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ANCIENT EGYPT

1916.

PART I.

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ANCIENT EGYPT.

THE EGYPTIAN ELEMENTS IN THE GRAIL ROMANCE.

IN the series of legends of which the Grail romance is composed, there is a tradition concerning Joseph of Arimathaea. Skeat has pointed out that this tradition is separable into two distinct versions; one, he says, is "legendary and does not greatly transgress the bounds of probability," while the other he stigmatises as "purely fabulous and obviously of later invention."

Both accounts begin with the imprisonment of Joseph after the Crucifixion, and his release by Vespasian. In the "legendary" version Joseph joins St. Philip, is baptised by him, accompanies him to Gaul, and is sent by him to convert Britain. But it is with the so-called "fabulous" version that I am concerned, as I hope to prove that it originated in Egypt.

This version appears, in spite of its incoherence, to be a solid block—if I may so express myself—of otherwise unrecorded history. It is evidently composed of three distinct portions: (1) In the first is the account of the war between the kings of Sarras and Babylon, called respectively Evalach and Tholome, ending with the defeat and death of Tholome. In this the part which Joseph plays is so small that it could have been omitted without injuring the story. (2) The second part is devoted to Joseph and his son Josephes; and to this belongs probably the long account of the consecration of Josephes, though it really occurs in the legend itself almost at the beginning of the story, perhaps for chronological reasons. The sermons of Joseph and the dreams of Evalach also belong really to the second part, which is in its essence the narrative of the conversion of that district of Egypt to Christianity. (3) The third part gives the adventures of Mordrayns and Nasciens, after the departure of Joseph and his little company of Christians, and ends with the re-union of all the *dramatis personae* in Great Britain. The third part does not seem to have had any real connection originally with the first, but by the simple expedient of changing the names of Evalach and Seraphe in baptism to Mordrayns and Nasciens, the two legends are fused into one. Malory, however, looks upon Evalach and "Mordrams" as two distinct personages. I give here an epitome of the legend, from the arrival in Egypt of Joseph, with his family and friends, to their departure and final re-union in Britain. I follow Lovelich's version as being the most detailed.

Chief personages mentioned in the legend:—

Ermonies. A hermit-saint.

Evalach, afterwards Mordrayns. King of Sarras.

Ferreyn. A giant.

Flegentyne. Wife of Seraphe.

Joseph of Arimathaea.

Josephes, or Josaphe. Son of Joseph. First Christian bishop.

Mordrayns, or Mogdanis. Baptismal name of Evalach.

Nasciens. Baptismal name of Seraphe.

Salustes or Salustine. A hermit-saint.

Sarracynte. Wife of Evalach and sister of Seraphe.

Seraphe, afterwards Nasciens. Duke of Orbery.

Tholome Cerastre. King of Babylon.

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1. Joseph of Arimathaea, with his family and friends, all Christians, leave Jerusalem by way of Ephrata and reach Argos, half a league from Bethany, in the country of Damascus. By divine command Joseph makes an ark of wood to contain the Holy Vessel.¹ Next day they reach Sarras, where King Evalach is holding a council of war. Evalach is a foreigner who had succeeded the old king of Sarras, and had conquered the whole land "iusk'en l'entrée de egypte." [A variant says that Evalach had helped Tholome in his campaign against Holofernes, and that Tholome had placed Evalach on the throne of Holofernes.] Evalach is at war with Tholome Cerastre, king of Babylon, who has invaded the country, captured cities, and is now besieging Castle Valachim. Joseph promises Evalach victory if he will become a Christian. The king lodges the strangers in the "spiritual palace," and gives such noble hospitality that the good food and the good beds are considered worthy of mention. Here follows the account of Josephes' consecration, which should properly come into the second part.

2. Joseph prophesies that Evalach shall fall into Tholome's power, but shall be victorious if he embraces Christianity; Joseph breaks the idols in order to prove to the king that they are devils. Sarracynte is already a Christian, having been converted by the hermit Salustes, who had healed her mother. When he died Sarracynte had helped another hermit, Ermonies, to bury him. She has, however, never acknowledged her conversion publicly.

3. Evalach hears that Tholome is besieging Castle Valachim, with twenty thousand horse and forty thousand foot. He dispatches his vassals to Castle Tarabe; and before he himself starts, Joseph makes, with two strips of red cloth, a cross on Evalach's white shield. The king then rides with "a Ryht gret Compene of knyhtes" to Tarabe, where he stays for eight days assembling his troops. At the end of that time they set forth to raise the siege of Valachim. They pass through a forest, cross a valley, and climb a hill from the top of which the besieged castle is visible. In the battle which ensues, fifteen thousand men are killed, and Evalach is forced to retreat to Castle Comes, two miles away, hotly pursued by Tholome. The besieged garrison, by a sortie, capture Tholome's camp and equipment, so that Tholome, returning from the pursuit, finds his tent and pavilions all "to-broke."

4. In the morning Tholome learns that Evalach is at Castle Comes with a small retinue, he determines to take half his force to capture his enemy, the other under the steward Narbus remaining to continue the siege. Tholome starts late and marches all night. Meanwhile Evalach hears, from a spy, of the successful sortie of the Valachim garrison, and he leaves Comes with seven hundred horse and nine hundred foot to make another effort to raise the siege. Five miles from Comes he meets a messenger from Sarracynte warning him to leave that castle as Tholome is on his way to besiege it. Evalach then makes toward Sarras, and meets Seraphe who is bringing a body of four thousand horse to his aid. On Seraphe's advice they all go to Orkauz rather than to Sarras, as being a stronger city and more central for news. Close to Orkauz is a red rock called the Rock of Blood. It is four bowshots high, and between it and the river is a narrow passage, wide enough for only ten men to walk abreast.

5. Evalach remains at Orkauz a day and a night to assemble his forces. Early in the morning part of Tholome's army arrives before the town. Evalach leaves an old knight and a hundred men as a garrison, and attacks the enemy, who,

¹ "Forto do in thilke blod thou bearest about." *Alliterative Lyfe*. Skeat. Early English Text Society.

weary with the long night march, are easily routed. Evalach and Seraphe skilfully drive them to the passage by the rock, where the slaughter is so great that the rock is stained red and is called the Rock of Blood afterwards. Two miles beyond the rock, Tholome's main army is seen advancing, and a pitched battle ensues. Evalach's force is divided into four battalions: the first under Seraphe, the second under the steward, the third under an old worthy warrior named Archimedes, and the fourth under his own command; at the same time he sends Jeconias to guard the Passage of the Rock. Tholome's army is divided into eight battalions; and the order of battle is that the first two shall go against the steward, the third and fourth against Archimedes, the fifth commanded by Tholome against Evalach, and the sixth against Seraphe, while two battalions are held in reserve. Evalach has 10,300 men in each battalion, 41,200 in all; Tholome has 16,000 in each battalion, 128,000 altogether.

6. A tremendous battle takes place; and but for Seraphe's heroic deeds, Tholome would have had an easy victory. But weight of numbers begins to tell: Evalach is taken prisoner, and is led into a wood to be disarmed and killed. In this extremity he casts his eyes on the red-cross shield and, remembering Joseph's prophecy, he prays for help. At once there issues from the forest a knight royally armed, with a red-cross shield about his neck and riding a horse "As whyt as the Lylve Flow'r." The knight seizes Tholome's bridle rein, and leads the Egyptian king through the Passage of the Rock. On the further side is an open space: the white knight looses Tholome, charges at and unhorses him. Evalach runs up and makes him prisoner, while Tholome's immediate followers are killed or captured by Evalach's soldiers. Jeconias removes all the prisoners to Orkauz, while Evalach returns to the fight.

7. Here the white knight, carrying Evalach's banner, is fighting beside Seraphe. Evalach leads his men on, and Seraphe attacks the Egyptian rearguard. The Egyptians draw, or are driven, back to the Rock, hoping that they may escape that way, but it is already held in force by Jeconias. Caught between two forces, the Egyptian army is cut to pieces:—

"And thus the Egypcien, be goddis Myht,
At theke tyme weren destroyed be fyht."

Orkauz is so full of prisoners that Evalach has to camp outside for the night. Next day Evalach and Seraphe return to Sarras. This appears to me to be the end of the first part, the second part being devoted to the account of the conversion of Evalach and his subjects to Christianity.

8. A wounded knight is miraculously healed by touching the cross on Evalach's shield, a sight which converts Seraphe, who is baptised by the name of Nasciens. Seraphe then converts Evalach and the wounded knight, who are both baptised and are called Mordrayns and Clamacides respectively. By the particular favour of God, Tholome dies at this time "with Dolowr." Sarracynte at last acknowledges her own faith, which she has held in secret for twenty-seven years, and the people of Sarras, to the number of five thousand and more, are baptised.

9. To this second portion belongs probably the consecration of Josephes, which I shall consider in detail later. Joseph leaves the ark at Sarras under the charge of three men, and goes to Orkauz to destroy the idols and to convert the people. Mordrayns banishes all those who will not accept Christianity. Joseph then goes to Nasciens' country, breaks the idols, and baptises the people. On his return to Sarras he ordains thirty-three bishops: sixteen to remain at Sarras, the

remainder to go about preaching. He then sends for the bodies of the two hermits, Salustes and Ermonies, and buries one at Sarras, the other at Orbery, erecting a church over each.

10. Joseph exhibits the Grail to Mordrayns and Nasciens; the latter lifts up the "plateyne" above the glorious vessel and is at once struck blind, but miraculously healed later. Joseph, having explained the mysteries of the Grail, leaves the country accompanied by two hundred and seven people. This is the end of the second part; Joseph does not appear again in the narrative till he is about to cross the sea to Britain.

11. The third part is devoted to the adventures of Mordrayns, Nasciens and Celidoine, and introduces an entirely new set of incidents. Mordrayns and Nasciens are alone in a room in the palace, when, to the accompaniment of an earthquake and horrible noises, Mordrayns is whisked away and disappears. Nasciens is accused by the wicked Sir Calafere of having murdered the king and is imprisoned, in spite of his sister's entreaties.

12. Mordrayns finds himself on a rock, seventeen journeys within the sea. This rock stands in the route from Scotland and Ireland to Babylon, and is so high that Wales and Spain are visible from its summit; it is a desert without arable land. Here there is recounted an incident of Pompey's naval campaign against the Cilician pirates, whose headquarters are said to have been at this rock. Various supernatural people arrive in ships to tempt Mordrayns or to console him, amongst others the hermit Salustes, upborne above the sea by two birds under his feet.

13. Meanwhile, Calafere has thrown Celidoine into prison with Nasciens, and deprived Flegentyne of her possessions. On the seventeenth night, which was the ninth day of the kalends of juignet (July), Nasciens is miraculously released from prison and carried away. Calafere then attempts to kill Celidoine who is snatched away by nine snow-white hands, while a thunderbolt kills Calafere. Sarracynte sends five messengers to find Nasciens. Nasciens has been put on the Turning Isle, where he has supernatural visitants.

14. Flegentyne takes refuge with an old vavasour; she then goes in search of Nasciens, taking the vavasour and his son with her. They start as if for Sarras, then turn to the right and go westward; they cross the river Arcuse "that toward Orbery Ran In gret haste," and after riding all day they reach a royal place of lime and stone standing beside the castle of Emelianz, "that marched next to the dwchie On that flood." This is a heathen country. Next day they ride five leagues and arrive in the country of Calamyne, where nard, cinnamon and balm are found. On the third day they come to the city of Lussane, the capital of the king of Meotide.

15. Celidoine has also been put on an island. During a storm two ships take refuge at the island. These are full of Persian soldiers on their way to the campaign in Syria. Celidoine converts Labell, the Persian king, who is baptised and dies. The Persian soldiers accuse Celidoine of having murdered the king, and as a punishment send him afloat in a little ship on which they have put a fierce lion. After various adventures he reaches the Turning Isle, where he finds his father. The two embark on Solomon's ship and meet Mordrayns in another ship. All go on board Mordrayns' vessel.

16. Queen Sarracynte's messengers arrive at Tosquean (Roquehan), the birth-place of the parents of St. Mary the Egyptian. They are informed in a vision that Nasciens is in a ship on the sea towards Greece. They therefore make for the

coast, riding through a country so hot (it is now August) that all the men go naked. One of the messengers dies of thirst and is buried in the chief city of Egypt, "where-Offen Alisaundre is the Name." They find a ship in which are two hundred dead men and a living girl; she is the daughter of King Labell, and the men are Persian soldiers killed in a sea fight. The messengers bury the dead, then go on board the ship with the damsel. The vessel is blown out to sea, strikes a rock and sinks, and two of the messengers are drowned. The other two messengers convert the damsel to Christianity, and all three are rescued from the rock by an old man who arrives in a little boat with Celidoine's lion. The little boat goes straight to the ship which is bringing Mordrayns, Nasciens and Celidoine. The whole party are united on the big ship, and

"the lytel vessel wente with the lyown as faste Away
As Ewere flew swalwe In the someris day."

17. After two nights they come in sight of Castle Barne, which belonged to Mordrayns' son and was "In the Ottrest partye of his Owne land Toward the see." The hermit Ermonies appears, clad as a priest and walking on the water. At his command Celidoine enters an empty boat and sails away. The rest land at Castle Barne, Sarracynte comes to meet them; Flegentyne returns from the land of Meotide, and the whole party are re-united at Sarras. This would seem to be the legitimate end of the Mordrayns-Nasciens adventures; but the loss of Celidoine, and the search for him, continues the story.

18. Nasciens departs by himself in secret to find his son. Flegentyne sends people to find Nasciens and to bring him back. Nabor, a wicked knight, tracks Nasciens by the nails in the horse's shoes, and finds him fighting the giant Ferreyn. Nabor kills Ferreyn, then tries to kill Nasciens for refusing to return; he drops dead at Nasciens' feet. Nasciens' people come up, and the situation being explained, the lord of Tarabel thinks Nabor was well served for having tried to kill his liege lord. A divine voice denounces the lord of Tarabel as a parricide and a thunderbolt strikes him dead. At Nasciens' request, Flegentyne buries the three bodies, and erects three tombs called the Tombs of Judgment "in the Entre be-twene Tarabel and babiloine." She returns to Castle Bellyc, and Nasciens proceeds to the coast and enters Solomon's ship.

19. Joseph of Arimathaea and his followers arrive at the coast opposite Great Britain, where there are neither ships nor galleys. The Grail bearers walk dry-shod over the water; Josephes spreads his shirt on the surface of the sea, and God so stretches it that a hundred and fifty people are conveyed across upon it. The rest of the company, who were sinners, remain on the shore weeping.

20. Nasciens, after several days, arrives at the place where these sinners are waiting. He takes them into his ship and they all reach Great Britain, where they find Joseph and his party, and Celidoine as well. On their arrival in North Wales, King Crudelx imprisons them. Mordrayns, warned in a vision of their predicament, leaves Sarras with Sarracynte, Flegentyne, and King Labell's daughter, and rescues his friends.

I propose to examine: (1) the place-names; (2) the personal names; (3) the details which show an Egyptian origin; and (4) I shall discuss the probable date.

My sincere thanks are due for much kind help: in the Arabic words and derivations from Prof. T. W. Arnold; and in the liturgical parts from Mr. Henry Jenner.

I. *The Place-Names.*

| | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| Babylon. | Rock of Blood. |
| Barne. | Sarras. |
| Comes. | Tarabe. |
| Damascus. | Tombs of Judgment. |
| Mordrayns' Rock. | Turning Island. |
| Orbery. | Valachim. |
| Orkauz. | |

That the whole action takes place in Egypt is indicated, at the beginning of the legend, by the route which Joseph followed on leaving Jerusalem. He went south by way of Ephrata, and journeyed without incident till he reached Argos, or Agais, near Bethany, in the country of Damascus. Most of the modern commentators have put this down to an ignorance of geography on the part of the "inventor" of the legend, and have therefore made no further investigation. The confusion has arisen from the fact that the desert which lies between Suez and the Delta to the south of the Wady Tumilat is known as Gebel Damashq, the country of Damascus. There are caravan routes across this desert from Ras al-Wady to Cairo, Belbeis, and Al-Khankah, which are shorter than going through the cultivated country. It was in this desert, probably on the edge, as Argos was the name of a wood, that Joseph halted. The name Bethany is probably a local name, which in its spelling has been influenced by the better-known Biblical name; Beth Ain, the House of the Well, is perhaps the origin.

The next place mentioned is Sarras, "si estoit entre babiloine & salaundre."¹ This indication of a position between Old Cairo (*i.e.*, Babylon) and Alexandria at once narrows the enquiry to the western side of the Delta. Here, in the province of Manūf in the south-west of the Delta, are several villages, of which the word Sarras forms part of the name: Sersa, Sersmūsi, Sersenā, Sers al-Liyaneh, and so on. The word as written in Arabic is سرس SRS, which, when pronounced with a slightly rolled R, would be written phonetically as Serras or Sarras in a European language. The legend gives a very clear indication as to which Sarras is intended, by specifying that the one in question contained a spiritual place or palace. This is not the "spiritual city" of Tennyson but a solid tangible place, a building into which Joseph and his followers entered, where they lodged, where the Grail was left under the charge of three appointed men, where Joseph was consecrated, and where his episcopal chair was preserved as a holy relic; within "the spiritualities" also Sir Percival's sister, Sir Percival, and Sir Galahad were buried. Reviewing these statements the "spiritual place" resolves itself into a Christian church: in its sanctuary, mass was celebrated, the Eucharistic vessels were kept, and bishops were consecrated; in its cemetery, Christians were buried; and in its guest-rooms, travellers were housed. Of all the Sarras villages only one contains a church, Sers al-Liyaneh, which has a church dedicated to Māri Girgis, or St. George. No evidence is forthcoming as to the date of the present structure, but that the dedication is as old as the legend is shown by Joseph's placing the red cross of St. George on Evalach's white shield. When Evalach as a prisoner appeals to this emblem, a knight bearing a red cross shield comes to his rescue, performs great feats of valour and vanishes when the day is won. It can hardly be doubted that this knight was Māri Girgis himself. It must, however, be taken into

¹ *Li Livres du Saint Graal*, leaf 10, col. 2. Early English Text Society.

consideration that Sersenā, some distance to the north of Sers al-Liyaneh, was a bishopric in the fifth century; for the bishop of Sersenā was present at the Council of Ephesus. There is, however, as far as I know, no church or tradition of a church at the place; therefore in following Evalach's campaign I look upon Sers al-Liyaneh as the Sarras of the legend.

Since writing the above I have received, through the kindness of Marcus Simiaka Pasha, the following information concerning Sers el-Liyaneh and Sersenā: "The Church at Sers el-Lianna is quite modern. It is dedicated to St. George, and possesses, besides an icon of the Patron Saint, icons of our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, etc. The church has no history. There is in the same village a mosque built on a mound surrounded by houses. The Parish Priest writes to say that one of the oldest inhabitants assured him that a great many years ago one of these houses was demolished, revealing the door of an ancient church under the mosque. The door was walled up, and the house rebuilt. Sarsina is not far from Sers el-Lianna. There was an Episcopal Church at Sarsina but there is no trace of it now. The name of Sarsina often occurs in Coptic Church literature. Saint Liaria, who is commemorated by the Coptic Church on the 25th Abib, went there before she received the crown of martyrdom. A Bishop of Sarsina was present at the Council of Ephesus. I also find that a Bishop of Sarsina was present at a Council which was convened at Misr by Cyril, 67th Patriarch of Alexandria, who ruled the Coptic Church, between A.D. 1076 and 1089, during the reign of the Fatimite Khalif Al-Mustansir and the Vizierate of Emir al-Guyūsh. The same Bishop was present at a garden party at the Vizier's palace with the Patriarch and forty-six Coptic Bishops on the 23rd Misra, A.M. 802 (August, 1085). On this occasion Emir al-Guyūsh asked the Patriarch and the assembled Bishops to prepare a revised edition of Coptic canonic laws."

I am able to identify only a certain number of places mentioned; some of them are called by different names in different versions; thus Oriable, the city taken by Tholome Cerastre, is also called Nagister and Ouagre, neither of which names can be found. Oriable might be one of the many names ending in *opolis* contracted to *opol*, thence to *able*; but as the city is not important to the understanding of the story, I have not made much effort to find it. In some of the names, the ordinary variations of consonants occur, B and V, L and R, and perhaps B and M.

Tarabe is the first place to which Evalach went from Sarras. This is called in different versions Tarabel, Tarabel, Carabel, and Carboy. It was sixteen miles from Valachim and twenty from Sarras. The variation in the spelling of the name shows that in some one instance it must have been written phonetically. The form with final *l* seems to be influenced by the spelling of the name Tarabel, whose lord was a liege-man of Seraphe; but as Tarabe belonged to Evalach the two can hardly be identical. It is evidently a three-syllabled word, beginning with T or a hard C. Taking the form with initial C as the original, Tarabe may perhaps be found in the modern Qalameh, in Coptic **KEAGUA**. This place is about twenty miles from Sarras, though only nine as the crow flies from the place which I think can be identified as Valachim. To reach it Evalach must have made a *détour* either to the north or south in order to avoid Tholome.

Valachim is also called Valachin; and the French version gives Evalachin, apparently deriving the name from the king; this derivation cannot I think be considered seriously. The description shows that the castle was very strong; the gate was a stone-cast high, and beneath it ran a river an arrow shot wide. There

was only one other gate, a small one in a corner, in front of which was "plein Erthe" for thirty paces. From the description of the fighting, Valachim lay to the south of Sarras. To the south of Sers al-Liyaneh is a place called Al-Barashim (in the French maps Barchoum), a name which coincides letter for letter, in the Arabic, with Valachim; even the E in the form Evalachin is accounted for by the prefixed definite article. Al-Barashim is situated on the east bank of the Damietta Branch of the Nile. The description says that the river actually ran through the town, but this may be intended to mean a channel diverted from the main stream. The military importance of Valachim must have been very great, lying as it did either on or actually over the river, and will account for Tholome's anxiety to take it, and for Evalach's risking a severe defeat in the attempt to relieve it.

Castle Comes has the variants Coines and Lacoines. These I take to be a mistake of the copyist, who has taken the *m* of Comes to be *in*; the same mistake reversed is seen in the names Mordraines and Celidoine, which become Mordrames and Celidome. The definite article La simply translates the Arabic Al; the word Comes representing the Arabic *Kūm* or *Kōm* قوم a mound, with the usual latinised termination. Mounds are so numerous in Egypt that, unless some distinguishing epithet is included, it is impossible to identify so common a name. There is a *Kūm* at-Taiss west of Al-Barashim, but several miles from that town. The text, however, does not give the distance from Valachim, but from the place whence Evalach retreated. From *Kūm* at-Taiss he could return to Sarras by keeping to the edge of the desert, thus obviating the risk of a collision with Tholome's army. It was on this journey that he met Seraphe.

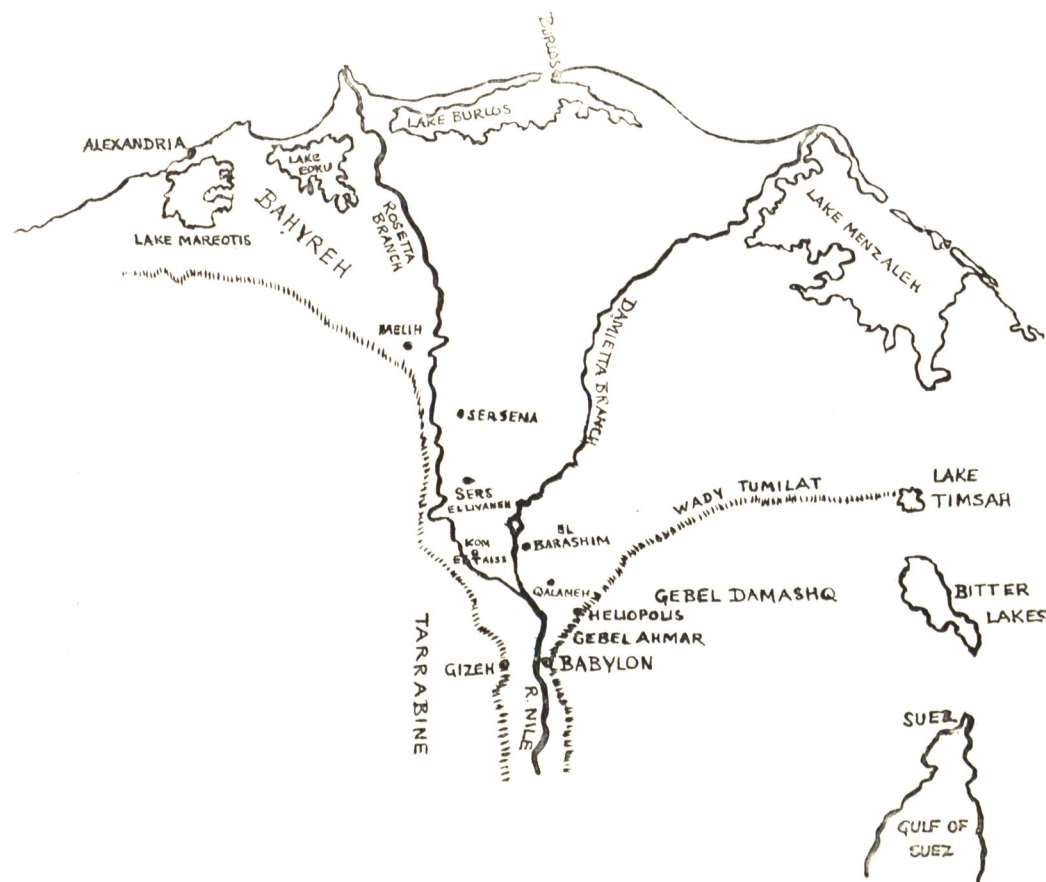
Seraphe was the ruler of Orbery, the variant of the name being Orberike. This I take to be Al-Bāhri, the North; the guttural seems to be usually dropped, though a reminiscence of it remains in the form Orberike. A proof of the northern position of the place is given in the description of Flegentyne's journey in search of Nasciens. She starts from Orbery along the road to Sarras, then in order to go westwards she turns to the right. Seraphe's own name, as I shall point out later, is North-Egyptian. Seraphe, arriving from his own province, and keeping to the west, would leave Sarras at some distance to the east, and would meet Evalach south of that town.

Evelach and Seraphe betake themselves to Orkauz (variant: Arkauz). It is one of the chief cities of the king of Sarras, and near it is the Rock of Blood. The position of the Rock is given thus:—

"And Into the Ryht side it laste Evene ryht,
Down to the water of Orkauz . . .
And the left partie it Ran Evene West,
Into Babyloigne that Riuere went ful prest."

The red rock, then, is near both Orkauz and Babylon and stands close to the water of Orkauz, which ran rapidly from Orkauz to Babylon. Babylon is of course the great fortress which played so large a part in the defence of Egypt against the Arab invaders, and is now known as Old Cairo. It lies to the south of the modern Cairo. Not far to the north of Babylon is the Gebel Ahmar, or Red Hill, rising three or four hundred feet. The exact position of the river bed in this neighbourhood in mediaeval or still earlier times is not very accurately known. Orkauz, from the description, lay to the south of Babylon, yet within striking distance of the Gebel Ahmar. The first syllable of the name, as in Orbery, appears to me to be the Arabic *El* or *Al*, the definite article. The only place, the name and position of

which correspond with the text is Al-Gizeh, or rather Gīz; the word means, according to Maqrizi, the side of a valley, singular *جيزه* *gizeh*, plural *جيز* *giz*. From Gizeh, which lies nearly opposite to, but slightly to the south of, Old Cairo, the river would run "into Babyloigne." It was a commanding position, as from it Tholome's movements could be watched. The difficulty is that it is on the west of the river, and no mention is made of a crossing, which would certainly have been the case had Evalach had to move his army of forty thousand to the eastern bank. The only solution is that the passage by the Rock is a misunderstanding for a bridge or causeway of some sort; the battle would then be fought for the possession of the bridge. Great stress is laid throughout on the importance of this narrow passage, which cannot be explained if it were merely an inconveniently narrow path on one side of the river. The neighbourhood of the Gebel Ahmar has



PLACES NAMED IN THE EGYPTIAN DELTA.

always been a traditional field of battle, for it was here that Horus fought against Set. In examining the map, it will be seen that Evalach held both the Rosetta and Damietta Branches of the river, and apparently also the main stream at the head of the Delta. Tholome was attempting to capture Valachim which commanded the Damietta Branch; and failing that, he fought a pitched battle for the possession of the river near Babylon. To anyone who knows the country, this plan of campaign appears remarkably sound. Evalach's desperate resistance against an army much greater than his own shows that he realised the importance of the positions attacked. To hold the river meant then, as now, to hold Egypt.

In the last part of the story there are a few names which suggest an identification with places to be found on the map. The names in Flegentyne's journey in search of Nasciens are obviously real from the careful particularity with which they are mentioned, but I have so far failed to identify more than one. She appears to have gone due west into a country which is now a barren desert, but "there is express evidence that practically the whole of the coast provinces west of Egypt continued well populated and well cultivated for some three centuries after they fell under Arab dominion." (Butler, *Arab Conquest*, p. 10.) After several days' journey Flegentyne reached Lussane, which may very well be the modern Lucha, which is called Luchon by the Spanish Franciscan who visited the place in his travels through Barbary in the middle of the fourteenth century.

Mordrayns' Rock is said to lie between Scotland and Babylon, and between Ireland and Babylon. This suggests that it was on the sea-route from the west of the British Isles, which was by way of the Bay of Biscay and the Pillars of Hercules; and not on the land route by way of France and the English Channel. The Rock of Gibraltar answers somewhat to the description as being near Spain and Gaul, or perhaps Galicia (Gales=Wales), and being barren and without arable land; its position also, lying as it does on the sea-route for vessels from Egypt to the west of the British Isles, is also in favour of this identification. Against this, however, is the fact that Pompey's naval war against the Cilician pirates was actually in the Eastern Mediterranean, and there is, I think, no proof that he went as far west as Gibraltar in that campaign.

The description of the Turning Island reads like the attempt of someone accustomed to a tideless sea to describe the phenomenon of the ebb and flow of the tide. The island is drawn down into the sea, and the water rises till it nearly covers the land, then the island disengages itself and gradually draws out of the water till it reaches its original height and breadth, and this happens every time the firmament turns. No explanation is given of the turning of the firmament, which seems to be considered something of daily occurrence. The mixture of piety and pseudo-science in the explanation of the phenomenon of the Turning Island, especially the account of the loadstone, is quite in the style of Arab writers; and it is noticeable that wherever in Arabic we should expect the name of God, there is here always a paraphrase: "li establissieres del monde," "li souuerains peres, qui est fontaine de toute sapiense," "chelui a qui toutes choses sont obeissans."

The messengers are said to pass through Egypt where the people are naked in the hot months—and it is worth noting that the whole action is said to take place in the height of summer. This part of the country is obviously the Delta, for the messenger who succumbed to thirst is buried at Alexandria, showing that he must have died near that city, for the body could not have been carried very far in the great heat. On the return of the party, they land from the ship at Castle Barne on the coast, which may very well be the modern Burlos. Burlos, lying as it does at the entrance to Lake Burlos and the mouth of the Damietta Branch, was of great importance, and must have been a strong fortress.

In the last part of the legend, two place-names are mentioned, Castle Bellyc where Flegentyne stays, and Tarabel where the Tombs of Judgment are set up. Bellyc is in Orbery and may be Melih in the province of Al-Bahyreh. The legend implies, though it does not say so, that the tombs were erected where Nasciens fought with Ferreyne; in describing how Flegentyne took money and workmen to make the Tombs it shows that they were at a distance from Castle Bellyc; the exact position is given as being in "the Entre between Tarabel and Babiloine."

This can only mean the part near Cairo, and may be a confused reference to the Pyramids of Gizeh; the highest, *i.e.*, the Second Pyramid, being in the middle. This identification is made the more probable by the fact that the district to the west from Abu Roash to Dahshur is known as Tarrabine.

The Personal Names.

The names of the principal characters also show an Egyptian origin. The most striking is that of Tholome, king of Babylon. This name is given to two kings: 1. Tholome, who fought against Holofernes, and to whom Evalach fled from Syria; and 2. Tholome Cerastre, who invaded the kingdom of Sarras and whom Evalach finally defeated. The name is clearly a reminiscence of Ptolemy; and as it is applied to more than one king of Babylon, it is evident that there was still a popular tradition of several kings of Egypt bearing that name. Apart from the fact that Tholome was king of Babylon, the connection with Egypt is again proved by the epithet of "Egipcien" always applied to the army of Tholome Cerastre. The variants of the king's name are Tholomer and Tholomes; for the final *r* I can offer no explanation, but the final *s* appears to be the masculine termination of the Latin and occurs in many of the proper names.

Ermonies (variant, Hermione) is the Coptic saint **ⲉⲣⲙⲓⲛⲉ**, Hermine, Latinised as Arminius. His day is kept in the Coptic calendar on the 2nd of Kihak (Nov. 28). Very little is known of this saint: the legend given in the Synaxarium is obviously not historical, it consists almost entirely of his ordination by the chief apostles and of an encounter with the devil. He is said to be buried at Qaû, and miracles occurred not only at his tomb but at every church dedicated to him. Salustes (variant, Salustine) is the other hermit-saint; I have not yet been able to identify him, but the mention of birds beneath his feet should lead to his identification.

Seraphe (variant, Seraphee) bears a name which can be traced back to Egypt. The variant shows that it is a three-syllabled name. It is a form of Serapis, the final *s* in this case being omitted; the aspirated P is common in Boheiric (thus **ⲡⲁⲓ** becomes **Ⲫⲁⲓ**); this pronunciation was probably transmitted by the Egyptians of the Delta to their more northern neighbours, and we get Pharaoh for the Egyptian **Ⲫⲁⲓ**, and the Coptic **ⲡⲉⲣⲣⲟ**, **Ⲫⲟⲗⲁ** for the Egyptian **Ⲫⲁⲓ**. Serapis was also a god of the North, and his name would in all likelihood be given to a man of the Delta. Seraphe was evidently a popular hero, and it is therefore quite possible that some of his warlike exploits were originally told of a god.

The name Sarracynte suggests a derivation from Saracen, but it must be remembered that it might derive also from the name of the town of which she was queen. The termination *in* which is found in several of these personal names,—*e.g.*, Mordrayns,—is the Arabic **بن** *m*, the genitive plural. It is found in the word Saracen, which is the Arabic **شَرَقِيَّيْن** *Sharqiyyîn*, meaning "[the people] of the East."

Nasciens (variants: Natianis, Vaciano) is shown by the variants to have been pronounced as though the second consonant had the sound *sh*, Nashyens. There is in Arabic a verb which means "to grow up"; a noun from this would be **نَاشِيٌّ** *Nāshi'un*, meaning "one who is growing up," *i.e.*, a young man. This would be an appropriate name for Seraphe, who was not only a young man, but who was also growing up in the Christian religion.

The name of Evalach has hitherto been equated with Avalloch, the god of the dead in Celtic mythology, with whom the name Avalon is perhaps connected. Though this equation is possibly quite accurate when the Grail legend becomes fused with the Arthurian cycle, yet when the legend is still in its Egyptian form, the derivation of the name must be looked for in Egypt, in either Coptic or Arabic. Here the analogies of the mediaeval forms of Arabic names must be taken into account, and of these the most suggestive are the forms Avicenna from Ibn Sina, and Averroes from Ibn Rushd. It seems then quite justifiable to derive the first part of Evalach from the Arabic *Ibn*; the name might very well be ابن الاخ Ibn al-Akh, "son of the brother"; or, as matrilineal descent continued till the Christian era in Egypt, ابن الاخت Ibn al-Ukht, "son of the sister." Either of these would become Avelach or Evalach in the mediaeval European form. I shall have more to say later, on the connection of this name with Evalach's succession to the throne of Sarras.

The name by which Evalach is known in the later part of the legend is Mordrayns (variant, Mogdanis). The interchange of *r* and *g* suggests the Arabic غ; the prefixed *ma* or *mo* being a participial form common in personal names, e.g., Muhammad. In the variant Mogdanis, the termination *an* is perhaps the termination found in personal epithets or names, such as Raḥmān. I cannot suggest a derivation for the name Mordrayns, or Mogdanis, as the root غدر would give the meaning "treacherous" to the name. This is hardly likely under the circumstances.

Of the minor characters of the story, the giant who killed travellers is called Ferreyn. Here again is an Arabic form فرعون Pharaoh. This use of a title so familiar to us is peculiarly Arabic, the Pharaoh of the Exodus being always so held up to execration as one of the wickedest of men, that the word has come to have the meaning of "Tyrant."

The name of the god Appollin is also worth noting, for it occurs in the Arabic Synaxarium (Hathor 18 and elsewhere) as ابلون Ablūn, a god to whom Christian martyrs were often ordered to sacrifice. Apollo was equated by the Greeks with Horus, and was therefore one of the principal deities worshipped in Egypt. The other idol was inhabited by a devil named Aselebas. The termination *as* as in other names is probably the Latinised masculine ending, and may be ignored. The demon is therefore Aseleb, which suggests the Arabic الصليب Aṣ-ṣalib, the *l* of the definite article coalescing, as is usual, with the initial *s* of the noun. Aṣ-ṣalib means "the crucified," and is an epithet not unlikely to be used by non-Christian peoples for a demon. The name of the demon might be anterior to the story, or it might be a generic name given by the popular language to all evil spirits as a pious hope regarding their future fate.

I come now to a name which I approach with a certain amount of diffidence, and that is Joseph of Arimathaea. As regards the "Joseph" there is I think no difficulty, it is the "Arimathaea" which requires explanation. Here again the variants are of great value in the elucidation of this point:—

| | |
|-------------|--------------|
| Arimathaea. | Abaramathie. |
| Armathy. | Barmathy. |
| Abarimacie. | Barmacie. |

The form with *B* gives an indication of the derivation. As the story derives from Egypt, and the place-names are Egyptian, it is in that country that the name must be sought. The termination in *i* or *y* indicates the *nisba*-form, therefore one

must look for a name beginning with *B* and ending with *th* or *s* (the soft *c* being used instead of *s*). A place-name, which corresponds exactly, is Baramūs, Coptic βαραμοϋς; this was in the Wady Natrūn, and was the site of a celebrated monastery. Yūsufu Baramūsi, or Yūsufu 'l Baramūsi, Joseph the man of Baramūs, would easily become corrupted into Joseph ab Aramacie, or ab Arimathy, the *ab* being taken for the Latin preposition; and without any difficulty the name would pass into that of the well-known personage of the Gospel history, Joseph of Arimathaea. A further proof of this derivation lies in the legend of St. John Kolobos of Baramūs, who, at the command of his Superior, planted his staff and watered it till it put forth leaves and became a thorn tree. It can hardly be a coincidence that two saints, with both of whom the legend of a planted staff is connected, could quite well be called Al-Baramūsi. There is another interesting point as regards the name of Joseph: John of Glastonbury, quoting from the *Book of Melkin*, speaks of "Joseph de marmore, ab Arimathia nomine." The root-meaning of *marmor* is a flat, glistening surface, and is therefore applied to a sheet of water, either a sea or lake, and for the same reason, to marble. The epithet may refer to the fact that Joseph arrived in Great Britain from oversea; but remembering the part which the lake plays in the History of the Grail, and that Lancelot du Lac is, according to some accounts, the direct lineal descendant of Joseph, it seems probable that the word should be rendered "Lake," and the passage would then be translated "Joseph of the Lake, called From Arimathia." This is very important as being the earliest record of his name. It would also agree very well with the Egyptian origin of the legend, as the Lake-province—now called the Fayūm—has been a marked feature, both physically and politically, from the earliest times. The Fayūm also figures largely in Coptic literature as the birthplace of many saints.

One of the most important personal names to be studied is Melkin, which is as yet unexplained. Asser, in his *Life of King Alfred*, speaks of the "pious and erudite men, Gildas, Melkinus, Nennius and Kentigern," but gives no details, though the mention of him shows that Melkin was well known as an author in the ninth century. The *Book of Melkin*, however, is known only from the quotation in John of Glastonbury, and was presumably a manuscript in the library of Glastonbury Abbey. Many conjectures have been made as to the personality of Melkin; the only indications given are: "A certain priest [Soothsayer] of the Britons, named Melkin," and "This writing is found in the *Book of Melkin* who was before Merlin." The last sentence introduces the vexed question as to the date of Merlin, but with the Arthurian cycle our legend seems to have little or nothing to do. No satisfactory explanation of the name Melkinus has yet been offered. The Latin termination may of course be disregarded, but the Latin form preserves the long vowel in the second syllable. If then the name is pronounced Melkīn, the Arabic origin is at once discernible. The word is obviously ملكيين *milkiyyīn* or *malakiyyīn*, the genitive plural of ملكي, an adjective derived from ملك "a king"; it can therefore be translated King's men, Royalists, Melkites. This opens up the question, which I do not propose to discuss, as to whether the manuscript took its name from that section of the Coptic Church which held the political power before the Arab conquest, or whether it refers to King Evalach's followers. One thing, however, is certain and that is, that although the word survived to the time of John of Glastonbury (*circa* 1400), the meaning was lost and كتاب الملكيين *Kitabu 'l-Milkiyyīn* became Liber Melkini, the *Book of Melkin*.

Wolfram von Eschenbach states in so many words that the legend which he followed was originally written in Arabic, the manuscript being at Toledo:

“For Kiot of old, the master, whom men spake of in days of yore,
Far off in Toledo's city, found in Arabic writ the lore
By men cast aside and forgotten, the tale of the wondrous Grail.
But first must he learn the letters, nor black art might there avail.
By the grace of baptismal waters, by the light of our Holy Faith,
He read the tale . . .
'Twas a heathen, Flegetanis, who had won for his wisdom fame,
And saw many a wondrous vision (from Israel's race he came,
And the blood of the kings of old-time, of Solomon did he share,
He wrote in the days long vanished . . .
Then Kiot my master read this, the tale Flegetanis told.”—(Bk. IX,
ll. 351-379, transl. WESTON, *Parzival*, II, p. 262, ed. 1894).

This seems to show that the Grail Legend was in its origin Eastern, and was introduced into Europe in Arabic manuscripts; into Spain by Flegetanis, into England by the *Book of Melkin*. In both cases the date of the manuscript must have been after the Mahomedan conquests of Syria and Egypt in the middle of the seventh century. There is no matter for surprise in finding the record of an Arabic manuscript at Toledo in the time of Wolfram's predecessor, as that city was regained from the Moors by the Christians towards the close of the eleventh century; the really surprising thing is that such a manuscript should contain a legend which we are accustomed to regard as essentially Christian, or essentially Celtic.

In the quotation from the *Book of Melkin*, given by John of Glastonbury, mention is made of “Abbadare, ruler in Saphat, noblest of the pagans,” who is buried at Glastonbury with 104,000 of his soldiers. Here again is another suggestion of the Egyptian origin of the names. Abbadare might well be أبو الدار Abu 'd-dār, “Lord or Master of the City,” or أبو الدير Abu 'd-Dayr, “Father of the Monastery.” Neither of these are known names, but they are analogous to the phrase أبو المشوي. Saft is so common a place-name in Egypt that, like Kūm, it must be defined by an epithet before it can be identified. If, however, a king of Saft came to England with a band of followers, and was buried with them at Glastonbury, we may very well see in him the original of Mordrayns, also a king in Egypt, who came with his army to Britain. Mordrayns founded, in the land of his adoption, a monastery in which he was buried; Abbadare, if we take the form Abu 'd-Dayr as the origin of the name, must also have been the founder of a monastery, and we have the definite statement that he was buried within the precincts of Glastonbury Abbey.

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(To be continued.)

FRENCH AND ITALIAN EGYPTOLOGY.

SINCE Sir Gaston Maspero was appointed as “Secrétaire Perpétuel” of L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, the number of papers published in the *Comptes Rendus* upon Egyptological subjects has increased. Moreover, as Sir Gaston is practically the editor, it may be relied upon that the statements in the articles, and the translations of inscriptions, or papyri, have his sanction as being accurate.

The following review of the important Egyptological essays gives the most interesting and valuable researches set forth by their authors. M. Moret describes “A List of the Nomes of Upper Egypt,” publishing one of the surprisingly early era of the VIIIth dynasty. This is a most necessary document for the geography of ancient Egypt, because previously the enumeration of the Southern Nomes had to be, as far as possible, made up from imperfect lists of them upon various defaced temple inscriptions, or casual allusions to them in biographical texts. It is true that lists of them, in Ptolemaic times, were to be found at Edfu and at Denderah, but then there was no certainty that these were identical with the nome names of more than 2,000 years earlier, or that in early times their number was 22. The inscription M. Moret edits is of a functionary named Shemāa who flourished under Neferkahor or his predecessor. He was governor of Southern Egypt, and in his honorary inscription appointing him governor, enumerates the nomes which came under his jurisdiction. He held several religious dignities as well.

M. Moret gives the Nome list as follows:—

1. Ta sti (Nubia or Elephantine).
2. Utes-Hor (Apollinopolis Magna. Edfu).
3. The Two Plumes (Nekhen. Eileithyapolis).
4. Uast, The Sceptre (Thebes).
5. The Two Falcons (Koptos).
6. Ad, The Crocodile (Denderah).
7. Seshesht, The Sistrum (Diospolis Parva).
8. Debt, The Shrine (Abydos. Thinis).
9. Min (Panopolis. Akmin).
10. Uazet, The Serpent (Aphroditopolis).
11. Set (Hypselsis).
12. Du-aft, The Serpent Mountain (Hierakonpolis).
13. The Terebinth, Atf khenti (Lycopolis).
14. The Lower Terebinth, Atf pehut (Cusae).
15. Un, The Hare (Hermopolis).
16. Ma-hez, The Gazelle (Hibu).
17. Anpu, The Dog (Cynopolis).
18. Sep, The Bird (Hipponos).
19. Uabu, The Sceptre (Oxyrhynchos).
20. Nār khenti, The Upper Rose Figtree (Heracleopolis).
21. Nār pehut, The Lower Rose Figtree (Nilopolis).
22. The Knife, Demat (The Northern Aphroditopolis).

M. Moret adds some remarks upon the functions and office of the governor of Upper Egypt, pointing out by means of another inscription of about the same date, found at Coptos, that the Pharaohs appear to have provided another high official as a sort of superior over these southern viceroys, because they were so powerful that they often aspired to the throne. In fact, at the end of the VIIIth dynasty, the epoch of Shemāa's viziership, the Memphite race of Pharaohs was supplanted by a number of petty princes, of whom the chief families of Upper Egypt took the first rank. It may be noted that in this text there is no indication of Elephantine being the elephant nome, although Prof. Newberry thinks he has found that animal as a nome crest. Also, at the early period of the record, the nome

emblems do not consist more of animal effigies than in later times, so that the idea that all the nome signs were originally totems is not strengthened by the newly found inscription.

The hieroglyph for the Seventh Nome, whose deity was Hathor, in Shemāa's text is not a sistrum but the cow-head of the goddess, as it is in the Pyramid Texts.

It is now nearly five years since it was notified that the Cairo Museum had been enriched by the addition of several newly found fragments of the famous "Stele of Palermo." In the *Comptes Rendus* for last July M. Henri Gautier gives an account of these, with four sketches showing how much new material there is in comparison with the piece long preserved in Sicily. From this it is evident that quite as many lines of the inscription are still unpublished as were to be found upon the Palermo piece.

M. Gautier announces that he is editing the new texts in that most expensive of French Egyptological works the *Musée Egyptien*.

One of the newly discovered fragments is of a thicker piece of stone than the others, though certainly its inscription forms part of the same record of early annals. M. Gautier concludes from this that there were at least two monumental inscriptions, duplicates of each other. If so, the possibility of finding further portions of text is much increased.

In the *Comptes Rendus* for October, M. Moret writes another article affording much new light upon the subject of the bequeathing to descendants of estates, or emoluments, derivable from the royal bounty. The title for the remarks is, "Une Nouvelle Disposition Testamentaire de l'Ancien Empire Egyptien," and is founded upon an inscription discovered in the Necropolis at Gizeh, dating from the IVth dynasty.

Although of such high antiquity, the text is quite a lengthy one, and without lacunae. M. Moret is particularly prepared for explaining a deed of this description, because of his researches made in order to produce his work upon *Donations et Fondations* in Ancient Egypt.

In the present case a certain personage of position named Thenta, whose mother's name was Bebi, enjoyed, as inheritance from the said parent, two valuable donations from the Pharaoh. The first of these was a salary, or gift, from the "King's house," in the shape of grain and vestments. The second consisted of two "fields of offerings," that is to say, two pieces of land belonging to some temple and therefore sacred soil, or fields forming part of land assigned for the purpose of producing crops, or nourishing animals reserved for the sacrificial Pharaonic worship. In either case they would be surplus ground not needed for the object they were first reserved for, and so the king could hypothecate them for the benefit of some official or courtier.

The revenue in kind from the palace, as also the plots of land, had been bequeathed by Bebi to her son and heir, but subject to a charge to keep up her ancestral worship, that is to say, the annual or more frequent ritual ceremonies at her tomb. She had enjoyed the royal remuneration because she was a member of a special grade in the court hierarchy called *neb-amakhu*; a title also meaning that its bearer was an initiate into some of the more esoteric secrets of theology. The lady could endow her son with the same emoluments because he also had become, either by devotion and service, or perhaps by hereditary right, a *neb-amakhu* himself.

The Gizeh inscription, however, is not the deed of benefaction from mother to son, but the act of Thenta setting forth his disposition to his beneficiaries of the

properties held, always, it must be borne in mind subject to the Pharaoh's good will. Thenta, in this will, or testament, divides the royal rent of cereals and clothing material, or it may be completed garments, into moieties, one for his spouse Tepemnefert, who could rightfully enjoy them because she also was *neb-amakhu*, the other to his brother Kemnefert, who was *hen-ka*, or professional priest of funerary worship.

This division of the annual payment from the palace was to assure the perpetual performance of the tomb ritual for Thenta and his revered mother Bebi. Thenta could have left the whole of it to his wife, and thus constituted her a *hen-ka* for his and his mother's grave-worship, but probably she was not well versed in the elaborate ritual of the Opening of the Mouth, and the meticulous preparation and serving of the mummy's offerings, and so Kemnefert, a practised hierophant in their ceremonial, was seized of the services.

The two fields, or rather their produce, were also assigned to the same couple; one to the good wife Tepemnefert, and the value annually derived from it was also to be expended for ancestor worship of Bebi and Thenta. Again, in this case, she was not personally to act as priestess, but was adjured to pay part of the annual product value to four *henu-ka*, who also were to receive three sacks of grain per annum, and some payment sufficing to provide incense or oblations for the services.

The value of the other plot went to the brother Kemnefert, also to repay him for carrying out duly the tomb services. That it might always adequately suffice for this purpose he was expressly forbidden to dispose of any portion of the annual income to anyone else. That is to say, he must not assign part of it for his own sepulchral cult, but it must ever be employed to keep up the worships for Bebi and Thenta. It is to be noticed that the wife is not so directed; but the wording of the deed in her case infers that she may use the remaining surplus for her own benefit, after giving certain salaries as specified to the four *henu-ka*.

Compared with previously known settlements of this character, this deed affords two novelties. Before, these funerary foundations had either been bequeathed to the family of the testator, who for the due carrying of them out became *henu-ka*, or funerary priests, or else they had been assigned to a professional *hen-ka*.

In this case the wife and brother receive part and the priests another portion under the same testamentary disposition.

Thenta's act of settlement also is singular in that he seems to have had no offspring or adopted children, hence the duties of funerary ritual are handed over to his wife and brother, secured by gifts of funds adequate for their performance.

Another essay, by M. Hippolyte Boussac, is written to prove the worship, in the first century of our era in Southern Italy, not only of Isis, but also the goddess Bast. He shows this by means of inscriptions from various parts of Italy, and refers also to one found at Scarbanica in ancient Pannonia, near the Danube. The Italian records often erroneously style the goddess Bubastis, using the name of the Egyptian city most celebrated for her cult. From Pompeii, M. Boussac produces a painting showing the figure of a priest of Egyptian style chanting from a papyrus text. He stands in front of a high pedestal, upon the summit of which is a cat, bearing the "Meh" symbol of Lower Egypt on its head. One of the inscriptions discovered at Nemi, enumerates robes and apparel presented to the goddess Bubastis, probably for adorning her statue.

At the October session of the Academy, M. Seymour de Ricci explained a Latin papyrus at Berlin, which formerly belonged to Brugsch Pasha. It is a last

will and testament of a certain M. Lucretius Clemens, and the date of the document corresponds to A.D. 131. For the first time, it affords us a Latin specimen of a will, *per aes et libram*, as fully described by Gaius. A Greek translation of a similar will, that of Gaius Longinus Castor, is to be found in the Berlin *Griech. Urkunden* No. 326.

M. Seymour de Ricci's rendering of the very much defaced writing will be of great interest to students of Roman law, as supplementing the material of the same origin given in M. Paul Frédéric Gerard's *Textes de Droit Romain*, Paris, 1913.

The following Latin inscription, which was discovered about two years ago, at Ventimiglia on the Italian Riviera, is published in the *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1914, Pt. II. It recounts the career of an officer and official named Bassus, who had been Epistrategus of two of the three Egyptian provinces:—

M(arcus) filius Fal(erna) Bassus praefectus cohortis primae Antiochensium. Praefectus cohortis primae Brittonum; praefectus alae Moesicae. Procurator imperatoris Caesaris Traiani Hadriani Augusti, ad quadragesimam Galliarum; item ad censum agendum Ponto Bithyniae, epistratego Pelusio, item Thebaidis. Procurator provinciae Iudaeae, testamento poni iussit.

It will be noticed that the gentilicum of Bassus is absent, which is because it has become effaced from the stone, and so is unknown; but many years ago a seal was found, also at Ventimiglia, bearing the name Aemilius Bassus. The biographical details in this inscription show that the career of the Bassus it commemorates was contemporary with most of the reign of Hadrian, which lasted from A.D. 117 to 138.

Two papyri that have been published from Oxyrhynchus mention an Epistrategus named Bassus. One is numbered in the collection of papyri from that site 726, and concerns Gellius Bassus. The other is No. 237, which is the famous Petition of Dionysia, and gives the title "Bassus" only. The first papyrus text is dated by the editors as A.D. 135, and they say that the mention of Bassus in the other manuscript concerns the year A.D. 128. As these papyri come from the Fayoum, it is probable that the Bassus and Gellius Bassus who appears in them was an Epistrategus of the Heptanomis, or seven-nomed central province; but some matters connected with the protracted litigation of Dionysia may have been connected with or conducted in other parts of Egypt. However, before A.D. 137, the Bassus of the Ventimiglia record was Procurator of Judea.

Two inscriptions revealed by the recent Italian excavations at Ostia refer to Egyptian prefects. One of these concerns M. Bassaeus Rufus, who also held the pretorian prefecture under Aurelius, L. Verus, and Commodus. The other name is that of Petronius Onoratus (or Honoratus), whose term of office in Egypt was A.D. 147 and 148. He is mentioned upon a wooden tablet in the Bodleian Library, as well as in published papyri.

The whole question of the Epistrateges is fully treated of, as far as papyri and inscriptions had provided documents concerning them up to 1911, by M. Victor Martin of Geneva, in a work entitled *Les Epistrateges*, published at Geneva in that year.

Another memorial of a Roman Egyptian official may be added here. It was first published by Mr. W. M. Calder, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for 1913.

The Proculus it concerns was Juridicus Alexandriae et Aegypti.

SER • PROCVLO
 II • VIR • AVGuri • TRIBunus
 MILitum LEGio III CYRE
 NAICA • IVRIDICO • ALE
 XANDREAE • ET • AE
 GYPTI • PROCurator
 NEROnis clAVDI
 CAesaris AVG GER
 MANici proVIN
 CIAE cappADOCI
 AE • ET • CILICIAE
 ALA AVG GERMANICA
 Honoris • Causa.

In the *Bulletin de L'Institut Egyptien* for 1914, M. R. Fourtan, in a paper entitled "La Côte de la Marmarique d'après les anciens Geographes Grecs," gives the result of his travels along the North African Coast, west of Alexandria, as to the identification of the sites upon the shore given in the *Periplus* of Scylax, and the fragments in the *Geographi Graeci Minores* of C. Muller.

Muller took for his topographical guide a British Admiralty Chart which was somewhat imperfect and was being succeeded by a new one embodying a more precise survey. His identifications are therefore liable to correction, and this has in some cases been carried out by M. Fourtan, who supplies a map of the coast giving all the modern Arabic names, adding those provided by Greek geographers. He is unable to fix the port of the ancient Egyptian city of Apis, but considers the temple to have been at the site of the Qasr, near Ras Oum Rokhan, west of Marsa Matrouh.

Since the decease of M. Eugene Revillout, who may be said to have been the only demotic *savant* in France, the continental publication of texts in that difficult script has been almost entirely left to Prof. Spiegelberg. Last year, however, M. Henri Sottas, in the *Journal Asiatique* (1914, pp. 141-174), commenced the editing and translation of some of the more legible demotic documents at Lille, and reproduced two of these in heliogravure; a fortunate proceeding, for after the Germans have dealt with that city, it is very improbable that any of the papyrus collection there will be spared for investigation.

In a modest preface M. Sottas disclaims any pretension of being a demotic expert, having only devoted a few months specially to that branch of Egyptology. But his notes show he is fully acquainted with the work of previous students, and his essay of more than thirty pages renders clear much of the contents of the manuscripts he describes, and incidentally illuminates several matters connected with Ptolemaic administration.

The texts, which are of legal character, are engrossed upon frail papyri, and are really duplicate deeds, something after the manner of Assyrian record tablets, or Latin military diplomas, having been written in duplicate upon the same piece of papyrus. The strip was then folded so that one copy of the text was inside, and thus protected from damage, whilst the shorter recension, or summarised copy, was readable without disturbing the document by unfolding it. Moreover, these and similar deeds were pierced by a small hole, through which a cord was passed, preventing the record being unfolded.

The deeds concern the giving of bail for a person who, unable to pay a loan or rent he had incurred, had become partly and temporarily the slave of his

creditor. To recover his freedom for a short period the debtor got a friend, or an official, who for a consideration would act as baillee, to be surety for him. The personages concerned appear to have been, some of them, in the semi-military police, others warders in a prison, and military agriculturalists, a class of settlers in Middle Egypt quite numerous in Ptolemaic times. In the case of native Egyptians they had already adopted Greek names in the time of Euergetes I, 245 B.C.

The texts illustrate the Greek titles of various officials, and the division of the Fayoum into three districts (or Merides), one of which, Themistes, is that in which the transactions recorded took place at the town of Sobek-Arsinoe.

The precise circumstances which produced these deeds are not quite clear to M. Sottas, who gives five different views as to what the situation of the personage obtaining surety really was. The first of these is the one suggested above.

The eighteenth volume of the *Sphinx* contains a series of articles more suitable for Egyptologists than for the general reader. It contains the last essays written by the late M. Amélineau; one of these, upon "Orthographe et Grammaire Coptes," is a little treatise. He also reviews "The Sermon upon Penitence attributed to St. Cyril of Alexandria," published by Père M. Chaîne, in Vol. 6 of the *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale*, of St. Joseph's University at Beyrouth.

This sermon of St. Cyril, M. Amélineau proves to be a forgery, like so much Coptic Christian literature. As illustrating the vagaries of Coptic authors, he shows that the alleged letter of Pope Liberius to the Alexandrian clerics concerning the death of Athanasius is an impudent fraud, because the pope died seven years before the Saint. In the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* M. Amélineau has illustrated how Coptic Martyrologies are merely copies of one another, and quite unworthy of editorship.

M. Daressy reviews M. Henri Gautier's *Geography of the Tenth Nome of Upper Egypt*, correcting several of his conclusions. The matter, in Roman times, is rather complicated, because this nome was divided into three districts: Aphroditopolite, Antaeopolite and Apollonopolite; the old Egyptian titles for these subdivisions are unknown, if, indeed, they were recognised as in any sense separate in the Greek era, when the whole nome was called Aphroditopolite. M. Daressy utilises texts upon some coffins recently published by M. Lefévre, showing how inscriptions, apparently of little value for historical or geographical purposes, yet are often very useful.

An interesting article by M. Autran concerns *La Morale des Egyptiens, à propos d'un Livre récent de M. Baillet*. M. Autran states that the last six of the Jewish Ten Commandments are identical with maxims for the conduct of a good man in the many versions of the so-called Negative Confession in the funerary inscriptions. Moreover, long before the time of Moses, the Egyptian precept of morality had preached a good will and human kindness more resembling the ideas of the New Testament than those of the old.

To have behaved as a husband to the widow; as a father to the little and the feeble; as an asylum for the orphan, and given clothes to those who were naked, is the boast of hundreds of Egyptians in these memoirs in the tombs. They doubtless often exaggerated their good deeds, but that they admitted they ought to have carried out such conduct is an interesting fact in the history of civilisation.

Alexandrea ad Ægyptum is the title of the excellent guide which Dr. Breccia, Director of the Alexandria Museum, has prepared for the Municipality of that city as a description of the town, its museum, and antiquities.

In addition to the review in the last number, we may note that among many Greek inscriptions stored there, are several referring to Jewish residents. Also the famous military diploma, written upon wooden tablets, granting the rights appertaining to a veteran, to C. Valerius Quadratus, who had served at the Siege of Jerusalem.

Among the Greek papyri are eleven lines of Callimachus' fourth Delian Ode. Although the relics of Pharaonic Egypt are mostly kept at Cairo, the Alexandria Museum possesses a good many, including reliefs and sculptures from Dr. Breccia's recent excavations at the temple of the Crocodile-god Pnepheros, in the Fayoum. But the chief contents of the Museum are its Graeco-Roman Antiquities, including coins, in which the Collection is very rich. Among the sculptures is a colossal statue of Marcus Aurelius, and a masterly bust of a Roman lady. The statuettes and figurines are very numerous, and many of them are fine specimens. The vases also are well worthy of a visit, many of them being provided with a floral wreath in metal work, once gilded. The finest of the sarcophagi represents Ariadne in Naxos. Dr. Breccia reproduces one of the Roman mummy portraits and some of the Tanagra-style statuettes in colours, and also many of the most beautiful specimens of the coins.

The Guide contains detailed descriptions of the Great Catacombs at Kom-el-Shugafa and Anfouchy, and will enable any visitor interested in ancient civilisation and art to pass a very pleasant and profitable fortnight at Alexandria.


JOSEPH OFFORD.

THE GRENFELL COLLECTION OF SCARABS.


THE collection described and illustrated here was formed by the Rt. Hon. Field-Marshal Lord Grenfell, while commanding in Egypt. The photographs, 1 to 102, illustrate his scarabs; and the drawings, 111-146, are from examples in other collections which serve to explain these.


The following remarks will be useful in the interpretation of New Kingdom scarabs:—


1. The verb is generally left out, especially with wish- or prayer-scarabs. Sometimes a "key" scarab, such as 130, supplies the missing word or words.
2. There is also a frequent omission of alphabetical hieroglyphs, syllabics, determinatives of proper names and most grammatical endings, either from want of room, or because the Egyptians were so familiar with the legends that the merest suggestion of them was enough to make them plain.
3. The signs may be reversed, or placed sideways, or doubled, to make them balance better.
4. The deceased is figured under various symbols. Those used on the scarabs mentioned in this article are:

(i)  *nofer*, see 113 and 55. (See plates at end of article.)






(ii) , "revered person," 128.



(iii) , Horus-bird with Ra-sign and uraeus from the foot (often omitted), "glorified one," 26, 137.

(iv)  *neter* (uncommon, 138).

(v)  *hes*, 139.


(vi)  variant, *hes*, 87.

All these symbols are found on other antiquities;  in the Abbott Papyrus in combination with ;  on the marble amulet at Leiden Museum;  in the Ani Papyrus;  on the Ptolemaic sarcophagus of Pa-nehem-Isis.

(vii) , , in its two forms, *amakh*, 94 and 96, is generally, not always, used of a deceased person.

"Hypotheses are nets; only he who throws them will catch anything."

In enumerating the contents of a whole collection of a hundred or more scarabs, several will be found uninteresting and unimportant; a few illegible; some incomprehensible, even if their signs can be read. They are often beautifully cut with meanders, scrolls, volutes and other spirals of different kinds, all of which doubtless had originally a symbolic meaning, now lost.

There seems some evidence to prove that the double spiral (111) and the single spiral signify "life." In an article on the Scarabs of Queen's College, Oxford, in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* for October, 1915, I figured nine double spiral scarabs, 20-28. I then thought the double spiral was an amulet, since it is so frequently used—as other spirals are not—with the symbols for the dead. But on Scarab 111, Fitzwilliam Museum, "*Ra, the golden One, Lord of Life*," and on 112, Mond Collection, the double and the single spiral seem to be substituted for  and to interchange with it. So it is possible that these spirals mean "life." We also find the substitution on Scarab 113, being the same in meaning as the original and much commoner design 114, both in the Blanchard Collection, "*May Isis (give) a good life*."

On 112 the spiral ends in a lotus bud, the well-known symbol for the "New Life."

On 113 the two spirals have a lotus flower between them, with the same signification. See also 28, which may mean "*Establish (his, deceased's) life*." The double spiral appears on the skirt of a Hittite Amazon, see *P.S.B.A.*, Vol. XXXII, 1910.

That the fish means Isis there is ample evidence. We find Isis as a fish associated on scarabs with Bast, Neith and Serq, as we should expect. With Serq as a scorpion she is found on a scarab (115) in the British Museum, "*May Isis and Serq watch over and love the lion of Thebes*," = the king.

The remarkable bronze fish on a sledge now at Cairo Museum, 116 (*Cemeteries of Abydos*, II, xxxix), is a symbol of Isis, having the horns, disk and uraeus as worn by her. Berlin Museum has a similar fish. Compare this fish with the head of a figurine of Isis (117) belonging to Mr. Blanchard. But most remarkable of all is the decoration on an anthropoid coffin of Roman date (118), found by M. Smolenski at Gamhoud, and published by Ahmet Bey Kamal in the *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, IX, 1908. It represents a mummy laid out on a bier and an oxyrhynchus fish hovering over it, replacing the usual Ba-bird. I am not aware of the fish ever symbolising the soul. This fish is probably Isis. Her worship was spread over the civilised world at the date of this coffin.

The fish was the earliest symbol used for Christ. There seems to have been a mingling of pagan and Christian symbols at first, and no reluctance was shown to use a pagan setting. Christ is called "The scarabaeus of God." There were also Christian mummies.

The fish sometimes is an emblem of fertility.




The feathering of the legs of the beetle, 10 (photograph), is not later than the XIIIth dynasty. 11 to 15 are of the XVth dynasty. The Hyksos formula Ra-n-Ra, "*Ra proceeding from Ra*," is shown on 13, 14, 15. This formula is repeated occasionally on scarabs of a later date, see 33 and 46, of the XIXth dynasty. There is an almost similar scarab to 46 in the Bootle Museum, and also one in the Athens Museum, but these two latter have not got the curious object seen at the top and bottom of 46.

Of royal scarabs of the XVIIIth dynasty, 16 is Aahmes I, first king of that dynasty, "*Neb-pehti-Ra, ruler of Egypt*"; 17 is "*The Royal Wife Nefertari*," his queen. Her scarabs are common.


18 is Thothmes I(?) as a lion over a captive.

19, 20, 21, 22 are some of the common Men-kheper-Ra (Thothmes III) scarabs, the largest class of all, and the most uninteresting.

23 is Amenhetep II, Aa-kheperu-Ra.

24 and 25 may be called "circling scarabs." Both are rather faulty specimens. The design is more carefully given on 119 (at Alnwick Castle) "Let not the heart (of deceased) be destroyed by the judge, but may he circle round the temple of Amen Ra." The heart was considered the part of a man which sinned, therefore judgment was passed on it. The hieroglyph for "judge" is , *ap*, the two horns, used here with the determinative of a seated figure. Thoth is called *ap rehui*, , "the judge of the Rehui" (Horus and Set).  *hetem*, "to destroy," is an uncommon hieroglyph of a bird with a drooping head and a very long neck. It is not given in the sign-lists of the Grammars of Erman, Brugsch and Farina, but it is given in those of Loret and Budge. The latter part of 24 and 25 is clear enough. Dr. Budge in *The Liturgy of Funerary Offerings*, 1909, writes: "It is known from many texts that souls (*kau*) journeyed from one great sanctuary to another in Egypt, and that they assisted at all the great national festivals, and expected to receive their due share of the offerings which were brought to the altars."


A second variety of circling scarabs is 120 in the Blanchard Collection, which figures the *ka* as well as the *ab* "circling round."




The MacGregor Collection has a third variety, 121, "In his worship may he circle round the roads of Bubastis." [The ape is a symbol of worship.] There is yet a fourth kind of circling scarab, 122 (British Museum), which has the word , *kedi*, "go round in a circle," with the two legs for a determinative. "May Amen Ra the lord, king of the gods, arrive, and circle round (the heavens) and make the breath (of life) for those above (the earth)." Circling scarabs are all rare except the first variety.

26 is a plaque of Serq with the determinative of a goddess. Apparently she is protecting a Glorified One, though the Ra-sign and the uraeus from the bird's foot do not appear. But so much is not written out on scarabs, which was too familiar to the Egyptians to need repetition, that it makes many puzzles for us who are not so well equipped. The reverse of this plaque has two scorpions. Serq is frequently doubled, probably to fill up the space. On Scarab 123 (Liverpool Museum) she is guarding the king, figured as a lion. On 124 (Eton College) she is found with Isis figured as a fish. I have already alluded to Serq's appearance on Scarab 115.

29 is the usual pattern having its origin in the head of Hat-hor, which is common on scarabs.


XIXth dynasty. 36, the king offering to Ptah in a shrine, and 37, the king adoring Amen who is under the form of an obelisk, are adoration scarabs, of which there are a large number. Above the obelisk on 37 is written one of the ancient titles of the Almighty (plural omitted) "Lord of Lords," repeated even now by millions of persons week after week in the Anglican prayer for the reigning Sovereign. Several such Egyptian expressions, incorporated into the Bible, masquerade as belonging to Hebrew literature when they do not, but are merely copied into it. On the hypocephalus amulet of a lady, Ta-tu, we find: "O Amen of Amens who art in heaven above (compare the beginning of the Lord's Prayer) turn thy face towards the body of thy daughter, the august Osiris, who is in the funeral region, Ta-tu, deceased." On the base of the great Karnak obelisk, Queen Hatshepsut calls herself "the form of forms."

38 is the king (or Amen) as a sphinx, guarding  *hes* (deceased) [ruling] over North and South Egypt, which country is symbolised by a lotus and a papyrus plant.


40 is "May Ptah, Lord of the beautiful face, give strength" , *her*, is used here in its original meaning of "face," though it is more common as a preposition. On a plaque in the British Museum (125) we read: "Ptah of beautiful face."  or  sometimes means the god Hor, or Horus, as in 136. It is a very common ingredient in private names, as Hor-du, Hor-y, Hor-men, etc.




41, "Ra the only strength," is a boat scarab. Several of these are common, and form a large class of thirty or more varieties.


42, "Ra stands firm; Do not fear."



43, 44, 45, are scarabs representing Thoth as a cynocephalous ape. On 43 he is in company with Khonsu guarding . On 44 and 45 he is "Lord of Maat," that is of the life of the *Au-delà*, which by his magic words, ceremonies, etc., he brings about for the deceased.

XXVth dynasty. 79, both in photographs and drawings, has Thoth as an ibis. This ibis resembles the gnostic form of Thoth figured with the caduceus of Hermes, 126 (Biella Museum).

48 is an interesting "Fluttering Power" scarab; "May Ra (give)  this (man) the fluttering power, to wander unceasingly over his domain in the next world," as described in the inscription on the stele of Nekht-Amsu, or Nekht-Min, see Dr. Budge's *Egyptian Reading-Book*, 1906. A most remarkable and unique scarab, published by Prof. Newberry on Pl. XL, 31, in *Scarabs*, 1909, has this inscription, slightly shortened, on it. I have noticed this scarab in an article in the *Recueil*, Vol. XXX, 1908, "Amuletic Scarabs for the Deceased," and figured it with five other rare fluttering power scarabs. One of the commoner varieties is 127, "May Horus (give) him the fluttering power like" word omitted.

Prof. Sethe has given the clue to the meaning of the high white crown , *hez*, of Upper Egypt on some of these scarabs in the *Report on Some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis*, 1908, in the chapter supplied by him "Die aenigmatischen Inschriften." In this report the text of a Hymn to Amen is published, written in this enigmatic script, where  is given as the equivalent of  absolute pronoun, 3rd pers. sing., "he" or "him." As Osiris nearly always wears this crown, and the beatified deceased became an Osiris at death, it seems a very suitable hieroglyph to choose for him.

On a scarab (128) in the John Ward Collection, instead of , the deceased is figured as a revered person seated.

A fourth variety (Louvre Museum) is 129, "May there be (for deceased) the fluttering power like" The word after  is elided in these last three examples, see the remarks in Brugsch's *Grammar*, p. 105, under : "After this word the elision of a noun is a general rule in all phrases of reciprocal comparison." Therefore we must supply a noun, and here it is "gods," "may there be the fluttering power (for deceased) like the gods."

In fact, there is a "key" scarab (130) in the Catalogue of the Fraser Collection, 1900, slightly broken, but not enough to make the design illegible, which, fully written out, runs: "May he be provided with the fluttering power like the gods."

A scarab (131) in the Mond Collection has the *hez* sign used in the same way: "May he (deceased) see Ra." The same signs arranged differently are found on a scarab, 132 (drawing), formerly in the Meux Collection. To "see Ra" was one of the rewards of the righteous, and as man's psychic nature remains the same through the ages, Tennyson, in his last poem, "Crossing the Bar," has the same wish.

The Grenfell Collection includes three Ta-urt, or Thoueris scarabs, 49, 63, 64—the two latter XXVth dynasty—and a Thoueris plaque, 93, XXVIth dynasty. The fourth Thoueris scarab, 133 and 49 (copied among the scarabs drawn, as it is so indistinct), shows a lotus symbolic of *onkh*, instead of the more usual $\text{X} \text{♀}$, *sa onkh*, "fluid of life," so frequently prayed for on scarabs by deceased. Thoueris has a knife in her hand on 63, 64, and on 133, to cut down the enemies of the deceased. On a beautifully incised scarab in Queen's College, Oxford, she has a second knife tied on to her foot.

The lotus used for $\text{X} \text{♀}$ also appears on scarab 134 in Stuttgart Museum, "May there be (for deceased) life with Thoth!" A verb is suppressed on Scarab 135, "May Thoth (give) life with Ra!" The verb is given on 136, "May Horus give him life" (Grant Bey Collection).

54 is a chariot scarab. The horse is better shaped than usual.

55 is a *nofer* protected by six concentric amuletic rings. 56 is of the Apis signs type of scarab, though it is a contracted example not giving all the signs. Vienna Museum and Queen's College, Oxford, have the perfect set, namely, a winged disk, a hawk with outspread wings, and a beetle with expanded wings, here evidently referring to the flight of the soul after death.

59 is a "transformation" scarab, "May there be transformations (for deceased)." M. Naville mentions the $\text{X} \text{♀}$ transformations, in *La Litanie du Soleil*. An analogous scarab (137) in the Hood Collection has "May the glorified (have) transformations." Liverpool Museum has a scarab, 138 (drawing), "May Ra give deceased transformations." It has the rare expression for deceased, X , found in the Papyrus of Ani, and on a few other scarabs. The British Museum has a plaque (139), "May some goddess (?) give transformations to deceased." The latter is figured under the X sign. The two dots represent the plural, usually suppressed. The middle dot is omitted as it would interfere with the X sign; and an absolute rule on scarabs is that no sign should ever touch another sign. This makes for clearness very decidedly. Of course there are a few composite signs to which this rule does not apply, but they are rare.

60 has a tied lotus: an unexplained amulet (?).

65, XXVth dynasty, has a Bennu-bird, flanked by two uraei. The remarkable point is that the uraei are not heraldically placed as usual. This peculiarity also occurs on a scarab (140) formerly in the Hilton Price Collection, where the name "Unn" is written. Whether 65 is a name "Bennu," I could not say. The Egyptians frequently gave theophorous names to their children, but I have not come across Bennu as a personal name.

68 (plaque) and 69 (scarab) have the usual arrangement of Bes worshipped by apes. 70 has Bes grasping serpents, also a well-known design.


71 shows a man holding out two goats.

75 has "May Bast give good things."





The Grenfell Collection has a few private persons' names, besides the possible one, 65. 81 is a private name, Sebek-sa. Lieblein gives an example from a stele at Vienna.

84 is the well-known scarab of "Prince Pa-ma (the lion), hereditary mayor, priest of Osiris, lord of Dedu."

89 is the scarab of a  "suten-rekh, royal relative, Pa-fet-pet, deceased." Lieblein gives a somewhat similar name, P-f-pet-neter-ra, on a statuette in the Hermitage, Petrograd.

94: "The deceased amakh, Nef," , with the determinative of a woman, occurs on a stele in the Florence Museum.

The Grenfell Collection also has a plaque (141) with the name Unnef on it. In the Boston Fine Art Institute, U.S.A., we get the full name , Unnofer, 142. So there were three contractions of this favourite name of Unnofer; namely, Unn 140, Nef 94, and Unnef 141. In its Greek form of Onnophris, Ὀννώφρις, it was a common Egyptian name in the Graeco-Roman period. There is a church in Rome dedicated to Sant' Onofrio.

91, a lion with Ra-sign above, is a title placed above the name of the king, and used in the XXVth and XXVIth dynasties. There is a lion on a scarab of Shabaka, 143, and on one of Taharqa, 144, both in the Cairo Museum; also one on a scarab of Psamtek I, published in Petrie's *History of Egypt*. 92 also has this lion and the hieroglyph *khent* (literally "in front of"), here with the meaning of ruling over (Egypt). 95 is also a title "The Great One of Five," signifying the High Priest of Hermopolis. Scarabs with titles only on them, without names or other signs, are rare. The Fitzwilliam Museum has one, ; the Bower Collection has

; the Wiedemann Collection has .

97 may be a modern cutting, "Amen Ra the Lord," on a XIIth (?) dynasty scarab.

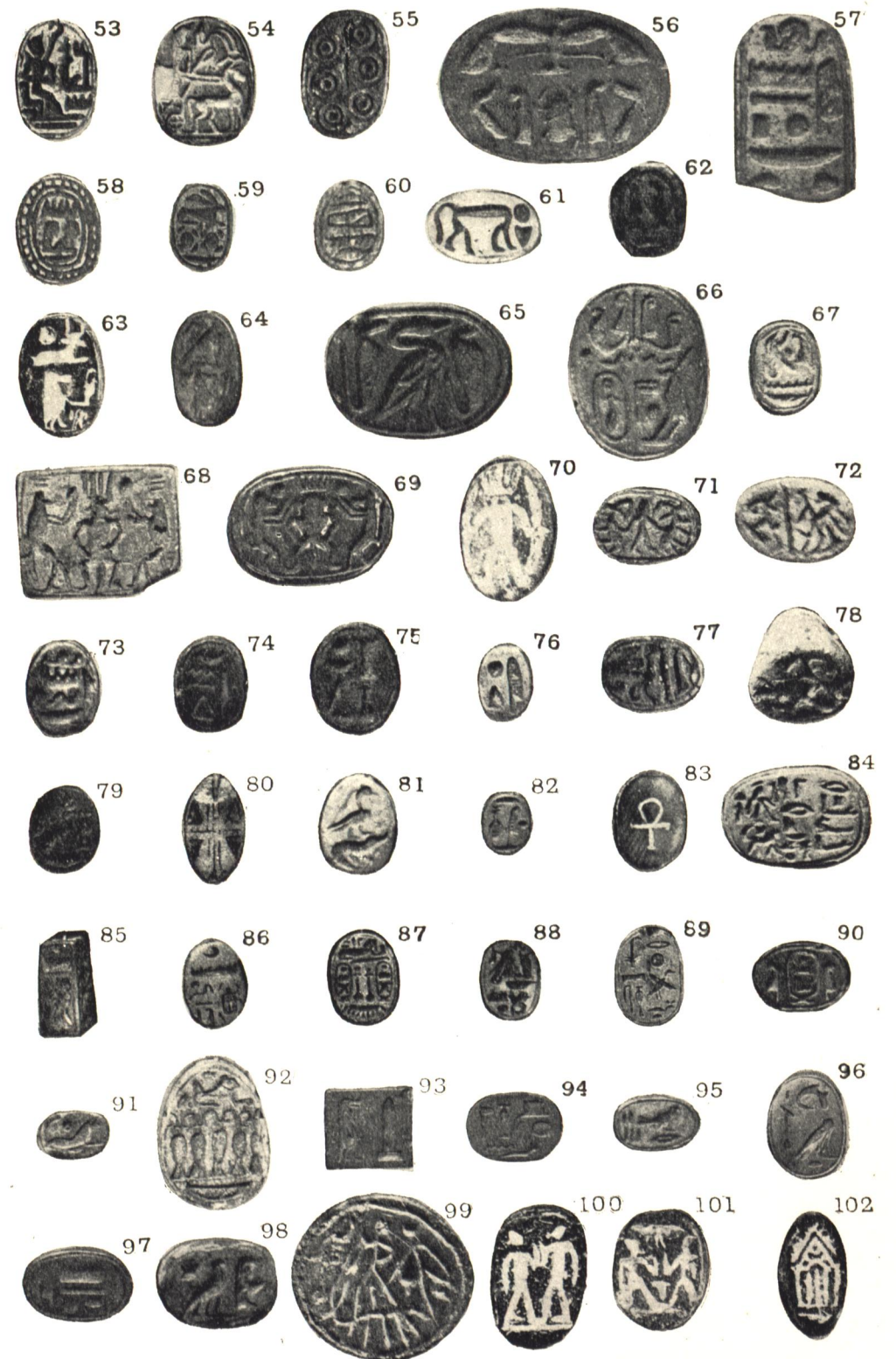
99 and also 78 are conical seals, exceedingly rough and primitive in design; 99 has a divinity on the back of a quadruped with a worshipper.

100 and 101 seem allied to each other. The object between the two men on 102 is apparently an upright lotus. Dorow and Klaproth in *Antiquités Égyptiennes*, No. 1389, figure similar deities (?), with the same object (?) between them (146).

102 is possibly a temple, but not of Egyptian style.

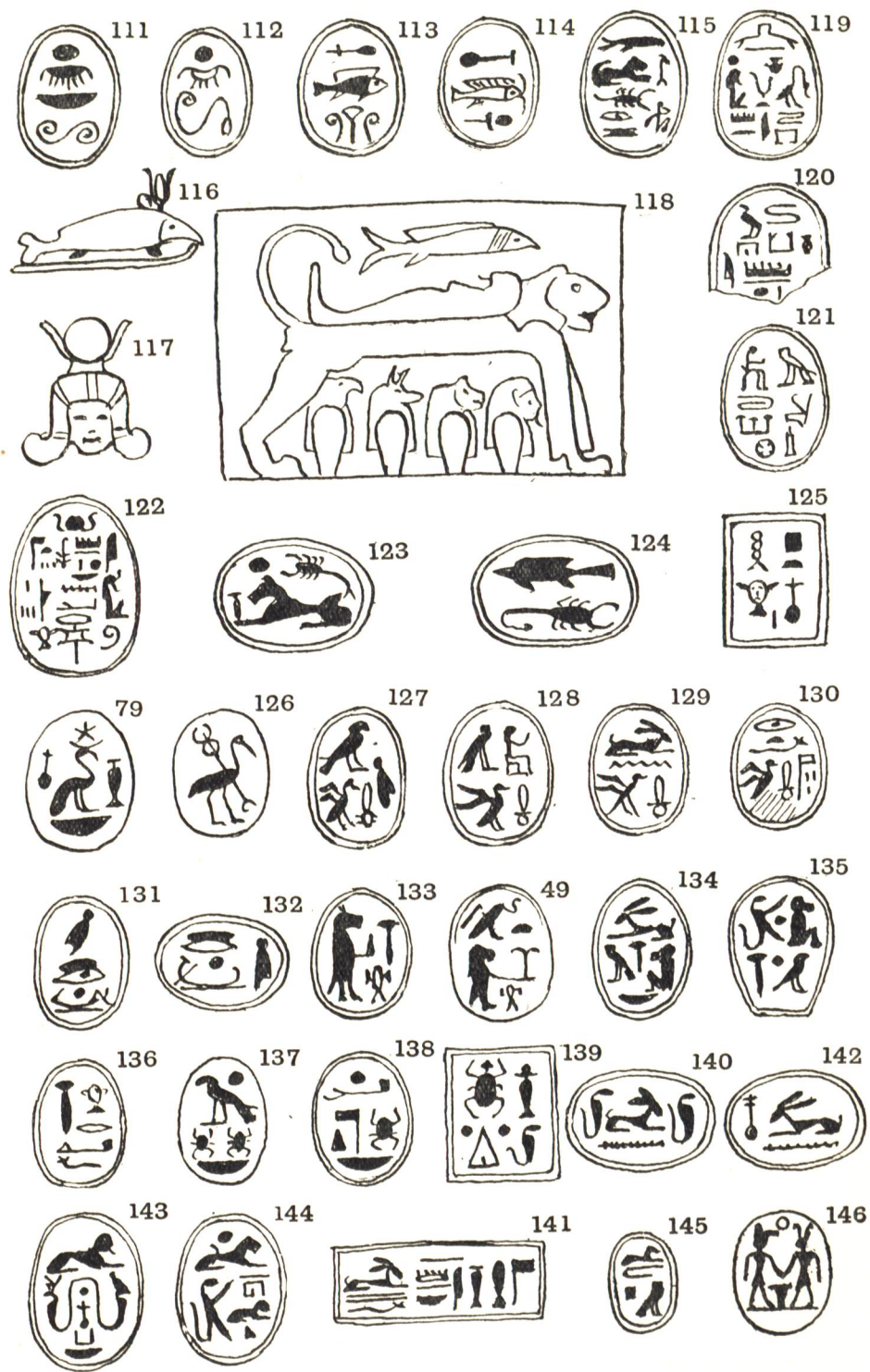
Alice Grenfell.

A few notes may be added on the dates of these scarabs. 1 has the two *nefer* signs for Ra, often found in the XIIth dynasty; it reads thus Ra-kheper-ka-kho, apparently a double reading of Senusert II with the *ka* added of Senusert I. 2 to 4 are also of the XIIth dynasty. 5 is probably of the Hyksos age, and 11 is of the style of Apepa II. 21 has the title Mery-ra. 22 is very unusual; Tahutmes has the title *em so mätot*, "with the sceptre of right," probably a reflection on Hotshepsut. The reverse is "beloved of Sebek, lord of Sun," an inscription common enough in the XIIth dynasty, but unusual later. 23 has the crowned uraei of South and North, which are unusual at so early a date. The plant on 28 should be compared with 113. 32 is a scarab of Tahutmes III, made by Sety I. 35 to 38 are probably of



Ramessu II. 53 is of Ramessu III; and 54 is probably of the same by the *māot* before the king. 68, 69 are of the XXIIIrd dynasty, and 71 of the XXVth. 87 by the sphinx holding a *hes* vase is of Men-kheper-ra of the XXVth; as also are 88 and 89, the latter having the name on the other side. 90 is of Menkara, vassal of Shabaka. On 91, 92, 144, the Ra and Lion are of Psamthek, as a vassal of Taharqa. 100, 101, 146 appear to be all alliance scarabs; on 101 and 146 the two figures are swearing alliance over an altar, with the sun as witness above. So far as the detail can be estimated in the drawing it looks as if one figure wore the Hittite tall cap, and the other the Egyptian double crown. 116, the disc and horns are the usual headdress of the sacred Oxyrhynchos; of the dozen goddesses with this headdress, Hathor seems to be the one in question, see figure from Great Oasis, Wilkinson, *M. and C.*, Fig. 584. 141 is one of the foundation deposits of the High-priest Nebunnef from Qurneh (see *Qurneh*, xxxiii, *Memphis II*, xxvi, 4), under Ramessu II. The readings which are of various degrees of probability, suggested by Mrs. Grenfell, were noticed in the last number of this Journal, p. 185, and will have to be taken into consideration in any future study of such scarabs.

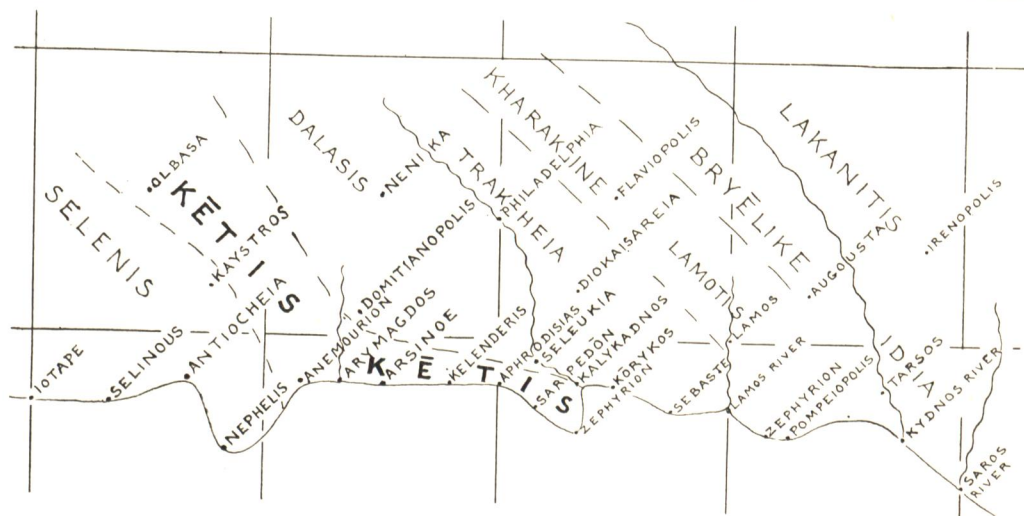
W. M. F. P.



THE END OF THE HITTITES.

AFTER the close of the Egyptian contact with the Kheta in 1194 B.C. under Ramessu III, we gain no further literary evidence on the Egyptian side. In the Book of Kings there are references to Hittites under David and Solomon, and the last living allusion seems to be under Jehoram, when the Syrians besieging Samaria, about 892 B.C., supposed that the Hittites and Egyptians were coming to attack them. The mention of Hittites in Ezra is an archaistic recital of the heathens of Palestine (ix, 1), and in Nehemiah (ix, 8), only an historical allusion to the past. Thus from literary sources we lose sight of the Hittites in Syria about 900 B.C. This is about the middle of the earlier Iron Age of the Hittites, see ANCIENT EGYPT, 1914, p. 173.

At about this point we find them in Western literature in the *Odyssey*. This was recognised some forty years ago by the late Basil Cooper, as stated in an unpublished paper of his, which his daughter, Miss Cooper, has kindly placed in my hands with his books. In the discourse of Odysseus with Alkinous (*Od.*, XI, 521), he says: "But [I will relate] how he (Neoptolemos) slew the hero Eurypylos son of Telephos with the bronze (sword), and many Kētean companions were slain around him." The scholiast states that the Kēteans were a people of Mysia. No trace of such a name of people is otherwise found in Mysia and Western Asia Minor. As the leader was son of Alkinous it is unlikely that he would draw on a race far east of Troy for his companions. Probably we should see in these a mercenary troop of Khita soldiers. Strabo could not clear up the passage (XIII, i, 69), but he asserts (70) that there is a small torrent which joins an affluent of the Kaikos, named Ketaion. He refers again to these Kēteans in XIII, iii, 2, XIV, v, 23, 28, without any further information. Perhaps this outpost of Khita gave their name to the torrent which flowed from their stronghold in the mountains.



THE SOUTH-WEST COAST OF CILICIA, ACCORDING TO PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY.

Later we touch a much more definite location of Kēteans in the first century A.D., when Ptolemy describes a district of Kilikia called Kētis. In the accompanying map the positions of districts and cities are shown as Ptolemy describes them.

Evidently he did not know of the northward trend of the coast into the gulf of the Kydnos. Otherwise the formation agrees closely with the truth; the diagonal trend of the river Kalykadnos, and the mountain ranges, rule the divisions of the country. The extent of the districts is shown by the positions of cities named in the districts. The names of these districts are written here parallel to the rivers, and the other divisions shown by broken lines; the names of the cities are at right angles. From Domitianopolis being in Dalasis, Kētis cannot extend more to the north-east; and from Kaystros being in Selenis, it could not be further south-west. Thus Kētis is limited to a strip along the coast from Seleukia westward to the valley of the Arymagdos, a region of about eighty miles of coast and twenty miles inland, exactly opposite the nearest coast of Cyprus. As we know that the Hittite power formerly covered this region, there seems no reason to question the continuance of the name here down to Roman times. Whether we may also see in Kition, on the opposite shores of Cyprus, another vestige of Hittite influence is doubtful, as they do not seem to have had any sea power.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

PERIODICALS.

Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Tome XIV.
Cairo, 1914.

DUCROS, HIPPOLYTE A.—*L'Arbre Ash des Anciens Égyptiens.* It is shown that names alone are not conclusive as to plants; various modern Egyptian words are applied to two different plants, and names are misunderstood. The names that are known will not at all cover all the varieties of wood that are actually found wrought. A surprising result of the examination of ancient wood, is that yew was commonly known to the Egyptians, and used for coffins; unfortunately no dates are given by which the period of this extent of trade could be estimated.

Ash was usually considered to be cedar; but on the strength of the determinative in one case being a long pod of seeds, M. Loret claimed that it was the *Acacia seyal*. This M. Ducros rebuts by showing that there are eight different forms of determinative, only one of which is the pod. These are probably corruptions of one form which is supposed to have been that of a rough log of timber. M. Ducros then takes as a determining description that the heart of Bata was placed on the top of the flower of the *ash* tree. The small red capsule of the yew, and the berry in it, is quoted as likely to be the origin of the idea of the heart of Bata. Such is M. Ducros' conclusion. The idea, however, is not that the heart of Bata became the flower of the *ash*, but that it was placed upon it. When we look to more practical evidence it seems impossible for the *ash* to have been the yew. It was the usual wood for the best shipbuilding, and in the time of Sneferu a ship of one hundred and eighty feet long was built of *ash* wood; it seems impossible to suppose a ship of this size being built of such slender wood as the yew. That it came from Syria is certain, as *ash* from the mountains of Retennu is mentioned on the stele of Amenhetep III (*Six Temples*, I. 17). That the wood produced an oil is certain, as *ash* is one of the seven sacred oils. We require to find then a tree of large growth, fairly abundant, producing an oil, and growing in Syria. The cedar seems to fit all these requirements; the cypress or pine might be possible, but the acacia or yew cannot be accepted. The early form of the determinative (Palermo Stone) is a log with short side twigs, the same as used for *mer* wood.

LEGRAIN, GEORGES.—*Au Pylône d'Harmhabi à Karnak.* The clearing up of Karnak has reached the well-known Pylon X, the history of which has been fairly worked out. By the great colossus of Amenhetep III being placed on the south face, it seems that the foundation of it must be due to him. That the colossus was put in place before the pylon was built is likely enough. From the Ramesside description we know that a long earth slope was required to raise a colossus, and then it was tilted upright over the end. In doing this a pylon would be an extreme encumbrance on the ground; so we may take it as a rule that colossal figures had to be put in place before building a pylon behind them. The building on the foundation was of course suspended by Akhenaten; but it

was resumed by Tutonkhamen or Ay, who used up the buildings of Akhenaten for material. After that it was carved by Heremheb. The fellow statue to the colossus only has cartouches by Heremheb, but it may have been made by Amenhetep III. On the north face are two statues; on the base of one is the effaced name of Queen Nezem-mut, so these are due to Heremheb. The figures, however, are of Ramessu II.

On the inside of the gateway is an inscription about making monuments, due probably to Heremheb; the cartouche has been usurped by Psamthek. The lower part of a reconstruction of the pylon entrance in sandstone has been found on the south side. The inscription on this new portal states that it was erected under Padabastet (826–786 B.C.) by the governor Pashedbastet, son of Sheshenq II (born about 854 B.C.). He states that "he made a great gate of sandstone after he found it going" (to ruin), or "far from" (completion). This implies that the pylon had begun to fall to pieces before 800 B.C. This is strangely connected by M. Legrain with "ce raid de Carthaginois qu' Ammien Marcellin (XVII, 4) reporte aux débuts du règne de Padoubastit." Now Carthage was only founded about a generation before this restoration, and Ammianus only states that the Carthaginians once took Thebes, without a hint of the date or any allusion to Petubastes. The pylon is very unstable in construction, being merely a shell of blocks, filled with loose stones which press the walls out. The damage to such a building was probably due to earthquake, rather than to a raid of enemies.

By far the most important result of the clearing was finding two pairs of figures seated cross-legged, of Amenhetep son of Hapi, and of Paramessu. It was known how in late times Amenhetep was worshipped in the temple of Deir el-Bahri, but his contemporary figures here show how his sacred position was established during his life. On the base of his figure is the address: "Oh people of Karnak, desirous of seeing Amen, come to me, I will make known to him your prayers, I am intercessor of this god; Nibmuria has placed me to repeat the words of the two lands; make to me the *nesut da hetep*, invoke my name continually as you do to a favoured one," or "to the dead." The other figure is equally explicit: "Oh south and north, do all who see the Aten, who go up the Nile to Thebes to beseech the Master of the Gods, come to me. I will pass on your words to Amen of Karnak if you make to me *nesut da hetep*. Make to me a libation of what you carry. Me, I am intercessor placed by the king to hear your words of prayer, to transmit on high the needs of the two lands." These are documents of the greatest import in the religious history, showing a definite intermediary between the worshipper and the god, and that this person might be a subject who was not even a priest. The statement of his having been appointed by Amenhetep III to this function, suggests that it was a royal function deputed by the king to his subject. Yet the position of Amenhetep was essentially civil rather than religious. He was registrar and organiser of the army, head of police, organiser of public works and chief architect, instructor in the temple of Amen, regulating the priesthood, directing the feasts of Amen, and performing daily sacrifice, though not a priest himself. These inscriptions, showing the saintly position of Amenhetep, exactly agree with the Manethonic quotation by Josephus that "Amenophis son of Paapis was one that seemed to partake of a divine nature, both as to wisdom, and the knowledge of future things."

The figures of Paramessu are also important. They were certainly made under Heremheb, as his name is on the breast and right shoulder. He was chief of archers, keeper of the cavalry, keeper of the citadel, keeper of the mouths of the

Nile, ambassador, marshal of the police, President of the Council, chief of the prophets of all the gods (ecclesiastical commissioner), vizier, lieutenant of the king in the south and north, Dux (*repoti*) in all the land. These titles are parallel to the important position of Heremheb before he was king, and the last title is only known otherwise in his case. If a noble wielded the whole viceregal power of the land thus under Heremheb, it is not likely that he would yield up his power on the king's death. It seems then that this Paramessu dropped the article before his name and became Ramessu I, the founder of the XIXth dynasty. Further, his father was named Sety, and the son of Ramessu I was named Sety. It seems then that we have, stated here, the rise to power of the founder of the XIXth dynasty.

Another question is whether the Vizier Rames, whose tomb is the finest at Qurneh, was the same man as the vizier of Heremheb. Rames carved his chapel in the early years of Akhenaten, about 1380 B.C., and appears to have died then, as the chapel was finished by a relative. Hence he could not be the later vizier who succeeded to the throne in 1328 B.C. The reason assigned for the difference by M. Legrain, that the father of Rames was Neby, and that of Paramessu was Sety is not conclusive, as Sety might be politely called Nuby to avoid the unorthodox name, just as King Sety is called Asary in his tomb.

AHMED BEY KAMAL.—*Rapport sur les fouilles exécutées dans la zone comprise entre Dêirout au Nord et Dêir el-Ganadlah, au Sud.* This account resumes a previous notice of excavation at Meyr. Each coffin found is transcribed, lists are given of boats and other funeral objects, but there is no trace of the archaeological necessity of recording groups, there is nothing said but what could be seen by looking at the plunder in a museum. At Deir Rifeh work was carried on similarly, devoid of all archaeological value; the remark is prefixed "Malheureusement, cette région, . . . a été presque entremment épuisée." Happily, it had been excavated, with a record and publication of the groups of objects, by the British School (*Gizeh and Rifeh*), and so there was less left for the senseless plundering carried on under the Museum supervision. A list of fifty-two objects is given, worthless for archaeological purposes, which have unhappily fallen under the ravages of these excavations. How Meyr has suffered under official treatment has been well stated by Mr. Blackman (*Rock Tombs of Meir*, I, 14-16).

MACKAY, ERNEST.—*Report of the Excavations . . . by Robert Mond, Esq.* This paper gives a list of thirty-seven painted tombs of Thebes, which have been put in safe condition by Mr. Mackay. This most necessary work of conservation and publication, which was neglected alike by the Government and foreign societies, has now happily been put in good train by the generosity of Mr. Mond. The abilities and zeal of Mr. Mackay could not be better used than in the much-needed work of putting the cemetery of Thebes into safe order, after thousands of years of ravaging by seekers for gold and for saleable antiquities.

MASPERO, GASTON.—*Chansons Populaires recueillies dans la Haute-Égypte.* Two-thirds of the annual volume are occupied by this publication of the store of Arab songs collected in the last fifteen years, by the care of the Director. As there is no list of contents, or statement of the arrangement, we may say that they are classed as: Marriage Songs (p. 101), Circumcision (127), Funereal (131), Workers on Excavations (172), Shaduf Songs (185), Camel-drivers (211), Field-

workers (220), Ass-drivers (233), and Songs of Daily Life (245). Each song was written down in Arabic by a Syrian secretary, and is here given in Arab characters, transliterated, and translated. This incessant play of thought and word around the affairs of life is entirely foreign to the modern westerner; it belongs to a leisured sense of being, in which mere sustenance, and not striving, is the framework of existence, and on this there is room for the embroidery of fancy. The connection of thought in many of the songs escapes us, they seem mere detached phrases, especially the Shaduf and Saqieh songs; sometimes they revert alternately to two different themes, at other times the thread escapes our materialistic sense. The leader-and-chorus songs are often frankly nonsense lines, depending only on rhyme. A good leader will improvise line after line with reference to people and affairs around, and fitting to the uniform chorus. This collection was very desirable, though its connection with antiquities seems to be mostly in the collectors rather than the material.

Tome XV, Fasc. i, ii.

DE BISSING, BARON FR. W.—*Les Tombeaux d'Assouan.* Fourteen pages here add one more to the scattered and incomplete accounts of this important cemetery. Descriptions and printed lists can never be a substitute for clear plates of the whole tomb, which are required for all the inscribed tombs of the country. The present paper on the tombs of Mekhu and Sabne is intended as the first of a series; let us hope that, if the present troubles permit its completion, continuous facsimile plates will be used for the rest.

CLÉDAT, JEAN.—*Fouilles à Cheikh Zouède.* Along the coast road from Egypt to Syria a series of forts were built during the great settlement of the Roman Empire under Trajan and Hadrian. The coins found in these posts range from Antoninus to Constantine II; apparently the protection was abandoned by the middle of the fourth century, perhaps in favour of paying Arab tribes blackmail as auxiliaries. These forts were all built on sand dunes, so that each was within sight of those adjacent. Such a position shows that the place of the dunes is permanent; for had they shifted appreciably, the forts would have been destroyed in the course of fifteen centuries. The tomb of a Muslim saint, Sheykh Zoweydeh, gives its name to a district, and to the Roman fort near it. The position is not exactly stated, but it is between El-Arish and Rafah, and about nine miles from Turkish territory. Several rooms and houses were cleared of sand, and the principal discovery was that of a large mosaic pavement, 10 feet by 15. The figures are clumsy, apparently of the age of Constantine. The upper scene is of Phaedra sitting in a porch, with pillars on either side, and curtains; she is resting her head on her hand, and looking anxiously after her nurse, delivering tablets to Hippolytos, who stands accompanied by two huntsmen. The lower scene is the triumph of Dionysos in a car drawn by centaurs, preceded by Silenus on an ass, a satyr and a maenad dancing. Below this is Herakles, two other satyrs and a maenad. An inscription in praise of the work comes at the bottom. The whole is a sad example of decadence, but is in perfect condition. It is shown in three excellent photographs, embracing the whole width of it without any distortion. It is not stated to have been removed, or covered again to protect it. Two marble statues of Aphrodite, 3½ feet high, were found in fragments, and are photographed

as restored. They appear so good that they might well be a century earlier than the settlement of the place under Hadrian.

The baths were found, and the system of heating is described. Also a mound faced with slopes of brickwork, 30 feet by 20 below, and 24 feet by 14 at the top, with a flight of steps ascending it. Its purpose is unexplained; for the steps, being only 2 feet wide, could not lead to a temple or public building. The cemetery contained for the most part simple graves in the sand, sometimes lined or covered with slabs of stone. For the richer class there was a mausoleum with steps descending to groups of loculi, covered over by a high dome. A series of six leaden weights seem to belong to the double of the Palestinian standard of 177 grains (11½ grm.). Many stamped handles of wine jars point to a pre-Roman date; but as amphorae were largely used for foundations here, they may have been imported from an earlier place, and the handles knocked off before they were buried. Otherwise the rise of the settlement here must be dated in Ptolemaic times.

SMOLENSKI, TADEUSZ.—*Les peuples Septentrionaux de la Mer sous Ramsés II et Minéptah*. This long paper, by the late librarian of the Cairo Museum, collects together the various opinions of writers on the subject, and is more a history of opinion than an addition to our knowledge. It may be useful to future students to have such a bibliography; but where occasionally an opinion is expressed the writer does not seem familiar with comparative study of names. It is not possible to come to conclusions without taking in the campaigns of Ramessu III, as the invasion of his fifth year appears to have been solely of westerners; and, as such, it is linked with the western invasion under Merneptah. It is unlikely that a combination of peoples of Algier with those of Asia Minor should have occurred, when the whole invasion was from the west. Those who cling to the immature guesses about Ilion and Achaians would do well to keep the campaigns clearly apart, and to consider the separate course of each movement. The writer states that he looks on it as quite absurd to connect the name Agbia with El Aghwat, because the latter means the Turks, and could not therefore descend from an ancient name. He does not seem to know how readily names are accommodated in popular use, as in England we have the dene-holes or caves commonly altered to Dane holes, and said to be the work of the Danes.

DARESSY, GEORGES.—*Cylindre en Bronze de l'Ancien Empire*. This cylinder of bronze (or rather copper?) was found at Memphis. It bears the falcon-name *Sekhem-khou*; and by an impression of another cylinder the Ra-temple of this king is known to be named *Ast-ab*, which fixes him as Nefer-ar-ka-ra of the Vth dynasty. A list is then given of the falcon-names, cartouches, pyramid-names and Ra-temple names throughout the Vth dynasty. Lastly, M. Daressy concludes "The accord of the monuments with the list of Africanus is therefore as satisfactory as possible for this period."

EDGAR, C. C.—*A Building of Merneptah at Mit Rahineh*. This is an account of the uncovering by natives of part of the temple already excavated by the British School. The interest of it lies in the stonework being inlaid with coloured glaze; this is intermediate between the examples of such work by Akhenaten and by Ramessu III. It seems extraordinary that no hint of this discovery was given to the British School at that time working at Lahun, although Mr. Edgar expresses a wish to see the whole building worked out. On the contrary, our letter of enquiry

sent to the Museum regarding the excavations at Memphis was left unanswered. It is only after the Department gave the site to the Philadelphia Museum, that the British School is allowed to know, by publications, what has been done with a building already worked by the School.

EDGAR, C. C.—*Some Greek Inscriptions*. These eleven inscriptions are nearly all of the Roman period, and are not of importance.

LEFEBVRE, GUSTAVE.—*Égypte Chrétienne*. Thirty-two Coptic and Greek grave-stones, nearly all from Antinoë, are here published. One bears a fixed date, of the end of December A.D. 620, and the whole group from Antinoë probably belong to the generation before the Arab conquest. One from Deir el-Moharraq is dated in A.D. 747. It would be desirable to have photographs of all dated grave-stones for comparison of style; that of A.D. 620 appears in the plates.

DARESSY, GEORGES.—*Trois stèles de la période Bubastite*. These steles are: (1) of Usarken II, a gift of land, found at Shurafa; (2) of Sheshenq IV, a gift of land, at Bubastis; (3) of Pamay, from Bubastis. The first names "the field of the Shardanna in the land of the prophet Hera"; this shows the name of the Shardana lasting till 864 B.C., but perhaps only as a place-name. This paper should be consulted in detail by anyone dealing with the Bubastite history.

BARSANTI, ALEXANDRE.—*Rapports sur les Travaux exécutés au temple de Sêti I^{er} à Gournah*. Every visitor will remember the sea of confusion of fallen roofs and walls which filled the temple of Sety. The account is given of the thorough clearing and reconstruction of the broken parts. A Nilometer cistern was discovered, of which a view is given; but the report lacks plans or sections, although they are referred to in the text.

BARSANTI, ALEXANDRE.—*Rapport sur les Travaux de consolidation exécutés à Kom Ombo*. The repairs needed for safety at Kom Ombo are here described. It is well that some Coptic remains are now being preserved, as a house and a column of the church here. In a passage in the house was a basket with the bronze furniture of the church sanctuary intact. Both of these reports are well illustrated with photographs.

AHMED BEY KAMAL.—*Rapport sur les fouilles . . . entre Dêrout et Dêir el-Ganadlah*. A further sad account of the plundering of cemeteries, with only the contents of a single tomb noted together, and those so imperfectly described as to be useless. This wrecking of a large district has been of no more value to us than if the things had been left alone. The preservation of them in a provincial museum at Siut is useless after their history of grouping has been destroyed. Let us hope that we shall see no more of such unscientific plundering under professed direction of the Museum.

DARESSY, GEORGES.—*Une stèle de l'ancien empire*. This stele, though brought to Cairo, was yet so fissured that it has fallen to pieces and is lost. It does not seem to be known that no matter how fragmentary a stone may be, or how rotten wood has become, flooding with melted paraffin wax will always consolidate it enough for preservation. The most decayed wood, or flaking stone, may be faced with paraffin for transport, and then dealt with at leisure.

It would be a great improvement in the *Annales* if the plates had the locality printed on each, and were numbered continuously in each volume for reference.

REVIEWS.

Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin. Boston, April, 1915. 10 cents.

In this number Dr. Reisner sums up his work of the previous year. He has cleared the streets of mastaba tombs, which stand to the west of the great pyramid at Gizeh. The main discovery of these excavations was the series of eight portrait heads in limestone, which were placed at the bottom of the entrance pits of the tombs. A few such heads were known already (ANCIENT EGYPT, 1914, 125), but the large number now found explain them further. They are all separate heads, never belonging to a statue. They are rather too crude to be life studies for the statues, as the whole figures are more suave and impersonal. They were always deposited at the foot of the tomb shaft, not in the chamber, and therefore probably laid there after the mummy was deposited, at the close of the funeral ceremonies. This can hardly be disconnected with the frequent statements in the Pyramid Texts about the giving of the head to the deceased, in the texts of Teta, Unas and Pepy. This, in turn, seems clearly connected with the frequent severance of the head of the deceased, and placing it later in the grave. Probably a primitive custom of keeping the head (usual in many races now) for some months or years after death, and finally placing it in the grave, was changed when complete burial became usual, and then a ceremonial head was substituted for the actual head. This ceremonial head may have been that to which offerings had been made in the funeral service, as to the Duen-fubara in New Calabar at present (ANCIENT EGYPT, 1914, 125). Beside those heads which are ascribed by Dr. Reisner to the ruling caste, there are two other types present. One of these—the wife of a prince—is said to be “of a distinctly negroid type.” This is given as the first of our portraits at the end of this number, and it is there discussed in relation to the head of Prince Rahetep. Two other heads are stated to be of a foreign type; but in the absence of profile views the relation to Egyptian or other types cannot be considered.

Another very interesting subject is the presence of Syrian pottery in these tombs of the IVth dynasty. A large jar is of the characteristic pottery known in the oldest levels of Lachish. Other smaller jars may also be Syrian, but are not so closely paralleled there. There do not seem to have been found any of the painted jars, known in the Ist dynasty royal tombs. It is mainly from the painting of these that Profs. Fürtwangler and Wolters connected them with Greek island pottery, and hence the term Aegean came to be used for them (*Royal Tombs*, II, 46). Until some such painting is found in Syria at an early date, the Aegean connection still seems the more probable. That trade was going on there is shown by the free import of emery and obsidian in prehistoric times into Egypt, the Aegean being the nearest source for both of these stones.

The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part XI.—B. P. GRENFELL and A. S. HUNT. 1915. 278 pp., 7 plates.

This fresh instalment of the great mass of papyri stored at Oxford, is mainly of Greek authors who do not concern Egypt in any way. There is, however,

one papyrus which has on it two documents of great interest, one on either side. One is a Hymn to Isis, reciting her various names in different centres of worship, of which more than one hundred and twenty remain. The other is a vision of Imhetep-Asklepios to a devotee. The long list of cities where Isis was adored deserves careful geographical study, and eighteen pages of close text is given to that by the editors, without approaching finality. The earlier part dealing with Upper Egypt is entirely lost, and the extant part begins with Aphroditopolis (Atfih) and Memphis. The arrangement of the towns is evidently geographical, so much so that some light may be thrown on the positions. After Memphis are fifteen places in the west Delta, twelve in the N.N.W. Delta, four in N.N.E., six in north and west Delta, twelve in east Delta, and nineteen along the coast from west to east. This ends the Egyptian section of seventy names. The foreign section is of places which are nearly all well known and can therefore be studied with certainty. The history of this list is curious, as shown by its accretion. The original list began in Asia Minor, passed thence to Macedonia, Greece, the north Aegean, and then alternately Karia and the Troad. Into this list were thrust at irregular parts: Rome, Italy, three of North Asia Minor, and three pieces of a Syrian list. The original list ran thus:—Lycia, Myra, Knidos, Cyclades, Patmos, Chios, Chalcidice, Pieria, Delphi, Thrace, Thessaly, Samothrace, Pergamon, Samos, Hellespont, Myndos, Tenedos, Karia, Troad, Dindyma. The eastern list ran thus:—Paphos, Salamis, Cyprus, Asia Minor, †Petra (Nabathea?), Hypsele, Rhinocolura, Dora, Caesarea, Askelon, Raphia, Tripolis, Gaza, †Bambyke, Amazons, Indians, Persia, Magi, Susa, †Syrophoenicia Berytus, Sidon, Ptolemais, Susa on the Red Sea. This list is evidently a patchwork of four lists which joined at the † marks; the second and fourth belonged together. Then thrown in, without the least relation to anything, are the names of Cyrene, Crete, Chalkedon, Rome, Delos, Pontus, Italy, and Bithynia. Thus there have been three or four successive accretions, made without any regard to the original form of the list. This shows that we must not strain to make a perfectly continuous sequence of these Egyptian lists; probably they were likewise compiled out of preceding materials. We have noticed above that different districts of the Delta are taken in succession, but the detailed order does not seem to follow the positions in regular sequence. Isis is identified with various other deities—Aphrodite, Artemis, Astarte, Atargatis, Athena, Korē, Dictynnis, Hekate, Helen, Hera, Hestia, Io, Leto, Maia, the Babylonian Nania, Praxidike, and Themis. This is in accord with the syncretic ideas of that period. The praises of the universal goddess Isis are very similar to the beautiful address of Lucius to Isis in Book XI of *Metamorphoses*. Indeed, the order of the ideas is so far alike that it seems as if both were editions of the same ritual of Isis worship. In the papyrus, “guardian and guide, lady of the mouths of seas,” compares with Lucius praying “Thou dost protect men both by sea and land”: “the prosperity of observers of lucky days,” compares with “thy health-giving right hand, by which thou dost unravel the entangled threads of the Fates”; “the greatest of gods, ruling over mid-air and the immeasurable,” compares with “the gods of heaven adore thee, those in the shades below do homage to thee.” The central point is: “thou bringest the sun from rising to setting, at the risings of the stars the people worship thee,” and Lucius says: “thou dost roll the sphere of the universe, thou dost illuminate the sun, the stars move responsive to thy command.” In the papyrus “the spirits become thy subjects,” parallel to “the gods rejoice in thy divinity, the elements are thy servants”; “thou bringest decay on what thou wilt,



and to the destroyed bringest increase, every day thou didst appoint for joy," compares with "At thy nod . . . the seeds germinate, and the blossoms increase." All of these passages follow in the same order in both documents, and the two together will give a close idea of the general Isis ritual. Moreover, the varied names which Isis declares to Lucius, are parallel to the identities related in the papyrus: the Pessinuntica, Athena, Aphrodite, Dictynna, Korē, Ceres, Hera, Bellona, Hecate, Rhamnusia of Lucius, are mostly in the papyrus list.

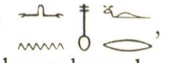
The other document is likewise imperfect at both ends. The first column or two is lost, and it begins with Nektenibis being vexed at the desertion of the temple staff, and ordering the writer Nechautis to search for the priesthood of Imhetep in accord with a document which he has found. The king then orders the descendants of the twenty-six priests to resume their hereditary functions, and assigns an additional endowment of 330 arurae of corn land for them. The writer then states that he had often begun the translation of this document into Greek, but delayed it. A long account follows of his illness, and a vision which appeared ordering him to proceed with the translation; this unfortunately occupies nearly the whole of the extant papyrus, and only at the end do we reach the important part. This relates that King Mencheres (Menkaura, IVth dynasty) established temples and endowments for Asklepios son of Hephaistos (Imhetep son of Ptah), Horus son of Hermes, and Kaleoibis son of Apollo. The latter two persons are quite unknown in Egyptian sources. As the name Horus is used before, probably Apollo here is the translation of Ra. From being associated with Imhetep these are probably deified men, like Amenhetep son of Hapi in later times. Kaleoibis looks as if *Qār-uab*, "the pure boat" of a god; *qar*, "the boat" occurs in the VIth dynasty as a name. The original forms of these names would then be Hor son of Tehuti and Qar-uab son of Ra.

Another unusual document is part of the Calendar of Church Services at Oxyrhynchos, for five months of the year A.D. 536. Nearly half the days were saints' days, observed at one or another of the churches in the city. This is by far the earliest Coptic calendar known, and is only preceded by four extant calendars of other churches.

The large export of corn from Egypt to Greece by about 470 B.C. may be noted in an Ode to Alexander I of Macedon, where Bacchylides mentions "the corn-laden ships bring vast wealth from Egypt over the radiant sea."

[Mr. F. W. Read sends the following note on details in this papyrus.—W.M.F.P.]

Line 107: "bull-faced." The editors connect this epithet with Isis in the form of a cow (p. 192), and this is, of course, quite possible. It may also be an adoption of the same word in purely Greek compositions, where it is found without any reference to Egyptian mythology, seeing that Greek ideas were clearly more prominent than Egyptian in the mind of the author. As, however, a substratum of the old mythology still remained, it may be worth while noting that "bull-faced" was regarded as an honorific epithet from quite an early period of Egyptian history. This is shown by the somewhat rare proper names  and . The meaning of the second, as it stands, is by no means clear; but, taking the two together, there is no room for doubt that the first should be translated "the face of a bull," and the second, "not having the face of a bull." As all the names of negative form were certainly intended, for whatever reason,

to negate desirable qualities (note especially , "not beautiful"), this name, "face of a bull," or "bull-faced," must have been honorific, and might well be the source of the Greek expression in the papyrus.

Lines 154-5: "the 365 combined days." Line 204: "a perfect year." The editors' note on these passages (p. 218) is: "The mention of the 365 days may be connected with the circumstance that at Sais the 5th intercalary day, the last of the year, was the birthday festival of Isis; cf. P. Hibeh, 27, 205." There is apparently an oversight, as Grenfell and Hunt, the editors of both publications, have shown that the Hibeh Papyrus agrees with all the other evidence in fixing the birthday of Isis to the 4th epagomenal day. The passage runs in their translation: "In the five intercalary days: 4th, Arcturus sets in the evening . . . and the birthday festival of Isis takes place." The editors could have had no doubt about it, for in a list of festivals extracted from the papyrus the last is "4th intercalary day, Birthday of Isis." Then we have a note which reads: "The birthday of Isis on the 4th intercalary day is mentioned in the Papyrus Sallier IV, the Esneh, Edfu, and Denderah calendars, and by Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 12." This note shows the consensus of evidence on the point, but is not quite accurate since the epagomenal days are not mentioned in Papyrus Sallier IV. The editors (or an Egyptologist consulted by them) have evidently been misled by the fact that a table of the epagomenal days was given by Chabas in the work, "Le Calendrier des jours fastes et néfastes," in which he translated Papyrus Sallier IV; this table was derived from Leyden Papyrus I, 346. There is nothing in Egyptian to justify the association of Isis with the arrangement of the calendar; all this, like much else in the papyrus, stands entirely apart from the true Egyptian tradition.

The Rock Tombs of Meir, Part II.—AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN. 46 pp., 35 plates. 4to. 25s. 1915.

This volume is the continuation of the first part of the Meir tombs which we summarised in *ANCIENT EGYPT*, 1915, p. 84. The present instalment of the work is excellently done. The whole tomb of Ukh-hetep son of Senbi is copied in outline; as it is on varying scales of $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{6}$, and $\frac{1}{8}$, a key-view of the whole walls would have been desirable to show the relative size of each part. The details are given more fully in 15 photographic plates, which are far more clear than most such publications, and 4 plates of signs and details drawn. The Beja herdsmen figure here as in the other tomb; the fight of the boatmen is also a good subject, but otherwise most of the sculptures are of the kind usual in the Vth and VIth dynasty, though here as late as the beginning of the XIIth dynasty. An unusual feature is the large amount of squaring left on the walls, owing to the intended carving never having been executed, and the drawing being left unchanged. This seems to be the original squaring for the draughtsman, and not later lines put on for the sake of copying as was done at Gizeh in the Vth dynasty tombs. Rare figures of animals are the giraffe and the Mesopotamian deer with branching horns; Mr. Blackman might have added to his references the earliest dated one in *Medum*, XXVII. Among the signs which are specially figured and discussed, the *senh*, twisted cord, is stated here to be the earliest example; but it occurs on several cylinders of the Ist dynasty (*ANCIENT EGYPT*, 1914, 75). The sign *kher* is not a drain or sink, but obviously a tripod stand used for upholding vases, two legs in front and one seen at the back; hence its meaning of "under," "being

laden," or "supporting." The suggestion that the *neter* sign is derived from little flags put on sacred places, as in Nubia at present, would agree with such a sign as is seen on poles before a shrine in the Ist dynasty (*Royal Tombs* II, x, 2), but would be difficult to reconcile with the constant division of the top of *neter* into two strips in all early examples.

✓ *The Civilisation of the Ancient Egyptians.*—A. BOTHWELL GOSSE. Large 8vo, 161 pp., 154 figures. 5s. (Jack.)

The publishers have a good scheme of freely using the facilities of modern illustration to familiarise general readers with different civilisations, ancient art, and present science. The illustrations of the present volume are largely drawn from Wilkinson and Lepsius, with the mannerisms of both styles; there are also many photographs, which will give a sounder view of Egyptian art. The twelve chapters comprise the general scope of the civilisation as known to us, though mainly from large monuments and literature rather than from the smaller objects of daily life and usage. Little of the large stores of domestic material in our museums has been drawn upon, doubtless because illustrations of these are not to be had so readily as of the great monuments; it would be very desirable to bring forward more of the actual surroundings of daily life, such as have been so well arranged and published for Roman life, in the British Museum. The text of the book shows a good general acquaintance with the various branches of the subject and the publications, without the serious mistakes which are too often seen in popular books. A few points might be amended, as the mention of cotton being cultivated, of cutting hard stones with metal tools, or of enamelling, none of which were in use. As a whole, the book may be commended as a good all-round view of ancient Egyptian life and its real spirit and feeling, especially for elder children, for whom the text seems intended.

Amentet, an Account of the Gods, Amulets, and Scarabs of the Ancient Egyptians.—A. E. KNIGHT. 8vo, 274 pp., many figures. 12s. 6d. (Longmans.)

This is announced as being a compendium for the collector; accordingly it adopts the dictionary form of alphabetic arrangement rather than a systematic view. It is thus a book of reference, and not a treatise to be used for general ideas. The author frankly states that the different sections of it are drawn from Daressy's *Cairo Catalogue of Divinities*, Budge's *Gods of the Egyptians*, and Petrie's *Amulets*. For those who have no larger works at hand, this practical hand-list may be of use, as being correct in essentials, and with but few misprints. Where corrections of the sources have been attempted, they are not all successful. The frontispiece is a travesty of Egyptian style, which shows, we fear, that the author is not acquainted with Egyptian art. It is most unfortunate that not only here, but also in the largest series of figures of gods lately issued, the public is entirely misled as to Egyptian drawing and detail of style. Nothing like these figures was done in any age of Egypt. On p. 6 the body of faience figures is said to be "a kind of frit made of powdered schist or limestone." It is safe to say that neither of these materials was ever used; the body is of very fine and pure quartz sand, with a trace of binding material, probably alkali. The origin put forward for the *onkh* sign is impossible in view of the early forms, with bow knot and two ends, which can only be understood as a tied girdle. The *kheses* is not an "angle amulet," as an angle may be of any number of degrees; it is a square, which properly means a right-angle, as a "carpenter's square"; the use of square for

an enclosed figure is only a recent corruption of English. The section on scarabs is the least successful; though said in the preface to be "well up to date," it is far from complete or accurate. Only sealings of two kings are named in the Ist dynasty, though others of all eight are known. Den-Setui is put in the IIrd dynasty. The most complete collection is treated as having been scattered, many references being given to objects "formerly in the Petrie Collection," though the whole of those, and many more, are to be seen any day in University College. Another cylinder is said to be "in the Poignon Coll." Long ago it was lost to sight, then bought from a dealer, and is now safe in London (Univ. Coll.). An old statement is quoted that the earliest cartouche is of the IIIrd dynasty; but the cartouche belongs to kings of the Ist dynasty on the new pieces of the Annals. The statements of the numbers and rarity of scarabs are very incomplete. Saptah's and Tausert's are not rare, hundreds were found in their temple deposits. Of Rameses VII there are none in the British Museum Catalogue, and Rameses IX should now be placed as Saptah II in the XIXth dynasty. The whole of this section should have been done thoroughly, or left alone; incomplete statements are of no use to a student or a collector. The author does not seem to know the Louvre Collection (p. 260), or he would remember one of the most striking objects among the scarabs, the marble monstrosity of the Antonine age, which he asserts to be the same as the green granite colossal scarab of the British Museum. We hope that further experience will enable the author to amend a work, which, in any case, will be welcome to a large number of collectors.

A Coloured Drawing of the Madeba Mosaic Map.—I. M. CASANOWICZ. (*Proc. United States Nat. Mus.* Vol. 49.) 1915.

This is a publication of a hand copy of the celebrated mosaic map of Palestine and the Delta, which is confessedly not completely accurate. It seems hardly worth while to issue a less perfect copy than those already published. The Egyptian interest of it is in giving the road across the Delta from Pelusium to Alexandria, by Sethrois, Tanis, Thinnis, Beunēsos, Xoīs, and Khereu; but as this is placed along the east side of the Sebennyte arm it is evident that the map maker quite mistook the arrangement of the sources that he had.

Notes on Bisharin.—Prof. SELIGMAN. (*Man*, June, 1915.)

The resemblance of some Bishari objects to Egyptian forms is striking. The basket used for milk is like the baskets of the Ist dynasty. The wooden headrest is of a type known in the Old Kingdom. The basket with a pattern of black and white triangles is of the family of basketry of the later prehistoric age. All these fashions were extinct long before 3000 B.C. and therefore it is the less likely that they were borrowed from the Egyptians. We should rather see in these the descendants of the types which entered Egypt from the desert people, some 7,000 years ago; a simple desert tribe will maintain styles unlimitedly, as in the pottery of the Algerian Mountains which belongs to the family of the Egyptian work about 10,000 years ago.

The Stela of Sebek-khu.—T. ERIC PEET. 8vo, 22 pp., 2 plates. 2s. Manchester Museum. 1914.

This is a re-edition of the stela translated by Newberry in *El-Arabah*. It is of historical value as a record of the earliest known war by Egyptians in Syria.

Senusert III is said to have gone to Sekmem, where he was attacked by Sekmem and the Retenu, and fought with the Aam (Syrians). Sebek-khu distinguished himself and was rewarded by the king. So far, the position of Sekmem has not been identified. The guess of Max Müller placing it at Shechem is unlikely, as an Egyptian would not so soon have penetrated into the hill country.

General Guide to the Collections in the Manchester Museum.—66 pp., 8 plates. 3d. (Longmans.) 1915.

Manchester has long been known as having one of the best Museums outside of London, especially in Zoology (fossil and recent) and Egyptology. The present well-packed catalogue gives a quarter of its pages to Egypt. A general outline of the history and early period of the country is given, and the classes of antiquities of each age are described. A main feature of the collection is the large number of groups from tombs, and the precise localising and date of the objects, which have nearly all come from registered excavations.

NOTES AND NEWS.

So far, we have not heard of any losses to English Egyptology since the lamented death of Mr. Dixon. Mr. Engelbach, who was at Suvla Bay, is, we hope, now moved to safer quarters. Mr. Eric Peet has now a commission in the A.S.C., and will be in active service. Dr. Derry has been for some time in the Hospital Force in the Mediterranean. Prof. Ernest Gardner—in the guise of a Naval Lieutenant—is using his great knowledge of modern Greeks, their ways and their language, on the Salonika Expedition. Miss Rowdon, who took the diploma in Egyptology, is in the Admiralty Office. Mr. Sidney Smith, a former student of Egyptology at University College, and later on the British Museum staff, was wounded, and is invalided home from France. Likewise Mr. Hambley is invalided back from the Dardanelles. Miss Theodora Dodge—as an American neutral—worked on hospital and relief work at Brussels for nine months; the strain of repression there has now sent her home.

Foreign archaeology has suffered much more severely. Beside the immense loss of perhaps the most accomplished European archaeologist, M. Joseph Déchelette, and M. Jean Maspero—already noticed here—we now learn of the death of Prof. Strack the principal authority on the Ptolemies, of Prof. Sudhaus the Hellenic scholar, and of the son of Prof. Willamovitz-Moellendorf. The address which the latter professor lately gave in Berlin was a sorrowful forecast of all Europe being split into two worlds, without the least scientific intercourse within the lifetime of any scholar now living. Such must be the result of a determination to grasp by every means, fair or foul, “world-power or going under.” Such an aim could have but one result, the permanent division of Europe, and annihilation of all intercourse; those who adopted that formula could have been under no illusion as to the result. They have rent the world.

THE PORTRAITS.

THE limestone head found by Dr. Reisner in a tomb of the IVth dynasty at Gizeh, is of a heavier and rather coarser type than that usually seen among the upper class of Egyptians of that age. The discoverer goes so far as to say: "The wife of the prince is curiously enough of a distinctly negroid type. The head is I believe the earliest known portrait of a negro. The woman seems, however, not of pure negro blood, and may possibly be the offspring of an Egyptian and a negro slave girl." This seems rather a low estimate of a form which is only rather prognathous; the lips show no trace of negro eversion, and do not differ from those of some of the other heads, while the nose is slightly aquiline. The obvious connection of this head is with that of Prince Rahetep, given here as the second portrait. There does not seem to be a profile photograph available, so a three-quarter head is illustrated, which shows sufficiently the type of the profile. Every detail seems to be like the Gizeh head; the flat and high forehead, and slight brows, the angle of the nose and its curvature, the high cheek-bone, the position of the jaw and mouth, the angle of the lips and facings, the curve of the chin. The one head is just as much—or as little,—negro as the other. Rahetep was a son of a king, probably of Seneferu as his tomb was at Meydum. He was by no means slighted, as he had the honour of being High Priest of Heliopolis, governor of Buto, and a general, besides holding various other dignities. This does not seem as if he were son of a negro slave, but rather on an equality with any other prince. He was probably buried in the reign of Khufu, and hence the Princess of Gizeh, buried in the reign of Khafra, would seem to have been one of his daughters of whom three are known in his tomb sculptures, Nezem-ab, Setet, and Merert. Where this type came from it is difficult to say owing to the scarcity of comparisons. The form of the nose is that of the chief, probably of the Fayum or North-west Delta, who is represented upon the slate palette, as being smitten by Narmer. The mouth and jaw, however, are heavier, and not so Semitic in type; there is no parallel for it among the early types known in Egypt, and some additional influence between the Ist and IVth dynasty must be supposed.



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Those who can only contribute for the present national crisis are invited to send assistance to the Officers' Families Fund; this should be addressed to the—

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