. Having raised the question, but failed to trace the time or manner of disappearance of the old square rig, let us go back to a type of boat still built and very largely used, but which belongs to remote ages of antiquity; a boat nearly as primitive as that described by Herodotus, if not in many essentials the same.

This type of boat is called a "naggr."

We see but few specimens of the class until we have ascended the Nile as far as Asyût, but from that place southward it is met with very frequently and in the Sudan is far more common than boats of any other type. It may be known by its exceedingly ancient appearance, its rotundity and clumsiness of form, the slowness of progress, the absence of ribs in its construction, and the fact that it is never tarred or painted, the wood soon acquires a silver grey tone which adds very much to the appearance of age.

A more unmanageable, primitive contrivance than the naggr, except it moves right before the wind, cannot be imagined. As an example, I have, in Sudan, been half an hour crossing the stream with a favourable N.W. wind to a spot but a little above the starting point. I have been four hours getting back and yet the current was with us and the ever-blowing N.W. wind by no means violent.

Before describing how the naggr is built I will give a few words to the two most ancient boats that now exist in Egypt, to be seen in the Museum at Cairo. It will be appreciated that the naggr is a very direct descendant of the boats of the XIIth dynasty. These boats were found at Dahshûr by M. de Morgan during his excavations in 1894-5.<sup>1</sup>

The boats, on their arrival at the Museum (then at Gîza), were a good deal repaired, and like so many repairs carried on then and now in that institution they incline very much in the direction of skilful forgeries.

It is indeed most important in a museum that any object standing in need of repair should be so treated that the student can tell at a glance what is original and what is new. No register exists telling us what was the actual condition of the objects we are considering, when they were found, or what has been done to them by way of repairs.

When these ancient boats were in the Museum at Gîza I made some careful notes (in 1894); they had then but just arrived and were in a good light. At Cairo they are unfortunately very much in the dark. It is now exceedingly difficult to distinguish new pieces of wood from the original. The hopes I had entertained (in 1916) of correcting my studies of 1894 have come to little. The passage of twenty-two years has made a considerable difference in the colour and surface of the inserted pieces, which now approximate pretty closely to the colour of the old.

The two boats are so nearly alike in all respects that it is sufficient to describe one of them.

As the section shows, Fig. 1, they are built entirely without ribs.

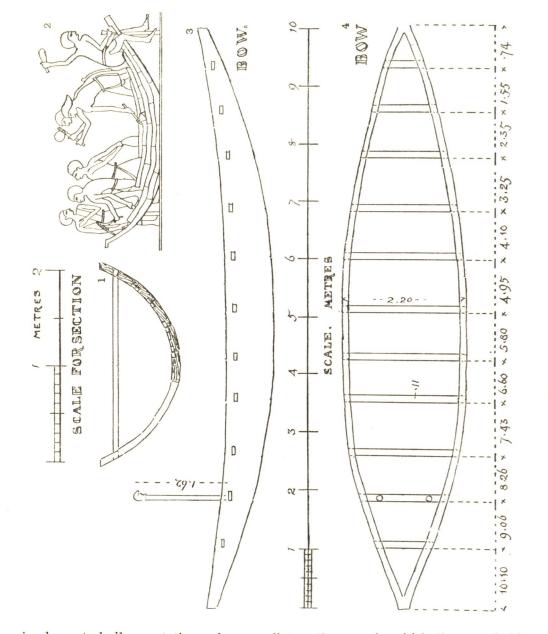
The two boats are described in the official catalogue, but the measured drawings which accompany the description have been so reduced in the printing as to lose much of their value.

Certain of the terms made use of in the description are, no doubt, correct in the United States, but the words have not similar values in England. It is unfortunate that this is so, or that equivalents are not given by Dr. Reisner, than whom a more patient and painstaking archaeologist cannot be found. We will, however, go back to more ancient times than those of the Museum Catalogue, and see what evidence we can find from tomb drawings.

In Lepsius' *Denkmäler*, II, 126, is found a drawing from the tomb of Khnumhetep. In this the building of a boat is shown in progress. Fig. 2.

We see clearly that the sides are made of short pieces of wood, set together, breaking joint (like bricks), as described by Herodotus. At least one of the

<sup>1</sup> Fouilles à Dahchour, Mars-Juin, 1894. By J. de Morgan. Vienne, 1895. A 4 workmen is shown standing inside the boat. If this boat had been built with an inner frame of vertical ribs we should have seen them standing up above the planks, and to them we should have seen the workmen attaching the outside skin of planks; but nothing of this sort is visible. The planks are shown one lying above the other exactly as in the Museum boats, or as, in building a naggr, we see done at this day. One workman holds an adze. Others have hatchets. The



implements bulbous at the end are mallets; the way in which they are held suggests that use.

The tomb of Khnumhetep is of the reign of Senusert II, so that we have before us a well-developed picture of boat-building in the XIIth dynasty.

As the very unwieldy Catalogues of the Cairo Museum are not often to be met with, I will venture to give a short, but by no means as complete, a description of the boats, as Dr. Reisner has done. I also give measured drawings; a plan with a longitudinal elevation and transverse section. (Figs. 1, 3, 4.) The transverse section, Fig. 1, shows clearly how the boat is built up of planks, and without a keel. The two boats are not exactly of the same dimensions, the planks forming the hull of the larger boat average 9 cm. in thickness; the planks of the smaller, 7 cm.

The planks vary both in length and in width, but are wide as compared with those we should use to-day in building boats of the size of those in the Museum.

The middle bottom plank which takes the place of the keel is 25 cm. in width,<sup>1</sup> those immediately adjoining are of the same width. The total length of the boat is 10.10 m.

We now come to consider the method of construction.

The planks vary a good deal in their length. In all cases the sides and ends of the planks butt against each other without any overlap. See the section Fig. 1, and the drawing from Beni Hasan, Fig. 2. The boats are, in fact, as we call the method to-day "carvel built." The Beni Hasan drawing indicates very well the Egyptian peculiarity that the sides of the planks are not parallel one to the other, but undulate according to the configuration of the grain of the natural wood. A lower plank having been set in the place the plank which rests upon it has its lower side cut into undulations to fit. In masonry likewise the irregular thickness of courses was adjusted by letting one into another.

The boat builders never placed vertical butting joints one over the other, and with good reason, for there not being any internal ribs the stability of the hull rests entirely on the success with which they accomplished their aim of making a continuous skin, each part supporting and supported by the parts adjoining.

Why, in the Museum Catalogue, the middle plank is called a "beam" is hard to say.

Somers Clarke.

(To be continued.)

#### THE TREASURE OF ANTINOE.

( IO )

Some ten years ago a hoard of personal ornaments was found in Upper Egypt ; the more likely report is that they were in the ruin of a monastery at Antinoe. That city was undoubtedly a wealthy centre of foreign influence, and a monastery was the safest place during the Arab invasion, which closely followed on the making of this group ; so the probabilities are in favour of this report. For the present, at all events, the name of the Treasure of Antinoe is the best that we can give to this hoard. It suffered the fate of most finds of valuables in the present state of the law; it was violently broken up among the finders, they sold it surreptitiously to dealers, it was bought up in scattered lots by private collectors, and it is now separated in London, Berlin, Detroit and the Pierpont Morgan collection. The archaeological value of the hoard has been much weakened by the admixture of objects from other sources, so that there is no certainty as to what was found together.

Under these disastrous results of Government control, which destroys more than it preserves, the best course was to have the material all published together. Thanks to the labour of the late Prof. Walter Dennison of Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania, this was successfully done; but most unhappily his death in 1917 frustrated his seeing the issue of his work. It is a sad loss for archaeology, that a man who might have done much to develop our knowledge, was cut off at the age of forty-eight. The volume on *A Gold Treasure of the Late-Roman Period* in Egypt (85 pp., 54 plates, 57 figures, Macmillan, \$2.50) is his best memorial, and will give his name immortality on the shelves of museums and scholars. Besides the full illustration, sometimes on an enlarged scale, of all the objects of the hoard, many similar pieces already known are also illustrated to serve for comparison. The author generously gave permission for reproducing the main results in Ancient Egypt.

Before describing the objects that probably belong together, we may note what should be excluded. The greater part of the articles are dated by coins to the time between Justinian and Mauricius Tiberius, the latter half of the sixth century, or else are of similar work and age. Dr. Dennison agrees that two necklaces (8, 9) are from another source, probably of the second and early in the third century, and he puts as possibly earlier a pair of spiral serpent bracelets (24, 25), which seem obviously of the first century, or earlier still. With these we may set aside a pair of armlets (21, 22), the shell pattern on which is probably of the second century (see the necklace and gold ring in *Heliopolis*, XXXIX), also a pair of bracelets with a wavy vine stem for the elastic circle (32, 33), which can hardly be dated after the third century. After excluding these we can only say of the remaining bulk that there is nothing against their having been buried together before the sack in the Arab invasion of 641.

The whole hoard contained, then, two necklets with groups of coins attached, three gold coins set in linked framing, five necklaces or collars, a long chain for the body, six pairs and one odd bracelet, a small cross and a crystal figure. The



PL, II, HALF OF GOLD COLLAR OF LINKED PLATES. FULL SIZE,

#### The Treasure of Antinoe.

absolute dating by the attached coins is only in the two necklets and the linked coins. In these three cases, the earliest date for the making of the jewellery is under Justinian (528-556) for one necklet and the coins, and under Mauricius (582-602) for the other necklet, which is obviously of later and more debased work. As it is unlikely that such wealth of gold would be displayed after the Arab conquest of 641, the limits of date are fairly close. To this we refer later.

The finest object for display is the great necklet (Pl. I here) with fourteen inserted coins from Theodosius to Justinian, a pendant medallion of Theodosius, and a barbaric imitation of a gold coin of Valentinian III as a centre piece. This taste for making imitations of coins for ornament is very familiar in the North of Europe (see Montelius, *Civilisation of Sweden*, Fig. 134, copy of Theodosius; Worsaae, *Pre-History of the North*, Figs. 6–16). Some other features are also alike in Northern work and Romano-Egyptian, as the crystal fibulae and garnet inlays, and large discs of ornament on necklets. These are northern in origin, and probably all this class of ornament was brought into Egyptian use by the bands of northern troops in the Roman garrisons.

A fellow necklet, copied from the previous about fifty years later, has coins ranging from Justinian to Mauricius, and therefore after 582. The middle piece is a struck medallion more intelligently made than the previous imitation of a coin, as it has a rational Greek inscription, "Lord, succour the wearer," alike on both sides. The pendant, however, seems to have been an entirely independent work, converted to a pectoral, and too large for the necklet. It has on one side the Annunciation, and on the other the Conversion of water into wine ; the style is distinctly early Christian rather than classical.

A pleasing detail in these pectorals, which seems to be post-classical, is the filling up of spaces with the small three-petal flowers, like arrow-head or water plantain (see Fig. 22 here).

The three linked solidi of Justinian have borders cast around the coins, apparently by *cire perdue*; inscriptions were then punched on a band of the border. These are Greek, and read "For He shall give His angels charge over thee"; next, "to keep thee in all thy ways"; thirdly, "Emmanuel which, being interpreted, is God with us." These, as well as the medallion in the pectoral, are therefore prophylactic charms, to protect the wearer.

The necklaces are very varied. No. 10 is of small balls linked together, with fifteen crosses each of four pearl and sapphire beads. No. 11 of eight lengths of woven wire chain alternating with beads, and a large circular openwork pendant, with four interior circles forming a cross. No. 12 has alternate stones with the ugly late device of beads threaded on a wire around; but the other alternatives are six-leaved rosettes in circles, of the fresh geometrical style which arose on the ruins of classical work. No. 13 is a common form of wire links with beads, and a row of bead dangles. No. 14 is a remarkable wide collar, passing round three quarters of the neck, of eleven open-work gold plates hinged together, with seventeen sapphire pendants (see Pl. II). The plates are in pairs, on opposite sides, there being six different designs. The patterns are good, descended from Greek palmetto and foliage, but the whole effect is far too stiff and awkward for wearing.

The large body chain is very unusual, and the most satisfactory and original design in the whole hoard (see Pl. III). It consists of two large open-work discs, one worn on the chest, the other on the back, as shown on terracotta figures. These were joined by a chain of small discs over each shoulder, and a chain round each side, twenty-three small discs in each chain. There are only two patterns

#### The Treasure of Antinoe.

#### The Treasure of Antinoe.

for the discs, but the whole effect is varied, and the two designs look quite distinct, yet harmonious. The use of such a body chain was probably to retain ample flowing robes near the body, and prevent the garment bagging out awkwardly.

There are three pairs of earrings, all of which have long dangles of beads, a style probably coming from the North with the barbaric invasions.

Two pairs of bracelets have elaborately pierced openwork discs. These are ingenious in design, reminding us of the marble-work screens of San Clemente, or the rather later ones of Saint Mark's. All of this style seems to be the result of the northern introduction of wicker-work screens, which belonged to nomadic life. Another pair of bracelets, or rather armlets, are made of hollow hexagonal tube, notched to imitate banding, and with two imitations of aurei of Honorius at the fastening. A single bracelet is of twisted wire pattern, with a fulsome bezel of thirteen set stones.

This gold work from Egypt, and other examples that Prof. Dennison has published for comparison, supply a good basis for dating details of ornament. The employment of gold coins set in later framings serves to give an anterior limit of date for the work, and it is unlikely that the posterior limit is more than two or three generations later. The mixture of coins of various ages in the large breast ornaments shows how far such material precedes the ornamental setting. In one group, Pl. VIII, the coins are—two of Theodosius I, two of Theodosius II, five of Anthemius, one of Basilicus, and four of Justinian, or between about A.D. 390 and 530. In another group, Pl. XIV, there is one of Justinian, five of Justin II, one of Tiberius II, six of Mauricius, or between about A.D. 550 and 600. Thus, in one case, half the coins are within sixty years, in the other case half are of the last two reigns, or a very few years. Thus on the average the age of coins when used was less than half a century. This gives ground for dating jewellery by single coins to within half a century in most cases.

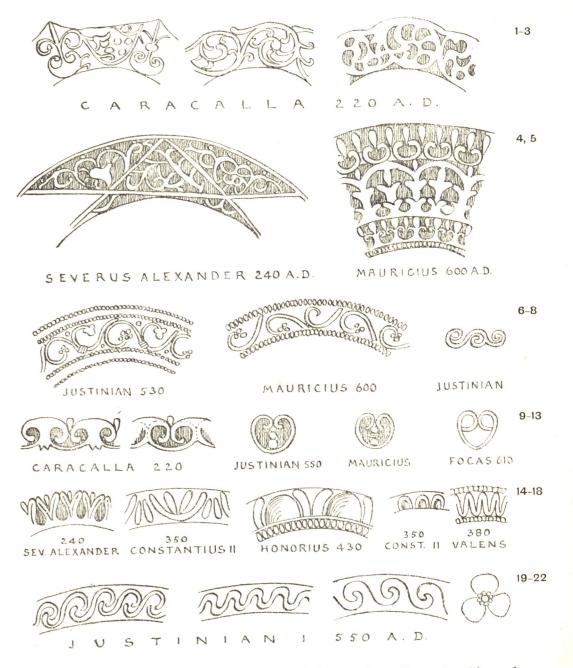
The elements of the ornament are here separated, and classed by their motives (Figs. 1-22). Thus the degradation of design is shown, and this will help in dating other jewellery. The dates placed after the emperor's name are the earliest to which the work would be reasonably assigned, allowing a few years for coins to circulate into the provinces. The date of the ornament is therefore to be taken as probably within fifty years after the dates here given. Different dates are given for Nos. 6 and 19, according to the age of the head of Justinian on the coin.

The foliage work of Nos. 1, 2 and 3 is obviously like that of the first century architecture debased, such as on the great Altar of Peace. This foliage work is familiar on the sculpture of the Severan age. No. 3 seems to be the back of an openwork design like No. 2; but, judging from the photograph, Nos. 1 and 2 are of wirework on a sheet-metal basis. In No. 4, perhaps a generation later, the foliage work has lost its tradition and become irregular and senseless. The revival of openwork about A.D. 600, No. 5, was on an entirely different system, cut out of a continuous sheet instead of being built up of soldered wire.

The foliage, or running vine, pattern in Nos. 6 and 7 is made of detached curved wires soldered on to a sheet-metal basis. In A.D. 530 they still had a binding put across to hide the junction; but by 600 A.D. the separate wires are stuck down, detached and unashamed. The old sense of structure was lost, but this may have been due to a workman below the average of his generation. Small neat scrolls, to fill up spaces, are also of Justinian (No. 8).

The row of pelta-shaped objects which form a border under Caracalla

(Nos. 9 and 10), seem to have originated a favourite device of the sixth century. On No. 10 the dotted lines are placed to suggest how the designer came to regard the pattern, and from this to make it in wirework, with a pile of globules up the middle to stiffen it, as in Nos. 11 and 12. It was simplified, as wire on a sheetmetal basis (No. 13), under Focas (Univ. Coll.), and this element is common on earrings and small work of that age.



A border of flowers, No. 14, was copied very formally under Alexander. By the time of Constantius II the flower forms are scarcely recognisable (No. 15). Under Honorius the flower is reduced to two lobes, with a concave hollow between ; this might, perhaps, be a degradation of the Greek dart-and-egg. Similar

#### The Treasure of Antinoe.

concave hollows in a row are used for a border (No. 17) under Constantius II, and are modified to a zigzag line pattern (No. 18) under Valens.

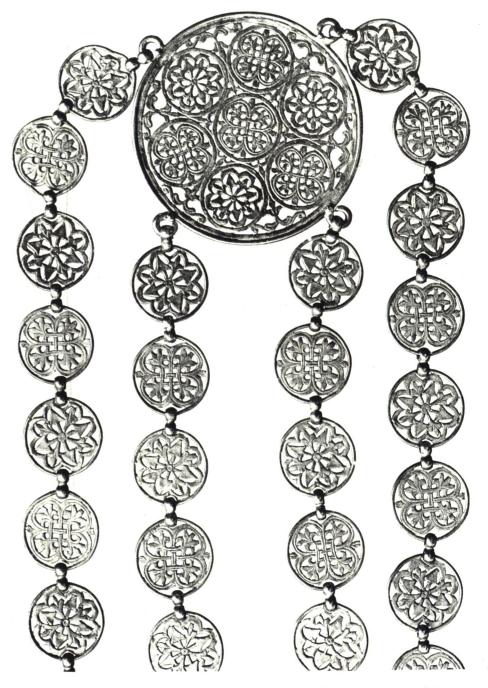
The continuous scroll was carelessly made in several modifications all at the same time; in fact, on small work it is difficult to settle which form is used, as it varies so much according to the lighting. In No. 19 the scrolls are clear, in No. 20 they become a running line, in No. 21 they form a series of pendant curls. The little flower, No. 22, was a favourite and graceful mode of covering up junctions and filling small spaces of ground.

Whenever it may be possible to put together all the dated examples of jewellery, and to analyse the different elements, we shall be able to recover more of the stages of change in the various patterns. This will serve later to fix the greater part of jewellery which has no self-evident dating.

A curious figure in rock crystal, nearly four inches high, is supposed to have come from the hoard. It is a female figure, dressed in chiton and peplos swathing the whole person : round her neck is a high band. The aspect is Christian rather than classic. It is on a silver gilt base that has been broken from a larger object. This obviously is not an empress or a person of pretensions. The meek aspect, almost deferential, rather suggests it is intended for a saint, so it might have been the crowning figure of a reliquary. The rage for relics in the fourth to the sixth century would make it quite likely that a reliquary might be hidden along with other treasures in the seventh century.

The fate of all valuable antiquities under the present law is a melancholy one. The Egyptian Government claims to have seized two great groups of silver work at Zagazig, though even from these some pieces went astray. But the present hoard of Antinoe, the great group of gold medallions from Abukir, the large gold hawk from Dendereh, the great find of a royal burial of the XVIIIth dynasty with much gold work, and innumerable lesser discoveries, have all been lost to the Government, and many lost to all knowledge by being melted up, owing to the fear of Government claims. This suicidal policy, which is a loss of values to the Government, is also an irreparable loss to archaeology. If the Government would give local values for everything, such as a dealer pays, the whole would be secured at a small part of the full European value. The confidence of the people should be gained by a liberal payment for everything that is declared at once, and seizure should be the penalty for concealment and not declaring any discoveries. If the Government had to pay out f10,000 in a year they would make a large profit on the result ; the more they paid the larger the gain, which would otherwise fall to the dealers. Let us hope that Palestine and Mesopotamia will not be mismanaged in the shortsighted way that prevails under the English and the Egyptian laws.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.



PL, III. GOLD BODY-CHAIN OF 2 LARGE AND 92 SMALL DISCS. SCALE 5.6.

#### THE FIRST MACE-HEAD OF HIERAKONPOLIS.

1

( 15 )

THE great carved mace-heads of Hierakonpolis have been the subject of much careful study, especially in the case of the second and third, which are now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The first has received less attention, owing to its damaged condition. It is broken into several pieces, but though a great deal has been preserved, the surface of the stone is corroded in many places, and flakes have split off, so that much of the sculpture is irretrievably lost. The sculpture thus left falls into three groups, of which two are on the largest fragment.

I. The first group represents the king who wears the crown of Lower Egypt and is wrapped in a cloak or shawl; one hand appears to project, and to hold a whip. He is beardless and is seated on a throne, but the sculpture is so worn away that only the square box-like lines of the back of the throne are visible. The figure is placed under a curved canopy supported at the front by two slender shafts; on each shaft there is an ornament immediately under the canopy, and each shaft terminates in a sharp point. Both the canopy and the figure of the king are of the same type as on the second mace. It is interesting to note that on the maces the king when wearing the crown of Lower Egypt is represented as being smaller, both actually and in proportion, than when wearing the White Crown. On the third mace-head the Scorpion King is considerably larger than the figures among whom he stands; while on the first and second maces the figure of the king is actually smaller than the others; this is markedly the case in the mace-head under discussion. This disproportion in size is against the usual rule of Egyptian art, which makes the principal person larger than the other figures in a scene. A possible explanation is that these are representations of the king's statue, and not of the king himself. As the figure is placed under a canopy of the type of the early shrines, and is dressed in the close-wrapped garment peculiar to Osiris, it may represent the dead and deified king to whom his people are paying homage.

2. On the same fragment as the king's figure, but removed from it by a wide space, originally sculptured and now blank, is a figure of a pig-tailed man. Only the back of the head and the back of one leg are visible, the rest being utterly destroyed. Immediately above the head is a curved rope, and above that again is an object of which so little remains that it is impossible even to guess at what it was intended to represent. Behind the rope and almost touching it is a rectangular object, apparently the ground or base of other figures or objects; these would be on a level with the king's face. The figure stands on another peculiar and indeterminate object; the angle of the leg suggests that the man is running or dancing. Two points in this figure are noticeable : the first is the pigtail, which I will discuss below; the second is the size. It is the largest figure on any of the maces; and if the canon of Egyptian art held good at that early period this should be the principal personage in the scene. Taken together with the object on which he stands, and the object above his head, he fills the whole height of the mace-head. The size of this figure should be compared with the bearers of offerings, and especially with the king.

3. Three or four fragments joined together give part of a scene of bearers of

offerings. These fragments come from the middle and lower part of one side of the mace, but unfortunately do not join the main piece anywhere. The scene is divided horizontally into two registers, in each of which there are the remains of three figures. In the upper register, one leg and arm only remain of the first man; he is dressed apparently in a short kilt and carries a fox-skin (?) in his hand. The second and third figures have skirts to the middle of the calf, the skirt being ornamented either with patterns or with rope-work There are indications of some object suspended from the hand of the third figure.

In the lower register, there is practically nothing remaining of the first figure except the back of the head and the plaited pigtail. The second man is, however, almost complete. He wears a short beard, apparently fastened to the hair, which is arranged in a heavy mass at the back of the neck while the upper part is plaited into a short pigtail. His dress consists of a short kilt from the waist to above the knee, fastened at the waist with a narrow band; down the front is an ornamented piece which may perhaps be a piece of pleated cloth such as occurs on the loin-cloths of the late Old Kingdom. In his right hand he holds a barrel-shaped vase of the type of the second Prehistoric Period, a form which approximates very closely to the heart-sign of the later hieroglyphs. The left arm with the fist clenched is raised above the head. The legs and feet are bare, and one knee is raised as though in the act of dancing. The third man differs from the second only in attitude; in his right hand he holds a fox skin (?) already conventionalised in form, the left arm hangs at his side. The right knee is raised above the level of the waist as if in an active dance. Again these figures are all considerably larger than the king. Below their feet is a curved line, apparently a rope.

Pigtailed figures are rare in Egypt, and even among those known two types of pig-tails are discernible. The first type is when the hair is gathered into a thick twist or plait just above or below the nape of the neck (*Hierakonpolis*, I, Pl. XI, *Abydos*, II, Pl. IV). In these cases the hair covers the curve of the back of the head and neck. In the second type, the pigtail starts at the crown of the head, as amongst the Chinese, and is apparently plaited with some stiffening material as it falls quite clear of the head and neck. When the hair is dressed in this fashion it is sometimes all gathered into the plait as in Figs. 2 and 7, leaving the nape bare, this may perhaps be caused by shaving the back of the head under the plait; in other cases, as in Figs. 3 and 8, the hair falls in a heavy mass under the pigtail, which is plaited only from the hair of the upper part of the head. Pigtails of any sort appear to occur only in the beginning of the historic period, and at no other time. The only exception is perhaps the *nms* headdress of the king (Fig. 9), where, however, the pigtail is obviously made of cloth and not of hair.

From the comparative size of the figures, it is evident that they were of more importance than the king. The type of face is not that of the aborigines as, shown in the slate palettes. Not only is the hair differently dressed but these people are clothed, sometimes in a short kilt, sometimes in a long robe, whereas the aborigines are either very scantily clothed or quite nude. The long-robed people are never represented as prisoners : on the contrary, the battlefield palette shows a captive aborigine being driven forward by a person whose garment reaches to his ankles. The short kilt and the artificial beard suggest the royal costume, so also perhaps does the pigtail. If then, the royal figure is that of the dead and deified king, are these the competitors for the throne ?



Thothmes III

Prof. Newberry has pointed out that this is probably the meaning of the scene on the mace-head of Narmer, and that it is there complicated by the presence of the heiress to the throne, by marriage with whom the successful candidate legitimised his claim. Another possibility may be kept in mind, that the piece with the king (I, 2) did not belong to the same mace-head as piece 3.

M. A. MURRAY.

( 18 )

AMONG the antiquities in the New York Historical Society's collection there are some so unusual that Mrs. Grant Williams has kindly allowed us to reproduce them here. These and many other objects have been published by her in the *Quarterly Bulletin* of the New York Historical Society in the last two years. A very remarkable portrait head is that of Smenkhu-ptah, who had the "good name" of Atu-shep-er-onkh. His tomb is known at Saqqarah, from which the sculptures have come: it is dated to the end of the Vth or early in the VIth dynasty. The type is so far from that of the usual Egyptian that we have more certainty in its being a careful portrait. The detail of the profile differs from the usual type in the sharp brow, the pointed nose, the long upper lip, the sharp edges of the mouth, and the retreating chin. The form of the nose is closely like that of the wife of Ka-aper; but the heavy, morose, face is not like any other.

A remarkable coffin-box in the same collection has in it two wooden ushabtis, one wrapped, and a roll of inscribed linen, probably part of the Book of the Dead. These, and a scarab, being all bedded in pitch, are not modern insertions. The style of the ushabtis is of the early XIXth dynasty; the name is unusual, Sebaur. The burial of two ushabtis in a coffin descends from the belief of the XVIIIth dynasty, when the ushabti was a figure of the deceased person. Yet this burial must be just after that time, as one of these is an overseer with whip, and the other is plain, showing that the serf idea of the XIXth dynasty had by this time come in.

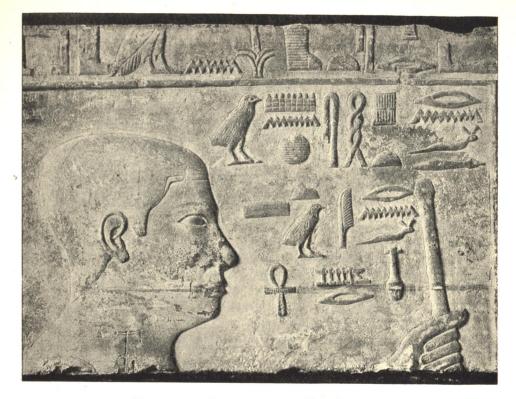
W. M. F. P.

#### GEORGES LEGRAIN.

THE following notes upon the really remarkable work carried out by the late Georges Legrain at Karnak, are offered as a tribute to his memory. Unless there be set forth a description with some amount of detail, it is difficult for his ungrudging labours to be at all estimated. Let us consider what was the condition of the immense agglomeration of ruins of which he was put in charge in 1894.

Quite twenty years before that time Mariette had removed great masses of earth, with the object of general investigation, and the recovery of the buried plan. A plan was afterwards published, and if it has proved very incorrect in many respects, that is hardly to be wondered at. The undertaking was one greater than Mariette, over-burdened as he was, had either time or means to carry through.

M. Jacques de Morgan was appointed Director-General of Antiquities in 1893. He decided that a systematic investigation of Karnak should be made; and in 1894 he nominated Georges Legrain to preside over that work. Legrain then made a programme of what to do and how to do it, which has proved really remarkable for its foresightedness. He did not approach the subject only from the side of the excavator, and of one who had to repair and maintain as he went



PORTRAIT OF SMENKHU-PTAH. VTH DYNASTY.



COFFIN-BOX WITH USHABTIS.

#### Georges Legrain.

along. He realised the impossibility of one man seeing through to the end so immense an undertaking. He saw that he must thoroughly register the progress of the works and the objects found, so that his notes and observations could be taken up by those who followed, and thereby the history of this prodigious place could be properly built up. He viewed Karnak as a vast historical monument. He set to work so to arrange the system for tabulating the immense series of inscriptions and sculptures, that a complete record of the whole group of temples could be published.

Legrain was but twenty-six years of age when he was appointed. His methods have proved perfectly sound after twenty-three years' progress.

The works went on increasing very greatly in volume and in interest.

From an engineering point of view the risks were often great, but such was the forethought and care taken, there was, I believe, never an accident, although there were workers by the hundred, and immense blocks of stone to be moved, taken down and reinstated, some of them weighing more than 25 tons apiece.

M. Maspero, succeeding De Morgan, was unhappily very unsympathetic with Legrain. Here lay in fact the "opposition and difficulties" referred to in the short notice of Legrain already published, ANCIENT EGYPT, 1917, p. 142. But Maspero is dead and cannot defend himself. It would therefore be undesirable to say more. What is past is past.

It is a thing not a little to be deplored that of all the work that has been done at Karnak since the year 1894, of all the remarkable discoveries that have been made, no consistent or scientific account has ever been published.

There exist a few notes and records buried in the Annales du Service des Antiquités. These, a few pages at a time, are scattered about in the aforesaid Annales extending from the year 1900 to 1914. If we wish to study a plan of Karnak we must turn to that published by Mariette as long since as 1875, and now completely out of date.

We must not suppose that the Department of Antiquities had been idle all this time. Portly volumes on Saqqarah, Lower Nubia, Les Temples Immergés de la Nubie, with many plans, photographs and much documentary evidence, had been published—the materials for several volumes on Karnak were at hand, but Karnak was kept in the shade.

The reader must be left to draw his own conclusions upon this curious state of things above mentioned.

Somers Clarke.

## REVIEWS.

(21)

The Empire of the Amorites.—ALBERT A. CLAY. Sm. 4to. 192 pp. (Yale University Press.) Milford, London, 1919.

As to the term "empire" for the dominion of the Amorites, different opinions may be felt, but a mere question of a term must not hinder our acceptance of the facts. The broad position is that Semite names are as early as Sumerian in Babylonia, and that the fertile Syro-Babylonian region was far more likely to be the home of a race than Arabia, which is a semi-desert : it is, therefore, likely that the Semite centre was in Northern Syria rather than in Arabia.

As to the prominence of Semites in early Babylonia, more than a hundred thousand personal names are known, and in the early part of this material many of the rulers' names are Semitic, and the names of the antediluvian kings in Berossos are Semitic. Further, the elements in these early names, Abu, Akhu, Ammi, are Western Semitic rather than Arabian. Another evidence is from the figures of the Sumerian gods who are hairy and bearded, as Semites, and not like the shaven Sumerians, pointing to the Sumerians having taken over the earlier (Semitic gods of the land. So far as opinions go, Brünnow thought the Semites to be the original Euphrateans and the Sumerians to be invaders : Meyer holds that the Semites were there before the Sumerians settled in South Babylonia and drove the Semites northward. Jastrow says "The mixture of Sumerians and Semites was so pronounced, even in the oldest period revealed by the documents at our command, that a differentiation between the Semitic and non-Semitic ideas in the conceptions formed of the gods is not generally possible."

That this Semitic influence belonged to Syria and not to Arabia is shown by the elements of the names, stated above, and by the name Abram, or Abraham, which is not found in Arabian inscriptions, but is known in the Euphratean tablets. The Cappadocian tablets are naturally North Semitic in names and gods, and not Arabian. The view that successive waves of emigration had flowed from Arabia is discussed. The distinction should be drawn, however, between movements of people from a half-desert land as it dries up, and movements because of a pressure of population in a fertile land. The desert land will have but few people to pour out, they will be hardy but not strong, they will scarcely overcome a full population in a fertile land. The Islamic conquest of Egypt was by only 12,000 or 20,000 men; they succeeded not because they were strong, but because Egypt and the Roman provinces generally were miserably weak, drained by taxation for centuries, harried by the Persian war, and preferring liberty under Arabs to taxation under Romans. This success must not be taken as a type of all emigrants from Arabia. Dr. Clay well maintains that the reason of the civilisation being more primitive in Arabia than in other Semitic lands, does not imply that Arabia was the source, but that it was isolated as a backwater, and so retained early ideas and forms less changed than in lands subject to other influences.

The question of the Khabiri is noticed, with the fairly conclusive fact that at Boghaz-koi there is a list of gods called the "Gods of the Khabiri." The conclusion is that they cannot be Hebrews, but were related to the Hittites, if not Aramaeans. We may also notice that in the Amarna letters the Khabiri invade Damascus and Ashtaroth, that is, they move east of Jordan, opposite to Galilee. It seems at least possible, therefore, that they were at some time east of Judaea, and gave the name to the mountains of 'Abarim. If the *cheth* of Khabiri may represent the initial *ayin* of Hebrew, it may equally represent that of 'Abarim.

The limits of Amurru in 1100 were on the Mediterranean, as Tiglath Pileser I sailed in ships of Arvad upon "the great sea of Amurru." Asshur-nazir-pal (885) went to the great sea of Amurru, and received tribute all along the coast. Adad-nirari III names Amurru as between the Hittites and Sidon. Sargon (720) included the Hittites and Damascus in Amurru. Sennacherib (700) included Philistia and Phoenicia, Moab and Edom. Asshur-bani-pal (650) included Palestine in Amurru. The tendency was, therefore, to include only Northern Syria, and between 1100 and 650 to extend the name south until it included all Syria.

Now we can look at the position as it affects Egyptian history. From as early as the Pre-dynastic Age it is claimed that there has been a centre of Semitic influence and government in North Syria, that it had a full share in developing Babylonia, and that it lasted down to classical times, embracing what is known as the Aramaean kingdom. On the Egyptian side we find a large invasion from the East, founding the second prehistoric civilisation; but this seems more likely to belong to the region east and west of Suez. A clearly Syro-Mesopotamian invasion was that which overthrew the Old Kingdom, as shown by the buttons with foreign devices; with these must be noted the examples of symmetric scarabs, such as were later produced under Hyksos influence, but which are dated before the XIIth dynasty at Ehnasya (Pl. XIA) and Harageh. There is good ground for regarding this invasion as having come from North Syria or the Euphrates, and therefore as being Amorite. Then, after the Middle Kingdom, the same influence appears in the Hyksos invasion of Semites from Syria, who wielded a widespread power. Beside those recognised as Hyksos there are others who seem to have been their forerunners, Khenzer and Khandy, the latter of whom ruled over Syria and conquered Egypt, as shown on his triumphal cylinder (Univ. Coll.). Thus, there is good ground on the Egyptian side to look for a strong Semitic power in North Syria at the close of the Old Kingdom, and again at the close of the Middle Kingdom. This is in accord with Dr. Clay's position, and therefore on this side we welcome it as a gain to our historical view.

La Fin du Moyen Empire Égypticn, Étude sur les Monuments et l'Histoire de la période comprise entre la XII<sup>e</sup> et la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie.—RAYMOND WEILL. 8vo, 971 pp., 2 vols. Picard, Paris, 1918.

This work has appeared in sections in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1910–1917, and the whole is here put together in a convenient form. As this is the only detailed attempt to contract the period dealt with, in the brief space of 210 years, demanded by Berlin, it should have the fullest attention. As a collection of the scattered material remaining of that period, it will in any case prove a work of permanent value, even apart from the author's conclusions. The length of it is rather deterrent, and it might have been less prolix with advantage;

for instance, twelve lines of inconclusive argument deals with the identification of the cartouche of Neferhetep, which is all useless as the direct proof on a stele is stated in six lines more. A single line quoting the stele would have been all-sufficient. Also many examples of the simplest repetitions of a name are all set out in hieroglyphs at full length.

The serious question is how far we can follow, and rely on, the reasoning, and accept the conclusions. The main thesis is that a type of literary composition, deploring decay and devastation by foreigners, was started in early times and frequently re-used : the conclusion drawn from this is that such statements have no historic value. This is a position possible from a purely literary point of view, but the least knowledge of material history refutes it at once. The art and monuments of every land show a series of stages of growth and decay. In Egypt the periods of decay are obvious in two prehistoric ages, in the VIIth-XIth dynasties, in the XIIIth-XVIIth, the XIXth-XXIIIrd, and the Roman Age; in all these we see great decadence, and in all these historic ages there is the absence of public monuments and the shortness of reigns, proving the disturbance, poverty, and trouble in the country. The evidence of foreign invasion is seen in the new types of production, the new connections with surrounding lands, the new names and characters of the people. From every material evidence we see that it is hopeless to claim that the re-use of classical expressions shows that the complaints about the times are unhistorical. How often have the declarations of Jewish prophets been re-used as applying to the fall of Rome, or by the Puritan party in England? They are still felt to be the most vital expression of many of our troubles now. Shall we deny the historical truth of every account in which the phrases of Psalm or Prophet are used ? The material facts of repeated invasion of Egypt are externally attested-from the West the Fatimites, the Greeks, the Libyans, from the East the Tulunides, the Arabs, the Persians,-to say nothing of remoter times. To claim that a "theme of disorder " is only a rhetorical exercise, is to shut one's eyes to all the proved facts. It is impossible to accept this conception, which occupies a large part of the work, and underlies its whole fabric.

Another objection-perhaps more serious-is the way of treating basic documents. The account by Hatshepsut reads : "I have restored that which was in ruin, and completed that which was unfinished, since the stay of the Asiatics who were in the lands of the North and in Ha-uaret with the Shemau among them, occupied in destruction; they made a king for themselves in ignorance of Ra, and he did not act according to the orders of the god until the coming of my Majesty," according to Weill; or the latter part according to Breasted "they ruled in ignorance of Re. He (the Hyksos ruler) did not do according to the divine command until my Majesty." Now this is not a claim to the conquest physically, but to the conversion religiously, of the Hyksos. It is the obedience to Ra that Hatshepsut obtained. There is nothing to contradict the previous expulsion from Egypt; Hatshepsut only claims the restoration of monuments, and the obedience of the Hyksos to Ra, whether in Palestine or elsewhere. Capt. Weill goes on : "Hatshepsut has conquered the Asiatic destroyers installed in the Delta and in Ha-uaret . . . . Therefore Hatshepsut lied. . . . She usurped without any right the merit of having expelled the Asiatics " (p. 38). This is a false rendering of the historical document.

A most strange treatment of a document, in a book professing to discuss history, is that accorded to the Turin Papyrus. Not content with ignoring its B 4

historic sequence, the whole of the lengths of reigns remaining in it are omitted. When publishing the text of it (pp. 590-3) not a single year is named. Yet there are twenty-four reigns still to be read in it after the XIIth dynasty, totalling 191 years, or an average of eight years. Can we take seriously any view of an almost contemporary document, when the most essential facts are omitted in discussing the very matter in question, namely, the years covered by the document? To any reader who knew no better, it would appear that no years were stated. It seems impossible to accept any conclusions drawn from such treatment, nor can we take this elaborate work as more than the effort of an advocate who distorts and omits evidence.

If in 1910 it could be said (p. 25) that "social disorder has nothing to do with an entirely personal drama" of weariness of trouble and wish for death, that is not the sense of the world in 1919, when we know what social disorder means. We can see before us now how closely the miseries of social disorder touch the personal lives of those who suffer. The lamentations of the Egyptians might all be used by Serbs, Poles and Russians.

In discussing the record about the Hyksos kings, objection is taken (p. 182) that they are described as destroyers, and yet they set up monuments in Egypt. This ignores the 100 years of confusion of the conquest, before they were united under one rule; this period is also overlooked when objection is made to recognising an interregnum in Africanus (p. 553).

In pursuance of abandoning awkward material, the dynastic divisions are entirely thrown aside (p. 183), "for us, who intend altogether to lose sight of the Manethonian dynasties in studying the monuments." Yet these dynastic divisions are pointedly shown by the monuments, not only in style and place, but by the founders of dynasties copying the titles of previous founders, and also by marked divisions in the Turin Papyrus.

A fundamental classification is made by what are termed the Anra scarabs (p. 191); a term used for all those with symmetric symbols and devices (p. 742). Because a scarab of Kha-nefer-ra Sebekhetep has such symbols (246), it is concluded that "the Sebekheteps have preceded Apepi, not far off; but at a short distance" (p. 248), or, in the index, "the epoch of the group is that of Kha-nefer-ra Sebekhetep" (p. 932, and see p. 453). This position seems to be an entire misconception. First, the word (though usually badly copied) is not Anra, but Da-ne-ra, "gift of Ra" ("Heliodoros"), as commonly found on scarabs about the XIIth dynasty, and on examples figured here (p. 744); or in other cases perhaps Ar-ne-ra, "born of Ra," as on p. 250. Second, the symmetric style, as on the scarab of Sebekhetep adduced (p. 246), is found as early as Senusert I (p. 745), and continues on to Tahutmes IV (p. 739). That such scarabs are of the XIIth dynasty is shown by the peculiar light blue glaze of some, which is never dated later than the early part of that dynasty. How can any close indication of age be founded on a style which lasts from early in the Middle Kingdom to the middle of the New Kingdom ? Anyone who has collected scarabs on sites will know that symmetric scarabs are found almost wholly in the Eastern Delta: their style is that of a region, and not of a short period.

A further theory is that the symmetric scarabs of *Anra* type were made in Palestine (p. 732), because they are often found there. On the contrary the material, the glaze, the signs, are all Egyptian, and a far greater number are found in Egypt than in Palestine. That the Palestine scarabs are mainly of this type is to be expected, as it belongs to the Eastern Delta, nearest to Palestine; but to

suppose materials and workmen to be taken to Palestine, in order to export most of their products back into Egypt is fantastic.

The more important part of the work (pp. 276-514) is the discussion of the various families or groups, as shown by the parallel names of the same type. This is a useful principle ; yet as the author has to continue a single type of name, *Sekhem-ra*, over more than half the period between the XIIth and XVIIIth dynasties (p. 819) no close delimitation can be claimed. As a collection of material, with due connection of genealogic sources (as El-Kab tombs), this will be of permanent use to students, with the additions on pp. 226-251, 768-804. We may note in passing that the insertion of Ra with a personal name, as Ra-să-Hathor, is not merely a mistake of a scribe (p. 422, note 194), but occurs on contemporary objects of Ra-neb-taui, Ra-amenemhat, and Ra-sebekhetep. It seems to have been added as a token of descent from Ra. The general results of this discussion are put together in a *Livre des Rois* (pp. 818-880), which must be used subject to all reservations as to methods.

The crux of the whole work, to which all this material leads up, is the reduction of the documentary history of the Turin Papyrus and Manetho from a period of about 1,600 years to a period of 210 years, between the XIIth and XVIIIth dynasties. One or other view must be accepted, if the Sothic cycle and continuous kalendar are not rejected. The radical question is whether Egyptians placed contemporary dynasties in succession in a continuous list. The evidence that overlapping was avoided by Manetho is seen in the XIth dynasty, which lasted certainly over a century, but which has only forty-three years allowed, because the Xth dynasty was legitimate over the earlier part of the XIth. Again, Taharga, who really reigned thirty-four years, is only allowed eighteen years by Manetho, because from that point the legitimate line was in Stefinates, greatgrandfather of Psamthek I, and the XXVth dynasty could not be allowed to overlap the XXVIth. The examples that we can test therefore show that overlapping was not allowed in the history, and that a continuous single series of legitimate rulers was compiled. There is further evidence if we accept the Sebekemsafs, Nub-kheper-ra Antef, and others, as being of the XIIIth dynasty. They were important kings, and could not be placed as late as the decadence after No. 29 of the Turin Papyrus; yet they are not in that list, nor is there any gap sufficient for them in the earlier part. They were deliberately omitted, and presumably as not being the legitimate line. If such kings were omitted, we cannot suppose far less important kings to have been inserted overlapping the reigns of others.

The Turin Papyrus is obviously in accord with Manetho, and they must therefore be taken as supplementing each other. In Manetho the XIIIth dynasty is of sixty kings, and in the Turin Papyrus after sixty kings is a break, beginning again with the formula "there reigned." Next, the XIVth dynasty is of seventy-six kings, and in the Turin Papyrus after seventy-three (or perhaps a few more) there begins the change to Semitic names, which correspond to the XVth dynasty of Hyksos in Manetho. The average of reigns of the XIIIth dynasty is seven and a half years in Manetho, and seven years in the ten reigns surviving in the Papyrus. In the XIVth dynasty Manetho's average is two and a half years, and the average of seven reigns left in the Papyrus is about three years. A closer correspondence of fragmentary material could not be expected.

The main attack on the continuity of the Turin Papyrus is made on the ground that a different type of name shows a change of dynasty. Apply this to

well-known dynasties and see the result. In the XVIIIth dynasty there are two kings with Ra-neb-*x*, three with Ra-oa-kheper, six with Ra-*x*-kheperu; in the XIXth three with Ra-men-*x*, three with Ra-user-*x*, Ra-ne-ba and Ra-neakhu. On the question of types of name we should have to split up each of these dynasties into three separate lines taken in irregular order. No canon of arrangement can be applied to obscure dynasties which will not give true results when applied to well-known periods.

Another line of attack is on the resemblances between the lengths of some dynasties. Elaborate theoretical stages of alteration of the text are presented to show how the existing figures arose from some very different form. The lengths of the dynasties in Africanus' version of Manetho, from the XIIIth to the XVIIth, are 453, 184, 284, 518 and 151. The only relation here is that the last is a third of the first. A change is made by adopting 259 from Josephus in place of 284; then 250 is half of 518. After this we find such theories as, although "we have suppressed" the XIIIth dynasty, yet take the sixty kings stated for that, add thirty-two kings of the XVIth dynasty, making ninety-two, double this (for no reason) and so get 184 years of the XIVth dynasty, which "is therefore artificial" (627). Now let us play with numbers likewise, about a period well known. The XXIInd and XXVIIth dynasties are each 120 years; both foreign in origin; evidently a duplication in history. The XXVth is sixty-one years, also foreign. Therefore there was but one foreign period of sixty years (XXVth); that doubled, for the reigns of the contemporary Egyptian rulers, made 120 years, and that is the origin of 120 years for the fictitious foreigners of the XXIInd and XXVIIth dynasties. This really fits much better than the numerical games played on the Hyksos Period; and all being foreign dynasties the "Theme of disorder" would account for the whole, according to Capt. Weill's principles.

Such absurd treatment of historical records is what is set against the concordant statements of the Turin Papyrus, written only two or three centuries after the age in question, and the record of Manetho drawn from the material available while Egypt still had an unbroken continuity of literature. What is arbitrarily substituted for the ancient record? The 1,600 years is cut down to :---

Contemporary Upper and Lower	Egypt	kings			20 years.
Thebans of Sekhem-ra group					90 ,,
Theban Sebekheteps and Hykson Later Sebekheteps and later Hy	$\left\{ ksos \right\}$				85 ,,
Theban and end of Hyksos	••	••	••	• •	15 ,,
				210 years.	

In these 210 years there must be compressed 133 kings of the Turin Papyrus, the great and lesser Hyksos and the XVIIth dynasty. Several of these kings we know to have had long reigns, enough of them to fill up the whole 210 years. Mermashau is placed as a Delta king, though his statues are of black granite from Upper Egypt. The reigns recorded for the Hyksos Khian and Apepi (who are agreed to have reigned over all Egypt, p. 207) alone occupy 111 years, and the whole of the great Hyksos kings total to 259 or 284 years. All this has to be suppressed, though it is certainly Manethonian history.

The wholesale disregard of the records, the suppression of the lengths of reigns stated (both in the Papyrus and Manetho), the fanciful theories of construction of the texts, the unhistoric treatment of the records of disorder and invasion, all prevent our regarding this work except as we regard the Egyptian history in Josephus, very valuable for reference, but without any reliance on the conclusions. This seems to be the best that can be done to destroy Egyptian history in favour of an arbitrary shortening that has no support in documents or in probabilities.

Le Musée du Louvre pendant la guerre, 1916–1918.—EDMOND POTTIER. 20 pp., 2 pls. 1919.

Those who have seen the back view of a mob of statues clustering in the bay of Demeter at the British Museum, and who have read of the strange holes in which our treasures have been secured from air attack, will like to hear how the French have fared. With them it was more a risk of plunder than of destruction. On the day of French mobilisation the director of museums met his colleagues and instructed them to put their treasures in safety for fear of Zeppelins. The rapid advance of German troops before the end of a month changed the orders to removal, packing and placing in southern cities. Toulouse was the centre, and a photograph shows the rows of cases and of railway wagons run into the church of the Jacobins for cover. Then, when immediate risks were less, the public demanded their museum; and, as France could do its business without taking museums for offices as in London, several halls were re-opened after February, 1916. When the Gothas began to bomb Paris, all valuables were put under the solid vaulting of the ground floor. Next the Bertha bombardment began, and the pictures and marbles were sent off to Blois, and more sand-bagging was done at the Louvre. When the last struggle threatened to involve Paris, there was a scramble of museums and dealers to get packers, boxes, cotton and straw or hay to clear off everything, and near a hundred cases were got off in the last fortnight of June. After the armistice, in December and January, the cases were returned, and order was gradually restored.

Italy's Protection of Art Treasures and Monuments during the War.—SIR FILIPPO DE FILIPPI. 8 pp. (British Academy, 1918.)

We read here of the endeavours to preserve from modern barbarians the treasures which no invaders, however brutal, have yet wished to destroy. Two months before Italy's entry in the war, active measures were taken to protect monuments. The bronze horses of St. Mark's were taken down and placed in the Doge's Palace in a single day, sand-bagged and walled up. The great difficulty in Venice is the quaggy foundation, which prevents adding any great weight for fear of displacements. St. Mark's was covered with sand bags and sea-weed mattresses, which are light, elastic, and almost incombustible, also very effective in case of explosions. Canvas curtains are also a useful screen for glass or mosaics. All portable objects and the stained-glass windows were removed. At the Doge's Palace the portico arches were supported by masonry pillars, and the loggia with wooden props; the sculptures were sand-bagged, and water pipes laid all over the buildings in case of fire. Venice was bombarded eleven times, specially on the churches. At Padua the Giotto frescoes were buried in sand bags; the Gattamelata statue, and the Colleone of Venice, were buried and boarded up, like Charles at Charing Cross. In all the other cities, Verona, Bergamo, Brescia, Milan, Parma, Bologna, the monuments, pictures, and treasures had to be protected.

Reviews.

Ravenna was an object of especial barbarism. There was no trace of military use there, hardly any population to be destroyed as civilians; there was no purpose in attack, except the Germanic ideal of destroying all that gives national interest and historic sense to a people. To attack the churches of Ravenna is a depth of savagery which is only reached by the scientific development of psychological cruelty. The bomb which fell into S. Apollinare Nuovo, broke in the corner of the basilica, but happily did not destroy the mosaics. The whole tomb of Galla Placidia has been completely enclosed for protection, and San Vitale and the Baptistery strengthened throughout. At Ancona heavy shells were fired at the Duomo, high on the hill, and severely damaged it. The Arch of Trajan has been thoroughly built up with sand bags.

After their hideous depth of savagery, against all art and history, the Austrians are unabashed. A letter reached London lately from a Viennese stating that as he had excavated in Mesopotamia he would be glad to join in British work there. The reply was that the destruction of the library and apparatus of the University of Belgrade made it impossible for any Austrian to join in British work. That savage attempt to root out the intellectual life of a nation, was the clearest case of the degradation with which no civilised person could be associated.

#### F. P.

#### The New Catalogue of British Museum Greek Inscriptions relating to Egypt.

The editing of Section II of Part IV of *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* has been carried out by Mr. F. H. Marshall Hall, M.A., and the texts numbered from 1063 to 1093 are those acquired from Egypt and the Sudan, including one inscription obtained as late as 1914.

The volume is most beautifully printed and the facsimiles, or photographs (with the exception of that of the Rosetta Stone) finely executed; it will be a great advantage to scholars to have this series of Egyptian records readily available, and to know where the originals may be inspected.

One of the most important texts in the collection is that from Syene, or Aswan, upon a column of red granite, which originally was erected at Elephantine. Much of the wording has been lost, but by the effort of several specialists a good deal has been restored, and it is found to comprise no less than ten documents concerning the later Ptolemies and their relations with the priests of the Chnoub Nebieb temple at Elephantine.

The records are either petitions from the temple servants to the king, or grants of privileges from the latter to the priests. The Syene quarrymen also put in their plaints; probably, as worshippers of Chnoub, they also had their residences upon land leased from the temple, and thus sacred soil.

Although the documents concern kings as late as Ptolemy VIII and Ptolemy X, the latter in a letter dates it in the Macedonian month Dasios, equivalent to Egyptian Epiphi. Two generals commanding at Elephantine are mentioned, Hermokrates and Phommus. They are known from other papyri or inscriptions as being over the forces in the Thebaid.

Another historic monument is that found at Gizeh, which was erected by the citizens of Busiris in honour of Tiberius Claudius Balbillus, prefect of Egypt under Nero. The text from the dining hall of the Weavers' Guild at Theadelphia has been made of more interest by the evidence as to such associations recently supplied by the Oxyrhynchus Papyri.

A curious text is from the roadstead of Abukir, containing a dedication

of a statue of the Phoenician deity Herakles Belos to Sarapis. The donor was not an Egyptian but a native of Askelon. One inscription is incised upon a gold plaque, and must have been deposited under the temple of Osiris at Canopus. It is a dedication of Ptolemy III Euergetes and Berenice his wife, daughter of Magas of Cyrene.

This Ptolemy was son of Ptolemy II, whose first wife was daughter of Lysimachus. Ptolemy II subsequently married his sister, Arsinoe, who adopted her stepson, afterwards Ptolemy III, as her son. This historical fact is now substantiated by this memorial, which calls Euergetes "son of Ptolemy and Arsinoe."

A similar votive plaque is in the Alexandria Museum. It preserves a dedication to Philopator and belonged to the Alexandria temple.

The next inscription chronologically is No. 1514. It is an offering to Ares, as a deity of hunting, by Ptolemy IV, dated about 206 B.C., and gives a text of six lines. It refers to elephant hunting, which sport the Macedonian monarchs much favoured, as it also supplied them with tame elephants for war equipment.

In this inscription Pisidian soldiers are mentioned, being another instance of the numerous countries from which the Ptolemies secured mercenaries. Mr. Hall provides what may be considered as the final edition of the Rosetta Stone, but does not refer to its partial duplicate of the Egyptian text, known as the Stele of Damanhour. It is a decree of the Council of the Memphis priests under Ptolemy V. All recent documents that throw light upon this superbly instructive text are utilised. Thus the hitherto mysterious mention of a thirtyyear period is cleared up, by noting that that was the duration between the ancient royal *Scd*-festivals. The Egyptian version of the stone instead of "thirty years" reads "*Scd*-festival."

The allusion to the priestess of Berenice Euergetes, the child of Magas alluded to above, is illustrated by the Amherst papyri, whilst the financial matters in the Rosetta text are compared with the Tebtunis Ptolemaic revenue documents. Perhaps the review of the Rosetta Stone was written some time ago, because no reference is given to Otto, concerning priestly privileges, or to Lesquier for military matters. The worship of Arsince is illustrated by ostraca and a demotic document.

The last Ptolemaic record in a British Museum inscription concerns the eleventh of the Lagides. It comes from Paphos, in Cyprus, and quotes a letter of Alexander Grypus to Ptolemy Alexander, who was appointed governor of Cyprus by Cleopatra III. He is, however, styled Basileus in the text. Its date is 109 B.C., though he was not king in Egypt till 108 B.C. A single line upon a statuette base (*Memphis*, I, liii) entitles the Egyptian river god Ní $\lambda\omega\iota$   $\gamma o \nu \iota \mu \omega \tau a (\tau \omega)\iota$ . This expression is easily explained by the deity's statues depicting him surrounded by his numerous offspring.

A partly preserved slab from Antinoe, only obtained just before the war, gives the introduction to a panegyric upon a personage, said to have been a Platonic philosopher named Marcius Dionysodoros. He was also a councillor, and was one of the fortunate ones who for their erudition was maintained at, and by, the Museum.

Other epigraphical records and papyri refer to people so supported, including a text from Thebes and a Rylands papyrus.

There is one text from the Sudan which entitles the Nile "Oceanos," making the river a double of the Celestial Stream.

Several inscriptions, all short and fragmentary, are from Naucratis, including a poorly-composed poem upon a certain Herakleides who died just previous to the day upon which he was to have been married. (*Naukratis*, I, xxxi.)

These inscriptions, which would be a source of pride to any great museum, have been obtained by voluntary gift, purchase, or expensive explorations, and not as the loot of unjust wars of conquest. They form such a corpus of information regarding Egypt, that no history of that country in Graeco-Roman times will be complete without full consideration being given to them, and their editor is to be congratulated upon his work, which is a model for such a treatise.

#### JOSEPH OFFORD.

Cronologia Egiziana.—LUIGI PESERICO. 8vo, 71 pp. Vicenza, 1919.

This essay attempts to link various astronomical results with historical statements which would not usually be accepted. Results from Greek and Italian sources, especially the Parian chronicle, are here connected with Egyptian dates. The eclipse of 1411 B.C. is the date when the Pelasgi near Spina won a great victory over the natives. Eighty years after, in 1331 B.C., the Pelasgic Sus reigned, called Evander by the Romans and Perseus by the Greeks. Then we read of the invasion under Merneptah taking Tanis, a Pelasgic captain violating the queen of Merneptah, the plundering of the store cities of Pithom and Ramesses, a Pelasgic captain killing Seti Meneptah, only son and co-regent of Meneptah I. We may wonder where all this detail is to be found; there is none of it in the Parian Chronicle. If it is in the author's translations of Etruscan documents, they need to be set out and established before they can be applied to history. In due course we reach the immigration of Abisha in the XIIth dynasty "whom some identify with the biblical Abram"; a footnote adds that Ab-ram "father of elevation" is equivalent to Ab-shadu "father of height," which was Ab-sha. After going through Assyrian and Biblical chronology and the birth of Phaleg, there comes the "Rubble drift," which we usually call the "Noetic or universal deluge," beginning at some time in the four years 3048-3045 B.C. After this it need hardly be said that the writer has never heard of the Egyptian chronology, and depends upon Meyer for the possibility of a deluge at that date.

As a minor matter, the reign of Ramessu II is placed as beginning in 1325 B.C., which seems impossible. The date of 1300 B.C. agrees as well with the occurrence of a full moon on Mekhir 16. As the relation of lunations to Egyptian years of 365 days, and months of 30 days, cannot be easily worked except by compiling a table, and is wanted for any question of lunar dates, it is well to put it here on record. The years below are 365 days, months 30 days.

5 years 12 months = 2,185 days :  $2185 \cdot 22 = 74$  lunations. 8 years 7 months = 3,130 days :  $3130 \cdot 23 = 106$  lunations. 11 years 2 months = 4,075 days :  $4075 \cdot 19 = 138$  lunations. 19 years 10 months = 7,235 days :  $7234 \cdot 99 = 245$  lunations. 25 years 0 months = 9,125 days :  $9124 \cdot 95 = 309$  lunations. 111 years 2 months = 40,575 days :  $40574 \cdot 99 = 1,374$  lunations.

Thus, every 25 years the lunations of a given month recur to the same day of the year, within  $\cdot 05$  day. At shorter intervals of 5, 8, 11 and 19 years a lunation occurs on the same day of some month. For reducing longer periods the cycle of 111 years 2 months may be used as correct to  $\cdot 01$  day, in the Egyptian kalendar.

### PERIODICALS.

# Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Comptes Rendus, 1917.

MORET, A.—Un Jugement de Dieu. The stele published by M. Legrain in the Annales du Service, XVI, 161, is here retranslated. It has at the top a scene of priests bearing the barque of the divine Aahmes and Nefertari, and a priest Pasar standing before it adoring and praying "Oh judge who dispenses justice, let the owner of the house be justified, thanks to thee." Below is "Year 14 (or 18, or 26 or 34), 25th day under the Majesty of the king of South and North Usermaa-Ra, son of Ra, Ramessumeriamen, possessing life,—the day when came the priest Pasar with the priest Thay to enquire before the good god Nebpehtira. Came the priest saying 'As to this field it belongs to Thay, son of Sedemnef and to the children of Hayu.' The god remained unmoved. He returned to the god saying 'It belongs to the priest Pasar, son of Mesmen,' the god approved with his head very strongly, in presence of the priests of the good god Nebpehtira, the prophet Paaru, the front priest Yzanubu, the front priest Thanefer, the back priest Nekht, the back priest Tahutimes. Made by the priest, artist-scribe of the temple of Ramessumeriamen in the temple of Osiris, Nebmehyu."

This is a couple of centuries before the various other judgments known under the priest-kings. The case in question is connected with other documents from Saggareh. Pasar is son of Mesmen, and under Aahmes I an ancestor of Mesmen named Nesha had received lands from the king. In the time of Horemheb guarrels had arisen among the descendants of Nesha, and some tried to partition the property, but in the direct line Huy, the father of Mesmen, had succeeded in keeping possession. Again under Ramessu II the collaterals attacked with false deeds, and got a decision against Mesmen, in favour of Khayuy. Here in this stele from Abydos is the sequel, that Pasar, son of Mesmen, got a divine decree in his favour, against the claims of Thay and the children of Huyu. The modification of *Kh* at Memphis to *H* in Upper Egypt is a known dialectic change. The name Thaui is known in the Memphite family, corresponding to Thay in the Abydos text. Beside the conclusions of Prof. Moret, that divine decrees long preceded the priest-kings, and that such could supersede civil judgments, there is another extremely important conclusion. It has been usual to sneer at the decrees by the signal of the god as obviously only a trick of the priesthood. Here we have two priests appealing to the god-king. They must have believed that the decision was not manipulated, or neither priest would have agreed to be bound by it. In some way the decision did not depend on human interference, but was equivalent to drawing lots for a reply. The reason for an appeal to King Aahmes being recorded on a stele at Abydos is doubtless because his pyramid was there, and his worship would be carried on by the priesthood with a sacred bark and image to which the appeal could be made.



#### Periodicals.

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The Sculptured Stones found at Hal Tarxien, Malta, in their relation to Cretan and Egyptian Decoration.—EINAR LEXOW. 14 pp. Norwegian, 4 pp. summary in English. (Bergen Museums, Aarbok, 1918–9.)

Dr. Lexow starts from the latest dating of Egyptian history, and accepts that there are no spirals before the XIIth dynasty, that is 2000–1800 B.C. according to him. Hence he concludes that the spiral patterns originated long before in the Balkans, and not in Egypt. This is very doubtful, according to the dating used by the Egyptians. Next he proposes that the beautiful branching patterns found on the stones in Malta, were the earlier stage of the spirals also found there, and that such is the origin of spiral ornament. Certainly it is very improbable that the formal spiral would give rise to the tree patterns, and therefore his main thesis seems likely. There is no reason to bring in the dating to the question, as on any dating it seems that there was a large foreign admixture when the spiral appears in Egypt.

A Stamp Seal from Egypt.—WINIFRED CROMPTON. 6 pp., I plate. (Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society, 1917–8.)

This seal of, limestone has a rudely cut figure of a man and antelope. Seals of similar design are quoted, and it seems likely that this is before the XIIth dynasty, and perhaps of the Old Kingdom. The limestone stamps of the XIIth dynasty are less distinct in style and show a later stage of such work, which is clearly foreign.

Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie. No. 16. The interest of the papers here is almost entirely classical, and so rather beyond our scope. The excavations of Col. Tubby and Lieut.-Col. James in the suburbs of Alexandria unfortunately miss the main question, as to how much is Ptolemaic and how much Roman. This might have been settled by the coins found, which are passed over as "unrecognisable," and "a few coins hopelessly oxidised." Anyone knowing coins could say within a century what their age was by the fabric alone. The pottery, lamps, etc., would likewise have settled the date. The only idea seems to have been searching for notable objects, and not settling historically the age of what was found. Clear statement should be made as to whether the objects were contemporary with the graves, or only in the surface rubbish.

Dr. Granville gives an interesting biography of Henry Salt, the consul who figures largely in the early discoveries in Egypt. A thoughtful looking man, with something that recalls Burns and Blake in his expression, he went to India and Egypt with Lord Valentia in 1802–6, as an artist and secretary. In 1809 he was sent on a British mission to Abyssinia. In 1815 he was appointed Consul-General in Egypt. He there fell in with Burckhardt and Belzoni, and employed the latter for many years in excavations, from which come many of the older entries in the British Museum marked "Salt Collection." He was in bad health, but could not leave Egypt owing to his duties. He died in 1827 at the age of forty-seven, and is buried at Alexandria. He was one of the valuable men who rose to the newer interests of his times, and was able thus to help in the early growth of research in Egypt.

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