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ANCIENT EGYPT

1915.

PART III.

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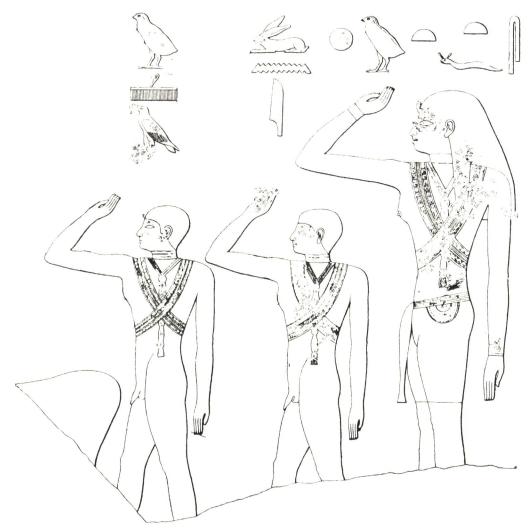


FIG. 4. LIBYANS OF BAKT.
SHEWING IDENTITY OF MALE AND FEMALE DRESS.
(From Borchardt's Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahu-re.)

ANCIENT EGYPT.

TA TEHENU—"OLIVE LAND."

No interpretation of the geographical name , Ta Tehenu, has yet been given. Egyptologists usually understand the word to mean "Libya," but although this meaning is undoubtedly correct, it is not a translation of the name. Countries were often named by the Egyptians, as by other peoples, after the chief product of the land. They called Lower Egypt , Ta-meh, "Flax-land"; Middle Egypt, Ta shemā, "Reed-land"; Syria (in early times) , Ta-neter, "Neter-land," i.e., the land of the neter-pole; and Nubia, for Ta-pedt, "Bow-land," because the bow was the principal weapon of the inhabitants. To because the bow was the principal weapon of the inhabitants.

One of the most important products of \(\bigcirc \overline{\mathcal{O}} \) was an oil which is named in Old Kingdom lists of offerings \(\overline{\mathcal{O}} \), hatet tehenu, "Tehenu-oil." Sometimes this oil is named \(\overline{\mathcal{O}} \), hatet nt Tehenu, "Oil of Tehenu," and often, in later lists, the \(\overline{\mathcal{O}} \) determinative is added showing that the Egyptians recognised the oil as a product of Tehenu-land. \(\overline{\mathcal{O}} \), "Oil of Tehenu-land," it should be remarked, is never found. Generally mentioned with Tehenu-oil is \(\overline{\mathcal{O}} \), hatet \(\alpha \sin h\), hatet \(\alpha \sin h\), "Cedar-oil," and this name is also often written \(\overline{\mathcal{O}} \), hatet \(\alpha \sin h\), hatet \(\alpha \sin h\), "Oil of Cedar." It is therefore probable that if \(\overline{\mathcal{O}} \) is "Cedar-oil," \(\overline{\mathcal{O}} \) means "Tehenu-oil" and not as it is usually translated "Libyan oil." What then is \(\overline{Tehenu} \)-oil?

On some Ist dynasty labels for oil jars found by Prof. Petrie at Abydos this oil is named $\bigcup_{i=1}^{\infty} \bigcup_{j=1}^{\infty} \bigcup_{i=1}^{\infty} \bigcup_{j=1}^{\infty} \bigcup_{j=1}^{\infty} \bigcup_{i=1}^{\infty} \bigcup_{j=1}^{\infty} \bigcup_{j=1}^{\infty$

On an Archaic Slate Palette in the Cairo Museum (Cat. Gén. No. 14238) there is sculptured a scene in relief depicting some domesticated animals, and below is

represented a plantation of trees (see Fig. 1). These trees have thick trunks and branches. On the right-hand side of this plantation is the sign , which is certainly the name of the tree. One of the readings of this -sign is tehenu. The sign itself represents a club (see Fig. 2) and when it is found in hieroglyphic inscriptions with coloured detail it is sometimes painted vellow with black cloudy graining (Beni Hasan, III, Pl. V). We have therefore four facts to guide us in the identification of the tree. First, it was a tree of sturdy growth with thick trunk and branches. Second, the word-sign for its name is a club, from which we may presume that its wood was used for making clubs, and consequently tough and hard. Third, its wood was yellowish with black, cloudy graining. Fourth, it was an oil-producing tree. Now there is only one Egyptian tree that will answer to the above description and to the figure as shown on the Archaic Slate Palette. This is the olive-tree which, as is well known, is of sturdy thickset growth, has yellowish wood with cloudy graining, produces a valuable oil, and its wood was used in antiquity for the manufacture of clubs.3 Hence we may, I think safely, translate the geographical name \Longrightarrow $\bigcup_{i=1}^{\infty}$, "Olive-land."



Fig. 1. Olive Trees and Cattle on Slate Palette.

There is one other fact which points to the identification of the *tehenu*-tree with the olive. The common name of the olive tree in Egyptian texts is $\int_{-\infty}^{\infty} dt dt dt$ baqt, and for olive oil $\int_{-\infty}^{\infty} dt dt dt$. In lists of offerings, however, this name is found only twice and these two instances are very significant. In the tombs of Rahotep and Nefert at Mêdûm⁴ we have a list of sacred oils, and $\int_{-\infty}^{\infty} dt dt dt$ (Rahotep), $\int_{-\infty}^{\infty} dt dt dt$ (Rahotep), $\int_{-\infty}^{\infty} dt dt dt$ (Nefert), and $\int_{-\infty}^{\infty} dt dt dt$ (Rahotep) $\int_{-\infty}^{\infty} dt dt dt$ (Nefert), are mentioned together. The first is $\bar{a}nd$ nt \bar{a} , "oil of \bar{a} ," the second is $\bar{a}nd$ nt baqt, "oil of olive," and these two names take the place of the $\int_{-\infty}^{\infty} dt dt dt dt$ and the $\int_{-\infty}^{\infty} dt dt dt$ of other and later lists.

It has been remarked that *Ta Tehenu* (which we may now call "Olive-land") is usually understood to mean Libya, but Libya is a vague term. By some classical writers Libya was understood to mean the whole of Africa west of the Isthmus of Suez, by others, all the country to the west of Egypt including the Oases.⁵

Egyptologists generally hold to the latter definition, but there is evidence to show that in early times, at all events, Olive-land included the Marcotis lake region and all the country to the west of the Canopic branch of the Nile, possibly also much of the Delta itself. There can be no doubt whatever that Olive-land was a very rich and prosperous country. King Sahure of the Vth dynasty 'captured from its people no less than 123,440 oxen, 233,400 asses, 232,413 goats, and 243,688 sheep.6 This immense number of large and small cattle is evidence that Olive-land must have included within its boundaries very extensive grass-lands. Several centuries earlier than Sahure, Narmer-Menes conquered the people of Oliveland. This conquest is recorded on a small ivory cylinder (Fig. 3) found at Hierakonpolis,⁷ and it confirms the statement of Manetho⁸ that the founder of the Egyptian monarchy undertook an expedition against the Libyans. Another record of the same expedition is the famous Slate Palette of Narmer-Menes which shows the Upper Egyptian Falcon-king smiting the Chieftain of the Harpoon Lake (Mareotis), and on the verso is the scene of a festival at the Great Port which, as I have shown elsewhere, was probably situated near the mouth of the Canopic branch of the Nile.9



FIG. 2. THROW-STICK, OR ANGULATED CLUB.



Fig. 3. Cylinder of Nar-Mer Conquering the <u>Tahenu</u>.

(Fig. 4, see Frontispiece.)

that this ethnic name was often used synonymously with that the one name could in fact be used for the other. The full significance of this has not yet been recognised. The Northern Delta was called , Ta-mel, "Flax-land," and the people of this "Flax-land" were apparently known as wariant of the name of a queen of the Early XVIIIth dynasty Aālmes Hent ta-mel, "Ahmose, Mistress of Flax-land," is Aālmes Hent ta-mel, "Ahmose, Mistress of the Temeļu-people." The centre of the flax-weaving industry in Egypt was Sais in the Western Delta, and this city appears to have been the capital of "Flax-land" at the time immediately preceding the Ist dynasty. Neith of Sais has generally been recognised as a Libyan goddess; the people of Sais were undoubtedly Libyan in origin; at Sais was the "Temple of the Bee (or Hornet)"; and the title of the kings of "Flax-land," was bati, which, as Prof. Petrie has pointed out (Royal Tombs, I, p. 36), was very probably the Libyan royal title. The kings of Egypt mentioned on the

Ta Tehenu-"Olive Land."

Palermo Stone are figured as wearing the Y-crown of Neith, and it was by his marriage with Hetep, the chieftainess of Sais, that Narmer-Menes united the two kingdoms of Egypt under his sole authority.12 The kingdom which Narmer-Menes conquered was therefore the Libyan kingdom of Lower Egypt.

NOTES.

- ¹ See my paper on "The Wooden and Ivory Labels of the First Dynasty," in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, 1912, pp. 288.
- ² Although we find no direct mention of this tehenu-tree in later texts it is interesting to note that we have a reminiscence of the name in the word found in the "Papyrus Harris," VIII, 4.
- ³ Beyond the fact that the word-sign for the name of this oil-producing tree is a club, we have as yet no other Egyptian evidence on this point, but it is worth noting that Theocritus mentions that the Cyclop's club was of olive wood, and Pausanias (ii, 31, 10) remarks that it was from the club of Hercules that the wild olive sprang. Classical writers also mention that olive wood was the favourite wood for making the handles of axes and tools and in this connection note the colouring of the adze-sign figured in Beni Hasan, III, Pl. V, No. 73.
 - ⁴ Petrie, Medum, Pls. XIII and XV.

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- ⁵ Herodotus, for instance, understood by the name Libya sometimes the whole of ancient Africa (IV, 42), sometimes Africa exclusive of Egypt (II, 17, 18; IV, 167).
- ⁶ See L. Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahu-re, Band II, Bl. 1. It is interesting to compare that plate with the scene on the fragment of the Slate Palette shown in Fig. 1. The Slate Palette very probably recorded an early king's captures in Olive-land.
 - ⁷ See *Hierakonpolis*, I, Pl. XV.
 - 8 Muller-Didot, Fragmenta Historicum Graec., II, pp. 539, 540.
 - ⁹ Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, I, pp. 20, 21.
 - ¹⁰ Maspero, Sinouhit, p. XXX, 2.
- ¹¹ Maspero thought these names indicated two different princesses, but Daressy has shown in the Annales du Service, IX, pp. 95, 96, that they refer to one and the same princess.
- 12 See my paper "To what Race did the Founders of Sais belong?" in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, 1906, pp. 68-70.

THE MOTHER OF HATSHEPSÛT.

In the preceding paper I have mentioned a queen named Ahmose Hent-ta-meh and Ahmose Hent-temehu. Her name is written variously:-

- Maspero,
- (2)] (Ibid., p. 544.)
- (3)] . (Ibid., p. 544.)



FIG. 5. QUEEN AHMOSE, DEIR EL-BAHRI. (From a Painting by Mr. Howard Carter.)

From No. 2 it will be observed that Ahmose was this princess's principal name, and that she was "called" Hent-temehu, the latter name was, therefore, a secondary one. Now we cannot believe that this secondary name, which means "Mistress of the Temehu," was meaningless. She must certainly have had some connection with the Temehu people of the North, and this connection was probably through her mother Anhapi, who is described as a

King's Daughter, but whose parentage we do not know. The titles given above show that this Ahmose was a King's-Daughter, a King's-Sister, a King's-Wife, and a Great King's-Wife. All the evidence regarding her goes to show that she was a daughter of King Ahmose I, and this point has been granted by all Egyptologists. Now if she was a King's-Daughter in virtue of her being a child of Ahmose I, she was, therefore, a King's-Sister in virtue of her being a [half-]sister of Amenhetep I. But the question arises, Was she the latter king's wife? There is no evidence to show that she was. On the other hand the successor of Amenhetep I was Thothmes I, and his claim to the throne of Egypt was made good by his marriage to a Princess Ahmose. This Princess Ahmose is usually taken to be a daughter of Amenhetep I, but there is no evidence whatever for this assumption. The queen of Thothmes I was famous as the mother of Hatshepsût, and she is described on the walls of the Deir el-Bahri temple as "King's-Sister," "Great King's Wife," "King's-Mother." The King's-Sister title would refer to her being [half-]sister to Amenhetep I, Great King's-Wife to her being queen of Thothmes I, and King's-Mother to her being mother of Hatshepsût. She was also Great Heiress," and it was in virtue of this latter position that her husband made valid his claim to the throne. Now as we have no evidence of a daughter of Amenhetep I being named Ahmose, and as we know of a daughter of King Ahmose I bearing the name, and that this daughter was also a Great King's-Wife, I suggest that the celebrated Queen Ahmose, the mother of Hatshepsût, was really the Ahmose, daughter of King Ahmose I, who was called "Mistress of the Temehu." A fact that lends colour to this theory is that her daughter, Hatshepsût, clothed herself in male attire, which seems to have been a custom with Libyan chieftainesses. It is true that we know very little about the Libyan people as yet, but it is remarkable that on the Sahure Reliefs (see Fig. 4) the Chiefs' women are clothed in male dress: and a tile from Medinet Habu shows a Libyan woman wearing the regular male kilt and robe (see Oric Bates, The Eastern Libyans, p. 113). Perhaps Hatshepsût, when she adopted male attire, was only following in the footsteps of her mother's ancestors.

PERCY E. NEWBERRY.

MULTIPLE SOULS IN NEGRO AFRICA.

To the twenty-three headings connected with death and burial under which Prof. Petrie discusses the relation of Egypt to Africa (Egypt in Africa, Ancient Egypt, 1914, III and IV), I should like to add yet one other, viz., the belief that the individual is constituted of a number of incorporeal elements, one of which is usually the "double." For brevity I propose to call this the doctrine of "multiple souls." Its existence in ancient Egypt is so well authenticated that I shall make no further reference to this; but it is less commonly recognised that it is held in Africa at the present day.

I do not suggest that the following examples constitute even a moderately complete list of the instances already recorded: I only give some of the more striking examples. It will be noticed that the literature from which these are taken is quite recent, no doubt because it is only within the last few years that an interest has been taken in the subject, but going a little further back, Colonel Ellis' works suggest that the belief exists among the tribes of the Guinea Coast, although full details are not given.

The following account is taken from the latest of Ellis' volumes:—1

"The Tshi-speaking people believe that every man has dwelling in him a spirit termed a kra, which enters him at birth and quits him at death, and is entirely distinct from the soul, which, at the death of the body, proceeds to the Land of the Dead, and there continues the life formerly led by the man in the world. The Ewe-speaking peoples have a similar belief, the indwelling spirit being by them termed a luwo. The Gä-speaking tribes, situated geographically between the Tshi and Ewe tribes, assign to each individual two indwelling spirits, called kla, one male and one female, the former being of a bad and the latter of a good disposition. Each kla, like the kra and the luwo, is a guardian-spirit, but they give good and bad advice, and prompt good or bad actions, according to their respective dispositions. The Yorubas hold that each man has three spiritual inmates, the first of whom, Olori, dwells in the head, the second, Ipin ijeun, in the stomach, and the third, Ipori, in the great toe.

"Olori..., sometimes called Ori (head, faculty, talent), seems to be the spirit which answers to the kra or luwo. He is the protector, guardian and guide. Offerings are made to him, chiefly fowls, as with the kra and luwo, and some of the blood, mixed with palm-oil, is rubbed upon the forehead. Olori brings good-fortune......

"Ipin ijeun, or ipin ojehun, 'he who shares the food,' is perhaps considered the most important of the three indwelling spirits, but as he shares in all that the man eats, he has no special sacrifice offered to him.

"Ipori, [in] the great toe, is the least important of the three guardian spirits, and sacrifice is rarely offered to him, except when a man is about to set out on a journey, in which case he anoints the great toe with a mixture of fowl's blood and palm-oil.

"The ghost-man, or soul, the 'vehicle of individual personal existence,' is called *izvin*, or *okan*, but the latter also means 'heart.' Another word is *ojiji*, or

¹ The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa (1894), pp. 124 sqq.

oji, which has the meanings of ghost, shade, or shadow. After the death of the body, the ghost-man goes to *Ipo-oku*, 'the Land of the Dead' (*ipo*, place; oku, dead), which is beneath the earth, and where each man does that which he has been accustomed to do, and holds the same social position as he did in the world. To enable the ghost to reach this land it is essential that he should have the prescribed funeral rites performed over him. Should they be omitted, the ghost wanders about the world, cold, hungry, and homeless, and he runs the risk of being seized by some of the evil spirits which roam about the earth in great numbers, and cast by them into *Orun-apadi*, 'the unseen world of potsherds,' an uncomfortable place like a pottery furnace, heaped up with charcoal and the *dibris* of broken earthen pots."

To the north, among the Hausa of Nigeria, somewhat similar beliefs prevail, complicated, however, by Arab influence. Major Tremearne's account shows that the visible body contains "the soul," kuruwa, distinct from the "shadow," ennuwa, and the "life," rai, "the former being situated in the heart, the latter wandering at will all over the body." In addition there is "the familiar, bori, of the same sex, a kind of second soul, it acts as an intermediary between its human host and the denizens of the jinn country." This bori "is like the being to which it belongs, but it is outside him, and casts no shadow, and it is really a double. . . . It . . . wanders when the owner sleeps . . . though it does not necessarily go in company with the soul, Its duty is to protect the being from injury by another bori, and 'if it is stronger than the enemy, all you will know is that you feel tired on account of the struggle; but if weaker, it will be worsted, and you will become ill.'"1 Moreover, "from about puberty until marriage, most Hausas have another bori, but of the opposite sex, with which they have relations, and when a boy or girl thinks of marriage he or she must consult his or her female or male bori, for it does not like being ousted by a human rival. . . . Lastly, there are two angels, one hovering above the right shoulder, the other over the left, which record the good and evil thoughts of the person to whom they are attached." 2

The doctrine of multiple souls is widely spread in the Congo area. Mr. R. E. Dennett gives the following account of the beliefs of the Bavili, a Bantu-speaking tribe of Luango, the northern portion of the Congo coast district. They hold that man consists of the following elements:—

The *ximbindi*, or "revenant," a visible element which stays in the house after death, and then lives in the forest.

The *xidundu*, "shadow," which sleeps in the body of its owner; it enters and leaves the body by the mouth, and is likened to the breath (*muvu*) of man. When a man swoons it is because a sorcerer has taken his *xidundu*.

The *nkulu*, "soul," the "guiding voice of the dead." The *nkulu* prefers to dwell in the head of a near relative. It seems that a *nkulu* may be present in the earth taken from a grave, and it is the *bakulu* of ancestors that cause women to bear children and babies to sicken.

The xilunzi, also called ndunzi, the "intelligence," dies with man.3

It seems probable that the *xidundu* is a "double," but it is not always easy to be sure of Mr. Dennett's meaning.

Among the tribes, as far as we know them, inhabiting the area drained by the southern affluents of the Congo, the problem presented by man's nature has

resulted in the recognition of at least two immaterial parts. Of these, one, which does not leave the body during life, is usually connected with one of the vital organs, e.g., with the heart, mityima, by the northern Bambala, and with the liver, m'tim, by the Babunda. Another element is described as a sort of double which may leave a man when asleep, may visit his friends and have all manner of adventures. Moreover, there is frequently confusion between the spiritual mityima or m'tim and the viscus which bears the same name; thus, one of Mr. Torday's informants argued that it could not be true that a man's m'tim went away when he died, "have dead goats and chickens no livers?" For this information—hitherto unpublished—I am indebted to Messrs. Torday and Joyce from whose writings the following example is taken:—

The Bahuana, inhabiting the banks of the Kwilu, an affluent of the Kasai which itself enters the Congo, say that three elements enter into the composition of man; the body, the "soul" called *bun*, and the "double" called *doshi*. The word *bun* also means "heart."

"The bun of a dead man can appear to other men ; the bun is seen in human form and appears to be composed of a white misty substance. The doshi is a shadowy second self. It leaves the body in sleep and visits other people in dreams; the doshi of the dead appears to the living in the same manner. All people have doshi, but only the adult have bun. Animals have doshi but not bun. At death the bun disappears, no one knows whither; but the doshi lingers about in the air, visits its friends and haunts its enemies; it will persecute the relations if the body has not received proper burial. Fetishes have doshi but no bun; plants and weapons have neither." Similar beliefs are held by the Batetela and Bankutu. The former consist of a number of related tribes spread over the Lubefu and Lukenye basins between 23° and 25° E. The Bankutu are a neighbouring tribe to the west.

"Beside the body, called by the Sungu dimba, the Batetela believe that man is composed of two spiritual elements: a shadowy double, called by the Sungu oloki and by the Olemba do, and a 'soul' (literally, 'heart'), called by the Sungu idimu. The 'double' is invisible, except in dreams, it leaves the owner's body without his knowledge, and no harm is caused by its absence. The 'soul' leaves the body only at death. In sleep the 'double' may be absent, but the 'soul' remains with a man as long as he lives. All people, even new-born infants, possess 'souls,' and these are indestructible; neither animals nor plants possess them. The idimu of the unburied dead visit their relatives in dreams to remind them of their duties, and, in the same way, the idimu of a deceased chief, if it desires anything, is supposed to appear in a dream to the elder who on a former occasion invested the chief with a leopard-skin at his inauguration; the elder so visited informs the village and the wants are supplied.

"Homeless *idimu* remain in the air and haunt the neighbourhood of the village; it happens sometimes on a dark, moonless night, that a man will feel the presence of some being near him; it is impalpable, for he cannot seize it if he tries; this is an *idimu*. It is to provide accommodation for the *idimu* that small huts are built over graves, and a clever device to keep them from wandering at night is to kindle small fires in the huts, for, if this is done, the *idimu* will remain there and warm themselves instead of ranging over the fields." ²

¹ A. J. N. Tremearne, The Ban of the Bori (1914), pp. 19, 136, 137.

² A. J. N. Tremearne, op. cit., p. 19.

³ At the Back of the Black Man's Mind (1906), pp. 79-82.

Vol. XXXVI (1906), pp. 290, 291.

² These two paragraphs are from MS., as yet unpublished, lent me by Messrs. Torday and Joyce.

Among the Bankutu the incorporeal part of man is believed to be composed of two elements, a soul, cdimo, and a shadow jinjingi. The latter perishes with the body, but the former is re-incarnated in the first child, boy or girl, born to a sister of the deceased after his death. The edimo is evidently the same as the idimu of the Sungu and the ejimo of the Olemba. The Bankutu, however, seem to regard the continued existence of the edimo as in some way bound up with the reception of proper burial, since dead slaves are always eaten but never buried. The reason given for this is that the soul of a slave who had been buried might return and kill the master in revenge for past injuries, whereas, if the body had been eaten he could not do so.1

Perhaps the greatest development of this doctrine is to be found among the Bambala, the chief sub-tribe of the Bushongo, whose territory lies between the Kasai and Sankuru rivers.

The Bambala say "that man is composed of four parts, the body, lo, the double, ilo, the soul, n'shanga, and the shadow, lumelume. At death the n'shanga seeks the uterus of a woman and is born again in a child, who may remember things known alone to the former owner of the soul. Some wicked people have a fifth element, moena, which leaves the body at death and continues to do evil, causing others to sicken or die ; only the spirits of old men can haunt others."2

Unfortunately not much is said about the powers and actions of the "double" and of the "shadow," but some further information is given about the Eastern Bushongo (Bangongo and Bangendi) who hold that man consists of four parts, the body, modyo, the mind, mophuphu, the double, ido, and the shadow, edidingi. A dying man's last breath is also called mophuphu and when this, the ido and the edidingi leave a man he dies (the corpse is supposed not to have a shadow). No harm results from the absence of the ido from the body, in fact, it leaves it to appear

The authors state that "Ordinarily the soul returns to Jambi [the creator]," but do not indicate which of the constituent elements they regard as the soul.

It will be noted that the instances given have all been drawn from West Africa where the belief is widely spread; it has not, as far as I know, been found in anything like its typical form in Eastern Africa, nevertheless, the Nilotes have certain beliefs which may be faint reflections of the doctrine, though I do not wish to press this point. The Dinka believe that every human being has within him two souls. The atiep, which leaves the body in sleep and whose wanderings are the common source of dreams, resembles, or perhaps may take, the form of the shadow. The second "soul" is by no means so well defined as the atiep, it is sometimes called rol and sometimes we. I could not learn anything definite about the rol during life; it may be connected with the vegetative functions of the body, but after death it remains with the body in the grave.

The Shilluk recognise two immaterial parts of man called wei and tipo, the former meaning "breath," or "life," the latter "shadow."

C. G. SELIGMAN.

¹ From the M.S. already cited.

LEADEN TOKENS FROM MEMPHIS.

EGYPT has furnished a considerable number of stamped pieces of lead, in form roughly resembling coins, and clearly belonging to the Graeco-Roman period. So far as my observation goes, these may be divided into the following general classes.

1. Direct and presumably fraudulent imitations of silver or bronze coins.—The commonest of these are copies of Ptolemaic bronze coins of the second and first centuries B.C.; others reproduce the issues of towns or rulers outside Egypt of about the same or earlier date. To this class appear to belong a few examples of what may be termed hybrid types, where the designs for the Obverse and Reverse are derived from different localities, but the evident intention has been to produce something which might be taken for a coin. So far as I have been able to examine specimens of this class they are all of Ptolemaic date. One of this class occurs here.

Obv.:—Head of Ammon r.

Rev.:—Two eagles standing l.: to r. cornucopiae. [17 mm.]

This is the only example in the collection of a direct copy of a Ptolemaic coin, probably intended as a forgery; the Reverse should bear the legend **THE COLOR BASIAEUS**, but this cannot be read. The coin copied is one of the commonest of the Ptolemaic series—a copper pentadrachm, usually attributed to Euergetes II or Soter II, but, in my opinion, probably struck under all the kings from about 150 B.C. to about 50 B.C. (cf. Liverpool Annals, I, p. 38).

- 2. Token-currency of Roman times.—This class includes a very large number of varieties, the great majority of which are of flat and rather thin fabric, bearing types of the same general kind as those found on the coins of the Alexandrian mint; it would, however, be impossible to regard them as fraudulent copies of these coins, as their shape is quite distinct from that of any of the official issues. I described a considerable collection of pieces of this class, derived from the excavations of Drs. Grenfell and Hunt at Oxyrhynchus, in the Numismatic Chronicle for 1908, p. 287; and in that article I stated the conclusion that these leaden tesserae were a token-currency issued locally in various districts of Egypt in the second and third centuries A.D. to supply the need of small change, since the Alexandrian mint had ceased to strike coins of low denomination. This conclusion is supported by all the further evidence which has since come to light; the only additional point to be specially noted is that all the examples whose provenance I have been able to trace come from Middle Egypt, with the inclusion of Memphis; and, so far as the types used have any local association, the majority of them belong to the same district.
- 3. Another class of tokens, apparently, but of different style.—These are generally smaller and more dumpy in shape than those of Class 2, and the average of execution is worse; the types used, also, are not so closely related to those of the official Alexandrian coins. .So far as my information goes, this dumpy class is mainly found in the Delta; at any rate, it was not represented in the extensive finds at Oxyrhynchus, while more specimens seem to come into the market at Alexandria than at Cairo. The evidence, however, is really insufficient for any definite conclusion; my present presumption is that this class took the place in

² E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, "Notes Ethnographiques sur les Peuples Communément appelés Bakuba, ausi que sur les Peuplades Apparentées les Bushongo," in Documents Ethnographiques concernant les Populations du Congo Belge. Tome II, Fasc. 1. Bruxelles, 1910.

Leaden Tokens from Memphis.

the Delta which was held in Middle Egypt by Class 2. It may be added that I am not aware of any leaden tokens having been found in the Thebaid.

- 4. Seal impressions.—These are mentioned here because some examples are described in catalogues with pieces of the three preceding classes. Their resemblance to coins is really accidental, and quite superficial; they are stamped on one face only, the other often showing traces of the object upon which the lead was placed, but it sometimes happens that the lump of lead has approximated in form to a coin. There is no difficulty in distinguishing them from the tokens.
- 5. Anulets.—In some cases amulets were made in the shape of a coin, usually, however, furnished with a loop for suspension; they can readily be distinguished from the ordinary classes of leaden tokens by their types. Conversely, actual coins were sometimes used as amulets, or at any rate carried in the same manner.

The last two classes may be disregarded for present purposes.

In my paper on the Oxyrhynchus tokens I identified a number of specimens as probably local issues of Oxyrhynchus, and at the same time I suggested that further information from the discovery of examples on other sites might make it possible to assign other groups of tokens to their places of issue. The collection made by Prof. Petrie at Memphis, which he has kindly allowed me to examine, throws some useful light on certain groups, especially of Class 2; and it will be convenient to treat these groups separately.

A. Memphite.—The existence of leaden pieces bearing the name of Memphis has long been known, and specimens are not uncommon. To the description of the examples in the Petrie Collection may be added those in Signor Dattari's Catalogue to give an idea of the range of types; the latter will be denoted by their numbers in the catalogue, preceded by D. The descriptions and illustrations of the specimens in the Demetrio Collection given in Feuardent's Catalogue are too sketchy to make identification certain. The figures here are enlarged one half.

The ordinary type of the Memphite leaden tokens is:-

(1) Obv:—Nilus seated l. on rocks, drapery round legs, holding in r. hand reed, on l. arm cornucopiae: facing him, Euthenia standing r., wearing long robe, holding out in r. hand wreath: border of dots.

Rev.:—Isis-Hekate standing to front, with triple face, crowned with horns and disk, wearing long robe, holding on r. hand uracus erect: to r., Apis-bull standing l., with disk between horns: above, to r., **MEM** ϕ **IC**: border of dots or line. [Petrie Coll.: three specimens, 22–24 mm.]

Feuardent 3596 may be an example of this type.

The Obverse type is one of the regular Alexandrian series. The figure of the triple-faced Isis-Hekate is unusual, though it occurs in statuettes; the Apis-bull is really the standing Memphite type. Dattari describes five specimens which show minor variations, as follows:—

(2) *Obv.*:—As (1): by rocks, crocodile *r*. *Rev.*:—As (1), but legend **ΜΕΜΦΗC**. [Petrie Coll.: 24 mm.

D. 6416, 6417: 26 and 24 mm.]

Dattari identifies the female figure on the Obverse as Alexandria, but it seems to me to be more probably intended for Euthenia. He also mentions a serpent in the field behind Euthenia on the Obverse, and another above Apis on the Reverse; these are discernible on some examples, and possibly were originally present on others; but the poor average of preservation makes it difficult to be certain as to small details.

- (3) Obv.:—As (1).
- Rev.:—As (1), but behind Isis a small figure grasping her robe. [D. 6418: 27 mm.]
- (4) Obv.:—As (1), but Euthenia holds two ears of corn in her I. hand.

 Rev.:—As (3), with ansate cross between Isis and Apis. [D. 6419: 23 mm.]
 - (5) Obv.:—As (1), with sixteen genii in the field in various altitudes.

Rev.:—As (3), with a figure of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris standing l. to r. of

Apis: legend arranged in two lines MEM olc. [D. 6420: 28 mm.]

The last mentioned is the only one in which the variations are of material importance; the addition of the sixteen genii, referring to the sixteen cubits rise in the Nile required for a good inundation, is very rare on Alexandrian coins. There is one more piece, of smaller size, with the name of Memphis and generally similar types.

(6) Obv.:—As (4).

Rev.:—Isis standing to front, head r., crowned with horns and disk, holding out on r. hand uracus crowned with disk; to r., Apis bull standing l., with disk between horns, on base decked with garlands: between Isis and Apis, a disk; above, to r., **MEM** $\phi l.$ [D. 6421: 18 mm.]

In addition to the pieces with the name of Memphis, there are others which can certainly be attributed to the same locality, in view of the types used.

- (7) *Obv.*:—As (1).
- Rev.:—As (1), but without legend: above Apis, small winged figure l., holding out wreath over the head of Isis: border of dots. [Petrie Coll. D. 6492: 24 mm.]
- (8) Obv.:—As (1), but behind Euthenia a small figure r. with hand raised.

Rev.:—As (7), but instead of winged figure, disk and uraei over Apis. [D. 6493: 20 mm.]

- (9) Obv.:—As (8).
- Rev.:—As (7), but above Apis Harpokrates standing holding branch (?). [D. 6494: 20 mm.]
- (10) Obv.:—Nilus seated l. as (1): facing him, Euthenia seated r. holding in her r. hand ears of corn towards Harpokrates standing l., crowned with *skhent*, r. hand to mouth: line border.

Rev.:—Isis seated r, crowned with disk and horns: to r, Apis-bull standing l, with disk between horns: behind Apis, Horus (?) standing l, holding out on r. hand small figure of Harpokrates l: above, disk: line border. [D. 6495: 20 mm.]

(11) Obv.:—As (10), but Harpokrates holds lotus-flower in l. hand.

Rev.:—As (10), but figure behind Apis appears to be Ptah holding out uraeus. [Petrie Coll.: 17 mm. D. 6496: 20 mm.]

(12) *Obv.*:—As (10).

Rev.:—Isis standing to front, with both arms raised, sistrum in r. hand. [D. 6497: 20 mm.]

- (13) Obv.:—As (1).
- Rev.:—Sarapis (?) standing l., crowned by Nike l., in field, B: border of dots. [Petrie Coll.: 20 mm.]

(14) Obv.:—As (1): beside Nilus, hippopotamus r.

Rev.:-Figure seated r. with r. hand outstretched to Apis-bull standing l. on base decked with garlands: in field above Apis, serpent l. [D. 6505: 13 mm.]

(15) Obv.:—As (1).

Rev.:—Figure (priest?) standing l., holding out in r. hand serpent: before him, Apis-bull standing r., with disk between horns: above, to l., crescent: border of dots. [Bibliothèque Nationale, Rostovtsew and Prou No. 677: 18 mm.]

I am not prepared to say to which type Feuardent's No. 3597 belongs: the Obverse is as (1), the Reverse is described as a male figure walking r, leading Apis with r. hand, and holding a serpent-staff in l. If this description is correct, the Reverse type would appear to associate Asklepios with Apis; this is quite possible at Memphis, where Asklepios was worshipped by the Greeks as identified with Imhotep.

B. OXYRHYNCHITE.—There are in the Petrie Collection a few examples of types found commonly at Oxyrhynchus and described in my article cited above. The presence of such examples is not extraordinary, as the tokens need not have been confined for circulation to the district where they were issued; or they may have drifted after discovery.

The types specially characteristic of Oxyrhynchus are a bust or figure of Athene on the Obverse and a figure of Nike, sometimes with the letters OE, on the reverse. The specimens in the Petrie Collection are of the following types, assigning the numbers as in my previous article:—

(1) Obv.:—Bust of Athene r., wearing crested helmet, and draped: rough oval border of thick line.

Rev.:-Nike advancing l., wearing long chiton with diplois, holding out wreath in r. hand, in l. palm over shoulder: in field to l. $\overset{\mathbf{O}}{\Xi}$: rough oval border of thick line. $[25 \times 20 \text{ mm.}]$

(2) Obv.:—As last, with border of dots.

Rev.:—As last, without letters in field, and border of dots. [16 mm.]

(4) Obv.:—Bust of Athene as (1): in front, spear upright: border of dots.

Rev.:—As (2). [Two specimens: 20 mm.]

(7) Obv:—Athene advancing r, wearing crested helmet, chiton, and peplos, with small shield on l arm and spear raised in r hand, attacking serpent erect !. in front of her: border of dots.

Rev.:—As (1), with border of dots. [18 mm.]

(8) *Obv.:*—As last.

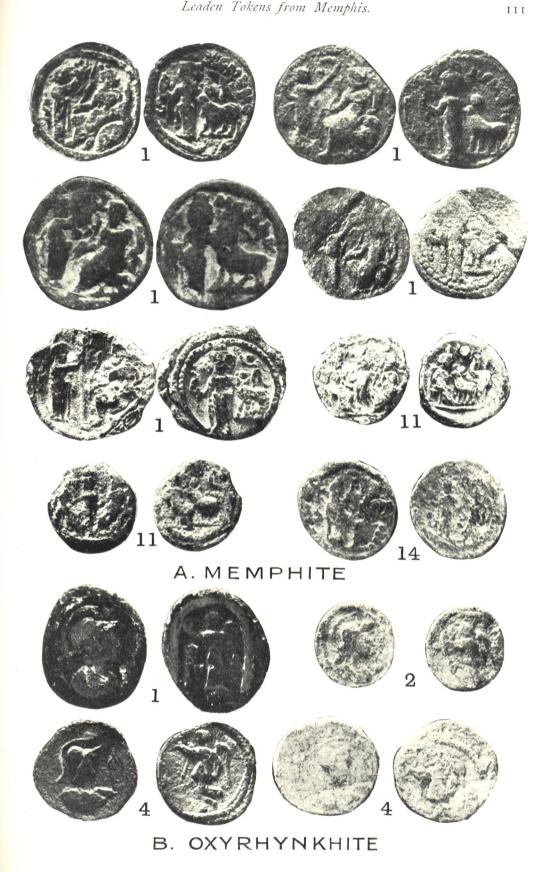
Rev.:—As last, but Nike r. [25 mm.]

In this specimen Athene appears to hold a bipennis instead of a spear, which is a variation on the ordinary type.

(14) Obv.: - Eusebeia standing L, wearing chiton and peplos, holding in r. hand patera over altar; in l., cornucopiae: border of dots.

Rev.:—As (2). [Four specimens: one 16 mm., three 15 mm.]

This type, though not distinctively Oxyrhynchite, might, I thought, be assigned to the local issues, on account of the large numbers of specimens-44found at Oxyrhynchus.



C. HERMOPOLITE (?)—Several specimens, of rather poor style, may be grouped together on the strength of their types. In this group are included:-

(1) Obv.:—Hermanubis advancing r., both arms outstretched; to r., caduceus: border of dots.

Rev.:-Hermes-Thoth standing L, crowned with modius, wearing himation, holding out purse in r. hand, caduceus on l. arm; above r. hand, ibis r.: border of dots. [19 mm.].

(2) Obv.:-As(1).

Rev: -As (1), but without purse, and, apparently, without ibis; below r. hand, baboon seated l. [20 mm.]

To this group belong some pieces in Dattari's Catalogue; 6523, with the same Obverse type as (1) and (2), and for Reverse type a bust of Kronos; 6522, the Obverse of which seems very like the Reverse of (2), with a temple containing two figures on the Reverse: and 6521, the Obverse of which resembles the Reverse of (1), while the Reverse has a nude male figure standing r.

(3) Obv.:—Hermanubis standing L, wearing modius, r. hand outstretched, caduceus on l. arm: border of dots.

Rev.:—Male figure standing l., r. hand outstretched over bird; in field above, L \(\Gamma\): border of dots. [20 mm.]

This type, like (1) and (2), presumably comes from a centre of the worship of the Graeco-Egyptian Hermanubis, confused with the Egyptian Thoth equated with Hermes. It bears a date, but in style is very much rougher than the ordinary kind of dated tokens which are discussed below. Two other specimens appear to have Hermes types.

(4) Obv.:—Hermes standing l., holding out purse in r. hand, resting l. on staff: border of dots.

Rev.:-Nilus reclining l., holding reed and cornucopiae, drapery over legs; below, crocodile r.: border of dots. [19 mm.]

(5) Obv.:—As (4).

Rev.:-Euthenia standing L, wearing modius, holding two ears of corn and cornucopiae: border of dots. [22 mm.]

Dattari's 6480 and 6481 are similar to (4); and in the same group may be included his 6519 and 6520, the Obverse type on both of which is Hermanubis standing r, with a caduceus in front; the Reverse types being respectively Dikaiosyne and Tyche standing in the attitudes usual for these personifications on Alexandrian coins. These connect with the next.

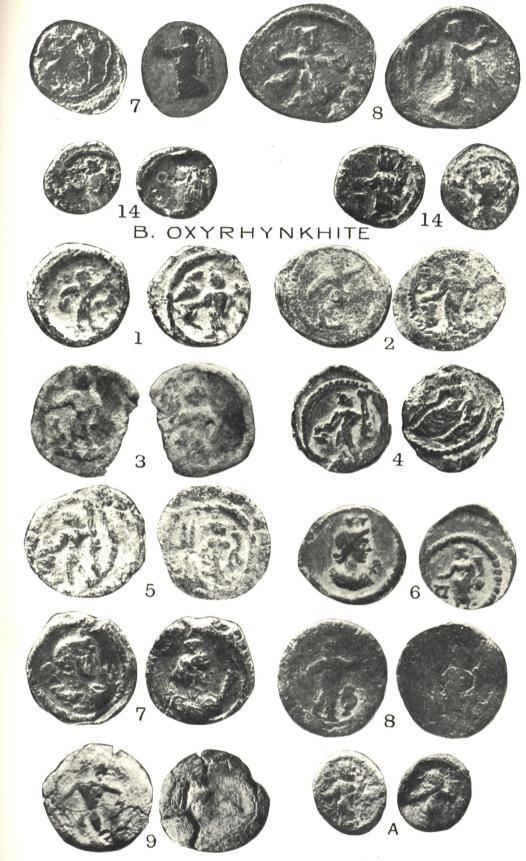
(6) Obv.:—Bust of Hermanubis r., wearing modius with lotus-petal in front, and chlamys: by /. shoulder, caduceus: border of dots.

Rev.:—Dikaiosyne standing l., holding scales and cornucopiae: border of dots. [Two specimens: 18 mm.]

(7) Obv.:-Bust of Hermanubis r., with lotus-petal on head; behind shoulder, winged caduceus: border of dots.

Rev.:—Bust of Isis-Demeter r., draped, wearing modius; in front, torch: border of dots. [20 mm.]

The Obverse type of the last two is apparently very similar to that of Dattari's 6478 and 6479, the former of which has on the Reverse a bust of Nilus; the latter, Nilus seated *l.*, with Euthenia below and four genii in the field.



C. HERMOPOLITE

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There are two other pieces which may be intended to have representations of Hermes or Hermanubis somewhat similar to (1).

(8) Obv:—Hermes (?) advancing r, with both arms outstretched: to r, vase (?): border of dots.

Rev.: Nilus reclining I., holding reed and cornucopiae: border of dots (?). [23 mm.]

(9) Obv.:—Hermes (?) advancing L, with both arms outstretched. Rev.:—Nilus reclining r. [19 mm.]

It seems reasonable to suppose that these tokens, characterised by Hermestypes and of a style which apparently belongs to Middle Egypt, originate from the main centre of the worship of Hermes in that district-Hermopolis Magna (Ashmunên). The original form of the Hermes-cult there was that of Hermes as equated with Thoth; but the Greek Hermes was so generally absorbed into the Alexandrian Hermanubis that the appearance of the latter, who represented a distinct equation of Hermes with Anubis, in a home of the Hermes-Thoth worship is not really unnatural.

Following this clue, two of the specimens in the Bibliothèque Nationale described in Rostovtsew and Prou's Catalogue ("Plombs Antiques de la B.N.," § VIII, in Revue Numismatique, 1899) may be added to the Hermopolite group; these are No. 668, with Obverse three-quarter length figure of Nilus reclining I., holding reed and cornucopiae, Reverse baboon seated I. with disk on head and caduceus in fore-paws, in field to r. $|\Gamma|$; and No. 672, with similar Obverse, Reverse, ibis standing r. with caduceus in background: in field L B1 Feuardent's No. 3607bis is the same as 672, except that the caduceus is not mentioned in the description. This last is very similar in motive to D(2) below, which may also be Hermopolite.

- D. DATED TYPES.—There are a few of the dated tokens, which, as pointed out in my previous article, usually bear types connected with Nilus, and are of rather better style than the majority of these leaden pieces. The specimens here are as follows:-
 - (1) Obv.:—Nilus reclining l., holding reed and cornucopiae, drapery over legs: beneath, crocodile r: border of dots.

Rev.:—Three ears of corn, bound together; in field, $L \Delta$: border of dots. [Two specimens: 22 mm.: = D. 6456.]

(2) Obv.:-Nilus seated to front, head l., holding reed and cornucopiae, on hippopotamus (?) r.: border of dots.

Rev.:—Ibis standing r.: in field, $\mathbf{L} \in \mathbb{C}$: border of dots. [21 mm.]

(3) Obv.:-Nilus seated l., holding reed and cornucopiae: before him, Euthenia standing r., holding out crown: border of dots.

Rev.:—Osiris standing r, mummiform, and Isis standing l, with r. hand raised and sceptre in l.: between, LIB: border of dots. [19 mm.]

(4) Obv.:—Three-quarter length figure of Nilus reclining l., holding reed and cornucopiae: line border.

Rev.:—Head of Zeus Ammon, crowned with disk: in field **L B** (?): line border. [18 mm.]

(5) Obv.:—Bust of Harpokrates (?) r., wearing hemhem crown: line border.

Rev.:—Bust of Horus r., wearing skhent: in field L(?): line border. [19 mm.]

These dated tokens I was formerly inclined to ascribe to Alexandria, in view of the general superiority of their style and the official touch given by the use of a date. They are found sporadically on all Roman sites in Middle Egypt of which I have any information: and, as noted above, the whole class to which they belong may probably be located in Middle Egypt. I should now, therefore, prefer to abandon the ascription to Alexandria, especially as one of those described above (C 3) and the two Paris specimens mentioned at the end of C seem to fall into the Hermopolite group. If those which are of specially good workmanship are to be regarded as coming from any one town in Middle Egypt, I would suggest that this town was probably Antinoe, which, in the period when these tokens were being issued, was the chief centre of art in Egypt outside Alexandria.

The attribution to Antinoe is supported by some specimens in the Bibliothèque Nationale, if Rostovtsew and Prou's identification of the heads on them is correct: they describe Nos. 665-6 as having on Obverse Nilus seated L. on hippopotamus (compare D (2)), and Reverse two busts confronted, Antinous (?) I. with crown of disk and plumes, and a female bust r. with lotus-flower on head, in field LB: and No. 667 with a similar Reverse but without date, and Obverse a male figure seated 1. on a low throne, with sceptre in r. hand. Unfortunately Mr. J. de M. Johnson's excavations at Antinoe in 1914 did not throw any clear light on the leaden tokens of that town, as he found that the second and third century mounds, from which evidence on this point might have been derived, had been almost entirely swept away by the sebakhîn. Feuardent describes a piece in the Demetrio Collection (No. 1535) which has the ordinary types of the Alexandrian bronze of Antinous-Obverse ANTINOOY HPWOC and bust of Antinous L., Reverse Antinous as Hermes riding r, with date $L \ I\Theta$ —but in lead, which might be a token of Antinoe, but is more probably a proof of the bronze; the excellence of the style led Feuardent to assume that it was struck in Asia Minor, but this does not seem a convincing argument; the work of the Alexandrian mint in the later years of Hadrian was quite equal to that of Asia.

E. MISCELLANEOUS TYPES OF CLASS 2.—There are a few examples of Class 2 which do not fall into any of the foregoing groups and cannot be assigned to any particular town, but merit description:-

(1) Obv.:—Two busts facing (possibly Antoninus Pius r., and M. Aurelius 1.1): border of dots.

Rev.:—Dikaiosyne standing l., holding scales and cornucopiae: border of dots. [24 mm.]

(2) Obv.:-Nilus reclining r., holding cornucopiae and reed; above, genius l, holding out wreath: border of dots.

Rev.:—Dikaiosyne as (1). [21 mm.]

(3) Obv.:—Two figures standing, heads facing (Dioscuri?): line border. Rev.:—Dikaiosyne standing r., holding scales and cornucopiae, and, facing, Homonoia standing l, with r hand raised, cornucopiae on l arm: line border. [21 mm.]

I have transposed the Obverse and Reverse in Rostovtsew and Prou's descriptions, as it is usual to find the date on the Reverse of Egyptian coins of this period.

¹ Prof. Petrie thinks the busts are more probably Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.

(4) Obv.:—As (3).

Rev.:—As (3), but Homonoia r., and Dikaiosyne l. [22 mm.]

(5) Obv.:—Two busts facing—Harpokrates (?) wearing *hemhem* crown to r, and Sarapis wearing modius to l: border of dots.

Rev.:—Nike advancing l., holding out wreath: border of dots. [20 mm.]

(6) Obv:—Roma (?) standing to front, head L, wearing helmet and cuirass, holding on r. hand Nike r, resting left on spear: border of dots.

Rev.:—Nike advancing r.: border of dots. [22 mm.]

(7) Obv.:—Sarapis standing to front, head r., r. hand on staff, l. wrapped in himation: border of dots.

Rev.:—Nike standing r, writing on shield supported on pillar: border of dots. [22 mm.]

(8) Obv.:—Bust of Sarapis r., wearing modius: border of dots.

Rev.:—Bust of Isis r., crowned with disk and horns: border of dots. [19 mm.]

(9) Obv.:—Isis seated r., holding up lotus-flower in l. hand; before her, Harpokrates standing l., crowned with skhent, r. hand to mouth: line border.

Rev.:—Illegible. [18 mm.]

(10) Obv.:—Isis, crowned with disk and horns, seated r. on rocks.

Rev.:—Haroeris (?) standing l, bearded (?), holding hawk on r. hand, club on l arm. [14 mm.]

(11) Obv.—Nilus reclining I., holding reed and cornucopiae: border of dots.

Rev.:—Harpokrates (?) standing r., wearing modius and himation, r. hand raised, club (?) in l.: border of dots. [18 mm.]

(12) *Obv.*:—Nilus reclining l: below, crocodile r: line border.

Rev.:—Bes (?) standing to front: line border. [17 mm.]

(13) Obv.:—Female bust r., draped: traces of letters round: border of dots.

Rev.:—Nilus reclining I., holding cornucopiae and reed: border of dots. [Two specimens: 24 and 18 mm.]

(14) Obv.:—Nilus seated l. on rocks, holding reed and cornucopiae, drapery over legs and l. arm.

Rev.:—Euthenia reclining l., holding out ears of corn: l. elbow resting on sphinx r. [29 mm.]

(15) Obv.:—Bird standing r.: border of dots.

Rev.:—Winged genius advancing l., nude, stooping with r. hand outstretched over bird: border of dots. [Seven specimens: 12–14 mm.]

The last of the above-mentioned types approaches in workmanship to Class 3: it is rough and clumsy, so much so that it is difficult to say what particular species of bird is intended to be represented on the Obverse: on some specimens it resembles a goose, on others it is more like an ibis. Judging from the number of examples, the piece should originate from some place near Memphis.

(16) Obv.:—Hawk-headed divinity standing l., wearing *skhent* (?) and cuirass, holding out on r. hand hawk r., resting l. on spear: before him, on ground, serpent erect r.: border of dots and inner circle of line.

Rev.:-Shrine (?), within which hawk l. (?). [28 mm.]



This type is Dattari's 6433 (Pl. XXXVI). As he points out, the Obverse type is that of the Sethroite Nome: and, if the piece is to be ascribed to that nome, we have here an example coming from the Delta which is not of the fabric of Class 3. It is, however, rather unlike any of the other tokens of Class 2 in style, and may represent the issues of the extreme east of the Delta.

(17) Obv.:—Nilus seated l., holding reed and cornucopiae: border of dots. Rev.: -- Sarapis standing to front, r. hand raised, short staff in l.: border of dots. [20 mm.]

This appears to be the same as Dattari's No. 6482. Dattari describes the Reverse type as Helios, with head radiate. If this is correct—the condition of the present specimen makes it impossible to say with certainty—the figure is probably intended for Helios-Sarapis; the attitude is a characteristic one for Sarapis on third century Alexandrian coins. This piece was obtained at Hawara.

F. CLASS 3.—If the assumption that Class 3 comes from the Delta is correct, it is natural that this class should not be extensively represented in a collection formed at Memphis. As a matter of fact, only two types occur, though each of these furnishes a considerable number of examples.

(1) Obv.:—Helmeted head r.

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Rev.:—(a) Helmeted head l. [Four specimens: 11–13 mm.]

(b) Helmeted head r. [Five specimens: 11–13 mm.]

The execution of most of these specimens is bad: on the better examples the helmet on the Obverse seems to be of the crested Athenian form, that on the Reverse Corinthian: but it is impossible to speak with certainty as to the intentions of the artist. On one or two specimens there is an attempt at a border of dots.

(2) Obv.:—Head and neck of horse r.

Rev.:—Forepart of horse r. [Eleven specimens: 13-17 mm.]

The workmanship shown in pieces of this type is even worse on the average than in (1), and is in most cases simply barbarous. Two examples are fairly clear: and on these there are borders of dots round the types. The rest are of various degrees of badness, the worst being so debased that it would be hopeless to guess what object was intended to be depicted if less degraded specimens were not available for comparison.

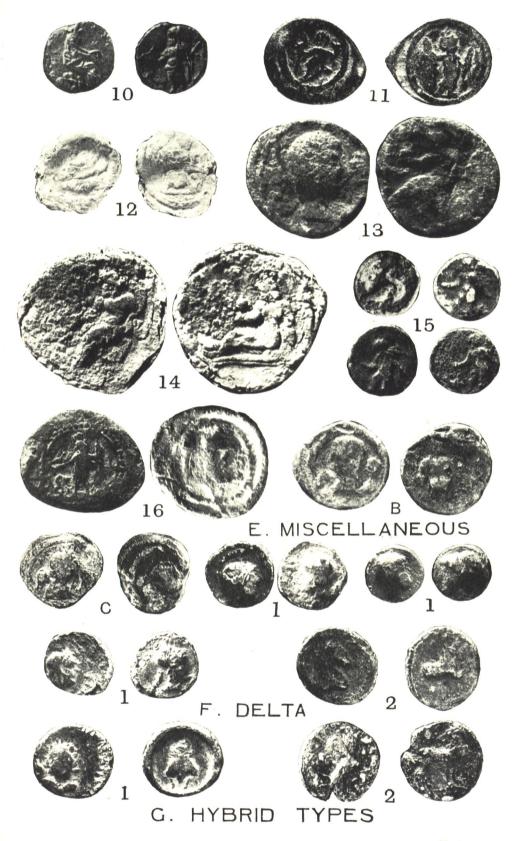
It may be remarked, in connexion with this class, that in my previous paper I ascribed to Hermopolis Magna a token with the types of head of Zeus Ammon and baboon squatting r. This is distinctly of Class 3 in style, and quite unlike any of the tokens grouped above as belonging to Hermopolis Magna. I am now therefore inclined to suggest that it should be attributed to the Delta town of Hermopolis Parva.

- G. CLASS I.—Besides the one direct copy of a current coin in the collection there are some interesting examples of what I have called hybrid types. Such are :-
 - (1) Obv.:—Radiate head of Helios (?) to front. Rev.:—Bee (in sunk circular field). [15 mm.]

Both Obverse and Reverse types in this case suggest Asiatic origin; the Obverse is presumably from Rhodes, the Reverse Ephesian.

(2) Obv.:—Turreted female head r., in wreath. Rev.:—Stag (?) standing r., looking back. [16 mm.]

The Reverse type here is again probably Ephesian; the Obverse may be derived from Smyrna.



(3) *Obv.*:—Head of griffin *r*. *Rev.*:—Prow. [10 mm.]

The types of this specimen are both found in many Greek cities; if the Ionian relationships of (1) and (2) are to be sought in (3) as well, the Obverse type may come from Phocaea and the Reverse from Samos.

(4) *Obv.*:—Head wearing elephant-skin cap *r*. *Rev.*:—Eagle's head *l*.: border of dots. [16 mm.]

The devices used in this case are both Ptolemaic, although the Reverse type does not occur on Ptolemaic coins.

(5) Obv.:—Female head r.

Rev.:—Cornucopiae. [Two specimens: 17 and 13 mm.]

The head on these pieces might be a rough copy of that of one of the Ptolemaic queens, on whose silver coins the cornucopiae is a frequent Reverse type.

(6) *Obv.*:—Nude male figure kneeling *r.* (Atlas?). *Rev.*:—Effaced. [18 mm.]

(7) *Obv.*:—Snake-footed figure *l.*, with *l.* hand raised. *Rev.*:—? [Two specimens: 20 and 17 mm.]

The Obverse types of (6) and (7) are distinctly Greek in conception, though I do not recall their occurrence on coins. The Reverse type of (7) is very obscure: it seems to be a confused copy of some group of objects, for which I cannot suggest an interpretation.

(8) *Obv.*:—Head (?) *r*. *Rev.*:—Dolphin *r*. [14 mm.]

(9) Obv.:—Hippopotamus (?) l.

Rev.:—Sphinx seated r., with r. paw raised: in circular incuse. [16 mm.]

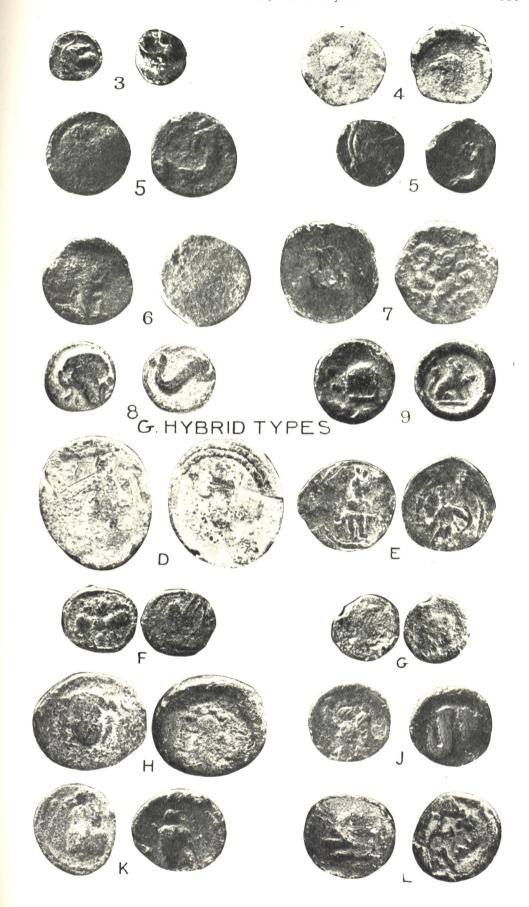
The last is in fabric unlike any others of this class, and I should be inclined to regard it as an amulet rather than as a token.

I have to thank Prof. Petrie for the opportunity of studying and publishing these pieces. It is to be hoped that further collections from ascertained localities will enable more certain identifications of the origin and purpose of the various classes to be reached.

J. G. MILNE.

A few which were not sufficiently distinct for description are here added, distinguished by letters. A seems to be a variant of C (5). B and C, by the type of the head, are apparently from the same hand as E (8) and E (13). F is of bronze, but evidently not of any regular coin fabric. The ram has an indistinct object over it; after clearing, the other side shows a helmeted head. G shows a helmeted head, H a head of Medusa. The Reverse type of K is a figure in a cloak leaning on a staff. L is fairly sharp but entirely unintelligible.

W. M. F. P.



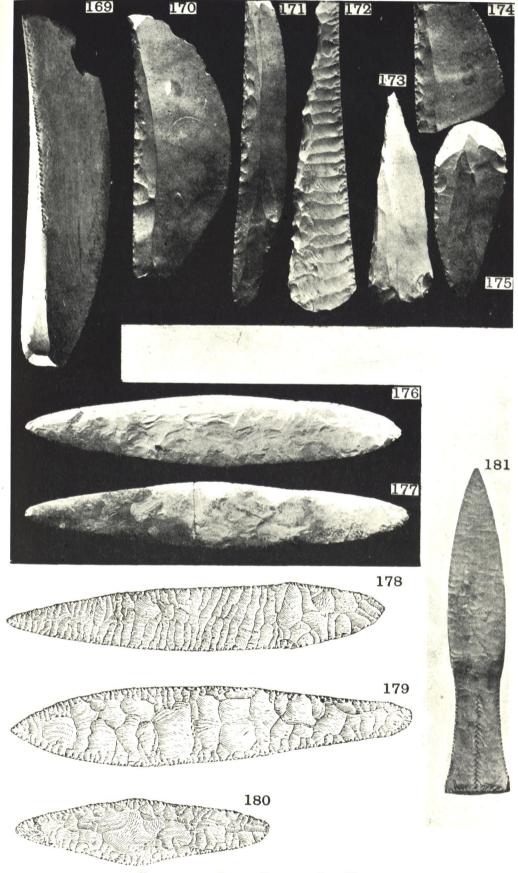
THE STONE AGE IN EGYPT.

(Continued.)

RESUMING the subject already treated on pp. 59 to 77 of our last number, we now touch the well-defined period of the prehistoric graves of Egypt. The Egyptian record places the close of this at about 5500 B.C.; and, looking at the proportion which the number of graves bears to those of historic ages, it seems that the rise of that civilisation is not likely to have been later than 8000 B.C. The main point to be observed is the close connection with the Magdalenian cave products, and the finest Danish work, suggesting that we may find some synchronism. One of the most characteristic forms is the large three-faced blade 169, 170. Such a blade usually has a considerable wind, or twist, in the plane of it, and this had to be removed by detailed flaking before a truly flat blade could be formed, as a basis for the remarkably thin flat knives, such as 176, 177. On 169 the edge has been partly flaked; the snubbing due to scraping always makes an edge much steeper, but this flaking reaches far back in the direction of the face. The back edge has been elaborately worked in a cris-cross pattern, which is a marked feature in the decoration of Danish flints, as 181. This is so purely an artistic feature, and so far removed from anything naturally suggested by flint fractures, that we can hardly avoid granting a connection of descent between the two. On the back edges of 170, 171, there is a mere snubbing due to scraping; and 172, with a cris-cross edge the whole length of it, has been a large blade with fine ripple pattern on the face (like the Danish 178, M., 349), but it has been so greatly snubbed down by right-handed scraping that it is reduced to a point. In other cases a fine thin blade, with ripple-flaking on both sides, has been snubbed down by right-handed scraping in all four ways, until it is less than half its original breadth. 173 is put here to show the form of the back of 172; it is the remaining butt of a flake like 169, after the whole of the upper part has been snubbed away. 174 is the top end of a similar blade with snubbing begun, and 175 is a similar butt end turned the other way up to show the detail of the flaking. Thus the whole of this row are varieties of treatment of the same kind of flake.

Another close link with the Danish is in the vague surface-flaking or scaling on 176 and 177, like the forms 179 (Denmark, M., 350) and 180 (Seine, M., 353). The dates of the Egyptian examples may not only be given in a general period, but many of them dated more closely by sequence dates. The whole period of the prehistoric cemeteries is divided into fifty parts, numbered 30 to 79, which last touches the beginning of the 1st dynasty (*Tarkhan*, I, 3). In this dating Nos. 170 and 171 are between 34 and 38 S.D.; 174 is of 46 S.D.; 175 of 43 S.D.; 176–7 are of 52 S.D. No. 181 is from Denmark (*Nordiske Fortidsminder*, IV, Pl. XXVI).

A striking resemblance is that of the coarse flakes which abound in the prehistoric graves (182–184) to the Magdalenian cave type (185–188, M., 134–5–9–7). The slight waviness of outline, the proportions of the flake, the slight end chipping, are all so closely alike, that they could hardly be sorted apart if mixed. These three flakes are of S.D. 32 to 48, 61, and 70. The flakes 189 to 194 are of sequence



EGYPTIAN AND DANISH FLINTS OF FINE WORK.

dates 34 to 46, 47 to 50, 56, 58, 61 and 63 respectively. They are given to show how snubbing of the edge, by scraping, is closely like what is characteristic of Aurignacian flints in Europe, as in 195 (S., Fig. 53), 196 (S., xxxiii) and 197 (S., xvii), all of early Aurignacian age. This is a striking example of the recurrence of a utility type, produced merely from similar necessities, without any artistic design.

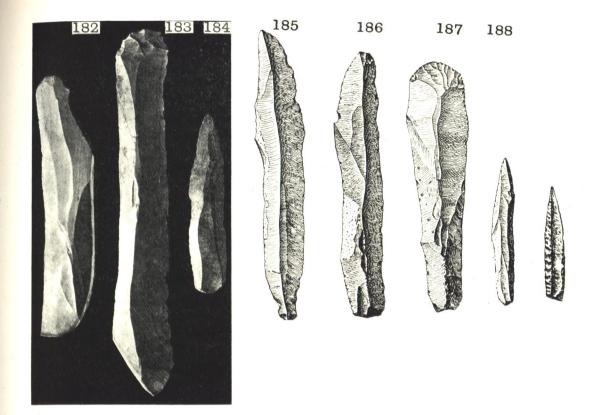
Touching on the beginning of historic times, there is a curious type found in the lowest levels of the town of Abydos, No. 198. The teeth are too fragile to saw any material; but the explanation was given by seeing an iron scraper of just this form used by Neapolitans for scraping off scales from fish. The type 199–201 is well fixed in date to the earlier half of the Ist dynasty; the first two are from the tomb of Zer, the third, worse made, from the tomb of Zet, and they steadily deteriorate to the end of the dynasty, and become flat-ended in the IInd dynasty (Abydos, I, xiv, xv). Yet the French example, 202, absolutely the same in detail, comes from the Grotte de l'Église (M., 120), and therefore should be of the Solutrean age, which we know by the Fayum flints is before prehistoric graves. The only explanation seems to lie in the chance of this belonging to a higher level of later date than the rest of the Grotte.

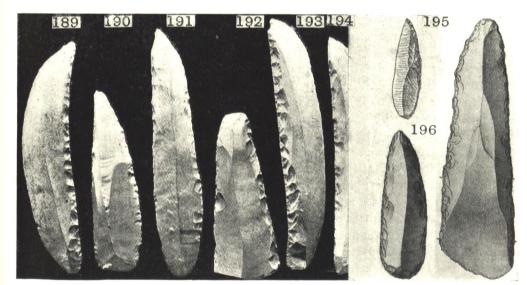
The arrow heads of the Ist dynasty, 203–205, are from the tomb of Aha, at the beginning of that dynasty, most nearly like a type from the Gironde, 206 (M., 378). The general subject of the history of flint-work in the prehistoric cemeteries and historic time is not dealt with here, but only so far as it is related to Europe.

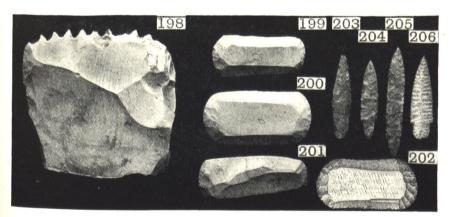
We can now see how many questions are raised, and how much can be linked together, by the comparison of Egyptian and European types. Most of the Egyptian are so closely like the European that a presumption must be allowed of a general equivalence in age, yet some cases show clearly a repetition, such as the Aurignacian resemblances. How far may we in the later periods venture on a close synchronism? The Magdalenian flint types in Egypt are associated with bone harpoons, which are also of that age in Europe. The historic Egyptian kept up the harpoon as a weapon of sport, but only used by the higher classes and not in business fishing; much as archery is kept up as a sport in England, long after firearms are used for real fighting. For actual use we only find the bone harpoon from s.D. 38–57, and the copper harpoon from 34 to 61 S.D. (Naqadeh, El-Amrah, Gerzeh). This Magdalenian weapon therefore belongs to the first and part of the second prehistoric civilisation, say 8000–6000 B.C. Not a single example was found in the two thousand graves of the Ist dynasty age at Tarkhan.

This raises the question whether it will be possible to extend the Magdalenian cave period as late as the Egyptian graves, of about 7000 B.C., or to trace a descent of the type to a later time. This connection is an additional reason for keeping to the Egyptian chronology, and not adopting the arbitrary theories of Berlin which would bring down these Magdalenian types to about 3500 B.C.

Another serious European question is the synchronism of the finest Danish work with the same age. The details of regular parallel ripple-flaking, of scale-flaking, and above all of cris-cross ornamentation, are so closely alike in Egypt and Denmark, and so absent in intervening countries, that we may almost suppose that they were brought by two branches of the same race from some common source. Generally, these fine works in Europe would be placed much later than the Magdalenian age, bordering on the use of copper; so there would probably be no objection to dating the Danish work to 7000–6000 B.C., like the Egyptian.







FLAKES FROM PREHISTORIC EGYPTIAN GRAVES; WITH MAGDALENIAN AND AURIGNACIAN.

The Stone Age in Egypt.

In concluding the comparisons of flint-working in Egypt and Europe, the only reasonable view to follow seems to lie in the distinction between artistic and utility types. While, on the one hand, it would be contrary to all the history of artistic development to assign Chellean flints to a late period, on the other hand, the mere results of use and requirements of daily life may easily produce like effects, if the materials and habits are similar.

Having now reviewed the principal types of flint-work found in Egypt, it is needful to state, as briefly as we can, the relation between those types as found in Europe, and the physical conditions which were contemporary with them. But, entering on this subject, we experience the strong currents of different opinions among geologists as to the glacial periods. As it is impossible to handle so complex a subject as a by-issue, I can but say that, as in earlier ages the distribution of animals shows great changes of land and sea to have occurred, as, also, the submerged river channels along the American coast prove such large changes of level to have been geologically late, and, as beds of tertiary plants prove great changes of climate to have occurred—so, from such evidence, we are assured that there is no improbability in the changes traced in the glacial periods. As such changes occurred at other times, we need no overwhelming evidence to credit them within the last million years. The evidence that is described, as by the last work of the late Dr. James Geikie, The Antiquity of Man in Europe (1914), appears quite sufficient to show that the earlier extent of changes was carried on into the ages in question. As Dr. Geikie kindly replied on any points that were not clear to me, the Table here may be taken as giving the results in accord with a principal authority. The degree of precision of the results varies a good deal, as we shall state below.

At first it might be supposed that the fluctuations of glacial periods were peculiar to recent times; but it is only from recent times that we have wide-spread land surfaces for study. Of all the earlier ages we know hardly anything but sea- or lake-deposits, with scarcely any old land surface visible except in a short section. Hence, we cannot expect to find earlier evidence like that which we have on our present earth surface. The questions of the extent of the ice sheet do not, however, at all affect the relations with Egypt, with which we are here concerned. Only the changes of sea-level in Europe are here involved.

Such changes of climate and of elevation are termed now Glacial and Interglacial, from the fact of traces of ice action giving us the plainest evidences. But we cannot suppose that such fluctuations at the freezing limit were not accompanied by similar changes in other parts. It is recognised that the elevation and depression of Gibraltar is to be connected with similar movements in France, England, and the Baltic. If these changes took place at Gibraltar, they probably may also be found a little farther south, in Egypt; and as similar changes of level and of climate have been traced out by Blanckenhorn in Palestine, it is, therefore, to be expected that the movements should be equally found in Egypt.

It has been usual to speak of elevation and depression of the land; but it is absurd to suppose an equal earth movement of one-tenth of a mile vertical over 2,000 miles from Gibraltar to Norway. It appears, therefore, that the truer terms are fall and rise of sea-level, probably due to displacement of the earth's centre of gravity. The active causes we cannot discuss here.

The changes are traced by various evidences. There is the ploughing out of valleys by ice below their tributaries, and the banks of *débris* carried by glaciers, and left as moraines or erratic blocks. There are the scratches and grooves left

on rock surfaces by the cutting of stones bedded in the ice. There are the levels of glacier action on the mountains, and the raised beaches along the coasts. There are the submarine valleys and plateaus showing old land surfaces. There are the deposits of Arctic or southern plants, and bones of animals, showing the temperature; also the forest beds now submerged. From such facts, the meaning of which seems trivial until they are united, the history of the changes of the last million, or so, of years has gradually been pieced together. At present any single fact of the kind has a greatly enhanced value to us, as it either fits into place in the scheme already laid out, or else adds some fresh feature.

DATES.	Period.	SEA LEVEL, FEET.	Temperature, Fah.	Conditions and Human Work.	Geologic Stages.		
	6th Glacial	+ 30	- (F ()	Small Glaciers	Daun. Upper Turb.		
	5th Inter G	_	1500 ft. + 5°	Wider coasts	Up. Forestian.		
	5th Glacial	+ 50	(up) _	Small Glaciers Wider coasts Considerable Glaciers	Gschnitz. Low Turbarian.		
	4th Inter G	_		Britain Continental Great Baltic Lake Neolithic (with Azilian)	Low. Forestian.		
– 20,000 Max.	4th Glacial	+130	$ \left(\begin{array}{c} Arctic \\ plants \\ Thames \end{array}\right) - 20^{\circ} $	$\begin{cases} & \text{Britain Continental} \\ & \text{Great Baltic Lake} \\ & \text{Neolithic (with } Azilian) \end{cases}$ $\text{Great Baltic Glacier} \qquad \dots$ $& Magdalenian \\ & \text{Intermediate} \end{cases}$ $\begin{cases} & \text{Solutrean} \\ & \text{Aurignacian} \end{cases}$	Buhl. Mecklenburg. Wurmian.		
- 80,000	3rd Inter G	- 200	Mammals + 15	Land far in Atlantic	Durntenian.		
180,000	3rd Glacial	+700	- 30°	Gibraltar upper breccia Ice sheet in N.W. Europe N. and mid-Britain submerged Before coldest Mousterian Torrents cut Gib. breccias	{ Polonian. Rissian.		
400,000	2nd Inter G.	- 600		North Sea, dry Acheulian Britain Continental, cooler Spain wide in Chellean Mediterranean warmest Gibraltar lower breccia Maximum glaciation			
	2nd Glacial	+ 900	- 30°	Maximum glaciation Ice { 3500 ft., Scotland	∫ Saxonian. Mindelian.		
600,000		- 50	- 20°	Arctic plants in Norfolk Earliest man of <i>Heidelberg</i>	(Forest Bed.		
	ıst Inter G	- 200	Mammals + 10°				
700,000	1st Glacial Pleistocene.	+ 300	- 13°	Snow line 4000 ft. below now	{ Scanian. Günzian.		
	Pliocene		+ 20°	Wholly Arctic in N. Sea Gradually cooling South molluses in N. Sea.			

The Table states first the date of each period. This is but a very vague approximation, gleaned from the changes which went on, and it is probably a minimum. The periods may have been much longer, they are unlikely to have been shorter. At least such dates give some sense of reality and proportion, though they cannot be taken as definite statements. The names of the periods are only applied for convenience, beginning as far back as the series of changes

can be continuously traced. The levels in feet show the movement of the sea, — down, or + upward, from the present level; the later rises of the sea are well fixed by the raised beaches, but the earlier amounts depend on extent of submerged land surfaces, limits of ice action, and changes which only give an approximation; the amounts are rather vague, but they at least show the kind of movements involved. The temperature, above or below the present, is gleaned from statements of the downward limits of snow and ice, and upward limit of forest growth, on the scale of 300 feet of elevation to 1° Fah. Also from the the presence of Arctic plants, or of southern mammals; and from the present temperature of places formerly at the edge of the ice sheet. The conditions and human work are fully stated by Dr. Geikie, and connected with the names of the geologic stages. With these explanations the reader will be guarded against assuming exactness for the amounts stated, which are only approximate and relative. Abbreviations in the last column are used, as Daun., for Daunian; Upper Turb., for Turbarian.

In Egypt there has not been any serious study of the changes of level which the country has undergone in recent periods. The following notes are only some points which have caught my notice while doing other work; they are given here without the least claim for completeness or precision, and merely indicate what is waiting to be recorded. By putting such a statement together it will be better seen what meaning any other such facts may have, and what are the crucial evidences that should be specially sought for in future.

To begin with, the levels above sea should be stated for the Nile Plain at the various places to which we may refer, as such have to be added to cliff heights, in order to see the relation to sea level. Sea = 0, Cairo 65 feet, Minieh 114 feet, Beni Hasan 117 feet, Tell Amarna 129 feet, Sint 147 feet, Sohag 177 feet, Naqadeh 230 feet, Lugsor 250 feet, Esneh 260 feet. The italic names are measured levels, with others fitted in by proportionate distance.

The earliest stage we can observe is the heavy denudation of the Eocene limestone plateau, shown by hillocks of crystalline calcite standing up on the top surface. These must have been formed at a considerable depth by solution and deposition; since then, the higher and surrounding strata have all been removed, exposing the less soluble crystalline calcite. The great rainfall is also shown by the collapse of immense caverns. At Tell Amarna I have traced a sudden dip of strata of fully 200 feet vertical, which implies, probably, a greater height of cavern below it, filled up with fallen blocks. All along the Nile cliffs there may be seen at intervals, in the miles of perfectly even strata, large collapses of some hundreds of yards in length. Such features imply the existence of great caverns, the discharge of which must have been at least 300 feet below the present Nile level; this, therefore, implies an original gorge of the Nile, and sea level, as much lower. This must be put as over 300 feet.

After all this was consolidated, and the fallen strata cemented into a solid mass by infiltration and breccia, the Nile valley was widened so as to cut a clean section through the collapsed strata. This shows that a great rainfall still continued in the land. Two stages of this early period are seen in 207, 208. In 208 the denudation of the surfaces is seen as a wide, gently sloping valley of very long and gradual denudation. The slope on the left is sharply broken away by a much later valley, of which a view is given in 207. Yet this later valley—of the Tombs of the Kings—belongs to the period of erosion before the changes which we next consider.

After this erosion of deep valleys, like 207, a rise of the sea then followed, during which the Nile valley was an estuary; rolled gravels and fragments were

deposited as high up as 400 feet, or more, above the plain at Thebes. This is shown by the level silting up of the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings. In 209 the level line of filling is very clear; above it the hard limestone ridges rise like islands, below it the channels have been trenched out by later rainfall. Another view, higher up the valley, 212, shows this also—from side to side of the whole view the level line of silting up is clearly seen. An attempt has been made to attribute this to ponding of the Nile by banks of detritus lower down. But as there are







208. OLDER DENUDATION VALLEY, CUT AWAY ON LEFT BY PRECIPITOUS VALLEY.



209. ABOVE, LIMESTONE CLIFFS AND SLOPES.
MIDDLE, LEVEL TOP OF ESTUARINE FILLING BY DÉBRIS.
BELOW, SLOPES OF VALLIES, SCOURED OUT THROUGH DÉBRIS.

marine deposits in the Nile valley known as far south as Asyut, it is certain that there has been an estuary since the present erosion of the Nile valley. An attempt has been made to attribute this valley-filling to aerial denudation, but the uniform flat land of the top is against a dust-and-torrent filling, as also is the rounded and rolled state of the *débris* and the stratification of it. As there are also indubitable evidences of the high water level in other parts of the Nile valley—as noticed below—there is no object in straining to avoid the conclusion here. The rainfall which produced the detritus of this filling material must have been enormous,

I 30

as the catchment area is only six or eight square miles, entirely bounded by far larger valleys on each side. This deposit implies a depression of about 650 feet.

The great beds of gravel with boulders on the top of the hills at the mouth of the Fayum, about 400 feet over the sea, are perhaps of this age.

After this came a fall of the sea to at least as low as the present level. This is proved by the rain which fell on the small area of the Valley of the Kings, ploughing out a wide and deep course through the mass of gravel and detritus



210. STACK OF DÉBRIS, LEFT BEHIND FROM THE ESTUARINE FILLING OF THE KINGS' TOMBS VALLEY.

laid down in the previous period. This is finely shown by the precipitous stacks of detritus, as seen in 210, which remain standing in the valley. How much the sea fell below the present level we cannot say.



211. BED OF INDURATED GRAVEL, FILLING GULLY IN TOP OF LIMESTONE CLIFF, SOHAG.

Next, there was a great rise of sea. At Sohag on the top of the cliffs, about 600 feet high, are patches of rolled gravels, shown in 211. These extend up to the

edge of the cliffs, filling gullies in the rock surface. The rock unprotected by the gravel is not in the least weathered back from the line of the face covered by the gravel. There does not seem to have been the smallest weathering of the rock faces since the gravel was laid down. It is, therefore, impossible to refer this gravel to the previous rise of sea, after which there has been heavy rainfall. The whole height of the Nile valley must have been filled at the side with gravel and silt for it to be possible to lay down rolled gravel along the edge of a cliff. To this same rise of sea level belong little patches of stratified silt, seen clinging to the rock gullies at the top of the cliffs at Tell Amarna. The Sohag gravel is at about 800 feet over sea, the Tell Amarna silt at about 500 feet. Since then there has been no rock-weathering and very little rain.



212. ABOVE, DENUDED LIMESTONE CLIFFS AND SLOPES, FORMER ISLANDS.
HORIZON, LEVEL LINE OF TOP OF ESTUARINE FILLING.
BELOW, VALLEY CUT THROUGH DÉBRIS FILLING.

Probably of the same age are the great banks of *débris* washed out of the side valleys, and deposited always on the down-stream side in the Nile valley. Such banks could only be formed under water when heavy rains were deepening the side valleys. The banks are well seen at Beni Hasan, where they rise to about 300 or 400 feet over present sea. If searched for, doubtless they could be traced in most districts, as I have often noticed them. Probably also of this age are the gravel beds at the mouth of the Valley of the Kings, where Pitt-Rivers first found Egyptian worked flints in position. They can hardly belong to the first filling of the valley as no trace of worked flint has been discoverable in that filling.

After this there has been a fall of the sea to the present level, and the Nile current, with a little rainfall, has washed away the later filling of the Nile valley. Though there is some thirty or forty feet of Nile mud deposit in the Nile valley, this does not extend in the Delta below the present sea level. The rise of land level by silting up the bed of the valley seems to have raised it all along, and at

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the same time pushed out the Delta forward; so the actual front of the deposit has always been at about the same sea level. In saying this we do not take into account the sinking of the Delta in Arab times.

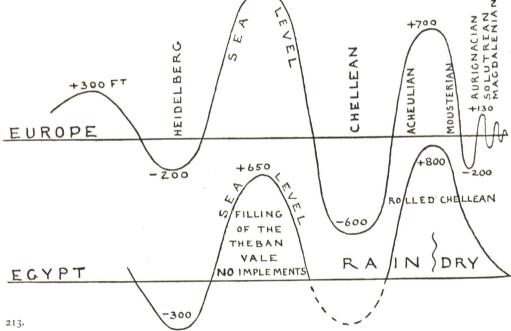
On the basis of the various changes of sea level we may now attempt to connect the Egyptian with the European changes.

EG	YPT.			Εt	JROPE	S.
Earliest prehistoric civil Fayum flints. Early settlements.	isation.			4th Glacial	•••	Late Magdalenian Solutrean. Aurignacian.
Early settlements.		Sea	Sea Fee	3rd Intergl.		Mousterian.
Sohag cliff gravels		 Feet. + 800				Mousterian. Acheulian.
G II 1		 x + 650 - 300	- 600 + 900 - 2 00	2nd Intergl. 2nd Glacial 1st Intergl.		Chellean. Heidelberg.

It accords with this connection, that I have repeatedly and closely searched the sections of the filling of the Kings' Valley for worked flints, and never could find any in those beds; as they are pre-Chellean it is not to be expected there should be such worked flints. On the other hand there are plenty of palaeoliths on the top of that filling.

In the following diagram, Fig. 213, the extent of these movements of sea level is shown, with the suggestion of their being contemporary. The approximate dates are placed at the top, merely to give an idea of the extent of time involved

600000 400000 100,0000 800 000 200 000 15T GLACIAL ISTINT. 2NDGLACIAL 2NDINTERGL. 3RDGL.3IN.4G +900



in each change. The human periods from the Heidelberg man to the Magdalenian are marked with the European curve. The Egyptian curve has no human remains

vet known associated with its first rise of sea level, where they have been searched for in the Theban vale (Valley of Tombs of the Kings). In the second rise there is the rolled Chellean implement of Esneh at about 450 feet over present sea level, implying that the Chellean age was before the middle of this rise. These limitations of the Chellean age agree with its position in Europe. In the second rise is here marked the change from a rainy to a dry climate, as indicated by the entire absence of erosion since the deposit of the high level gravel at Sohag.

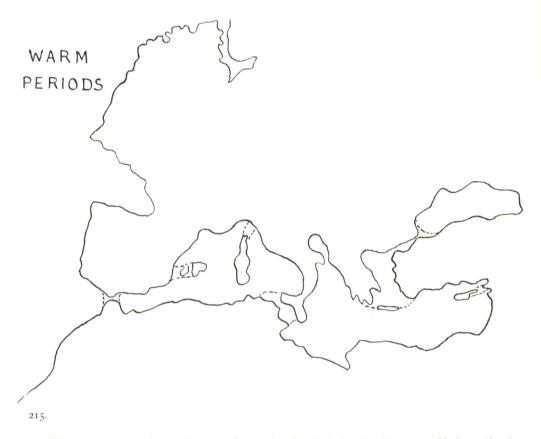
These changes of level of the sea imply great changes in the coast outlines. In the two sketch maps are shown what the coasts would be with a sea level of 600 feet lower and 600 feet higher. These are not the extreme changes, but show the conditions which would have lasted for many thousands of years, becoming more, and then less, pronounced. In the map during the glacial periods, 214, an



open shading shows where ice is considered to have extended. Central Europe was an island with deeply indented branches of Italy and the Balkans. A clear waterway went through southern France, the Dardanelles, and out into the great Russian sea, in which the Caucasus and Urals stood as mountain boundaries. On the south the African coast lay as far back as the latitude of Thebes, marked T, in the Nile valley. Thus, westerly winds would bring precipitation over Egypt freely being first arrested by the eastern mountains, and so producing tributary streams on the east side of the Nile estuary. A clear waterway existed around the Palestine hills into the Red Sea. Such were the conditions of the cold periods, when Egypt had a climate like that of Constantinople or the south of Japan.

In the warm periods favourable to man, when the Chellean and Solutrean work flourished, this coast line was very different (Fig. 215). The much more continental condition must have favoured intercourse, and the spread of types of work. At the extreme low waters (here dotted) Cyprus joined Syria, Crete was a link between Greece and Asia Minor, Italy joined Africa, Sardinia and Corsica joined Italy,

the Balearic Isles joined Spain, and Spain joined Africa, thus making two closed lakes of the Mediterranean. In the north-west a great extent of land entirely included the British Isles, with a steep edge of it, as steep as the Ligurian or Welsh coast at present. Thus the whole conditions of life and of intercourse must have been entirely different many times during the human period. What is shown in these maps are the 600 feet contours, which were not the extreme conditions, but such outlines as must have lasted for a long period.



We can now realise what needs to be looked for in Egypt. Unhappily, in recent years, the surface flints have been remorselessly gathered up by the cartload to the order of speculators, and their history and meaning entirely lost. All over the Theban district, which was one of the richest and the most important by the successive periods there traceable, there is not a flint worth notice left, only sad little pits dotted over the ground, where they have lain. Some good and careful work was done by Mr. Montague Porch, who levelled by aneroid the positions of the fine series of flints which he collected, and I have always noted the levels of the flints which I have picked up. A fine Acheulian flint, with secondary working, lay by a cliff edge, 800 feet high, at Naqadeh, or at 1,030 over sea. This would never have been submerged, and no very heavy rainfall occurred since its time sufficient to denude the rock and wash it away. This accords with the appearance of its position. On the other hand a well rolled Chellean pick (coup de poing) I picked up on a spur of hill behind Esneh, estimated at 200 feet over Nile, or 460 over sea; and this is within the submersion of the 3rd glacial period.

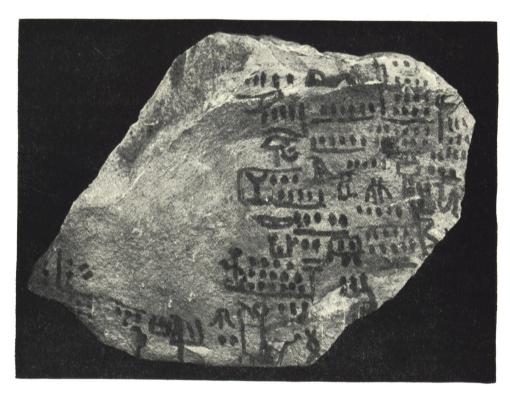
The main matters to search for now are traces of raised beaches of the submersions, and flints connected with them; levels of waterworn and of unworn flints of each early period at about 600 feet over sea; any worked flints in the Kings' Valley filling, or in the banks of *débris* washed out of side valleys at high levels; the period (Mousterian?) of flints in the high gravels, and the relation of Fayum flints to the continuous prehistoric civilisation. Of course, flints may be found perfectly fresh and unpatinated if they chanced to be buried very soon, without water wear, and have only been uncovered by denudation lately. Such was the case with one of the rudest and most massive picks (Fig. 9), probably lost in the zero level period of early Chellean, and then bared again in modern times where I found it, at near Nile level. By far the most important matter is the levelling and position of flints on the slopes and ledges of the hills in the Thebaid, where there was always a land surface throughout all the changes of level.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

The names and loads of the boats are as follows, beginning at the top and the

BOAT NAMES IN EGYPT.

In the *Hieratic Ostraka* from the Ramesseum, Dr. Spiegelberg transcribed some tallies of the boat loads of blocks of stone, brought down for the building. The sizes of the blocks in cubits were stated, and the names of the owners of the boats, such as Pen-tep, Khoy, Pă-abtu, Mohu, Min-nekht, Khensu, Tahuti, Nekhtu-amen, Setmes, and others, sometimes with the father's name added. The general load for a boat was six to seven blocks (see numbers 135, 136).



OSTRAKON FROM THEBES, GIVING NAMES AND LOADS OF BOATS.

Here we publish another Theban ostrakon with various tally numbers, averaging also between six and seven. These, therefore, are probably also tallies of the delivery of boat loads of stone. The signs, however, are not personal names, but apparently the names or signs of the boats. The writer was evidently not a regular scribe, as he had no habit of writing in one direction; he made eight signs face the right, in the usual scribe's direction, and six signs face the left in the European direction. Probably he learned his signs from big monuments, on which they face either way for symmetry.

Khepesh		 	6	Heb			 5
Qed		 	14	Kă			 2
Mer	1	 	5	Anr?			 3
Uzat		 	5	Uazet			 15
User		 	9	Het? (tem	ple)	• • •	 3
Her (Hor	us)	 	6	x			 3 + 12
Hebs		 	12	Qenbet			 II
Urs		 	9	Renpet			 4
Anu		 	5	Mena			 2

5 Uben uăs ...

5 Hez

Zu?user 3 Neit ... Shot (papyrus roll) ... 10

left hand :-

Rannut

Many of these names are much like modern ones in the Navy, or the luggers and barges of to-day. The Turnabout, The Mighty, The Powerful, The Beloved, The Rest, The Harvest, The Feast, The Glory of Thebes, The Firm One, and the several names of deities, like the Saints of the Spanish Navy, are quite what we should expect. Observe also that nearly all of these words are single signs which could be set up as a figure-head, or painted large upon the bows.

This ostrakon was brought to me from Thebes, and is now in University College, London.

W. M. F. P.

PERIODICALS.

Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache, L, 1912.

(Omitted in previous Abstract.)

- II. Spiegelberg, W.—Brugsch first suggested, and Sethe has proved, that the Boheiric ασφοτι is derived from the Egyptian $\begin{cases} \bigcirc h_i t sp \end{cases}$, the regnal year of a king. Two new examples from the Coptic are given **τ**σπ**unth** and **τ**σπ**cnte**. Here **cn-**, which is in the construct form, is obviously a feminine word, having the definite article and the numeral in the feminine.
- 12. ROEDER, G.—In the temple of Bet el-Wali the title of Rameses II is given as "son of Ra in truth." The indirect genitive helps to emphasise the filiation of the king.
- 13. SETHE, K.—In Spiegelberg's edition of the Pedubastis romance occurs a word which looks like the preposition re-, but which he translates as "To happen" and once as "To do." It can, however, only be the qualitative of eipe, o (Achm. e-), a word which has hitherto been looked for in demotic in vain. In demotic also there occurs the form \bigcirc \(\int\), the 3rd pers. fem. sing. of the pseudo-participle, which has not been preserved in Coptic.
- 14. DÉVAUD, E.—The noun of Saitic and Ptolemaic times is generally derived from the verb of this, however, is not correct as the word in question derives from occur later than the Middle Empire, nor is the noun occur later than the Middle Empire than the Middle Empire, nor is the noun occur later than the Middle Empire, nor is the noun occur later than the Middle Empire, nor is the noun occur later than the Middle Empire than the M
- 15. DÉVAUD, E.—A correction of Gardiner's translation of the sentence when the sentence reads: "Giving falsehood to him who says it, truth to him who comes with it."

REVIEWS.

The Tomb of Amenemhēt. Copied by NINA DE GARIS DAVIES; text by ALAN H. GARDINER. 4to, 132 pp., 46 plates. (Under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Fund.)

In this volume is issued for the first time a detailed study of the funerary system of the Egyptians, and we owe Dr. Gardiner gratitude for applying the latest knowledge to the comprehension of the texts on the subject. Stimulated by the excellent copies of Mrs. Davies, the author has published this admirable introductory volume, for which the "auspices" of any society are needless. It may be hoped that he will give the world many more volumes of "The Theban Tomb Series" to which this is introductory, and so make accessible the mass of detail which remains from one great period of civilisation.

The tomb selected for this introductory volume is not of historical interest, but is chosen as giving ground for description of the funerary system as a whole, The principal discussions of general matters are on the hetep da nesut formula, and the magical value of the scenes represented. The formula which heads every funerary inscription, is by its habitual use and brevity not easy to comprehend. The earliest sense of it is concluded to be "a boon which the king gives," and as usually applied it becomes "an offering which the king gives." The precedence of the sign "king" is due only to the usual rule of placing it honorifically first in the sentence; and the real order is shown in some of the variations where gods are named instead of the king. The sense formerly suggested that it was a prayer "may the king give," is set aside by the syntax, and the variant erdau, the relative form. Why the king should be considered to give all the sustenance to the dead, has been generally explained by the high-priestly function of the early king, emphasized in a stele of the XVIIIth dynasty, where the king actually performs the family offering (Student's History, II, 172). Dr. Gardiner prefers, however, the explanation that the formula was originally that of the royal burial, where the living king offered to his father, and was thence transferred—without change—to the private usage. This is supported by the parallel of the transference of chapters of the royal ritual (Pyramid Texts) to private use, and by the expression "the Osiris" passing from the deified king to his subjects. Both of these parallels are, however, long after the period of the hetep da nesut for private persons, which was in full use in the IVth dynasty, so soon as there is any bulk of monuments to study. We may say that there is another sense to be considered also. In early society, as Dr. Seebohm has shown, all property is ultimately vested in the chief and he grants the use of it to the actual holders. The chief sets up in life each youth with cattle or land-rights, which have to be returned at his death or in the

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third generation after, for redistribution. Hence all property is given by the chief primarily, and only the usufruct of it is personal property. When gifts are made to the dead they would thus pass out of the common fund which is returnable to the chief, and it would be natural therefore to require his consent. The two aspects of the tribal chief, as communal trustee and as high-priest, seem to fully account for the offerings to the dead being considered as coming from the king. It might be thought that so daily a matter as food would not be looked on as tribal property: but the earliest of such formulae are for a sarcophagus and burial, i.e., all the property that was put in the tomb. Further, we must remember that the chief had wide-spread rights to food-rents, or maintenance, and it might well be that the offerings were primitively granted out of the food-rent belonging to the king, just as parochial endowments for masses for the dead in Wales arose out of a dedication of the chief's food-rents. Taking into account these features of tribal society, it seems needless to resort to a very early transfer of a royal formula. The whole conception of property and food dedicated to the dead would seem to require the chief's consent, and be granted by him as trustee, and offered by him as priest of the tribe. Of the later stages Dr. Gardiner says: "From the Middle Kingdom onward these various uses were confused, and a hybrid formula was evolved, the underlying idea of which was a bargain struck between the king and certain gods, offerings being made to the gods as an inducement to them to give similar offerings to the deceased." This is considered due "to a purely philological cause, namely the habit that grew up" of blending the phrases, "a boon which the king gives and which Anubis gives" as "a boon which the king gives, Anubis." It seems doubtful if the contracted writing could change the whole conception of the offering, and we should rather look to social and economic causes for the transfer. If the offering were made to the god for the benefit of the dead, then the priesthood received it, and the priestly aggrandisement of the Vth dynasty and onward would urge on this change. Another cause for bringing in the gods as intermediaries would be the constant alienation of funerary endowments; by consecrating them to the gods for the dead the divine protection was invoked. It was in fact introducing a trustee in order to secure the property. A good instance is quoted where the son is shown offering to his parents, while above that is shown the king similarly offering to Osiris and Isis. Thus the human offering to the human person reacts on the divine offering to the gods, for them to ensure it to the person. In the latest stage the power of the word was thought to suffice, and the passer by was desired to recite the formula so as to convey to the dead the benefit of the offerings named.

The magical value of the funerary scenes has been dwelt upon by Sir Gaston Maspero, but denied by the wholly materialist school of Berlin, which regards them as pompous display. In this, and other points, the sympathetic insight of the French school is accepted and acknowledged by Dr. Gardiner. The hidden texts on the insides of the coffins, or buried in the tomb chamber, were nothing as a demonstration to the living, and they force us to accept such provision as solely for the magical benefit of the dead. Similarly, we may add, the hunting and fishing scenes in the upper chambers are the evident descendants of those hunting scenes on the prehistoric grave at Hierakonpolis which was never to be visited by the living. It is only when we reach the biographical inscriptions that the intention for the living appears; and we should note that these inscriptions are at first outside of the tomb chapel (Herkhuf, and at Thebes), and only were transferred to the inside later, in order to protect them.

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Many points of general interest occur in the description of the tomb. The family names are all of the style of the early XVIIIth dynasty; but a strange—perhaps foreign—form is Aohmes Hamash, which latter is supposed to be a pet name for Aohmes.

The order of the subjects in the tomb, and the reasons for their position, orientation, and facing direction, are carefully discriminated, and shown to be strictly in accord with the purpose and idea of the meaning.

The erasure of the *sem*-priest is noted as due to the Aten movement; it throws light on the secondary features of that religion, of which we know but little. It appears that the priestly function was disliked.

The usual early figure of the table of offerings is discussed. The view that the subject represented leaves of reeds laid over the offerings, is not supposed to be the original idea, but only an ignorant adaptation by the Egyptians, while the original objects are believed to be a row of sections of loaves, or slices of bread.

An interesting scene is described of Amenemhēt making offerings for the various craftsmen employed on the tomb. This might be taken as giving them a share in the perpetual magic benefit of the representations. But there may be a further meaning, when connected with the foundation deposits of materials and models of food for workmen. May not these workmen have been required to renew the perpetual freshness and completion of the tomb paintings for the benefit of Amenemhēt? So just as he fed them while they made the tomb, so he feeds them in figure that they may renew it.

The full extent of the primitive unfleshing of the body is not only known by the references in the Book of the Dead (collected by Mr. Wainwright in *The Labyrinth and Gerzeh*, pp. 11–13), but by the ceremony named by Dr. Gardiner of "fastening the jaws that were severed."

In two places in the tomb it is noted that some of the women are coloured pink instead of the usual Egyptian yellow. There are the two musicians and several serving women in the feast scene, and two of the bearers of offerings. It can hardly be doubted that these are northern or Syrian captives. We need a study of the extent to which foreign captives were employed and represented.

The use of candles in the ceremonies shows that such were customary in Egypt, though no remains of them have been found. The lighted candle represented in the hand, on the gilt cartonnage busts of Roman age, is, therefore, of Egyptian origin.

There are many other points of external interest in the book, beside the value of the general study of the funerary ritual and system. A few points the author may perhaps reconsider. A genealogy is printed with all the names upside down; it is far better to arrange genealogies in a column to each generation, with the eldest at the top of each column. On p. 48, surely a boat went from Beni Hasan up to Abydos, and not down. On p. 64, the stools cannot have been of bamboo, which was unknown in Egypt; they appear to be palm-stick crates, like the modern work. The cones on the head are stated to be entirely of scented ointment; but the vase from which they are supposed to be taken is much smaller than a single cone. The truth seems to be that the cone is of hair, like the modern African (Ancient Egypt, 1914, 169), and the scented ointment was put on the cone, which could afterwards be detached so as not to saturate the wig.

Of the fidelity and artistic quality of the copies by Mrs. Davies it is needless to remark; it is well known to all that they cannot be surpassed, and the more of the ancient work is perpetuated in this way the better for its future survival.

Sièges de Prètres.—Par GEORGES DARESSY. 8 pp., 1 plate (Bull. Inst. Français Arch. Orient., Cairo.)

A familiar object in the Saite and Ptolemaic town ruins is the solid limestone headrest. The wooden pillows which are usual from the pyramid age to the XIXth dynasty ceased to be made, and heavy limestone blocks appear instead. Now in the present paper M. Daressy has shown that similar blocks are found up to a large size, and that such were seats, as stated in an inscription. On the strength of that he terms all such blocks as seats, and would regard the lesser sizes as votive seats. It seems more likely that the low blocks of only six or seven inches high, and not much more in length, were headrests; especially as they curve up sharply at the ends, to prevent the head rolling over, while such a form prevents sitting upon them. Another feature is the hollowing out of the side, which is useless for a seat, but adapted for the shoulder in lying down. One such block from Memphis had a little shrine cut in it to hold a figure or amulet (Meydum and Memphis, III, Pl. XXXIII); this would be more appropriate for sleeping on to influence dreams, than for sitting upon.

While the commoner small blocks are therefore headrests, the larger blocks described are now shown to be seats. Two were found at Karnak, one of sandstone, the other of red granite, about eighteen inches high and wide, and a foot thick. The sandstone seat has, on the larger face of it, an inscription of ten columns, carefully cut and painted blue. It is translated as follows:—

"The prophet of Amen-ra king of the gods; prophet of Horus the great one of both lands, great of Amen; first prophet of the image of Pharaoh ever living; prophet of Osiris, of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris of Koptos in the Hall of Gold, of Horus, of Isis, of Nephthys and their allies, ruler of the temple of Khonsu Nefer-hetep of Thebes; priest of Min in the House of the Elder; fourth prophet of Amen; opener of the door of Amhut, passing in his skin; the great ruler (ha), keeper of and of the king of the gods in his time; second prophet, making the passes of Osiris, chief of the modelling of his form, divine father, initiate in the mysteries, sacred purifier, IMHOTEP . . (son of) sacred purifier of the temple of Mentu lord of Thebes in the temple of the bull (Bakis), HORUZA. He says, in adoring his lord, (I was installed) in my seat among the chief prophets in the place of the great purification as instructor-in-chief of those on the seat; making the passes on the eyes, in alternation, the companion did things without knowing. He knew also that the love of Amen was better than millions of things, than hundreds of thousands of pieces of silver. He has been consecrated to Tanen as his prophet, and to Isis as priest of the sycomores. He satisfies himself with truth, he lives with Her, his heart rests in the great purification. I look for help to transmit to my ka all the members fulfilling their functions, and to end my days on earth in the service of Amen as director of the prophets in his great temple." Of the notes of M. Daressy on this inscription most are technical; but he compares the "passes on the eyes," and effect on the subject, to modern hypnotic action.

Coptic Cloths.—By LAURA START. 8vo, 36 pp., 38 figures, 1 plate. 2s. 8d. by post. (Bankfield Museum, Halifax.)

This pamphlet describes the different styles followed during about a thousand years in Egypt. A careful analysis is given of the methods of weaving, and of constructing the patterns by direct shuttle, by hand-working on the warp threads, and by stitching after the woof is complete. The method of weaving cloth

specially for the form of garments, and of hemming and stitching such garments, is described and illustrated. Such technical descriptions and explanations are much needed in order to understand the complex development of ancient crafts, and their relation to modern work. A study like this at once adds life and value to collections, which otherwise are merely a subject of ignorant wonder to the usual antiquary or excavator. Anyone who wishes to understand the subject should get this account and study it.

The writer does not touch on the origin of the embroidery patches on Coptic garments, which seem to be utilitarian to prevent wear and tear. The two main pieces are large ovals at the knees, then lesser ovals over the breasts, and broad stripes across the shoulders. Whether darning or patching the wear originated the use of embroidery on those parts, or whether the decoration was put on as a preventive, we do not yet know.

The reader should correct two serious misprints: on p. 4 the warp threads are 140 not 540 to the inch; and on p. 32, in the first column of dates, 1738 should be put to the XVIIth dynasty.

Culture of the Ancient Pueblos of ... New Mexico and Arizona.—By Walter Hough. Smithsonian Institution, Bulletin 87. 1914. 133 pp., 29 plates, 348 figures.

Though purely American, this account contains some interesting parallels to Egyptian products. There is an extensive system of dedicating offerings of all kinds to the gods, and placing such offerings in caves, where they have been long preserved. Such objects are called paho. The pahos described are of twigs, hooked sticks, bows and arrows, bird carvings, feathers, fire, cigarettes, fire-sticks, dress, model baskets and flutes. Those which are of more interest to us are the models of animals roughly pinched up in clay (Figs. 260–275), exactly like the model animals found at Kahun, where they were apparently toys made by children (see p. 165, Vol. 1914). Another curious parallel is in the reed gaming sticks or dice, which are long slips split off a reed, with the knots painted, the throw being determined by whether the slip fell inside or outside uppermost. This is exactly what was found carved in ivory in the tomb of King Qa (Royal Tombs, I, xvii, 30, p. 23), and like the slips of reed used in gaming in Egypt at present. All such usages similar to those in Egypt serve to illustrate the mode of thought and the use of objects.

NOTES AND NEWS.

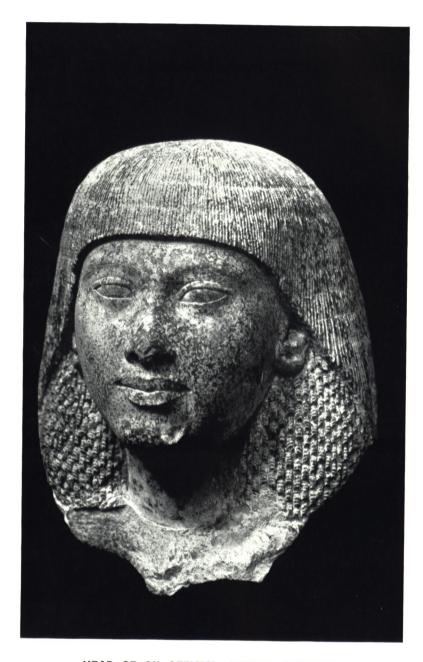
THE war naturally overshadows every other care and activity. We can only hope to keep the constructive interests alive for the present, so that they may revive again after the scourge on civilisation may be ended. Mr. Brunton and Dr. Amsden are at their posts still, at Netley and Cooden Beach. Mr. Engelbach, after his recent marriage, is daily expecting to be sent abroad from Sheerness. Mr. Angelo Hayter is now in the censorship of letters. Mr. Duncan Willey has found a fit scope for his Arabic as Assistant Political Officer to the High Commissioner in the Persian Gulf.

The Egyptian collection at University College, London, has been partly arranged during the winter, and will be thrown open to the public, in lieu of the usual Exhibition at the College, for a month from June 7. After that it will continue to be accessible to the public on application. The facility of study with a library and collection side by side, may, we hope, carry out the intentions of Miss Edwards in establishing that centre for the subject. We hope in our next number to give readers a sketch of the scope of the collection, and some views of it.

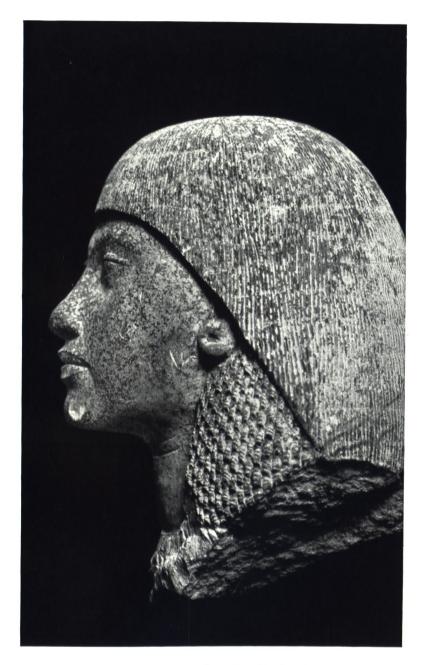
THE PORTRAIT.

THE charming head of a limestone statuette, which we give in this number, was one of the treasured acquisitions of Dr. Capart at the Brussels Museum; we hope that he may long continue to guard it there. It represents a high class Egyptian, doubtless of Thebes, at the close of the XVIIIth dynasty. A comparison of the treatment of the face—especially the lips—with the statue of Tutonkhamen (Arts and Crafts, Fig. 38) shows that it comes from the same period and schools, we may almost say from the same artist. It has much of the Syrianised refinement of type in profile, but is not so light and graceful. In front view it shows a curious heaviness in the width about the ears. The eye is small compared with the usual type, and is even smaller than the modern English proportion. These features give an air of dogged reserve which is unusual, and hardly accords with the freedom of the mouth. It is clearly a strict portrait as it departs from the usual type, so familiar in the works of that age. The piercing of the ears for wearing ear studs was then a fashion, seen in the statues of Akhenaten and Rameses; yet, strange to say, we have no male head shown with the ear studs, which only appear on a few statuettes and coffins of women.

THE ANNUAL EXHIBITION AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE WILL BE OPEN JUNE 7 TO JULY 3, 10 TO 5; EVENINGS OF JUNE 10, 15, AND 25, 7 TO 8.30.



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