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TOMBS OF THE COURTIERS AND OXYRHYNKHOS

BY

FLINDERS PETRIE

WITH CHAPTERS BY

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AND

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TOMBS OF THE COURTIERS.

INTRODUCTION.

1. THE work described in this volume was carried on at Abydos from the 8th of December 1921 to the 11th of February 1922, and then at Oxyrhynchos from the 16th of February to the 10th of April. The party at these sites consisted of the Director and Mrs. Petrie, M. Henri Bach, Mr. Montgomerie-Neilson, Mr. G. W. H. Walker, Miss Caton-Thompson planning the distribution of flint work on the desert, Miss Guenevere Morton, Mrs. Benson in part of the time, while Mr. and Mrs. Brunton could not arrive from South Africa till the 20th of March, and were occupied entirely in exploring southward.

Beside the work here described, tombs were visited in the eastern desert opposite Oxyrhynchos, in one of which was a series of Aramaic inscriptions. Here are references to Taharqa, Nekau and Psemtek I, showing an early settlement of Syrians, probably Jews. The inscriptions were copied by M. Noël Giron, and photographed by the Museum staff. M. Giron's account appeared in *Ancient Egypt* 1923, pp. 38—43, and he then preferred to place the material in the hands of Dr. Cowley.

At Oxyrhynchos many papyri were purchased from the diggers and dealers; a few were retained for publication by Professor Hunt, the bulk were sent to Washington University, St. Louis, and others to Ann Arbor University, Michigan. Some of the oldest Hebrew papyri, of the third century, were found in the work, and have been described by Dr. HIRSCHFELD (*Jewish Guardian*, June 9, 1922) and Dr. LOEWE (*Journ. Theol. Studies*, Jan. 1923). A photograph was issued in a pamphlet on *The Status of the Jews in Egypt*, by FLINDERS PETRIE. These are now in the British Museum. It is hoped to issue a volume with final publication of all these papyri now in England.

CHAPTER I

THE GRAVES OF THE COURTIERS.

2. THE excavations which I carried on at the Royal Tombs in 1900—01 seemed to have exhausted the material that could be recovered of the 1st dynasty, and subsequent work at that site by others yielded scarcely a fragment more. A tomb of that age, probably of a queen, at Gizeh, supplied a few objects of different kinds in 1906: those from the central chamber are in Cairo, unpublished; those from the surrounding graves are figured in *Gizeh and Rifeh*, with plans. Then about 1911 another excavator found, about a mile from the Royal Tombs, a line of graves of the 1st dynasty, but did not pursue the matter to a conclusion. In 1921, as nothing more had been undertaken at that site, I cleared it as the work of the British School.

3. There was no indication of the extent of these squares of graves visible on the surface. A mere flat expanse of sand, pebbles and chips lay level between the fort of Khosekhemui and the other fort, now a Coptic deir: thence it stretched down to the rubbish mounds around the Kom es Sultan. We had to run trenches in all directions to get in touch with the many lines of graves that we found, see pl. xv. Thus we disclosed three great squares of graves; the N.W. group contained an ivory label and a copper adze of king Zer, the third king of the 1st dynasty; the N.E. group contained in one grave two ivory labels of Zer, in other graves the large ivory comb of king Zet, and two copper tools of his; the S.E. group had no ivories or copper tools, only a large pottery jar made for queen Merneit. Thus this cemetery belonged to the three reigns in the middle of the dynasty. The pottery alone sufficed to date the graves to these reigns, before any names were

found; and the decline of construction in these squares accords with that seen in the tombs of those kings. No question can remain therefore about the date of the objects here discovered. The whole of each square of graves constitutes one group, and the separate graves are all of one date.

Before describing the graves we should note the condition of the ground. When these squares were laid out, the graves were about four feet deep, with about a foot of sand over them. In the XIIth dynasty the ground was riddled with long graves for full-length burials, and some large family graves with great steles. The surface constructions formed traps for blown sand, which raised the ground level. In the XXVIth to XXXth dynasties large chambers were excavated, cutting through and destroying many of the earlier graves; these new works formed vaulted brick rooms partly underground, or sometimes domed chambers with a pyramidal top on a cubic basis. The height of these trapped more sand, so that about five feet of sand lay over the early graves, which were much cut into by the later tombs.

From early times the graves had been mostly plundered (see pls. xvi, xvii, xviii). Of 269 graves of Zer, only 68 contained anything notable, and only 16 had copper of obvious size left in them. The 154 graves of Zet had objects in only 40 of them. The 79 graves of Merneit had nothing of value left. Of gold only a few beads remained in one grave.

4. The nature of this cemetery is scarcely yet explained. It is obviously like the squares of graves around the Royal Tombs, and these burials of court servants are alike in both sites. But why these graves should retain the square arrangement, when not around a royal burial, is not understood. At first we naturally supposed that there was some central burial chamber, and the presence of a mastaba wall in the north part of the square of Merneit (xviii) seemed evidence of this. Yet no central burial could be found there, although we removed a large part of the mounds which encumber this square. In the other squares (xvi, xvii) the outlines of our excavations, sketched in the area, show ground which has been exhausted down to native gravel. It will be seen that there is no space unexamined which is large enough for a great tomb pit, like those of the Royal Tombs, or any mastaba wall. In the N.E. square, of Zet, there is a large pit lined with brick walls, which

might perhaps have been a long tomb with divisions, like that at Gizeh. It had in it a division into three burial chambers at the north, and two at the south end. In the N.E. one of these chambers was a burial, obviously of the XIIth dynasty, while upon the body were laid a small bowl of the black and white porphyry characteristic of the beginning of the Ist dynasty, a tall cylindrical alabaster vase, broken and patched, and a smaller one of like form. All of these are clearly of the age of the squares of graves, and have been re-used; this supports the idea of this large long pit being the central tomb of the square, the people of the XIIth dynasty having cleared it out for re-use, and then buried in it some of the vases which they had found in the original burial.

In the general plan (pl. xv) the lines of graves are blocked in solid black, as the walls would be too thin to show. The details of the graves are given on the separate plans of each square, xvi—xviii. The great wall of the fort of Khosekhemui, known as the Shunet ez Zebib, is at the west side, and north of that is the earlier fort of Perabsen. These forts were published by AYRTON in *Abydos* III, vi, vii, and the parts here are copied from those plans. The chamber at the north-east of Perabsen's fort is not certain in form, so has been duplicated from that at the south-east corner. The plans of the three squares were made by laying tape lines along the walls, measuring each grave from these, and connecting the tape lines at the corners, and with each other. The sketches of the outlines of excavations were made by setting up a scale of markers along the west, and another along the south, and reading off the positions by sighting a distant hill peak over each one of the scales. This is the quickest method for a mass of detail where no great accuracy is needed.

5. The construction of the graves (pls. xvi—xviii) was made by cutting a trench in the ground, lining it with brickwork, and dividing it by crosswalls (pl. i, 4). In the less careful work of the last square the trench is mostly left unlined, and merely divided by brick crosswalls. It is evident that the two earlier squares were laid out on a fairly consistent plan; yet the square of Zer has two corners left incomplete; that of Zet has all corners incomplete, while a broken row is added on the west; that of Merneit is most irregular, and no trace of a western side could be found, though long searched for. There seems to have

been sufficient planning to justify our looking for the specified measurements. The square of Zer, inside the walling, is 225 cubits of 20·53 in length, and in width 133·33 cubits of 20·64 to 20·79 inches, or else 135 cubits of 20·38 to 20·53; neither of these multiples is satisfactory, but 135 cubits agrees best with the 225 cubits. The square of Zet is of likely multiples, 200 cubits of 20·83 in length; in width 125 cubits of 20·13 to 20·77. The latter breadth agrees well with the length.

6. What seems inexplicable is, when 326 graves were constructed around the tomb of Zer, where there was unbounded space on the desert, why 269 more graves should have been placed a mile away, and not with the others. Similarly for Zet there are 174 graves round his tomb, and 154 placed in the lower cemetery.

It was not that the lower cemetery was for an inferior class; among them is a large grave for a woman named Mer-nesut with labels bearing the name of Zer, and the great ivory comb of Zet and large royal tools of copper show that people of some consideration were buried here. The steles that remain mention a seal bearer, a carver, and two chief officials. The four seal cylinders found here also belonged to persons of authority. What may explain the difference of the upper and lower cemeteries is that nearly all the steles from the tomb of Zer have female figure determinatives (*R. T. II, xxvi*), suggesting that the burials around the king were those of the harem and intimate servants, while the lower cemetery contained the palace officials. This however hardly seems a sufficient reason for establishing two entirely separate cemeteries during all these reigns. At first I had thought that the lower cemeteries were those of the staff of crown-princes who had died before accession, but the absence of a central burial in each square is against that.

It seems likely that these great squares of graves enclosed a space for some ceremony, otherwise there was no object in laying them out over so large a site. The enclosure of Zer alone is as great an area as that of four of the Royal Tombs with all their subordinate graves. If ceremonial, they would be the early stage of what later became the lower temple of each pyramid in the IVth to VIth dynasties. Thus, for the present, it seems that the persons who were intimate with the king were buried around him, where only intimates might come for worship, while the court staff were

buried at the edge of the desert, at a site open to all for royal worship; these two cemeteries developed later as the upper and lower temples of the kings.

It may be noted how the sacrifice of the court diminished during the dynasty. The graves connected with Zer are 326 above and 269 below, total 595; of Zet $174 + 154 = 328$; of Merneit $41 + 80 = 121$ and a few lost; of Den 121; of Azab 63; of Semerkhet 69; of Qa 26.

The outlines within the squares show the positions of pits dug by us, leaving scarcely any chance of there being a large tomb chamber in the area.

On the west of Merneit's square is a mastaba or fort foundation with a tomb of the XIIth dynasty at the south end. No central chamber could be found, either in this or in the mastaba within the Merneit square of graves. The position of the western mastaba on pl. xv may be slightly different.

CHAPTER II

OBJECTS OF THE FIRST DYNASTY.

7. IN describing the objects found in the graves of the Ist dynasty it will be clearest to follow the order of the plates i to xiv, for position of graves referring to the plans, xvi to xviii, and noting the whole groups in the Registers, xx, xxi.

Pl. I. 1. The wall at the side of the south gate of the fort of Khosekhemui. 2. The western side of the fort of Khosekhemui. 3. The western side of the ancient fort occupied as a Coptic deir. These buildings of the IIInd dynasty will be described after the graves.

4. View of open trench of graves, along the east side of the square of Zet, looking south. The loose blown sand overlying the graves readily fell in and choked them.

5. View of shrine on the west side of the square of Zer, see plan in pls. xvi and xix. This building was discovered at the back by the workmen in opening the graves, but they naturally did not distinguish it from the many late tomb buildings which lie over the area. They stated the back of the inner chamber to have been over the mid line of the graves, and the enclosure wall to have been 50 inches further to the west. This would imply that the chamber was about 120 inches long, while the breadth of it is 81·5 to 82·6 inches, or 4 cubits.

That this is of about the latter part of the Ist dynasty is shown by the level of its foundation, which is but little over the top of the graves. The brick lengths of the graves of Zer are 9·4 to 9·8 inches, those of this shrine are 9·7 to 10·3, and those of the fort of Khosekhemui are 10·1 to 10·6 inches: hence this would agree with the end of the dynasty, as also shown by the sizes of bricks in the Royal Tombs (*R. T.* II, 15). In the outer wall is a doorway blocked up by brickwork, marked on the plan by two white lines. This is not opposite the entrance to the chamber; a similar difference of doorways is seen in the pyramid shrine of Meydum. The building is noted further under pl. xix.

The steles are distinguished by the grave numbers. 442 is of a man Onkh-ef-sen, with the title *tep ud*. 453 is of Neter-shedti, who was sealer of some office. 117 is of Hetep-neb, who was apparently a carver, indicated by a flint knife. 159 is of Mer-nesut, from the tomb with her playing-piece, ii, 16. 446 is very much cut by the sand-blast. 442 is of Merefka, director of some office.

8. Pl. II. The cylinder seals are fully drawn on pl. iii, with which they will be described. 5 is an ivory label, with *rd*, *neter*, and a basket of offerings; it is tempting to see here an early use of *rd*, as "inspector" of divine offerings.

6. The ivory comb of king Zet, the detail of which is drawn on pl. xii, 5. The remarkable design of the upper part is new to us. The bark of the solar hawk, Harakhti, has the pendant cloth hanging from the front of it (see Abydos, *Temple of the Kings*, V), and curved objects above, which seem like those on the stern of the bark in *T. K.* v. The structure below the hawk suggests a case like that of the mummified hawk Har-sma-taui (*T. K.* vi; LANZ, *D. Mit.* ccxxxix). So far the design is not unusual; but the idea of a boat of the sun is then combined with the flight of the hawk, by placing a pair of wings beneath the bark. Below is the name of Zet (or Uazet) with the hawk over it, preceded by *onkh*. This suggests the usual formula which begins later inscriptions, "Lives the Horus." Everything that we can observe in these early inscriptions is of great value, as giving the original forms from which the well-known phrases of later times have been derived.

7. Ivory arrow-points were very usual in the graves, they are often stained red with ochre at the tips, perhaps to fetch blood by sympathetic magic.

In one grave there were some dozens, all marked with three parallel cuts; no other marks were found.

8. A finely cut ivory label of Zer; by the side of the name is *bekh* with the bird, see pl. xii, 1, which also is on two copper adzes, iii, 1, 2. From comparing the arrangement on these, it is clear that the bird is named *bekh*, sometimes with *kh* complement, sometimes the bird as the complement. It is the desert partridge, *karwán*, which is so familiar, with its quaint cry. If this is the name of an official, these objects were not all buried with him as they were found in graves 461 and 612, at opposite ends of the square of Zer, nearly four hundred feet apart.

9. A thick strip of ivory with a tenon at one end, inscribed *sher*, perhaps abbreviated for the name *shera*, the little one.

10. A label inscribed *zeren*; as it was found in the S. W. corner of the Zer square, it is tempting to see a fuller form of the king's name written in alphabetic signs.

11. Two broken pieces of ivory with the same signs, see copies in xii, 3, 4.

12 to 17 a group found together, with the ivory lions and marbles, vii, 1 to 6. They seem to have belonged to a royal favourite Mer-nesut whose name is on the large draughtsman 16, and on the stele (pl. 1) found in the grave. She certainly lived under Zer, by the two ivory labels with that king's name found here, 14, 15. Other labels, 13, 17, were plain; they were probably inscribed with vegetable ink which had decayed. The ivory hemispheres, 12, were used in a game, see vii, 9.

9. Pl. III. 1—5. Ten copper adzes were found in various graves of Zer, and five of these are inscribed. Two together, 461, have the name of Bekh, of which one was royal property, with an exquisite engraving of the falcon and name of Zer. Another, 3, has the name Her-ka, perhaps meaning the king. No. 4 has Ba-she, or possibly the name is Hershefi and the *sh* is a complement. 5, reading Onkh-ka, is interesting as having the wide triangular base for the *onkh*, as on the steles *R. T.* I, xxxi, 11, 12; *R. T.* II, xxvi, 52 and *Abydos* I, xii, 2. This early form shows the antiquity of the emblem of Tanit (*Ancient Egypt*, 1916, 107), which is thus identified with the *onkh*. It seems as if it had been brought in from Libya in that form, and modified later in Egypt.

6, 7. These are the names of Zet upon a massive copper axe, and a large flat-topped adze, photographed in v, 5, 7.

8. This name Ka-hetep is roughly incised on an axe with side lugs, v, 21. This form is remarkable as being far earlier than any other lug axe; such square lugs were barely reached in the VIth dynasty, and not fully till the XIIth dynasty. The form is scarcely Egyptian in its feeling, and it seems as if it had been imported from some centre where the lugs had been already developed.

9. The sign of an office here, which is not known before the IIInd dynasty, points to this being later than the graves, and it has no history.

10. This seal has an interesting figure of a reed-work shrine, known before on sealings of Zer (*R. T.* II, xvi, 114, 115, 116, 117). The lion with three yokes (?) upright on the back also occurs on seals 115, 116: with a single bar it occurs here on seal 16, also in the titles of Hesy, and on an early cylinder seal (*P. S. C.* iv, 87). On sealing 12 it is replaced by the sign of a registry (a bundle of papyrus rolls tied up): it therefore means some kind of *diwan*. On sealing 16 here it is prefixed by a chisel, much as Hesy prefixes an axe.

11. A very perfect ebony seal has repetitions of the name *Tem-ka* or *Ka-tem*, "the perfect ka." (Cairo.) For the name *Tem-ka*, of a woman, see *P. S. C.* v, 121.

13—16 cannot be explained at present. The two different forms of the hand in the *ka* sign of 14 point to there being two values of this sign.

17 has the name Nekht, and portions of titles.

18 might perhaps read Tata tata-en Tata: as Tutu is a son of Neit a possible meaning would be "Tutu nourish Tata," a play of words on the name Teta.

19 is a scarab which was found in a box burial of contracted position, placed between the arm and chest. The box was undisturbed, with the skeleton perfect, buried in the open space of the square of Zet. No contracted burials are known after the Vth, or possibly the VIth dynasty; by all appearance of position this would be referred to the Ist or IIInd dynasty; yet this scarab—which is of a degraded design—was found in place, and could not be supposed to have been inserted later. It shows that scarab types were made some time before this, and this cannot be later than the Vth, or more probably the IIInd dynasty.

Pl. IV. 1—4 some copper tools of the Zer group, a flaying knife, 1; a small pair of tweezers of bad form, 4; a ring or ferrule of base gold, 2, and a tip of horn, 3.

5, 6, 7, 8 adzes and needles of copper; the inscription has been noted under iii, 1.

9. Parts of a jar were found, of hard gray pottery, wheel-turned inside, and finished by diagonal scraping outside. It is of the class of foreign pottery, found in the Royal Tombs (*Abydos* I, viii), by the bulging body, flat base, form of mouth, and handles. The ware was remarkably hard, tinkling when struck, unlike any Egyptian pottery.

10 is a scrap of a similar jar.

11. Another kind of foreign pottery, hitherto unknown, is of very hard red ware with a polished face. Whether it was a cylindrical jar, or a tubular stand, is uncertain as only parts of the top remain. The side is fluted all round, with a cord pattern and a vandyke incision round the neck. It looks like an imitation of the Egyptian alabaster cylinder jars, by some different people.

12. A clay ball has apparently the sign of Neit incised.

Pl. V. 1, 4. Groups of copper needles; such are often found in the graves, and those in 4 are unusually thin and in perfectly fresh condition.

2. A type of knife as yet unknown was found in five graves, twice in pairs. From the small size, absence of handle, and a hole in the butt end, it is evident that these were hung, and used about the person; they are therefore called "girdle knives" as having been probably attached to the girdle. No. 3 is a thick rod of ivory found with the knife in grave 429. Six knives were in the Zer group (graves 401, 531, 534 and 765), and one in grave 429 of Zet, so they were an early fashion.

5, 6, 7. A group of massive copper tools, the two larger having the name of king Zet, see iii, 6, 7. They were placed between the heel and pelvis of the contracted body.

8. A small chisel of copper, shown in edge view.

9. A copper coating for the forked end of a staff, beaten out of sheet, and fixed on by minute nails. This method of copper plating is well known in the great statue of Pepy. The forked end was developed later as a bronze casting, the purpose of which is not yet certain; it might be for throwing a spear by a looped cord, like the principle of the Australian spear-throwers. See *Tools and Weapons*, xl.

10. A copper coating of a staff head.

11. A bar of copper, square at one end, and tapering to a curl at the other end. Three such were found, see vii, 10, 11. What the purpose was is unknown, but the resemblance to the sign on

seal iii, 14, seems to show that they are not parts of anything, but complete objects. A form more like the cord sign, but reversed, is on a cylinder, *P.S.C.* v, 115. The thick square end to the present objects prevents their being connected with a cord sign. A small chisel was found with 726.

12. A large group of copper was found in grave 640; 2 adzes, 2 chisels, 3 square borers, 1 round borer, 14 needles, and a bodkin. There were also 12 pointed flint flakes, 10 round-ended blades, a small knife, and a slate bowl with a piece inserted after a break.

13. Heavy copper axe.

14. Two-edged knife of copper, smaller than usual.

15. Heavy square bar of copper, tapering: it may be a rough casting, to work into a chisel by hammering.

16, 17. Ebony rod, ivory rod, long pointed bone flattened at one end, ivory hair pin with slight head, thin copper knife in wooden handle complete (660).

18, 19, 20. Broken tools occur only in grave 601, whether for economy or with ritual purpose, we cannot say. With the large saw-knife (20) and adze (19), were a chisel, 3 borers and 2 needles (601).

21, 22. The remarkable early axe with lugs (21) has been noted under iii, 8. The large saw-knife, 18 inches long, has scarcely been known till now; it starts as a double-edged knife, which was irregularly hacked on the edge and partly notched, as it was found thus to cut more quickly. From this apparently the regular saw with teeth was evolved. How difficult the sawing of wood was in this age is painfully shown by such a surface as that in *Tarkhan* I, xxiv, where cutting has proceeded in every direction. With these tools was the cylinder seal ii, 3, showing that a man of official importance had tools buried with him (654).

23, 24. An undisturbed grave had the long saw-knife, with the adze lying upon it, placed beneath the head. The adze is inscribed, Onkh-ka (iii, 5). A curious feature of all these large knives is the continuance of the edge below the base of the tang. This is not known later in Egypt, nor in any other country.

25, 26. These are of the VIth dynasty or rather later.

27 is the more extended blade of rather later date.

28, 29. This remarkably developed blade for attachment to a stick is 20 inches long; it is obviously of the Middle Kingdom period. With it was the Syrian axe, cast in a closed mould, with relief ribbing along the edges. A similar axe is in a group of tools from Central Syria (*Tools*, lxxiv, base); and by this group in grave 30B the group is now fixed to the Middle Kingdom. This is of much importance as it shows that in the design of tools, and in the mode of casting, Syria was far before Egypt; it is the first tangible proof of a high development of work in early Syria. The metal is a bronze rich in tin, having over 12 per cent, and it is hard to drill.

I drilled out samples of many of these tools, and from other dated examples at University College; these have been analyzed by Prof. Sebelien, and are published in *Ancient Egypt*, 1924, p. 6.

10. Pl. VI. Flint work. The fresh result that has come out of the grave series is the frequency of a narrow-blade knife with steep edge, intended for scraping; the wide thin blade being made for slicing, and being too thin to bear much scraping. The blades with obtuse steep edge were about as frequent as the thin slicing blades. In the Zer graves there were 7 wide to 6 narrow knives, in those of Zet 3 wide to 5 narrow; thus the scraping knife was gaining in favour. The most typical examples are on pl. vi. No. 1 is the earlier type of straight-handle knives, as in the Naqada tomb of Neit-hetep. This form continued under Zet, Semerkhet and Perabsen (*Abydos* I, xiv, xv). The obtuse knife is seen best in no. 4; 3 is partly worn, and 2 has been much worn down by scraping. 6 to 8 are examples of the thin slicing knife, up to 2.8 inches wide, and only about 0.15 thick at most.

A great quantity of pointed flakes were found, as 9, 12, and round-ended flakes, as 10, 11. Such are well known from the Royal Tombs, and the round-ended type of scraper steadily degraded during the first dynasty (*Abydos* I, xiv, xv).

11. Pl. VII. Ivory work. In several graves ivory gaming pieces were found: sometimes in contiguous graves, as in 634 to 639, six graves together in the middle of the south side of the Zer square. From this we may conclude that the burials were grouped according to the functions of the persons.

The lions, 1—5, 13, are the finest of the carvings. There are various types of them, which are quite distinct. (1) The round-topped head, with two raised

spots on the forehead; the fur rendered by quadrants of concentric arcs of raised lines, and extending beneath the body. This shows affinity with the cold-country lions figured on the Gebel el-Arak knife handle, with fur below; the aspect is quite un-Egyptian, and is more like Babylonian work (*R. T.* II, vi, 3, 4; *Cem. Abyd.* II, x, 1; DE MORGAN, *Tomb. Royal*, fig. 699). (2) The African lion with mane, but no hair marked below the chest; well marked jaw and nose, as here vii, 1, 3, 4, 13. (3) The lioness, 5, of the same breed, with an embroidered collar. This seems to be a tame lioness, which was probably employed as a decoy in hunting the lion. Of a similar class of work is the dog found by De Morgan, 698.

6. Along with the lions, small balls of white stone are found, which were used in the game: the more usual stone is white geobertite, or magnesian limestone.

7, 8, 9. For another kind of game, rods, plaques and hemispheres of ivory were used. A similar group of this age is in *Tarkhan* I, xii, 3—5. The curved bars of copper have been noted under v, 11.

12. Pl. VIII. The stone vases were of the same character as those of Tarkhan, and the alabasters of the Royal Tombs, but there was much less hard stone work than in royal burials. The little bowl with in-turned brim, 199, is of the black and white porphyry with large crystals, known to belong to the beginning of the Ist dynasty. The slate bowl 640 has been broken, and patched, with drill holes for ties to secure the piece. The burial 817 was of the Middle Kingdom, but the bowl 9 seems to be an early piece re-used; 5 of translucent alabaster is not like the work of the XIIth dynasty, but the date is uncertain. The fluted pottery 10 has been noted under iv, 11. The cylinder jars of alabaster are all of usual form; a jar from 461, on pl. x, has a mark on the base.

The clay granary model from 384 is the only example that could be removed entire. The little squares are marked on the sides to represent the doors for removing the grain; the form widening to the top was probably to check rats in scaling the actual granaries. The little wall round the group has an opening provided: such a wall would be to keep cattle away from fouling the bins. Other forms of clay granary models are at the base of pl. xi; the two square openings marked were for removing grain when at different levels inside. 21. This fine wand of ivory was for beat-

ing time in dancing. For a scene with such wands in use, see *Deshasheh* xii, and gazelle-head wands of ivory in *Gizeh and Rifeh* iv. The ram head on this wand is a fresh type; it is finely wrought, and the whole piece is in sound, firm, condition, only the tip of the muzzle being missing. (Cairo.) 18. A few things here are of later date. The fragment of a diorite bowl of Khosekhemui was bought from a boy, doubtless found at the king's tomb. It is the finest engraving known of that dynasty. 19. The scarab of Khofra was bought at Abydos, and as scarabs of pyramid kings are keenly sought for by the professional dealers, it is not likely that this had arrived from elsewhere. 20. This piece of an alabaster jar-lid of Merenra was sticking out from stratified rubbish in the Kom es Sultan; we subsequently worked there with a dozen men for a week or two, but found nothing of interest.

Pls. IX, X show all the forms of stone vases which were found; the number of the graves date them according to the group from which they each come. These exactly agree with the types already assigned to those reigns. The pottery pl. xi also agrees with the types found at the Royal Tombs.

Pl. XII. The objects 1 to 5 are already described; 1 in ii, 8; 2 in ii, 9; 3, 4 in ii, 11; 5 in ii, 6. The steles will be dealt with under the Middle Kingdom objects, chapter III.

13. Pls. XIII, XIV. Of the skeletons, and tomb groups in position, there were 32 sufficiently complete to be worth photographing. Of these, 21 had objects with them and are on the register list, pls. xx, xxi; 11 of the most important of these are here published. The numbers of tombs photographed, but without objects claiming place in the Register, are 163, 180, 422, 425, 436, 470, 530, 538, 540, 543, 607. On pl. xiii, 224 is the most contracted skeleton found. 329 shows an alabaster vase in place and a triple granary of clay. The remains of the wooden coffin are evident around the body. No. 384 has two complete clay granaries in place, one of which was removed entire, pl. viii, and kept at Cairo. 542 is in a strange position, face downward. 601 shows an unusually large group of pottery, fully entered on the Register. 414 is unusual, having two flint knives laid on edge just before the face. The knees projecting beyond the line of the coffin, as also the elbow projecting in 542, do not mean that there was any attempt at movement, but only that the coffin was shallow, without a lid.

On pl. xiv the examples show a suggestion of movement. In 541 the upper elbow pushed up high, and the hand spread out on the ground, as if raising the arm, looks like a conscious action. In 537 the position is most peculiar; the heels have been tied tight back to the hips to prevent action; the body was thrown in, chest down, over a large boulder in the soil; the head has been twisted round upright, and at right angles to the spine laterally; the left arm has been thrust up from below with the hand before the face. I was careful to verify that the skull rested truly on the atlas vertebra, and that all the vertebrae of the neck were in articulation down to the straight line of the spine. The double twist of the head at right angles was entirely made while the body was fresh. Fortunately I had a medical opinion on the skeleton in place, which accorded with the view of all our party, that the position proved that this man had been endeavouring to raise his head above the earth as the grave was being filled. This skeleton has been placed in position in the Eugenics Department of University College, by Prof. Pearson. 544 is another example suggesting, by the outstretched fore-arm, and the other hand outspread, that there was some consciousness at burial. 533 was remarkable for the knee being raised up; the femur we here propped by bricks to keep it in position as found. No. 539 is the only body, beside 728, which lay on the right side.

14. In describing the burials of the courtiers around the tombs of Qa and of Khosekhemui (*R. T. I*, 14; *II*, 12) I have noted the examples of walls being built of soft bricks, evidently in a hurry, and burials having taken place within a few days, while the bricks could yield to pressure. This hasty burial of a large number of bodies at one time showed that the persons had been intentionally killed at the funeral of the king. The burials now described confirm this by evidence that some were partly conscious at burial. From the absence of any broken bones, and the signs of partial consciousness, it seems likely that they were stunned (perhaps by a sand-bag) and buried before coming to. This would be the most rapid and painless death possible. What the personal feelings may have been, we have recorded in a parallel case, which Athenaeus (vi, 54) copies from Nicolaus, where Adiatomus, a Celtic king, had six hundred picked men about him, called Siloduri, meaning "Bound by a vow," and "they die when

he dies, as a matter of absolute necessity . . . and no one can even say that any of them has shown any fear of death, or has in the least sought to evade it when the king is dead." The same custom Athenaeus mentions as being taken for granted in Arabia, "they think it ridiculous to be willing to be buried with the king when he dies, but not to pay him the compliment of appearing to be subject to the same sufferings as he is while alive." In Ethiopia the killing off of the court was a regular custom at the king's death, and a complete example of it was lately found in the burial of the viceroy Hepzefa at Kerma. The political use of such a custom was valuable in an unsettled country. Not only did it ensure that all those about the king would be faithful to him, but, also, that all around the king would defend him from any outsiders, even at the cost of their own lives.

15. The plans xvi—xviii have already been described at the beginning. In plan xix are some of the fuller tomb-groups and the large plan of the shrine in the west side of the Zer square. The back of it, overlying the graves, was removed by the workmen, as not distinguished from various late tomb structures; but they told me where the two back walls were, and the repetition of the panelling would not allow of any position more than an inch or two different to what is here drawn. East of A each wall was measured precisely, west of A it is restored. The regularity of the panelling is not carefully laid out. The different walls vary from 9·8 to 11·5 for the mean recess and 15·3 to 16·0 for the mean projection, or 25·6 to 27·2 for the group. This is one fifth of the group by which the great Tarkhan mastabas were laid out (*Tarkhan II*, 7). The mean group there is 130·4 to 131·1, a fifth of which is 26·08 to 26·22. The mean group here is 26·4, so some connection seems evident. The proportion between bay and projection differs from that at Tarkhan. The main dimensions appear to be in the usual cubits. The inner shrine is 4 × 20·65 inches wide inside, 7 × 20·88 wide outside. The outer wall is 10½ × 20·52 inside, and 12½ × 20·57 outside; that is to say 12½ outside, and walls 1 cubit thick.

The succeeding plates have already been described. In the Registers the same method is followed as in previous volumes:—the dimensions of the grave in inches, the direction of head and face of the body, the sex where known, and a star for undisturbed burials. For the skeletons the plate

reference is given if published, or a † cross if photographed but not published. In the other columns, references are stated where published, or a † put where only noted.

The bones of the first dynasty burials were collected; of the skulls I measured 80 in fifteen dimensions, paraffined them, and 60 were brought to the Eugenics Department, University College. The long bones I measured, of 96 individuals, and then reburied them in a pit in the fort of Khosekhemui where we lived.

16. As an example of one of the most varied groups in a grave, no. 611 may be quoted, of the age of Zer. *Stone vases*. Alabaster, cylinder jar pl. x, pieces of 6 other cylinder jars; 3 dishes. Basalt, half a bowl. Porphyry, bit of dish. Quartz crystal, bit of dish and of cup. Magnesite, part of a spouted bowl. Slate, bits of 3 bowls. *Ivory*. Parts of a duplicate inscription, pls. ii, 11; xii, 3, 4. Gaming pieces, 2 tall cones, 3 wide slips, 8 narrow slips. Bits of two cylinder jars. Disc with hole. Bit of lid of kohl palette. *Copper*. Narrow chisel in handle, 2 small chisels, bits of foil and loops. *Flint*. Tip of a flint knife handle, 5 round-end flakes, 2 pointed flakes. Shell with kohl.

17. The weights of stones found in the graves are on the three standards which we know to have existed at this period.

The qedet weights are,—

grave		grains		
121	black, rhombic	4218'0	÷ 30	140'6
329	white, triangle	1423'5	10	142'3
329	„ rectangle	1453'5	10	145'3
461	black, square	7396'5	50	147'9

The gold standard weights are,—

146	brown limest., triangle	4985'0	25	199'4
329	white „ „	399'5	2	199'75
729	sandstone, square	8086'3	40	202'16
510	„ flat	5144'7	25	205'78

The shekel weights are,—

601	sandstone, square	6347'0	50	126'9
510	black, hard, rhombic	4604'0	36	127'9
121	„ „ triangular	6418'0	50	128'3
601	gy. limest., square	3223'7	25	128'9
510	porphyry, square	9685'5	75	129'1

The Registers, pls. xx, xxi, are on the same plan as those of previous years. The capital Roman figures refer to plates; the Arabic figures in the pottery refer to the types in *Tarkhan* I and II.

The † sign marks the presence of examples usually too much broken to fix the type. Dimensions are stated in inches. Only those graves containing distinctive objects are here noted.

18. The fort of Khosekhemui, now called the Shuneh, or Shunet-ez-Zebib ("storehouse of raisins"), has been planned and described by AYRTON in *Abydos* III, 1—5. Some notes were lately made about the height, which should be recorded. The photograph of the wall, pl. i, 1, shows a grouping of the courses near the top. This grouping, in six courses together, is very distinct all round the fort. It is difficult to define the cause; it seems to be a weakening of one course laid without sufficient mud mortar. When the general surface has crumbled by weather—one brick thickness being lost—this weak course has dropped away altogether, and left a line of shadow visible. The levels measured at the S.S.W. part were, 0 sand bed, 17 inches base of pilaster, 23 base of recess, 267 inches top of gray brick levelled up on edge, a general levelling up which extends all round. Above this, groups of six courses, at 21, 42, 68, 91, 114 inches, and continuing with twelve courses to 168, that is 427 over base; some further weathered courses extend to at least 450 inches. It seems likely that the wall up to 267 inches was the first building, and that it was extended higher in stages of six courses at a time, perhaps annually, until complete. It will be seen that near the top there is a course of tilted brick put next over the unmortared layer. These tilted bricks were so placed in a levelling up of the work to begin afresh, and this points to the unmortared layer being the top one of the six. This may give a clue to the cause; a layer of loose bricks over the top of the wall would be the handiest missiles to attack besiegers, and might be left unmortared on purpose. When the next building season arrived, a fresh course was simply laid over them.

At the base on the south, the thickness of the wall is 209 inches, the space between the walls 126, and the thickness of the fender wall is 114 inches.

CHAPTER III

STELES OF LATER TIMES.

19. THE course of work over the region of the Courtiers' graves brought to light many tombs of later periods. Those of the Saïte age produced a few

small steles, and an unlimited amount of common beads. There were hardly any burials between these and those of the Middle Kingdom, of which three large steles and several groups of small things were found. Beside this, some work was done to the west and north of this region, which produced some small groups but no inscriptions. The description here follows the order of the plates.

Pl. XXII. The Mentuhetep stele is the finest in point of workmanship. On this and the other large steles the servants appear almost on an equality with the children; this tells of the familiar terms of the household. The grand-parents were Pert-heb born of Rans-onkh, and Hather-em-hat born of Bener-en-at. Their son was Mentuhetep, who married Sent born of Hapa. He had sisters Rans-onkh and Neb-tau; a son Pert-heb-nefer, and daughters Hather-em-hat, and Rans-onkhs. The nurse Rehetu-tet ("nurse of women") is with the sisters; the lady's maid Ata and the cook Ada, the farm servants Sent, Shema and Pert-heb-nefer, are all with the children. The photograph of this is in the next plate. This stele was found in a large pit full of ruined brickwork of the tomb, which had been constructed at the N. E. corner of the Zer square, cutting through some of the Ist dynasty graves. The translation by Dr. Gardiner is in chapter VII.

Below is the base of a family stele; the only person of title was Mentu a prophet of Ptah. Curiously, there are traces of a scene of cattle, which has been erased in order to cut the figures. At the right is a fragment of an early list of a family, the name Uah-ka being almost restricted to the IXth and Xth dynasties.

Pl. XXIII. The long stele is described above. The altar inscription is set out on pl. xxv, with the resulting genealogy: 34 persons are related together, and 12 others are also named, 46 in all. This is one of the fullest family lists that is known, and covers five generations. The arrangement is in two halves: on the left the recital of the family of Senonkh's mother, and on the right that of his father. On the mother's side the maternal uncle's family is set out, and on the father's side that of the paternal uncle. The genealogy is arranged here in a column for each generation, the earliest at the left hand. The numbers refer to the numbered lines of inscription, and the numbers in circles are the first in each line. The clue to dis-

entangling the system is by following the examples of *en-ka-en*, for where that comes at the end of a line (1, 2, 10, 11, 12) it must continue with a relationship and names.

20. Pl. XXIV. The Antef stele was found in the ruin of a large pit tomb, 197, in the S. E. of the square of Zet. It represents the keeper of the cattle Antef and his wife Sentu-onkh. Below on the left are the sons Upuat-nefer, Mentî and Nefkhet, with his mother Aba. Three servants are in the middle, quite on an equality with the family, Senbebu, Art and Senen. On the right are the daughter Kemt, sister Dada-erdats, a son Pert-nefer, and a "royal servant" Sebek-hetep. By the parents' side is the youngest son Adu-aqer. The title "royal servant" also occurs at the end of the list on the front of the altar. It seems as if this were a *wakil* of the king to see to the royal share of the farm produce; he comes at the end in both monuments, outside of the household.

Pl. XII. Turning back to the previous plate xii, 6 is a small stele, with green painted figures, which was let into the face of a little brick mastaba at the S. E. corner of the square of Merneit. Though with the date of year 2, the king's name is not stated. The figures are of Mentu-să-hather, and his mother Antef-onkh-iunes. The son Sehetep is below the seat. At the base are his wife Onkh, her daughter Mesy, and a lady Dadat.

7. A carefully cut, but clumsy, inscription of Sebekdadu, who was *kher heb asut* in Kherp Senusert, which is known as the Semneh fortress, and of the *saru* chiefs in Hetep Senusert, which appears to be Kahun; he was also a priest of Anubis. He appears with his father Menkau born of Dadat. His mother was Săt-hor-em-hat born of Săt-user. His brother was Sebek-nekht and sister Shepset. His wife was Tamăt born of Onkes, and children Ameny and Săt-hor-em-hat.

21. Pl. XXV. An undisturbed burial in the northern end of the cemetery contained a pair of wrist bands of gold, with a hand amulet attached to each; on the ancles were ivory bangles. The necklaces were of shell, gold, a carnelian centre to a string of shell beads with carnelian, lastly a heavy string of carnelian and serpentine. Kept at Cairo. Below is the altar inscription, see pl. XXIII.

22. Pl. XXVI. 1. A very coarse sandstone stele belongs to the beginning of the XIIth dynasty, as it has the name Sehetep-ab-ra. Possibly his mother Ata may have been the lady's maid of the

Mentu-hetep family. 2. An interesting stele, with figure and offerings in relief, is dated to Senusert III: it was for an overseer of boats named . . . uka, possibly Pekeniuika. Another figure faced this, probably a brother, by the scrap of inscription below.

3. Part of a stele of Anatef born of Adu.

4. Part of a stele of Aunena.

5. Part of a stele of Sebek-oä, and his brother . . . uy.

Pl. XXVII. A large stele was found in a wide tomb pit, ravaged and destroyed, in the square of Zet. The father was a legate (*uahemu*) Shennu, and mother Nezert. The daughter Ameny who set up the stele, names her four sons (two dead) and four daughters, also her sister Dedat and her son and daughter. By the offerings there is "father Nekht," but of which child is doubtful, probably of Shennu; also a "devoted Aby." This is probably early in the XIIth dynasty, by the names Antef and Amenemhat.

Pl. XXVIII. A fragment of a tomb of the XIIth dynasty. A royal sealbearer, sole friend, keeper of the seal, Ameny, is "hunting fishes" in a boat with his sisters, Senbtési and others. An elder brother, apparently, was behind him also. The daughters were named below. This is interesting as keeping the style of the Old Kingdom, in the relief work and the scenes of fish.

Stele of the scribe of the treasury Nefer-hetep-senb born of Senbtési, receiving incense from his son Ameny-senb-senbefen. Below is the wife Antet born of Deda, and the nurse Nubu-dadat born of Sät-sebek. For Upuat the great god of Abydos to appear as the deity of a stele is an unusual and early feature. The pot marks are of the same character, and in the same order here, as those in *Royal Tombs*. The pottery altar is the only example of the offering tray found at Abydos, though such are common in other sites north and south of that.

23. Pl. XXIX. 1. Ink-written hieratic stele on limestone, with the usual formula for Sebek-hetep-senb-refu, born of Tau; Senusert; Kesti; Sät-sebek; Kems; Sebek . . . born of Sät-hather; Dadati born of Nekhta, and others effaced.

2—4. Minute steles on flakes of limestone; 2 for the *shemsu* Neha; the other names are illegible.

5. This names Să-sebek born of Mut; Onkhet; Ran-senb born of Henut; another Ran-senb; Ranef-

senb; Beba born of Kema. I have to thank Prof. Griffith for some of these readings.

6. This is illegible, except for the name Sneferu-hetep.

7. A roughly cut stele represents offerings made by his brother Aba, for Mesu, overseer of the Thahent, Libyans: apparently Libyan settlers in the XIIIth or XIVth dynasty.

24. Pl. XXX. 1. A small pyramidal tomb, worn down to the desert level, is on the east side of the square of Zet. The front of it was included in the general plan, and the form and position of the back is clear in the photograph. In the cruciform chamber were seventeen skeletons of cats, and in the offering recess a row of the roughest little offering pots of the XIIth dynasty. This is, perhaps, the only instance of offerings made for animals, presumably of milk.

2—4. This small group was kept at Cairo, for the very fine example of the mottled glaze pottery. 2. This was made by mixing a white base and a manganese base in layers, and then glazing over the whole.

5. A large head of a falcon, about a foot high, was found loose in the cemetery; it is cut in hard white limestone, and appears to have been broken from a temple statue of Horus.

6—10. A group found in a burial of a woman was unusual for the carnelian necklace with four claw amulets of carnelian. There were many other strings of beads with this.

11—12. On the southern side of the fort of Khosekhemui, between the panelled wall and the fender, it seemed that a shrine had been broken up, and the ebony inlaying scattered. The long strips are at the base of pl. xxxi. These, and the girdle tie pieces here, belonged to Un-nefer the great high-priest of Osiris, who is so well known from other monuments, half a dozen statues and several steles, in different museums. The figures here are evidently those of the high-priest adoring, as shown by the panther's skin. The figure of Osiris is on a panel, with the names of Mendes before and behind.

25. Pl. XXXI. 1. Door jamb (?) from a tomb of Nekht.

2. Part of a stele of two charioteers of Ramessu II adoring Osiris and Horus. Their names are Nesuti-em-heb and his son Nehel: the first name is fair evidence that Sety I and Ramessu II

were co-regent, the man being born when the two kings held a festival. Below, Nehch is offering to Nesuti-em-heb, the chantress of Amen, Netabpartaä, a chief messenger of the king Nehch, and a chantress of Amen, Tausert. The long cartouche at the top, including the royal titles, written with both crowns, is very unusual.

3. A curious fragment of early date, with figures and hieroglyphs in relief. The name is "*amakh* Min-hetepu born of Fenen."

4. Parts of a stele with five priests bearing the sacred head of Osiris; the names are chief inspector Nekht, *uab* priest Meh, Anher-nekht, *uab* priest Hor. The six ears mark it as given with a petition, like the ear tablets of *Memphis* I, ix—xiii.

5. Ebony slips from shrine of Un-nefer. He is said to be "son of the judge, first prophet of Osiris, over the prophets of Abydos, Mery; and born of the chief of the harim of Osiris—Ra" (Maäny, as the name is, elsewhere).

26. Pl. XXXII. 6. Stele of the divine father of Mentu(?)uza, offering to Her-akhti. His father Zed-her and grandfather Nes . . . held the same office. His mother was the priestess of Khent-amenti, Thes-ast. Painted in red. The headdress of sprouting plants on this, and two other steles here, is peculiar.

7. Stele of Hor, son of Merti-heru, adoring Ra and Horus as two separate deities.

8. Stele of Nes-mehti, son of Taheru, adoring Ra. Red paint.

9. Stele of Da-merti, son of Heruza, adoring Ra.

Pl. XXXIII, 10. Finely cut stele of Neitaqert adoring Horus, Herakhti and Tehuti. She was daughter of the *ami as hen ka* (enrolled *ka* priest) Rere, son of Nesmau born of Merti daughter of Rere son of Ruru.

11. Piece of a deeply engraved sarcophagus in hard limestone, of the chief prophet of Osiris, prophet of the sacred bark, Noble, over the prophets, prophet of Tehuti, Anher-auf-onkh. A prophet named Imhetep is also mentioned.

12. Part of a stele of Nes-her born of Ast-ar-das.

13. Top of a stele of a woman in Greek dress adoring Osiris and Isis.

Pl. XXXIV. Sarcophagus of Art-herru, having inscriptions deeply incised, and filled in with white plaster. The translation is given by Dr. Alan Gardiner in chapter VII.

OXYRHYNKHOS

CHAPTER IV

PLAN AND COLONNADE.

27. THOUGH the prospect of more material of the Ist dynasty had drawn us to Abydos, we wished to continue the search along the western desert which had progressed southward since 1910. The last work was at Sedment, which joined up with a former publication of Deshasheh. Hence the next centre was Oxyrhynkhos, from which I examined the desert northward, nearly to Deshasheh. Southward of Oxyrhynkhos the desert was examined by Mr. Brunton as far as Darabseh. All of this desert is very low and flat, bordered by great sand dunes, and is apparently devoid of any remains before the Roman age.

The object of work at Oxyrhynkhos was to search for any trace of the early city. On the south side of the present town a low area was cleared to water level without passing through the Roman stratum. On the west side the clearance was carried down to the water level at the colonnade, but only Roman pottery was found. It seems then that on this very low desert the early city was scarcely above water level at the edge of the canal, and the site has only accreted as the water level rose, so that it is solely under the middle of the present town that anything could be hoped for, earlier than classical times. Close to the west of the present houses an immense hole was dug by *sebakhin* about twenty feet deep, but at the bottom was the portal of an Arab mosque not more than a few centuries old. For two or three square miles west of the present town of Behnesa the ground is covered with rubbish mounds and cemeteries; but nothing before Roman times is found, although the cuttings for *sebakh* are thirty feet deep, and almost reach wet earth. Only one trace of pre-Roman work occurred; in one of the late tombs a fragment of temple sculpture was re-used, having a band of stars across the middle; above it, the top of a scene with hawk's wing and *medu*; below it, *khon neferu*, recalling Mut-kho-neferu, the name of Amenardas.

On pl. XXXIX are the few fixed landmarks in the formless waste of mounds, trenched and cut to pieces by hundreds of diggers for *sebakh*. An intended railway line to the oasis was begun during

the war, a bridge was placed over the canal, and the start of the line laid south- and westward. This was stopped, and the material was partly used to lay a branch behind the town mounds to bring away the *sebakh*. Every day a train of 100 to 150 tons of earth runs over the bridge, to distribute it along the country. Beside this a great deal is dug and removed to the canal bank for transport in barges. During all this digging papyri are found, but apparently nothing else of importance.

The railway for *sebakh* is marked on pl. xxxix by a broken line, coming from the bridge at the south, and ending in the flat desert to the north. Near the south is the outline of the theatre; to the west of it a bank ending in a long mound, parallel to that, part of a thick wall, and north of that other thick walls, which seem like boundary walls of properties. To the east of the theatre is seen the long double row of the colonnade (pl. xxxv, 1); east of that is the end of another colonnade (xxxv, 3) with two bases north of it (shown in photograph). Further north is a large base of a statue of about the Vth century A. D., now dug around and isolated (xxxv, 2). To the north of these are two domes of tombs, red and white, which serve as landmarks. All to the east of this plan are the buildings forming the decayed fringe of the present town. The principal landmark, a tall minaret (seen in the distance, xxxv, 1) belongs to a disused mosque, and is dropping to pieces: as one of the sheykhs said, when I remarked on it, "It does not matter if it falls, no one lives there."

Northward the desert is dotted with mounds of tomb ruins. A few of each kind we dug out and planned; the map xxxv is not as complete as might be, as one of our party in charge of this region fell lame; after waiting a week or two the work was taken up by another; then his eyes were hurt by the dust, and it was only after he left, and all the workmen, that I had at the last to plan up the tombs while doing the packing. Where notes had been left insufficient, the number without a definite block shows the approximate place. The following account follows the order of plates.

28. Pl. XXXV. 1. The three tall columns standing in the midst of broken pottery and brickwork were found to be part of a double colonnade, evidently lining a great road, like the colonnades of Alexandria and the Syrian cities. In the view there is, at the

left, the large pilaster in which the row of columns ended, A in plan pl. xxxix; from this the row was traced eastward to column 28, the two easterly columns are marked with lines above them in the view: the complete one is 222 inches high. Upon them were capitals; the upper half of one is in xxxv, 4, and the upper and lower halves together in 5, with the lower half of another at the top. The material of the columns is nummulitic limestone, with the bedding set upright, so that they readily weather and flake. The diameters of the columns vary between 31.6 and 34 inches, except that at the end pilaster which is 26.4. The distances of the centres apart average 125.26 inches, variations noted being 123.2 to 128.6. The distance of the lines apart was 291 inches, leaving a clear way 259 inches between them. What these columns supported is not in evidence; but it cannot be doubted that some roofing was carried. The span is not greater than that of the streets of present towns, which are roofed over with beams and matting. The brackets, which project from the columns in Syria and Palmyra, may have been for struts to support the wide span of beams. This colonnade was nothing when compared to Palmyra, where there were twenty times as many columns, each thrice as high, and of marble.

At the east of the colonnade there are traces of another at right angles to it, xxxv, 3. A square pillar has half columns on two faces, and beyond it are visible the circular bases of other columns. These are 127 inches centre to centre, and 29 inches diameter; each is marked with A. Apparently at the end of this colonnade was the circular base of a statue, xxxv, 2, the foundation of which has been exposed by the removal (in 1914) of the rubbish in which it was founded. The inscription upon it, by Mr. Walker's copy, is ΦΩΚΑΙΟΥ / (ΕΥ)-
 ΣΕΒΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ / (ΟΙΚ)ΕΙΩΝ ΔΕΣΠΟ/ΤΟΥ ΠΟΛΛΑ-
 ΤΑ/ΕΤΗ. "Of Phocaeus, a most pious master of his household for many years." On the base block is ΑΝΑΦΕΡΟ(ΝΤΩΝ) followed by the name of the dedicators, ΝΕ

The base, which is 70 inches square, and the octagonal course, are each 20 inches thick; below are the foundation courses—30 inches thick.

In the course of digging to find the line of the colonnade, a marble head was found, xxxv, 10, of about the end of the second century; also some bands of relief in limestone, xxxv, 6 to 9.

CHAPTER V
THE THEATRE.

29. THE great theatre of Oxyrhynchos has been known as a quarry for stone long ago. It is deeply buried in blown sand, and the excavations that we spent upon it were solely to determine the plan, without any intention of clearing it, which would entail twenty times as much work. The principal points which I succeeded in defining are the stage, the seating where remaining, the scheme of the vomitoria, the great circuit wall, and the eastern portico. All these are entered in full black on the plan, pl. xxxviii. Many architectural fragments were recovered; some were drawn, and all the more interesting pieces are now exhibited in the British Museum.

In reconstituting the plan, the axis is defined by the limits of the stage. The centre upon the axis is defined by a perpendicular to the line of remaining seats, the outer circuit of vomitoria, and the remainder of the outer wall on the east. The radial vomitoria vary too much to be able to prove a position by them. The remaining seats, which were seen in a trench, deep under sand at the west, are very much weathered and worn, but the upper part shows a different plane of slope from that of the lower, indicating a circular gangway about four feet wide. On the opposite side to this, on the east, only the upper part of the long passage was uncovered, and seating was not found. If there were a gangway between each group of five rows it would imply seven circuits of five rows each, or 35 rows. The average row held 320 seats (the pygon was 15 inches), so the whole seated 11,200 persons; if the gangways were not so close together it would have held more, but there were also radial gangways that would have reduced the number. Looking at the very shallow seats with foot rests between, the whole area would be practically a stairway. The seat and the step were each 9 inches high, and the distance from rank to rank 33 inches.

30. The stage (*logeion*) is raised 106 inches above the central area (*konistra*), but close to the back it is 115 inches, probably due to a paving over it. The length over all is 2405 inches; this is half the outer diameter of the theatre, which is 4795 + facing stones; and it is double the diameter of the *konistra*, 1200 inches. It is curious how closely these dimensions are 100, 200 and 400 British feet; but they were arrived at from the plan, and not

by any direct measures. The middle of the stage is destroyed, but there remain shallow pilasters along it to within two spaces from the middle; presumably there was a doorway in the middle, but certainly there were not two doors at the sides.

These pilasters had marble capitals, one of which was found, too crumbling to be removed, 22¹/₂ inches base, 23¹/₂ high; pl. xxxvi, 4. In front of each pilaster, at 44 inches, there was a red granite column, and an equal number interspaced between these. Thus the columns were 50 inches apart, 27 inches diameter at the base, and the same across the top roll. They were 160 inches high, on marble bases 12 inches high, and with marble capitals 33 inches high (see xxxvi, 3), or 205 inches over all. Such columns, at the end of the stage, are in pl. xxxvii, 3. There were also red granite columns lying near the circumference of the theatre, doubtless from a colonnade around the top, as in Syrian theatres. These were 22 inches diameter.

At intervals along the stage were colossal marble figures, xxxvi, 1, 2, xxxvii, 5. They appear to be intended for the Muses; presumably they were placed in some of the 50 inch spaces between the granite pillars. On the base of no. 5 is ΕΙΓΑ, beginning complete, but broken after Α. Γ

Two figures were found 320 inches apart; this implies placing at each fourth intercolumniation, and nine figures in the whole row.

At the west end of the stage the end wall remains, with two engaged columns and a pilaster beyond, see xxxvii, 3, 5, where the columns A and B are lettered in each of the views to connect them. From the positions of the granite columns sloping upward, it is evident that they were along the front of the stage.

31. The most remarkable matter architecturally is the development of the spiral staircase, formed exactly as in a mediæval castle. At each end of the wall behind the stage there was a door at the back, opening on the low-level vaulted passage, which ran along the back. This door led to a spiral stair with central newel. There are two steps cut in each block, 8 inches each; the block is 52 wide including the newel, 45 back to front, and 16 inches thick. The newel is 17 inches thick, the steps 26 inches wide, the circumference divided in fourteen steps, each 15 inches wide at the outer side. These stairs are preserved on the east end to much above the stage level, see xxxvii, 4. They do not open on to the stage at all, but go up in the solid

wall to at least 125 inches over the stage where they are broken away. At 82 over the stage, a passage branches off in the wall, parallel to the back of the stage, and this opens out as a window at 79 above the stage, where it interrupts the sequence of pilasters. In the view xxxvii, 4, the three workmen are standing in the passage, with the newel and staircase in the foreground. The underside of the steps is worked into a single smooth *cochlea* spiral, which shows a complete development of this design. The form of such a spiral was familiar in the water-screw of Archimedes, but this is by far the earliest example of its architectural use. In the theatre of esh Shubeh (*Provincia Arabia*) there are square stairs at each end of the stage; but the steps are only on each side of the square newel, with square landings in each corner. At ed Dumēr there is a circular stairway, but of large diameter around a central well. The Oxyrhynchos theatre seems to have by far the earliest example of the compact spiral stair with a newel column.

The back passage into which the stairways open is at 56 over the *konistra*, and about 194 high to the vaulted top. The low passage entering the theatre from the east has the floor 19 under the *konistra*; it is 135 high at the side, or about 205 to the top of the vault.

32. A curious feature is the portico at the eastern end of the stage. There does not appear to have been any opening from it into the theatre; the clearance of the back wall in the middle was carried down to 42 inches below the footing of the pillars, and deep enough all along to prove that there was no opening equivalent to the pillar level. From back to front of the hall is 230 wide to the inner faces, or 272 inches to the outer faces of the pillars. The two pillars and side wall on the south were fairly preserved, the northern part was decayed and ruined, but the general positions were plain.

At the bottom corner of the plan, xxxviii, is the detail of the impost and arch moulding, touching the side of the pilaster on the left; also the detail of the architrave moulding, which must have been above the pilasters. The capitals of the pilasters were made in two blocks, an upper and lower, placed together in the photograph xxxvi, 5. A sketch of the relation of these parts is placed in the top corner of the plan, on double the scale of the plan. The material for this is the spacing

of the pillars and pilasters, and the end walls. To fill the extra space at the ends I have assumed that a pilaster was set sideways against the side wall. The surprising feature is the flattened arch. There is no doubt of the radius at the spring, as the width is known, and the lowest voussoir springs as a tangent to the pilaster. That radius is 71 inches; but the intrados of the upper voussoirs has a radius of 104 or 114 inches on different blocks. Much of the arches had collapsed bodily on pulling down the building, and the voussoirs were found lying side by side. There seems no question about the flattening of the curve, by the difference between 71 and 109 inches radius. The height of the pillars and pilasters is quite unknown, as they were ruined below the impost. The least height that is likely has here been assumed. A block of triglyph was also found here, which must have been over the architrave moulding; it has the normal three grooves and six guttae.

Around the top of the outer wall was a band of very bold and simple rosette work in a scroll, xxxvii, 6, 7, 8. The same rosettes are seen on a small scale in the upper part of the pilaster, xxxvi, 4. This band was 12 inches high, and the blocks carrying it were 23 inches thick, with a moulding projecting on the inner face 5 inches (xxxviii, top, right). The outer wall is 155 inches thick; deducting 23, which is a likely thickness for the top wall (like the coping), that leaves 132 for the colonnade on the top of the wall, or 110 clear width inside the row of granite columns. This seems quite a reasonable result.

33. There is a curious mixture of design in this theatre as the features belong to different sources. It is mainly Greek, in the seating being continued beyond a semicircle, in the columns on the stage, in the triglyphs. It is Roman in the features of the long tunnel passage beneath the end seats, and the vomitoria. It is Syrian in the colonnade around the top. Yet the back wall of the stage with its pilasters and row of granite columns has nothing to do with the recessing of the Syrian stage. The features which seem peculiar to this theatre are the end portico and the spiral stairs.

The stage is placed further back than any rules provide. The stage front is 488 too far back, and the stage back 450 also, for the Roman triangle. The stage front is 80 too far back for the Greek square, or the back is 150 too far back for the circle. As it faced south, the much stronger light

in Egypt would enable spectators to see clearly at a greater distance than allowed by European rules.

The mouldings are mostly cut in a debased manner, by dressing diagonal drafts and then running grooves in them.

CHAPTER VI

THE TOMBS.

34. THE tombs of Oxyrhynchos are spread far over the desert, but they have the reputation of containing nothing, and are left alone in modern times. Those few bodies that we found had nothing with them; and—apart from limestone sculpture—the only objects found in the cemetery were two engraved glass jars, one perfect (xlv, 9), now in Cairo, and one broken, now re-united, in the British Museum. These are the largest such known, no. 9 being 10 inches high; they lay in a tomb chamber, left after a funeral feast. All of the plans are to a uniform scale of 1:100, and are placed approximately with the north upward.

Cremation was followed here in some instances, and mounds entirely composed of ashes are interspersed among the built tombs. The mound marked on the plan (xxxix) south of 14, is the largest; it is about sixty feet across and ten feet high. Wherever we dug into it nothing but beds of ashes were found. On the top was an immense number of fragments of thin glass cups, over ten pounds in weight. Lesser amounts were found on other heaps and on tombs; it appears that libations were poured out, and then the glass had to be broken, as it had been used in the service of the dead. There was also a fragment of a roughly cut lion's head in limestone on this mound.

35. An unusual type of tomb was the high platform with chambers, pl. xl. First of all, bodies were buried in the open desert, only a foot or two down. Over them a group of four chambers was built. After rising about eight or ten feet they were filled up with gravel, and banked round with gravel, to make a platform. This was intended from the foundation, as the outside and inside of the walls were left quite rough. Upon the platform, and almost, but not always, on the lines of the lower walls, there were built chambers which were plastered, and had doorways. Finally the whole structure was heaped over with gravel, forming

a conical mound with a doorway half-way up in the side. It may be that this type is many centuries older, but has not hitherto been found preserved, as it seems like the original of the Meroitic pyramid with an imitation doorway high up on the side.

36. The apse tombs, pls. xli, xlv, seem to be identical with the arrangement of a Coptic church. There is a semicircular apse, sometimes with a low fence of stone before it (no. 42); at each side is a small chamber, like the Coptic side chapels, though probably used here to store vestments, books, or other articles for the service. The back of the apse is painted with marbling, and this agrees with the Coptic usage of a wooden communion table placed in the front part of the apse. Some way before the apse was a wooden screen, the grooves for which are seen at the side pilasters and on columns. This was equivalent to the *hekel* screen. The court before the screen contained the burials in shallow graves. In no. 23 this court was probably open, as the width is sixteen feet. A smaller court, probably roofed, is in no. 35; one burial was in a loculus in the floor of the side chamber, running beneath the back wall. No. 43 has an apse built over some earlier chambers (in open outline here): it has been re-used as a dwelling, with a circular oven built on one side of the apse, and a fireplace against the north wall.

The chapel no. 42 is the best finished, see three views pl. xlv. No. 2 shows the apse with marbled stucco, the fence before it, and the two side chambers. No. 1 shows the capitals of the four columns which carried the roof, and a large impost with a cross in a wreath. The form of this cross is certainly of the sixth century, and probably of the time of Justinian. In view 3 the bases of the columns are in the foreground, and the stairs behind; in the plan, xli, the double wall at the side of the stairs was for carrying the upper half of the flight, (the arrow on the stairs points upward); this chamber must then have had an upper storey. When this beautiful work was finished under the flourishing power of the great Justinian, who would have suspected that it would be swept over by the barbarous hordes from Arabia within a century? There are examples already recorded of eucharistic chapels connected with tombs such as the chapel of Probus attached to S. Peter's at Rome; but there does not seem to be elsewhere a regular class of such chapels, as is found at Oxyrhynchos.

It may be noted that the opening in the low screen across the apse of tomb no. 42 here, is on the same side as the opening in the apse screen in St. Piran's chapel, Cornwall. Certainly these tombs must be taken into account in the development of the chapel system.

37. The subterranean chamber in tombs forms another type, see pls. xlii, xlvi. Tomb 48 is perhaps a double structure, as the northern chambers do not open into the southern. At the south is a small chamber, with a doorway to a passage and a flight of steps into a subterranean chamber. The latter was lighted by two splay windows in the upper part of the wall, opening into the upper chamber, which was therefore perhaps an open court. The inner ends of these splays are seen at the upper part of the view xlvi, 6. Just below them is a recess, and in the left wall another recess with pedimental top of limestone. On the right is a bench along the wall, which probably covers the actual grave. The meaning of these benches was not found until our work was closed down, and the final survey being concluded.

Tomb 36, pl. xlii, has a large hall, with three recesses on the east and two joined benches at the south east. On the south west is a chamber with splay lights to the south, and in it a block of stone and a lesser block set in brickwork. From this chamber there opened a recess which ran under the upper part of the flight of stairs. These stairs opened off the hall, and ran up to a flat landing, now gone, where they turned and went up parallel to the first half to reach the upper floor. The arrow on the stairs points upward; the numbers show the level in inches. On the north-west was another chamber from which we did not empty the sand.

Tomb 32 has a southern entrance, which passes over a burial pit, probably that of the *bawwab*, or door-keeper, who thus keeps his own place. The hall extended over the whole length of the building. Going down the stairs on the right a vaulted chamber is reached, which extended under most of the upper hall. It has a recess in the south wall, and a lamp niche in the north wall.

Tomb 17 was the most elaborate of this type. The entrance led into a large hall, with four recesses on each side. At the north end was a fresco of lattice and circular designs, xlvi, 8. Between the recesses on the west was a fresco painting of the panelled doors of a cupboard. On the north-

east a doorway led to a second hall, from which a flight of stairs ascended, and turned back at a half-way landing: the upper part has disappeared, see plan xlii, and view xlvi, 1. Beneath the upper part was the entry to a burial pit, and thrown down into that was a life-size statue of a woman, of which head and feet are missing, xlvi, 2. It is now in the provincial museum at Minieh. In the building was a stone bearing a cross with expanded arms, and balls in each, xlvi, 7. The form of this is most like that at Ravenna on the ivory throne of Maximian, about 550 A. D. (*Ancient Egypt*, 1916, 106). This tomb therefore may be assigned to the reign of Justinian. At the north end of the lesser hall is a great bench across the hall. On cutting into this, a flight of stairs was found descending to a large subterranean chamber, the vaulted roof of which had fallen in. The dress and style of the statue is surprisingly good for so late a period, and it seems to fall into place as a forerunner of the fine sculpture at Cividale in about 760 A. D. Rather later, the same fine school appears in the noble stucco reliefs of S. Pietro al Monte di Civate near Lecco. All these works show that there was a much higher level maintained in sculpture than what is familiar in coinage during the Dark Ages.

Tomb 29 (xliii) is a chambered tomb with floor burials in the middle chamber and benches in the south-west corner which probably overlie other burials.

Tomb 24 (xliii) has a large hall on the west, much like tomb 17. On the east it opened into another chamber, and thence to lower chambers, and a vaulted chamber at the south-east. The regular access to the lower parts is now destroyed.

38. Tomb 27 (xliii, and view xlvii, 1, 2) is the largest block in the cemetery, and entirely different to others. There were two large halls, with one column in the opening between them. The western hall had a wide recess, starting near the ground level, in the west wall, and two doorways on the north. A fireplace was put in the north-east corner. The eastern hall has a large vestibule on the south side; the north wall is so broken down that we did not clear it. On the east are three small chambers, raised above the floor of the hall; each contained a burial in the floor, and was closed by a door, with stone door jambs. These chambers are at the back of both views: no. 1 is taken from the west end, showing the place of the column,

and the capital in the foreground, with a slot for a wooden screen: no. 2 is taken from a point south of no. 1, to show the row of side chambers which open to the outside. The height of the column (half of which is shown erect) is 112 inches, the base 15 inches, the capital 17 inches; therefore the halls were just 12 feet high. The column is 13 inches wide, and the capital 28 inches. The chamber on the north-east was vaulted.

Pl. XLIV, Tomb 30. This is built with red brick facings to the ends of the walls: also there is a red brick lining to the north wall of the north-west chamber. The stairway turns to the left half-way up, instead of to the right as usual. On the south side are two long bench tombs. The other plan, 40, has a southern entrance. On the east side of the hall are two recesses, and a lamp niche between them; this is 27 to 42 inches from the floor with a smoke recess as high as the wall now extends, to 64 inches. A burial pit is near this side: a seat 12 inches high is opposite to this on the east. In the south-west corner is an enclosure, probably a bench tomb robbed.

39. At the lower part is a plan and section (to double scale of the previous) of a columbarium at Abydos, at the south-west end of the square of tombs of Merneit. The entrance is double, facing north-east; in the pillar between the entrances is a false-door niche. A few steps descend, with niches for urns on the right hand; then a square mass of brickwork is reached, with a passage all round it, having niches around the outer side. These niches are all smoothly plastered and whitened, and have not contained any fixed objects such as steles: they seem only adapted for urns, with which the height agrees, as seen in the section, being .7 inches wide and 11 high. The wall and recesses have been partly broken away on the south-west. The central mass has a step around it, shaded here contrariwise. The mass was dug through deeply, but no burial could be found in it or under it.

40. Pl. XLVII, 3, is the only inscription found in the Oxyrhynchos cemetery, from tomb 46 on the plan. It is the "Memorial of Theodoros servant of God, son of Demetrios of Kynopolis, unmarried (who died) sixth of the indiction, Pachōn 17. (aged) 22. Of good cheer." After 22 there is a sign like omega with a final tail: it is possible that this is intended for the numeral 800, and that the whole should be read "twenty and two and eight hun-

dred," like the Arabic inversion of the units between the tens and hundreds. If so, it applies to an era and not to the age. It might count from 312 B. C. the era of Antioch and many other Syrian cities, or 310 B. C. when Ptolemy Soter became independent. This would date the inscription 511 or 513 A. D., and would fall in with the neighbouring tombs being of the age of Justinian. The sculpture of fret pattern, 4, is from the colonnade; the pieces nos. 5, 6, 7, are from tomb 14, and are of interest as showing how early the style of mediaeval foliage-work was developed. All of the sculpture of these tombs is in the Department of Christian antiquities at the British Museum.

41. At Abydos, on the eastern side of the square of graves of the reign of Zet, a later tomb chamber of the vaulted type had been cut through the old graves, about the XXXth dynasty. Afterward this had been converted into a Coptic chapel or oratory. The doorway is shown in pl. xlvii, 8, broken away at the top, and with a watching hole at the side, a familiar feature to the modern Copts. Inside there were niches cut in the walls (fig. 9) and fragments of a painting of branches and birds in the middle niche.

Pl. XLVIII. Byzantine inscriptions. In the group with Hebrew papyri, numbered 50, there were some earlier sherds, as no. 1, probably Marcus Caecilius Metellus; no. 3, and nos. 56—62. No. 2 is of Ploution or some such name. Nos. 9—10 evidently denote church property (*ekklesia*) found in group 18, with the glass flask 12, and the pots 13—15. For the position and plan of tomb 18 see pls. xxxix, xl. Group 13 has a curious large jar, no. 16, with a late version of the Hathor head and cows, and a pattern of crossing bands in white, with black line patterns. (U. C.) There were many pieces of large amphorae of the type no. 17, of soft brown pottery, with red scrawls brushed on, marking the wine as "church" property (18—20) or "divine" (Θεῖος; 21—23) or with personal abbreviations as 27, Iohannes. With these were many pieces of thin hard buff jars, too much broken to be drawn, with the Byzantine inscriptions 30—39.

In a house was the painted jar 41, and inscriptions 42—45. Nos. 46—52 were found together elsewhere. Nos. 53—55 were found together. Nos. 56—62 are only small sketches, from pieces which came in at the last day of work. 56 is a seal of the "property of Paulakios." 59 is stamped for Theōros. 60 and 61 are stamps on the same seal-

ing. On some long necked amphorae, certainly pre-Constantine, were names chalked roughly, 63, 64, the Coptic name IENAMON "Begotten by Amen." From 66 onward are the stamps placed on conical caps of mud which covered the necks of jars. It is curious how the conical cap, with stamps on the side of it, was a continuance of the custom of the Ist dynasty. Where different stamps were placed on one sealing they are here bracketted together, and such are to be noted as being certainly contemporary. No. 66 refers to such a name as Vivianus. 67 has a flying dove with (He)rculio. The scarab on 68 had passed into Gnosticism and Christianity as an emblem. 86 perhaps reads Papia.

CHAPTER VII

TRANSLATIONS.

By DR. ALAN GARDINER.

42. THE stela of Menthotpe (pls. xxii, xxiii) shows in its names, titles and phraseology all the characteristics of the XIth dynasty. Its special interest lies in the unusual expressions contained in the third and fourth lines, which imply that Menthotpe was a self-made man, his own wits supplying the place of a father, a mother or a son. All this is not very complimentary to his parents, whom he depicts, as well as a son; but perhaps they were humble folk, or died while he was still a child. The inscription runs thus:— "(1) *O ye who live and are upon the earth and who shall pass by this tomb, who love life and hate death, say ye: 'may Osiris, head of the Westerners, glorify Menthotpe.'* (2) *Now I was the first among my contemporaries, the foreman of my gang, one who discovered the statement about which he had been asked, and answered (it) appropriately,¹ (3) cool-(headed), one who obtained bread in its (due) season, one whose (own) counsel replaced for him a mother at home, a father making the family fortune (??),² and a son of good disposition, one whom his (own) nature instructed as (it were) a child growing up with its father. (4) *Now although³ I was become an orphan, I acquired cattle and got oxen (?) and developed my business in goats; I built a house and excavated a (garden-)pond, the priest Menthotpe.*"*

It will be noted that there are some unusual signs in the last line, as though the scribe had been unable to read his hieratic original; thus the two words for cattle look the same, though different words were probably meant. The names of the

family circle call for no particular comment, but the name Rehwet-twet "The-ladies-are-pleased" is not inappropriate for the nurse in the top row, whereas the name Shema' "The-nomad" for the royal slave, who leads a sorry kind of gazelle, suggests that he required watching.

NOTES

¹ Lit. "with an occasion as regards its occasion." I think this means "appropriately" rather than "point by point."

² As the text stands we can only read *ir(t) gm-k*, which is unintelligible, but recalls curiously a likewise unintelligible phrase in the tomb of Payemrē (DAVIES, pl. 67, l. 41 *hr hm ir gm-f*). But perhaps after all, *ir(t) blk* is to be amended. I have guessed at the meaning.

³ Emend *sk wt*. Note the peculiar heaping up of particles. 'Iw is doubtless to be used with *hrp-n-l*.

43. The coffin of Inaros (pl. xxxiv) (*Irt-Hr-r-w* "The-eye-of-Horus-upon-them," see SPIEGELBERG, *Rec. de Trav.* 28, 197) probably belongs to the Ptolemaic period. The owner, to mention only his more important titles, held the rank of "priest of Hathor of Denderah," "mayor of Abydos," and "overseer of the priests of Osiris in Abydos"; his father's name was Peteos (*P3-di-3-s*). The texts read as follows:

(1) "Recitation: Thy face is to heaven, thy back to Geb in thy form of 'Him-who-is-upon-his-bed, (titles) Inaros."

(2) "..... loosing him who is bound. It is Re^c, the lord of heaven, even Atum, who watches over me. I am that excellent....."

(4) "..... I have my mouth, that I may speak with it before the gods of the Netherworld, I have my mouth to speak, my legs (3) to go, I have my arms to overthrow my enemies: I have power over my arms, I have power over my legs."

(5) "Recitation: Raise thee up, O Osiris Dad, Re^c places thee upon thy pedestal, established upon it for ever."

(6) "..... Opened for thee are the gates of heaven, that thou mayst go out through them.

(7) "The *imy is, hm (?) k3* Peteos, justified. Raise thee upon thy left side, place thee upon thy right side....."

(8) "Amset, the great god is the protection of (titles) Inaros." "Matefef is thy protection." "Khent-enyerty is thy protection."

(9) "Neri-ḥor is the protection of (titles) Inaros." (10)—(12) Similarly, but with the names of the genii Neḥa-ḥor, Ḥray-nestef and Ḥray-*awcyf*."

(13) "Said by Inaros: Re^c opens thine eyes, that thou mayst see with them." (15) "Recitation: Isis is in front of thee, Nephthys behind thee, O Inaros."

There is nothing more of interest until we come to the divine names (18) "Horus of Three-hundred-town" and (19) "Horus-Pillar-of-His-Mother."

(20) "Recitation by Neri-hor, who came forth from Wedenet. Fall on your faces (for *hr hr-tu*) ye rebels, retire ye, Inaros is hidden from you, he shall be on board the ship of Re^c."¹

(21) "Recitation by Neḥa-hor who came forth from Roseta. Get ye back, ye enemies who are said to be come (?) against Inaros. Retire ye, and approach him not, he is in the following of the excellent 'Aḥt."

(22) "Praise to Re^c when he rises in the eastern horizon of heaven by the great assessors who are in the Nun. Hail to thee, eye of Re^c, every day, Khepri who creates himself, manifold of names, manifold of faces, who sails and grows not tired. Come thou in peace, Re^c; raise thee, thy enemies are fallen."

(23)—(27) are common phrases from the well-known formula of offering.

CHAPTER VIII

A COPTIC HERMITAGE AT ABYDOS.

By LADY PETRIE.

Do not pursue after men on account of ease, lest thy poverty be hindered.

44. THE research work in the collecting and study of flint implements from the top desert, at Abydos, carried on by Miss Caton-Thompson, and her further search for caves, were instrumental in the discovery of the Coptic hermitage of the Vth or VIth century, hidden in an adjoining gorge.

In the age of persecution of the Church, when peace only lay in withdrawal from the world, there was a strong leaning towards the life of meditation. It is now understood that monasticism, which first developed on Christian lines in Egypt, had a pre-Christian origin there—pagan monks having passed their lives in retirement from the world some centuries before the Christian era.

¹ For *gs-dpt*, see *ÄZ* 57, 99.

In the early centuries of Christian experience, a recluse would live in solitude, up some lonely *wady* or desert valley, in one of the natural caverns in the limestone, adapted to his use. The caves near by were left to the jackal and the hyaena, and these, together with the little jerboas below and the eagle on high, would be his only neighbours. In some districts, as at Qau, there were rows of small isolated chambers cut with difficulty into the rock, in a precipice a hundred feet above the plain—cells which could never have been reached except with a long ladder: the favourite position was beneath an overhanging rock, so that there could be no access even from above. Or in other districts, where certain strata in the cliff were honeycombed with caves, the devotees would live in a community, almost jostling each other. There must often have been difficulties in the acquirement of supplies of water and food, however simple their wants; baskets and *qafas* crates were probably hauled up by each hermit, hand over hand, on ropes, from the devoted villagers who had borne them across the low desert to the escarpment below each oratory. We can imagine the chanting of daily orisons, and the hymn singing of these followers of the "Preaching of S. Mark," and, since the publication of the earliest Coptic version of the Fourth Gospel, we can once more read word for word, in the Coptic original and literal translation, the scripture which they used.¹ When we see the crowding of the cells of some of these communities, as at Athribis, we cannot suppose that the inmates always refrained from gossip and scandal, or from grumbling, any more than the pious inhabitants of a present-day village nearer home. However that may be, a wealth of devout meditation and earnest searchings of spirit must have been the outcome of the early settlements of devotees, and these were an accession to religious thought, and, as much as any action, meant advance in the life of the world at large. Many a hermit must have felt, as it was said, "Even here in the desert have I seen God and lived after my vision" (Gen. xvi, 13, *trans. Moffatt*).

45. At Abydos, there is a great bay of the hills, which forms the rocky background to the royal tombs of the Ist dynasty lying far up in the low

¹ The Gospel of S. John, according to the earliest Coptic manuscript, edited with translation by Sir Herbert Thompson. 57 pp. + 86 pp. text. British School of Archaeology in Egypt. 25 s. net.

desert behind the temples. Many limestone gorges, wide and narrow, debouch into this square plain of sand-covered desert. One of the wider valleys on the western side is figured in "Methods and Aims of Archaeology" (figs. 2—3 facing p. 1), where the low desert approach to the valley is seen in photograph. Further north, on the same side of the bay, there emerges a narrower *wady* which we have sometimes used as a convenient channel of access to the high stretches of the Libyan desert, above.

On ascending this *wady* westward, an entrance to a cavern was noticeable on the right hand side, high up in the rock, above a steep face of compacted sand looking almost like driven snow. It was hoped that the cavern might contain worked flints, and Miss Caton-Thompson dug and searched it for these. The place seemed worth further investigation, as an inscribed wall was found. Two of our Arab workmen tramped thither with me later on, and, on Christmas Eve, we dug down along what proved to be a cross-wall of masonry, stuccoed and covered with earnest scribblings of pious inscriptions in Coptic, and quaint symbolic representations of birds and beasts and crosses. That was a day of unrest in the province, we afterwards learned, and the Lewis guns were forced to rattle in Asyut, but here in a remote gorge, with only the evidences of the life of meditative devotion around one, peace reigned. Enough was laid bare to prove it desirable to return, and when the First Dynasty dig was near its end, I came back daily, with a man and two boys, and we four cleared the hermitage, which I planned to scale 1 : 20 and copied, and then had it refilled with sand for future preservation.

46. The little retreat of this anchorite of Abydos faced south, and was situated about a mile back from the bay of the hills. The narrow gorge, cut out in limestone and half filled with sand drift, was the desolate view seen from the hermit's doorway. In the photograph XLIX, 2 (see LV, 2) the wall of rough masonry stands at the entrance to the cave, and is the front wall of his outer chamber; from the edge of the sunlit slope we look down the *wady* towards Abydos, and across the narrow rift to its other face lying in northern shadow.

Within this containing outer wall lay the living-room in the wide mouth of the cave, and the cave had been further divided by an inner wall (L, 7), parallel, to separate living-room from oratory. The

living-room was about 9 × 10 feet, and had a rock-hewn sleeping-bench (LV, 10) on the west side, with a rock-hewn pedestal basin at its foot. Facing these, in the south-west corner, was an ingenious cooking-stove, in which charcoal had been used; it consisted of limestone blocks, was square, and stood three feet high. It was fitted with the rim of a jar which served as the ring of the stove; the pot formed the oven, above the fuel replenished from the stoke-hole below. Much of the charcoal still remained, both in the stove and also in an amphora, XLIX, 3 (see LV, 3), which was one of the store-jars in an adjacent store room or larder.

This larder occupied a fissure, on the west of the cave, which had been utilised by building a rough wall up against the rock, to enclose a small space adjoining. Stopped jars were ranged along the back of the little room (LV, 3), on a low footing of rock, and still contained various remains of food and fuel. From the entrance of the cave, a plastered passage-way led here (LV, 2) separated from the bedroom area by a low kerb. Beyond the stove, a square-headed narrow doorway was reached. No door remained, but the inner sides of the larder doorjambs were furnished with bar-slots for a substantial bar, which showed that the hermit had recourse to barricading, to preserve himself and his provisions when wild beasts grew importunate. One wonders whether it was a hyaena which, in the end, pulled him down, or whether he lived on to extreme old age.

South-east, in the opposite corner of the living-room, another fissure in the rock provided a storm kitchen sheltered from the wind, and here the cooking-vessels—a blackened cooking-pot, its cover, and a pottery soup-ladle—were neatly ranged upside down on the floor; the hermit's whisk or brush of palm fibre lay with them. All of these are figured on pl. XLIX, fig. 3 (three photographs), together with two of the amphorae from the larder. They are preserved in the collection of Egyptian antiquities in University College, London.

47. Through the inner blocking wall of the cave, there was another square-headed doorway (pl. L, 7) having recessed inner jambs and a moulded lintel decorated with rudely painted black crosses. This led into the oratory, and a rough flagstone paved the threshold. Above and beside the doorway were circular openings, and the wall immediately over the lower of these windows (LV, 9) was painted in red outline, on its outer side (L, 7), with the

design of a large decorative cross (L, 9 and LII, 3) flanked on either side by a dove with outspread tail, bearing an olive branch, and, below each, a quadruped statant regardant, with tall neck, spread ears, and a slender tail. Judging from their long straight horn and equine appearance, we may consider these creatures to be unicorns; they are caparisoned, and decorated with wide collars and large round pendants, probably amulets. Below the cross, and between these supporters, is a neatly written inscription, immediately over the head of the window which seems to have been enlarged to the detriment of the inscription. It consists of nine lines enclosed within a border, and gives a list, or invocation, of fathers and holy men (chapter IX, 3), prefaced by the names of the Persons of the Trinity.

The central figure of the design, the stemmed cross, is fimbriated, and filled in with a twisted rope-pattern, forming a guilloche; the limbs widen to a decorative splay, rather like the recerclated cross, in heraldry, but straight-ended. It is ornamented between each of the terminals by a garland of decorated loops from which depend tufted objects, probably pomegranates. Immediately above the cross (LII, 3) hovers with outspread wings the dove of the Holy Spirit, having a cross *patée* on head, and "Holy Trinity, Holy Ma(ry), Jesus the Christ" written large, under it (chapter IX, 3).

The scene shown on pl. L, fig. 8 (LI, 2) was painted on the blank wall (LV, 8) to the left, or west, of the lower window. It seems to represent two tall slender columns ornamented with twisted decoration, and, at the necking of the column, and a little below it, decked each with a pair of garlands. The columns support massive capitals enriched with leafy sprays and hung round with fruits (?) and tendrils. These are surmounted by pinnacles of an unknown nature; they are high conical roofs, overshadowed by what appear to be trees, or spiral ornaments. A large bird (falcon?) with extended claws, is seen in profile in the space between them. Three more of the conical structures, depicted below in a row between the columns, lead one to suppose that they may be dwelling-places. It has been suggested that the scene represents the pillars on which hermits, such as S. Simon Stylites, spent their lives in prayer and meditation, and that these were each surmounted by a conical shelter; or these ribbings and arabesques may merely have been borrowed from like designs in the fantastic decoration of manuscripts. The copy

made on the spot, in actual size, is given reduced on pl. LI, 2, and the six-line inscription between the two ornamented columns. For the translation, see chapter IX, 2. From the mention of the name Mena, twice here, and elsewhere in the inscriptions, it has been conjectured that this may designate the hermit himself, called after Saint Mena. The inscription on pl. LIII, 4 occurred between the column cappings, L, 8 (LI, 2) and the invocation above the cross, L, 9 (LII, 3).

Beside the oratory door, a shelf recess had been hewn out in the corner, on the east side of the cave, to form a lamp stand, well screened from the wind, XLIX, 4 (LV, 4); a small stoup, probably a hollow for a candle, was scooped beside it. They were surrounded by various inscriptions, above, below, and within, XLIX, 4 and LIII, 6, 8, 9, 10; for translations see chapter IX, 6, 8, 9, 10. On the right side of this recess (south), a lamp on a tripod is depicted, with the abbreviation I C—*i. e.* Jesus—beside it, in the usual red paint (XLIX, 4 and LIII, 9). The inscription above it names the Father, the Son, the Spirit, the Holy Mary, and the Holy Catholic Church (LIII, 6). Small black crosses, rudely painted, abound, and black paint was used elsewhere in the little retreat,—but sparingly, as most of the designs and texts were executed in red haematite colour.

48. The inner room, or oratory, was irregularly pentagonal in shape, and was about 8 feet across.

Just inside the doorway leading to it, high up on the left hand side, a ledge had been provided in the plastering, on which a swallow might build, and here the nest of thirteen or fourteen centuries ago still remained in place, with the droppings, within a few inches of the window through which the bird gained access: "Yea, the swallow hath found a nest for herself where she may lay her young," and it was even beside the altar.

This altar, or shrine, of the oratory was approximately oriented, and was a deep ledge hewn in the living rock on the eastward side of the cave, XLIX, 5 (see LV, 5). Two hewn-out niches close to the altar recess, and another below it, may have served for piscina and aumbries. The inscription between them is given in pl. LIII, 11, and translated in chapter IX, 11 (sect. 52). It has been suggested that this may possibly have been an *agraphon*, or unwritten Saying of our Lord, or it may have been merely a precept of one of the Coptic fathers. The altar and detail of surroundings can be seen in the

elevation of the east wall of the oratory given in the upper part of pl. LV.

Two large recesses, north-east and north-west, were hewn out, and used as cupboards; they originated as fissures in the cave. In the former of these, the cleft had been filled up, waist-high, and plastered; another walling had been added, about three feet further in, and in this were two small round holes neatly plastered. Part of this inner wall was removed, to see if there were any manuscripts or other objects hidden behind it, but the space lay empty and continued for about ten feet further, narrowing inwards to a mere crevice. The second, or north-west, recess was arranged as a cupboard, with carefully improvised cup-hooks in horizontal array. On the wall under the main cupboard (LV, 1) was a painted cross, pl. XLIX, fig. 1, eighteen inches high, in twisted rope-pattern of two strands, without fimbriation, and having squared ends and wide terminals of three twists each. The letters Alpha and Omega are placed in chief, on either side.

On the chamber wall between the doorway and lower window, the cross, seen in pl. LIII, 7, was painted in black with middle line in red. The twisted rope of the stem was of double loops, the arms of single loops, and the four terminals were lengthened to a triple twist.

Yet another of these symbols, figured on pl. LI, 1 (see chapter IX, 1) bore witness in the hermitage. A large black cross of eight points is contained in a circle, about a foot in diameter. Each vesica within the double points is occupied with a small device, two concentric circles above and again below, and at the two sides the letters XC and IC, respectively, (Christ Jesus). The wide black-lined circular border is enriched with lines and triangles in black and red, interspersed with black spots. The cross has an inner cross and outer triangles of red, upon its field. At the intersection, four pomegranates on leafy stalks radiate.

Another decorative design, as yet unmentioned, is the irregular meander in red and black, shown in pl. LIII, 12.

Along the western side of the rock-chamber, opposite the altar, ran a raised footing, smoothly plastered, to form a dais or low bench.

The reveal of the lower window, before described, is given in side view on pl. L, fig. 6 (LV, 6). Here the hermit looked out from the oratory and across his room to the rocky steep on the opposite side

of the *wady*. Painted on the wide inner splay of the west side of the opening, the quaint figure of a saint clad in a short tunic can be descried, and some Coptic inscriptions scrawled in red, such as LIV, 13 (chapter IX, 13); the lower part of this showed signs of having been replastered.

The inscription LIV, 14 occurred at the end of the east wall of the oratory, between the double niche alongside the altar and the window; it was scribbled on the curve of the dome. The position of no. 15 was the top of the south-west wall. No. 16 was done in thin charcoal on the upper side (right) of the high window over the entrance to the oratory. No. 17 was outlined in red, on the doming of the cave, in the outer or living-room, where its position was directly over the basin hewn in the foot-end of the sleeping-bench. No. 18, of similar shape, was also placed on the west side of the living-room, and was thickly painted in, solid.

The inscriptions 19—22 do not belong to this cave but were discovered in a large cavernous quarry about half a mile away, up a valley forking north-west from that of the hermitage. From the style of these inscriptions, and the reference in one of them to well-remembered persecution, the Professor thinks it probable that they belong to the reign of Constantine, and the cave near by may therefore have sheltered some of the refugees in the persecution, or become a hermitage a couple of centuries before Mena fitted it for his use.

49. The most curious feature of the furnishing of the cell was the abundance of pegs and hooks. No less than thirty-nine pegs of flint or bone witnessed to the orderliness of the recluse. They occurred on every plain and handy part of the walls, and in neat array, as recorded, in the smaller cupboard-recess. In pairs, they seem to have supported a curtain over an inscription and elsewhere, and perhaps a frontal before the altar. Others were very strong and placed high, as though for his cloak and flask. The roof of the oratory was roughly domed and plastered, and in the centre a stout ox-bone, driven in, still remained bound by a leathern thong which had served for the attachment of a lamp.

The arrangement of the little retreat, the successive coats of whitewashing, the disposition of these pegs and hooks, the scrupulous tidiness of the dwelling and its several amenities, give a new conception of the daily round of a recluse of the Vth or VIth century. Slovenliness and dirt had

no place in the religious life here, but cleanliness was next to godliness, and an ordered domesticity must have borne a share in Mena's piety, in his remote fastness, far from the inspection of the world.

Having now described the hermitage, it only remains to add, further, that the solitary was provided with means of access to the plateau above him. Coasting along the footing of the cliff eastward from his dwelling (XLIX, 2) and level with its entrance, we still pursue a narrow way which led to the upper desert above his cave roof, by a rocky ascent partly built up as a stairway, with a low retaining-wall above. This was probably his daily haunt. Here the little level tongues of desert, flint-covered, run back between the several *wadys*, to join the boundless plateau of the upper desert stretching to the Libyan wilds.

Jesus Christ, remember Mena. Amen, so be it.

CHAPTER IX

THE COPTIC INSCRIPTIONS (PLS. LI—LIV).

By M. A. MURRAY (Assistant Professor).

50. 1. THE decorative circle at the top of the plate contains the usual form of the Coptic cross; within the curve at the end of the horizontal arms are $\overline{\text{XC}}$ (Christos) on the left, $\overline{\text{IC}}$ (Iesous) on the right. The position of the words is unusual, Christos being generally placed after Iesous, as in English.

2. On the outer side of the wall dividing the living-room and the oratory, beside the lower window, is a decorative design enclosing an inscription in six lines.

1. Jesus Christ, make remembrance of my brother P-hib, and
2. Mena the little and Dorothe the little, the sons
3. of Father Mōuses; and Pisrael the little
4. Iakob the little; the beloved father Apa Iakob
5. the inhabitant of Tohe. Make remembrance of Mena. A-
6. men. So be it.

A town or village of Tohe is known elsewhere in Coptic writings. The catalogue of the library of the monastery of Apa Helias (BOURIANT, *Rec. des Trav.* XI, 134) shows that that library contained

a "Life of Apa Kaparios of Tohe." The martyr Ptolemy of Dendereh confessed his faith at "Tohe of the Horses" (CRUM, *Copt. MSS in Ry'l. Lib.*, p. 46). There is also, in the same collection (p. 162), a letter from the headmen of Tohe to their superior concerning work upon a dyke.

3. On the front of the hermitage below the figure of a dove are the words in large letters, "The blessed Trinity, the blessed Ma[ria];" below, in smaller letters, the contractions for "Iesous P-Christos." The cross, with a border of pomegranates and supported on each side by a dove and a unicorn (emblems of peace and chastity), stands above an inscription which originally had fourteen lines; only nine lines remain, the rest being destroyed. The inscription consists of a list of holy names.

1. The Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit,
2. our father Michael, our father Adam,
3. our fathers the patriarchs, our fathers
4. the prophets, our fathers the apos-
5. tles, our fathers all the martyrs,
6. Apa Apollo, Apa Anoup, Apa P-hib,
7. Apa Patermoute, Apa Ouenobir,
8. Apa Pamoune, Apa Isak (?), Apa Pshoï,
9. Apa Iohanes, Apa Iakob.

Apollo, Anoup and P-hib are the three saints of Bawit, and are usually mentioned together. Ouenobir is probably Onnofrios.

4. Above no. 3 were the words, "The Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, Amen," followed by a few broken letters probably reading "So be it, so be it."

5. An inscription in three lines of which the first is written black, the other two in red; it was between the door and window on the outer side of the wall.

1. The Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit,
2. Make remembrance of my brother, Mina the little, the
3. inhabitant of Temui . . . [the rest though legible does not convey any meaning].

The name of the village suggests that it is the same as the modern village of Tema, 20 miles east-south-east of the hermitage.

51. 6. Over the lamp-recess, east of the doorway leading to the oratory, were seven lines of inscription:

1. The Father, the Son, the Spirit,
2. the blessed Mary, the blessed

3. Catholic
4. Church,
5. which is holy. Amen. So be it.
6. All the hosts of God,
7. make remembrance. Amen.

8. The back of the lamp-recess has five lines, which are more untidily written than any of the other inscriptions, possibly on account of the comparative inaccessibility of the space on which they are traced.

1. O God, make remembrance
2. of Abraham the little,
3. the inhabitant of Sahrashet.

The last two lines may perhaps read, "God in his court eternal, good." Sahrashet is the name of two villages (AMÉL., *Géog.*, p. 409), of which little or nothing is known. Abraham of Sahrashet was perhaps one of the recluses living in the hermitage. There were evidently two for there are two hand-writings, but there is nothing to show whether they were contemporary or consecutive. I would suggest that Abraham of Sahrashet was the earlier of the two, and that the second was Mena the little, mentioned in no. 5.

9. At the side of the lamp-recess, beside the rudely drawn figure of a lamp on a tall stand, is the contraction of the word Iesus.

10. Below the candle-hollow and lamp-recess is a triple inscription, each part enclosed within a plain border. All three are merely lists of holy names.

- a) 1. Iakob
2. the man of To-
3. he, Apa
4. Pehēou.
5. Amen.

b) This was evidently the chief part of the inscription in lines of considerable length, but only the first few letters of each line still remain.

1. The Father ...
2. Our ...
3. Apa ...
4. as, Ama (?) ...
5.
6. the Ama ...
7. Amon ...
8. Apa Isak.

- c) 1. Apa Apollo,
2. Father Ouenobri.
3. Amen.

52. 11. The most complete and therefore the most interesting of the inscriptions was under the altar inside the oratory. It appears to consist of religious texts, some taken from the Sermon on the Mount, others apparently from the sayings of saints. It was originally enclosed in a plain border. The whole of the upper part has disappeared, leaving only the last five lines.

1. from evening to dawn. Do not [injure?]
2. the little ones, lest [thou] be confused(?).
Do not run [after?]
3. men on account of ease, lest thy
4. poverty be in vain. Judge not, lest
5. thou be judged. Forgive that thou mayest
be forgiven.

Below, outside the border, are the words "Forgive me."

12. This is merely a meander decoration without inscription.

13. On the west side of the window are four inscriptions, of which the second, written in large uncertain letters, is by a different hand from the other three.

- a) 1. [Illegible].
2. Apa Iakob, the inhabitant of Tohe, Apa Iohanes, the inhabitant of ...
3. [Illegible].
- b) 1. Apa Apollo, Apa Anoup, Apa P-hib,
2. Apa Ieremi, Apa Makari,
3. Apa Sarmata.
- c) 1. As also
2. the remembrance
3. [of the breth]ren all
4. [who] suffered
5. in the forty days.
- d) [Too fragmentary for translation.]

The enigmatic reference to the suffering "in the forty days" may be an allusion to some persecution lasting that length of time.

14. Too fragmentary to be legible.

15. Part of an inscription commemorating "My brother Ioanes."

16. Only the word "life" remains.

17 and 18. Decorative designs of a cross within a square.

53. 19. The remaining inscriptions were all found in the quarry. Only a few lines are legible, "... the month of Parmhat a Power (?) ruled over us, from the twelfth of Parmhat to the twenty ... of Parm-

oute a great terror came upon us. On the baptismal Sabbath ..."

The actual date in Parmoute is defaced, only the word "twenty" remains. As the length of time from the twelfth of Parmhat to the twenty-second of Parmoute is forty days, this may have been the actual date, and it would probably then give the reason for the commemoration of the brethren in no. 13.

20. Partly in Greek, partly in Coptic. Greatly defaced.

21. Almost illegible. The name "Apa Ioanes" appears.

22. The first three lines only are legible.

1. By the will
2. of God and His
3. Son, let not ...

"The convent" and "the saints" occur in the broken lines.

The omission of the third Person of the Trinity is unusual. The inscription is perhaps in the nature of a tombstone, a commemoration of the dead over a grave.

[The forty days of persecution must have been toward the end of pagan supremacy, to be so prominently in mind. It was probably the last persecution under Licinius 323 A. D., as that was certainly very brief, being stopped by the war with Constantine. The actual duration is not recorded by Eusebius or others. The period of persecution in the inscription was during March and April; after that Licinius had to reserve his energies, and reduce internal discord, in preparations for the great struggle at the beginning of July, so the dates fairly agree. F. P.]

DISTRIBUTION OF OBJECTS TO MUSEUMS

B. = Belfast; B. M. = British Museum; Br. = Brussels; Ca. = Cairo; C. E. = Cambridge Ethnological; C. F. = Cambridge Fitzwilliam; CL. = Ny Carlsberg; Ch. = Chicago; Co. = Copenhagen; E. = Edinburgh; G. = Glasgow, H. = Hague, I. = Ipswich; K. = Kyoto; M. = Manchester; Ox. = Oxford; R. = Rochdale; res. = in reserve; U. C. = University College; Up. = Uppsala.

PLATE

- I. 159 M.; 442 Ca.; 442 M.; 446 U. C.
- II. 1, 2 Ox.; 3 U. C.; 4 Ca.; 5 res.; 6 Ca.; 7 all museums; 8 Ca.; 9 res.; 10, 11 Up.; 12—14, 16, 17 M.; 15 Ca.
- III. 1 U. C.; 2 M.; 3 reserved; 4 G.; 5 Br.; 6—8 U. C.; 10 Ox.; 11 Ca.; 13 Ox.; 14 U. C.; 18 M.; 19 U. C.
- IV. 1—4 H.; 5, 6 Co.; 7 M.; 8 U. C.; 9 left; 10—12 U. C.
- V. 2, 3 Br.; 4—7 U. C.; 8 Co.; 9, 10 res.; 11 C. E.; 13 M.; 14—17 U. C.; 18—20 G.; 21, 22 U. C.; 23, 24 Ox.; 25, 26 M.; 27 Co.; 28 Ox.; 29 U. C.
- VI. 1 U. C.; 2 Ca.; 4 Br.; 5 Up.; 6 C. E.; 7 Co.; 8 Ca.; 9—14 G.
- VII. 1 U. C.; 2 M.; 3 K.; 4 CL.; 5 Ch.; 6 M.; 7—9 H.; 10 U. C.; 13 U. C.
- VIII. 1 res.; 4 R.; 5 XII; 6 M.; 7 U. C.; 8 M.; 9 XII; 10 U. C.; 11 Ch.; 12 CL.; 13 Co.; 14 Ch.; 15, 16 CL.; 17 Ca.; 18—20 U. C.; 21 Ca.
- IX. 221 U. C.; 251 G.; 420 Co.; 423 R.; 461 M.; 464 K.; 485 Ch.; 531 CL.; 534 K.; 602 Co.; 710 I.
- X. 251 G.; 329 I.; 461 M.; 490 CL.; 534 K.; 611 Up.; 702 res.; 710 I.
- XII. 1 Ca.; 2 res.; 3, 4 Up.; 5 Ca.; 6, 7 Ox.
- XIII. 384 Co.
- XIV. 537 U. C. Eugenic; 541 M.
- XXII. 1 C. F.

PLATE

- XXIII. 1 C. F.; 2 K.
- XXIV. G.
- XXV. Ca.
- XXVI. 1, 2 U. C.
- XXVII. U. C.
- XXVIII. 1 G.; 218 K.; 492 pot Co.
- XXIX. res.
- XXX. 2—4 Ca.; 5 left; 7—10 res.
- XXXI. 1 Br.; 2 Co.; 3, 4 U. C.
- XXXII. 6 R.
- XXXIII. 10 B.; 11 K.; 12, 13 B.
- XXXV. 4, 5 left; 7—9 B. M. Christian; 10 K.
- XXXVI. 1—4 left; 5 B. M. Gr.-Ro.
- XXXVII. 7 B. M. Gr.-Ro.
- XLV. 5—8, 10 B. M. Christian; 9 Ca.
- XLVI. 2 Minieh; 3—5, 7 B. M. Christian.
- XLVII. 3—7 B. M. Christian.
- XLIX. 3 U. C.

Among the duplicates and unimportant objects not illustrated here, adzes were sent, 484 R.; 511 H., Up.; 712 I.; girdle knives 531 CL.; 765 C. E., M. Flint knives 414 M.; 484 R. Needles 329 G., I.; 484 R.

Part of a large blue-green glazed bowl of Aohmes Nefertari went to Carlsberg. A large quantity of the usual beads and small vases which were of familiar types and undated were sent also to the above Museums.

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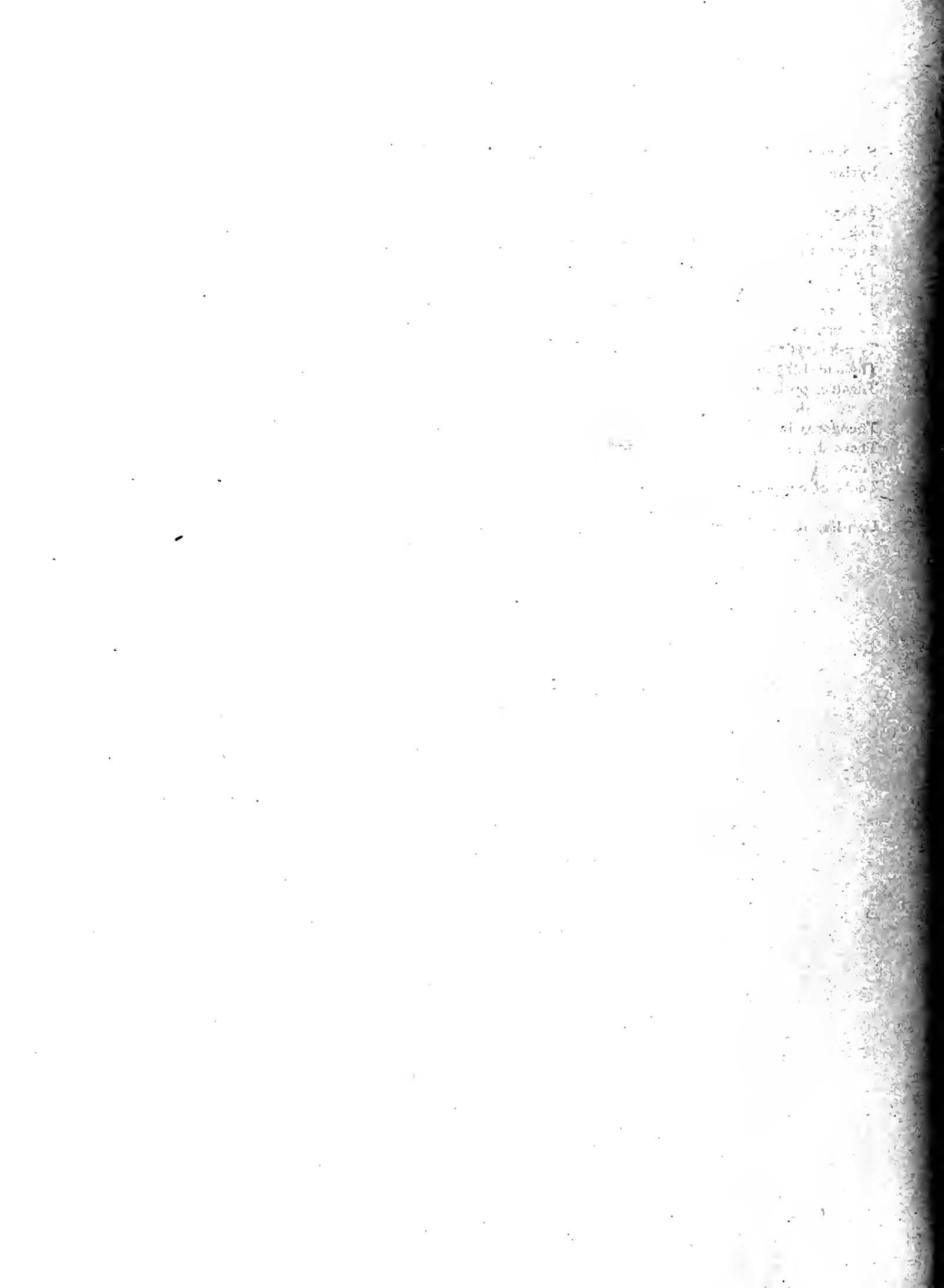
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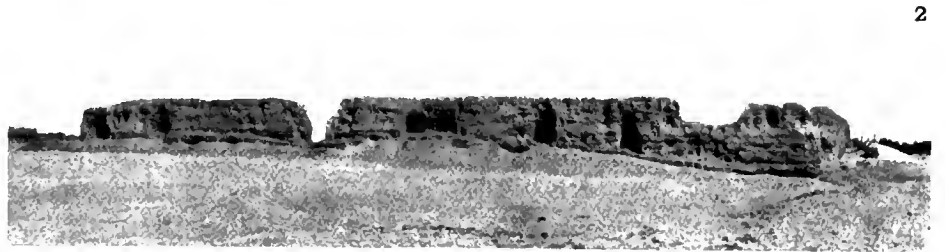
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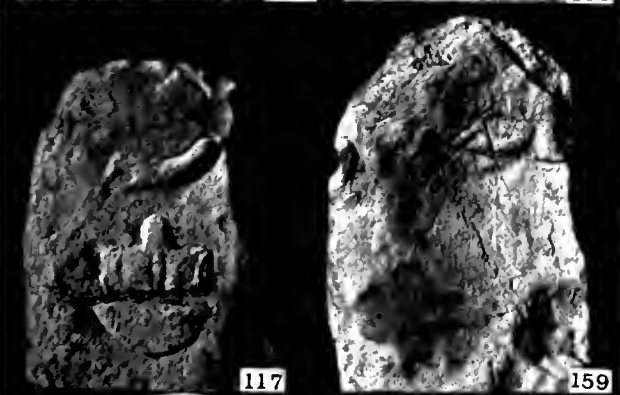
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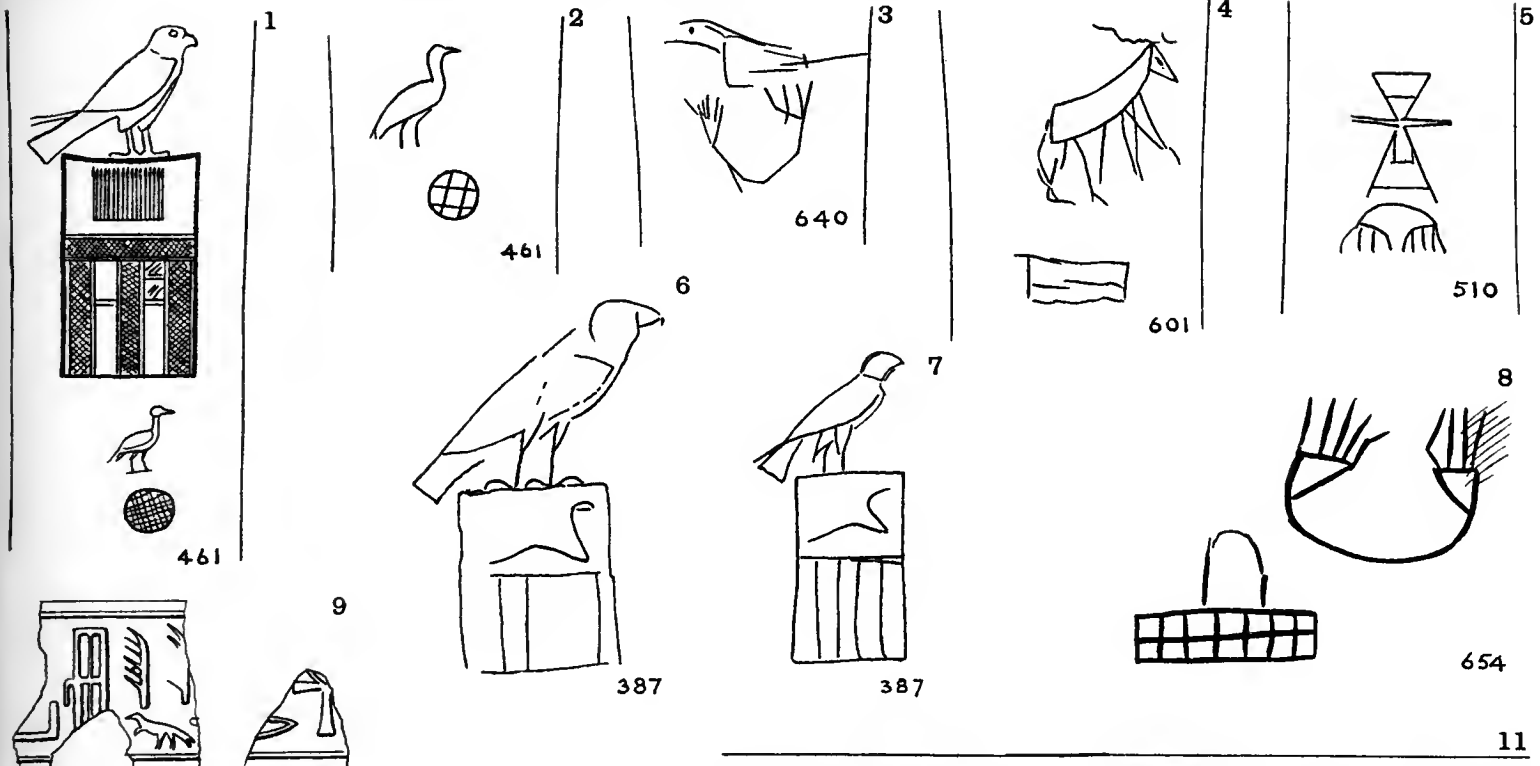
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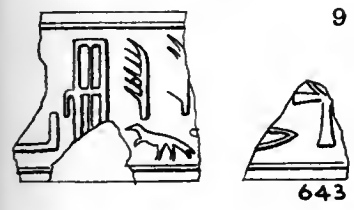
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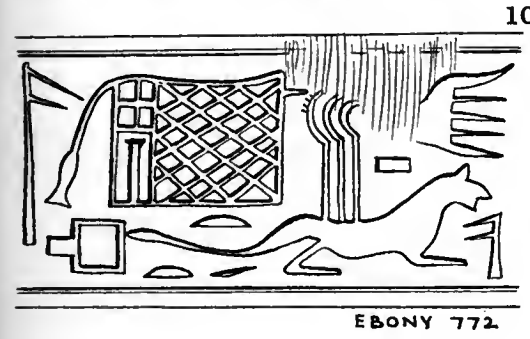
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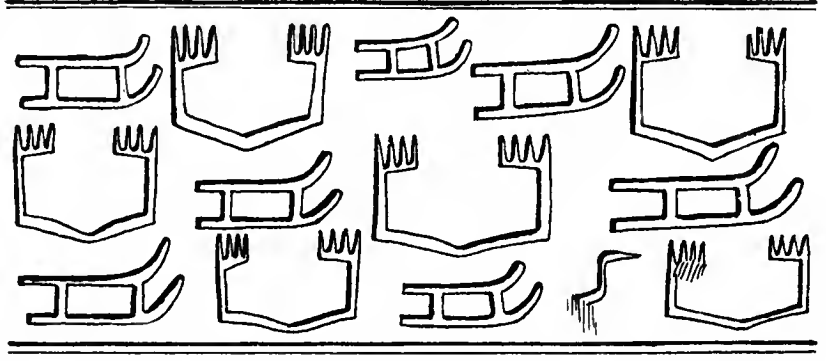


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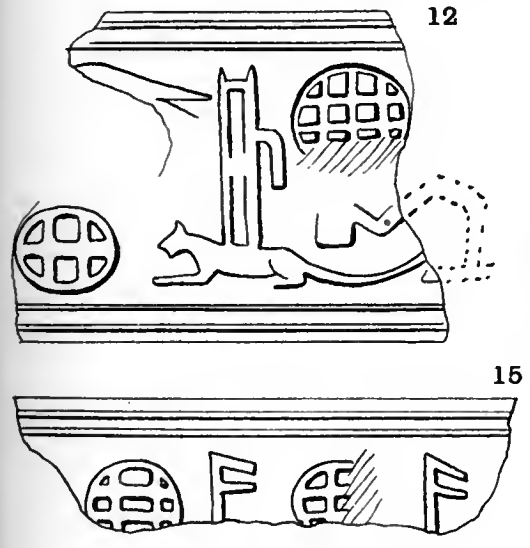
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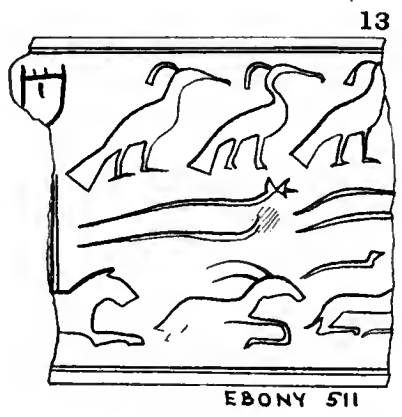


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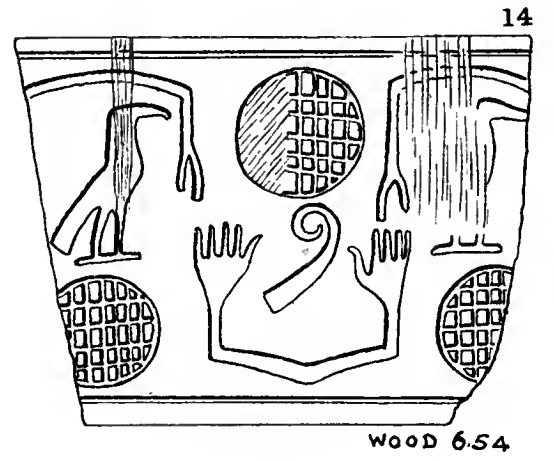
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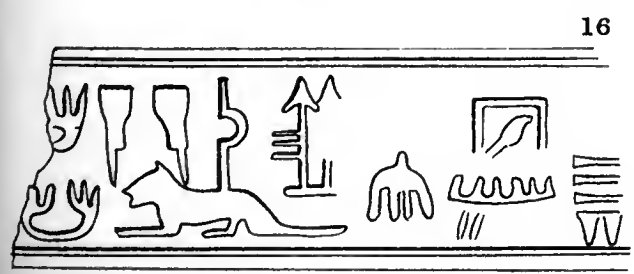
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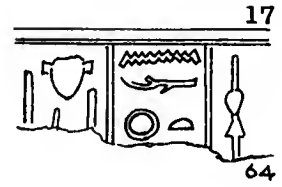


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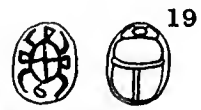


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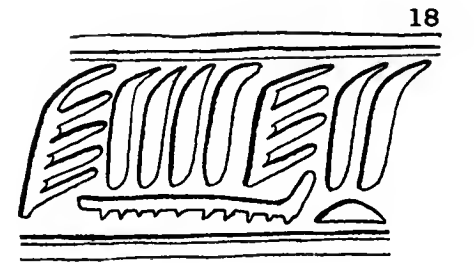
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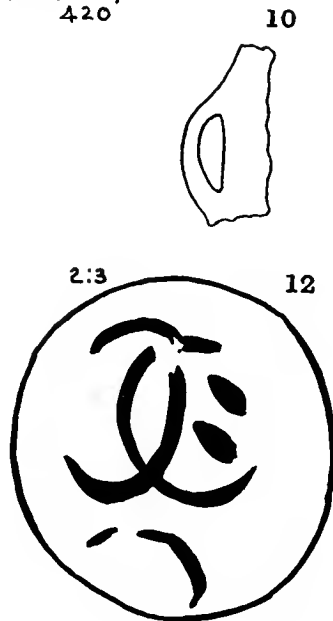
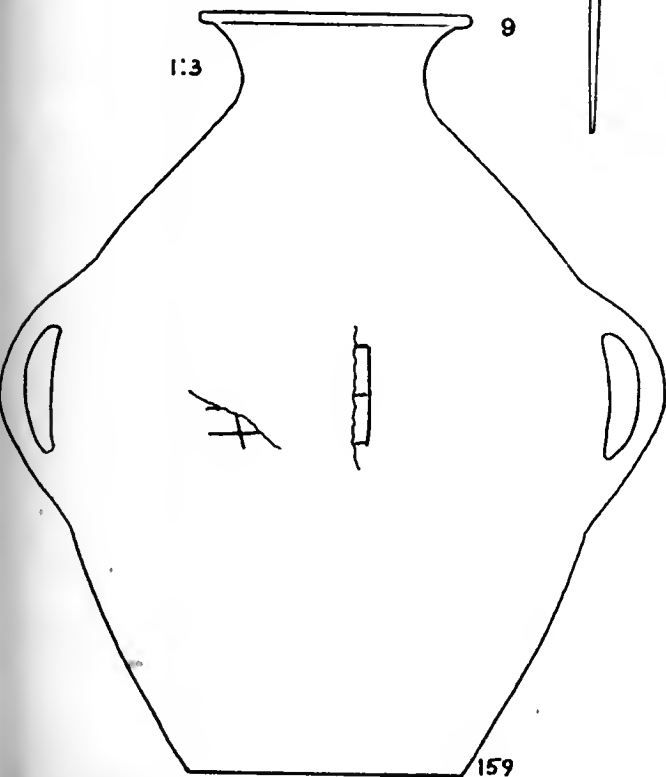
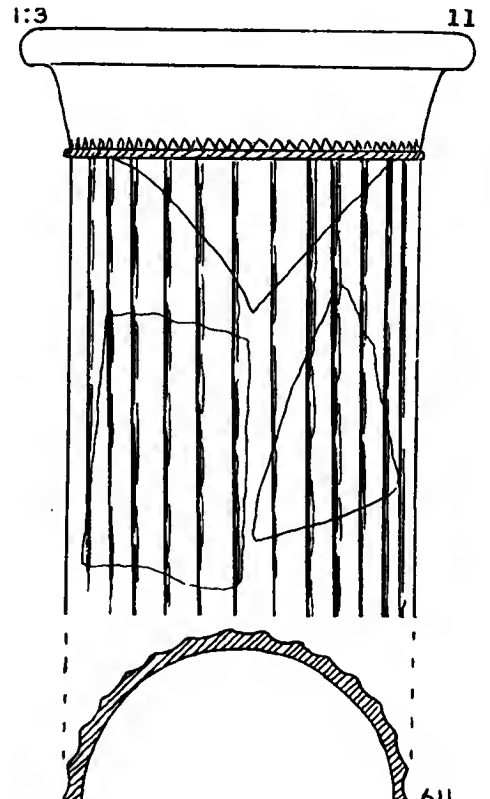
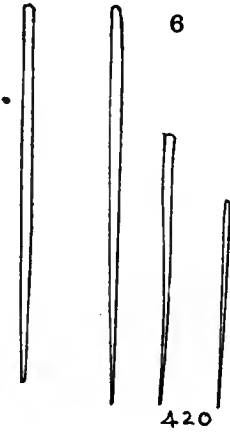
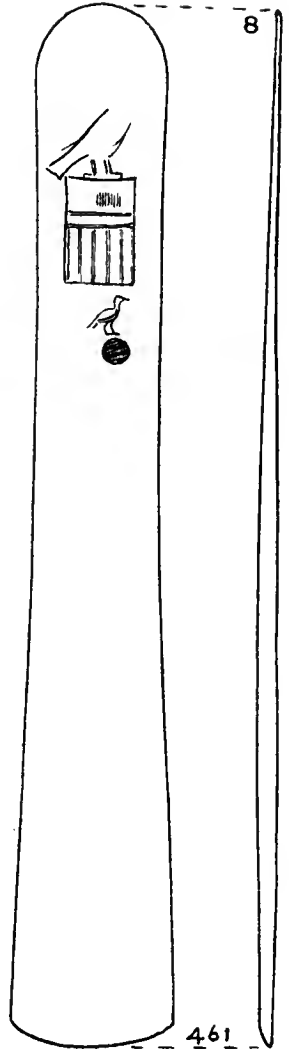
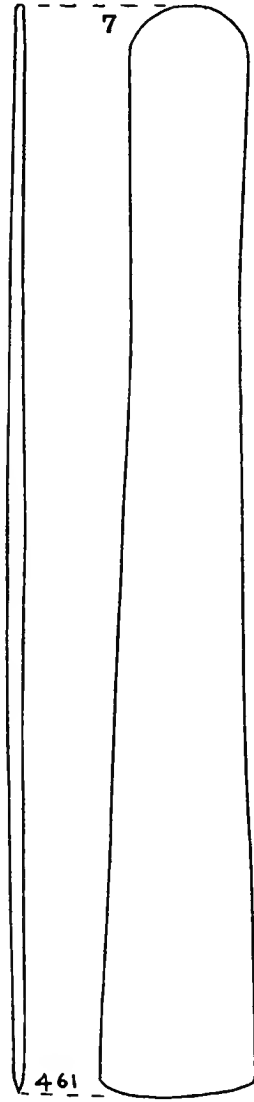
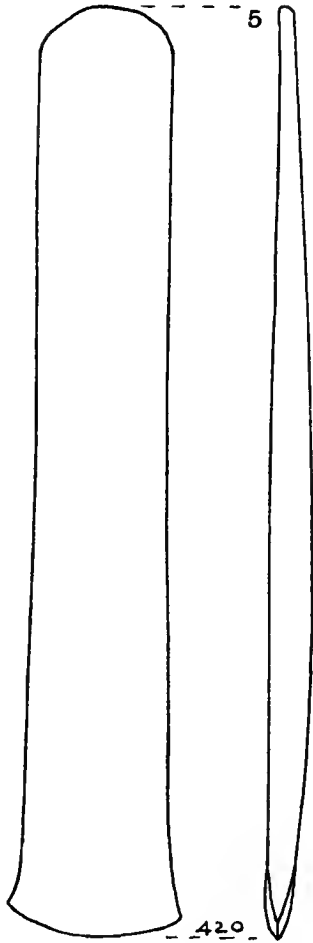
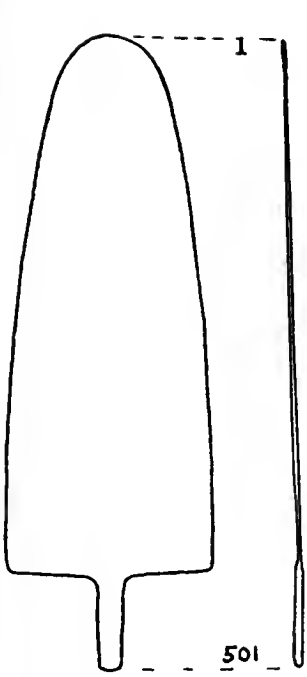
BETWEEN ARM & CHEST
CONTRACTED BOX BURIAL

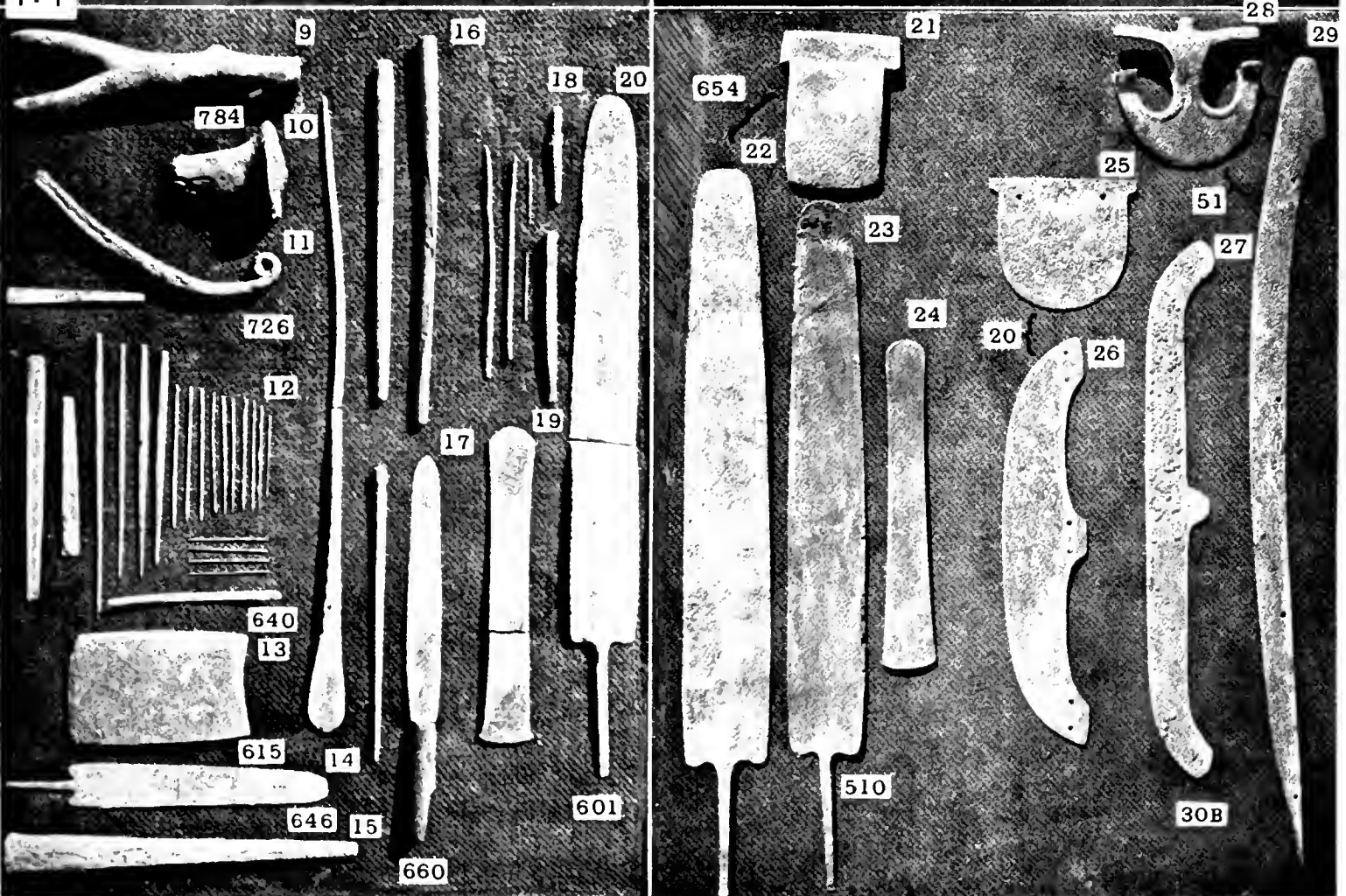
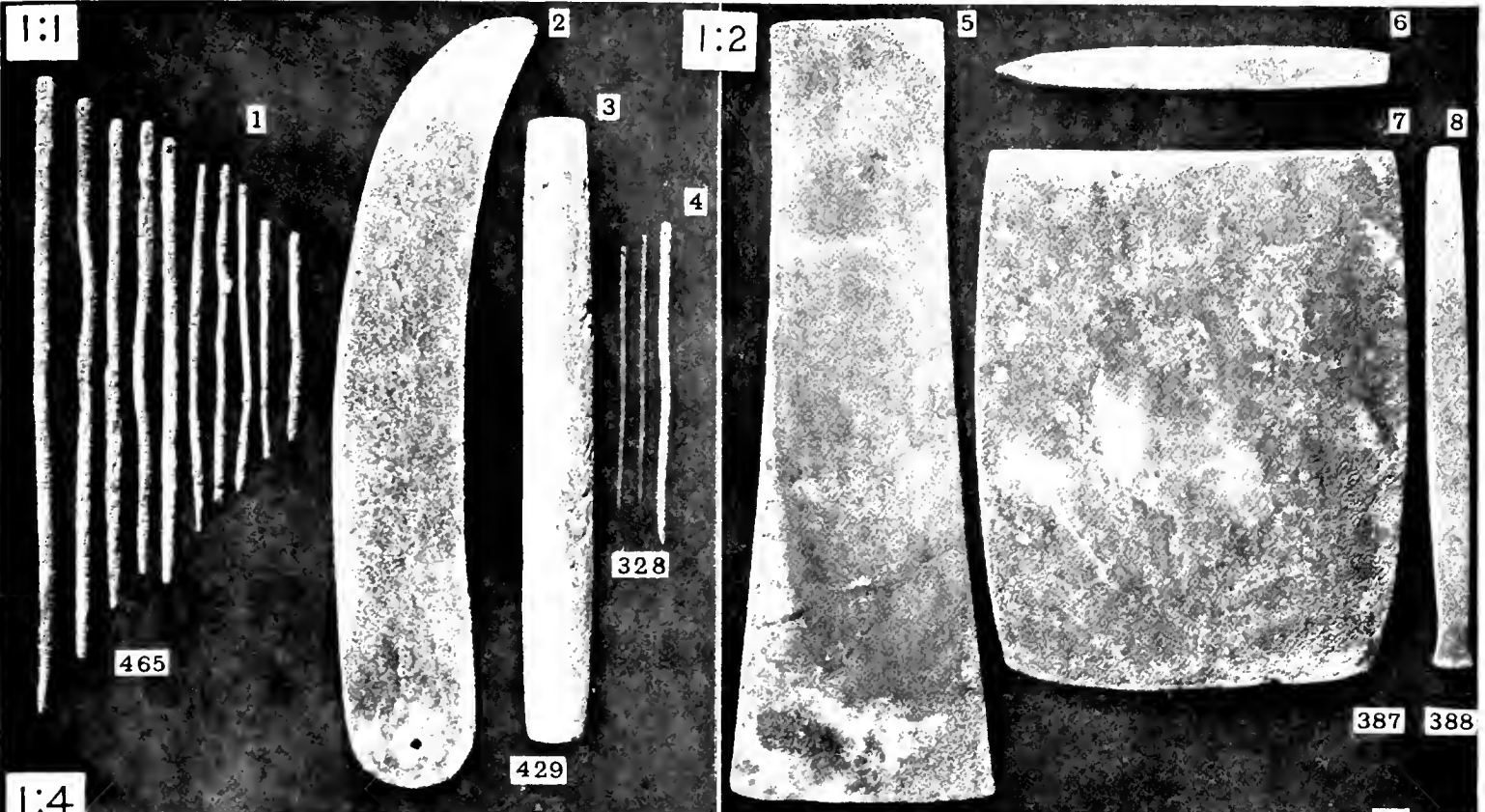


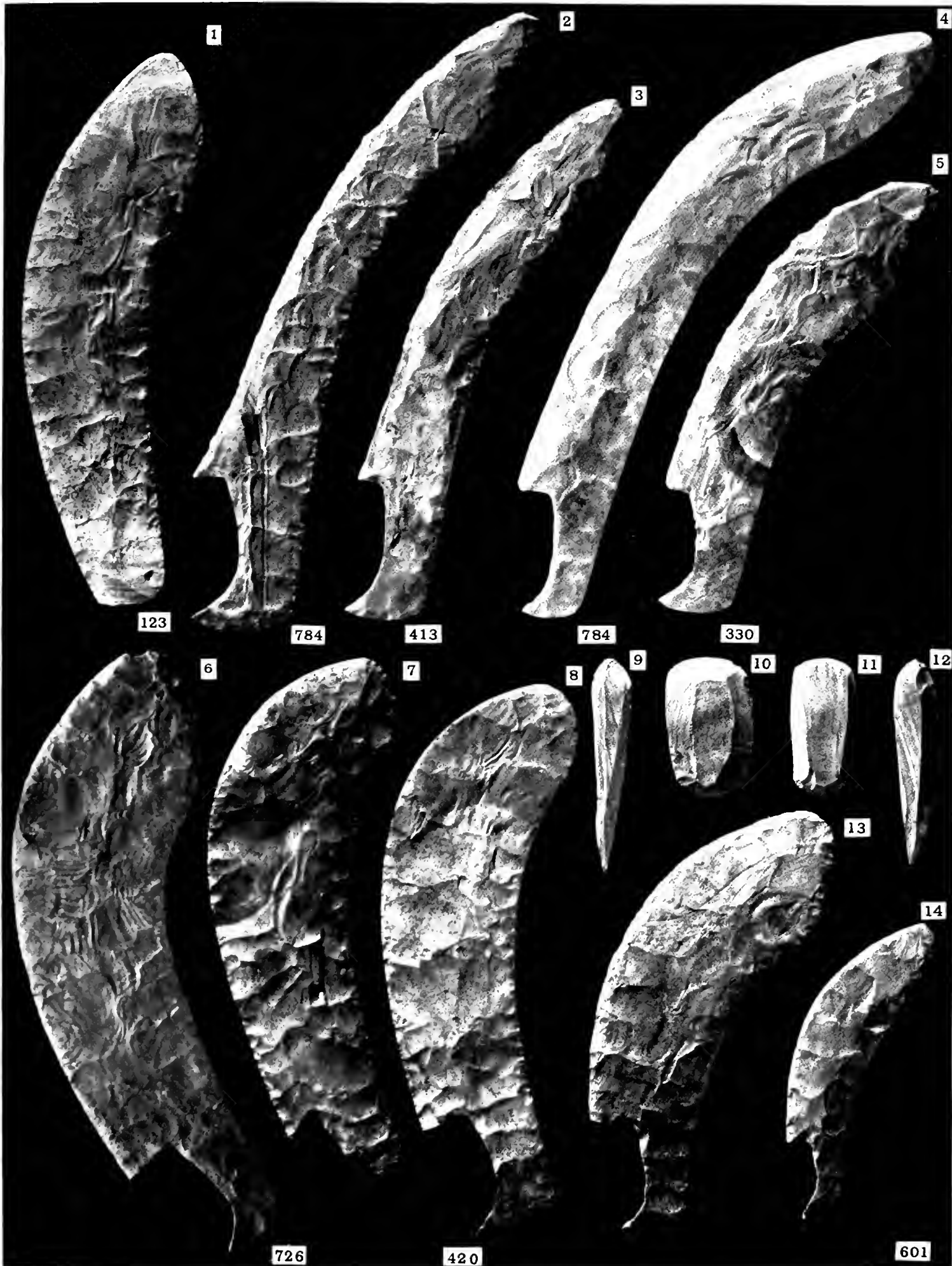
18

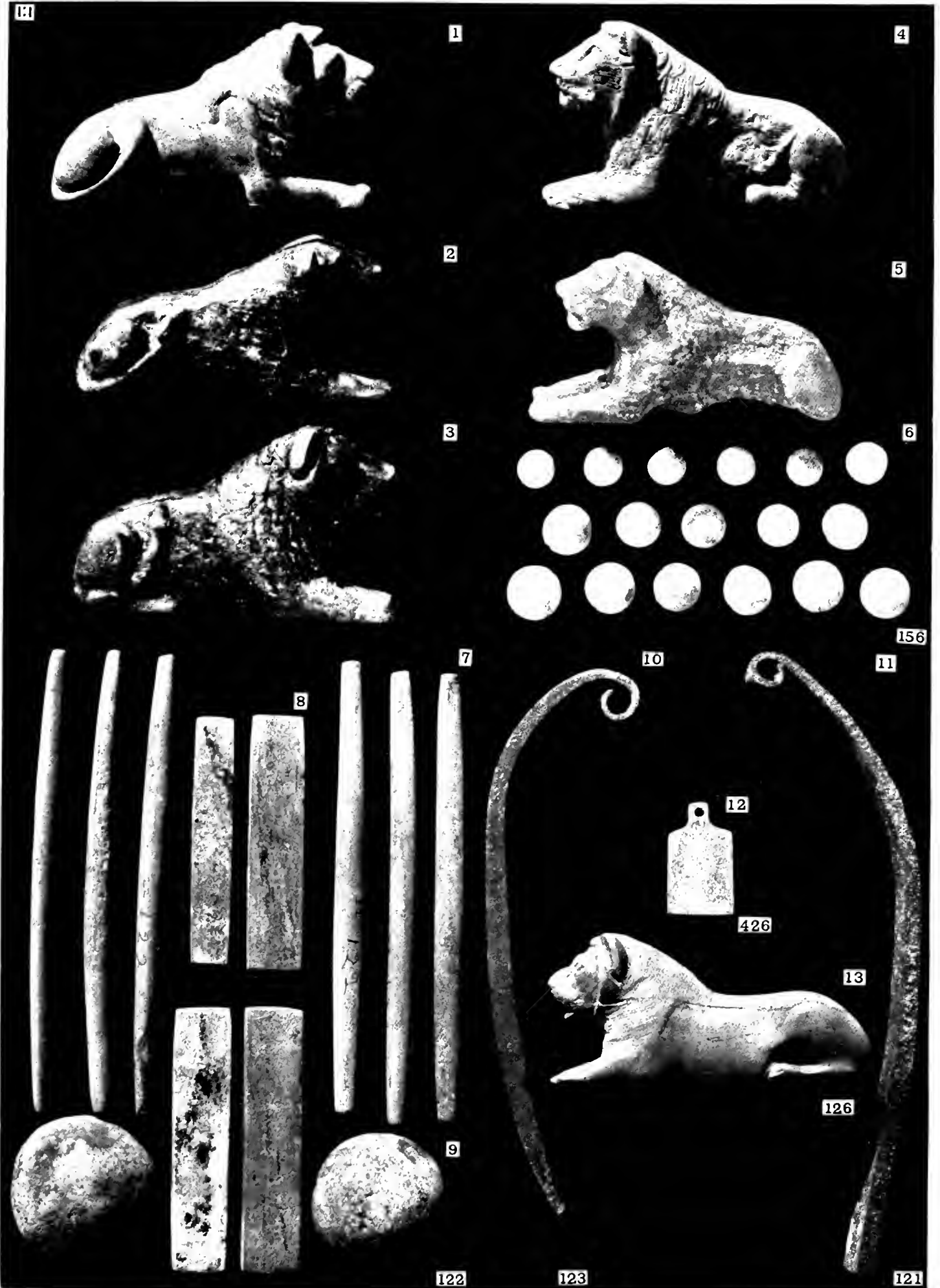
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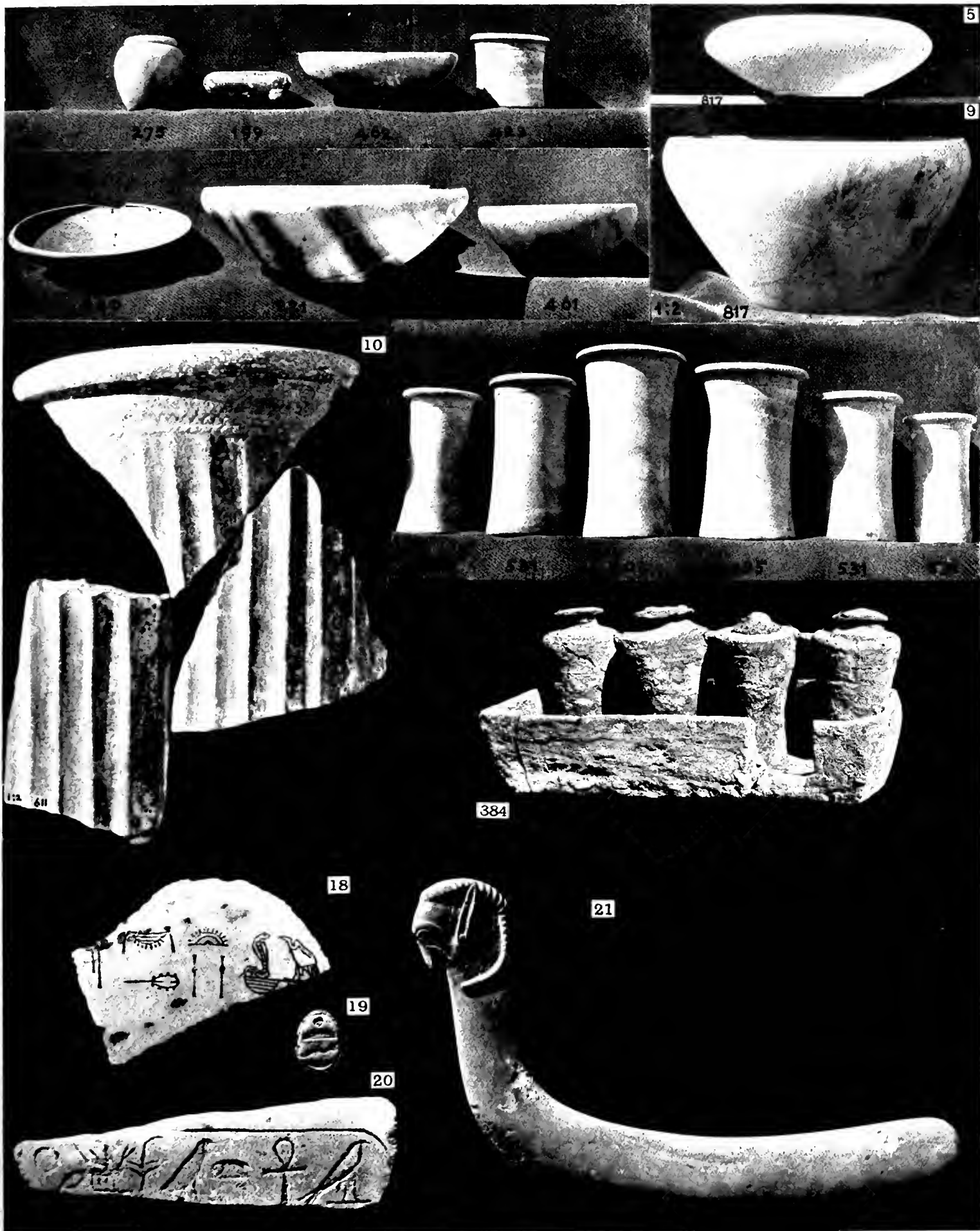


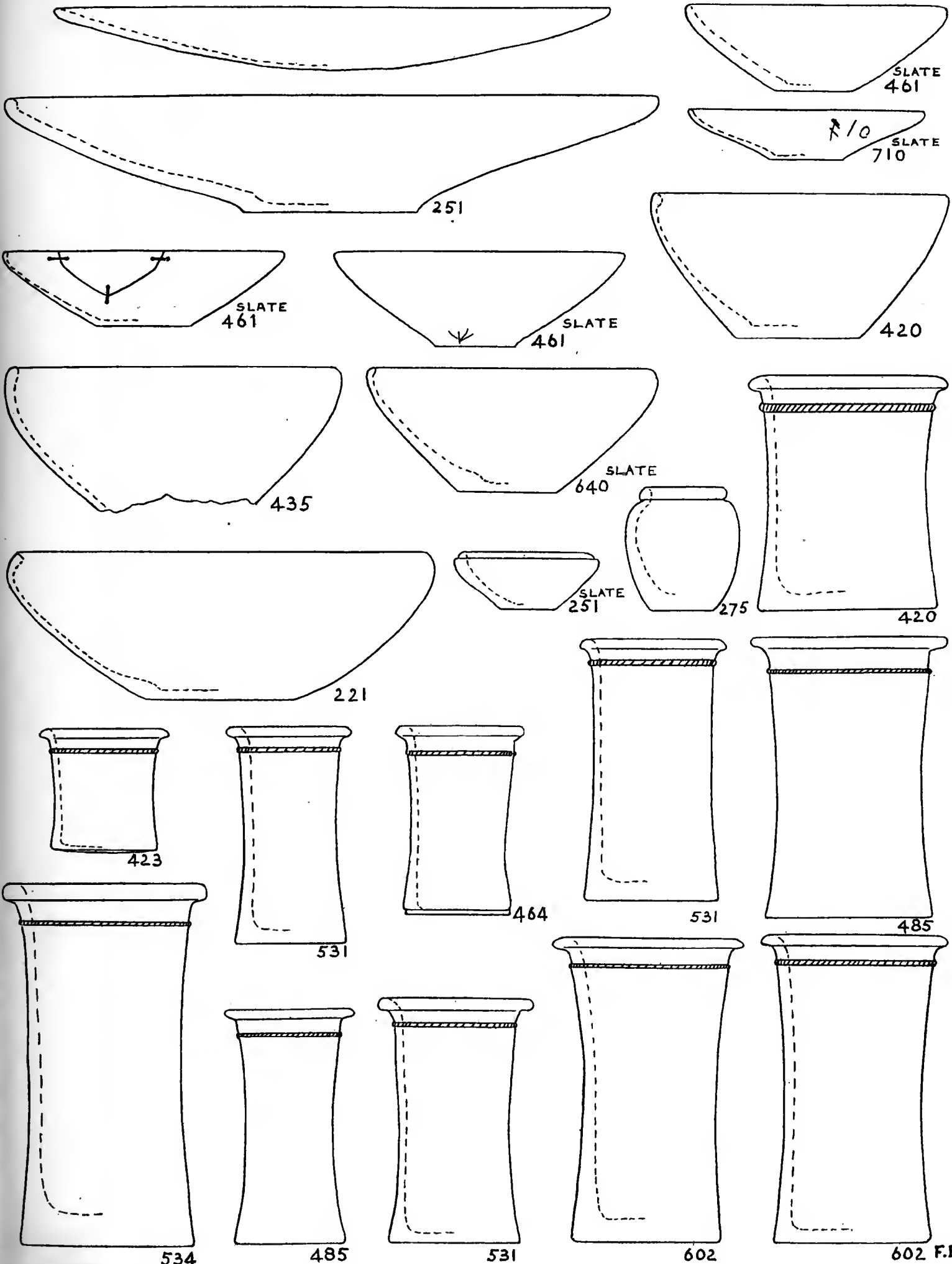


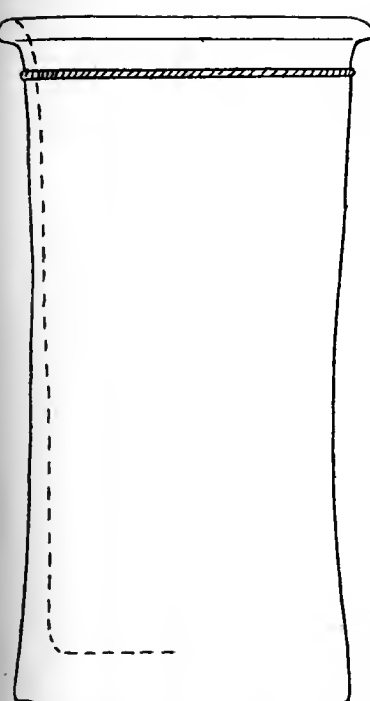




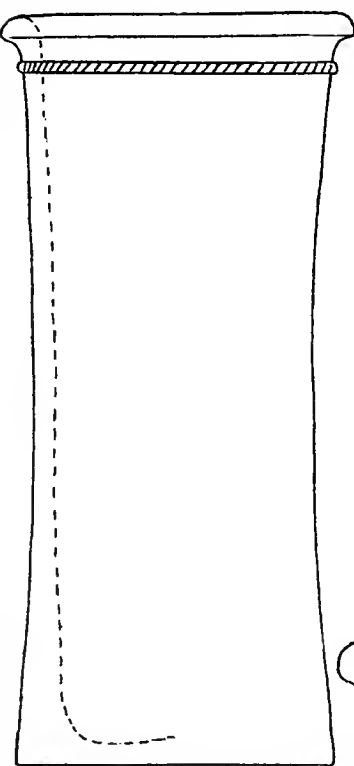




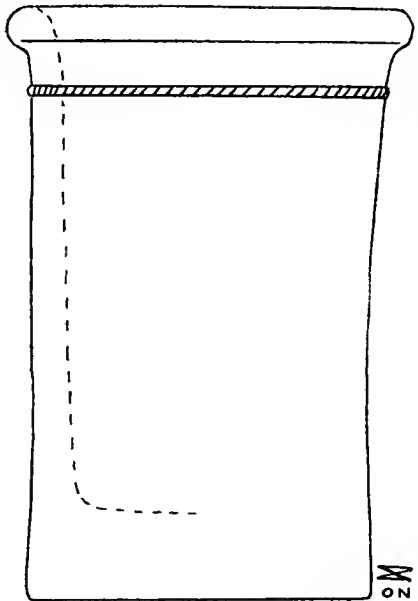




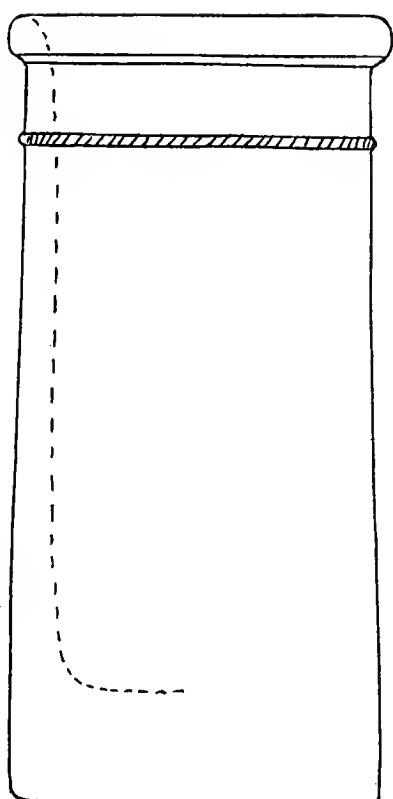
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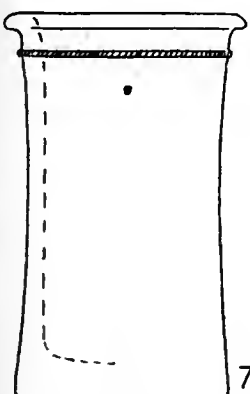
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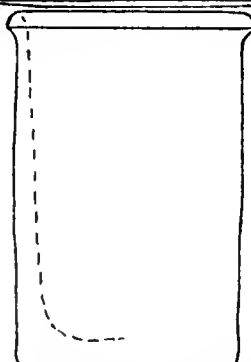
461 BASE



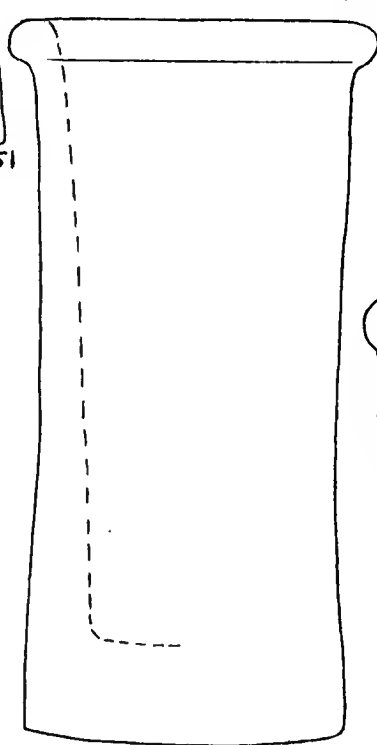
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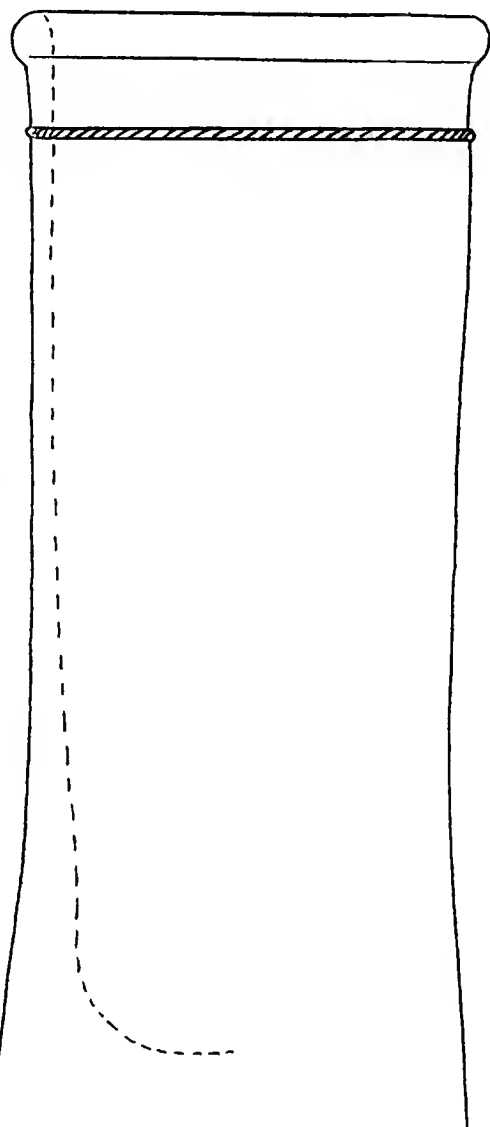
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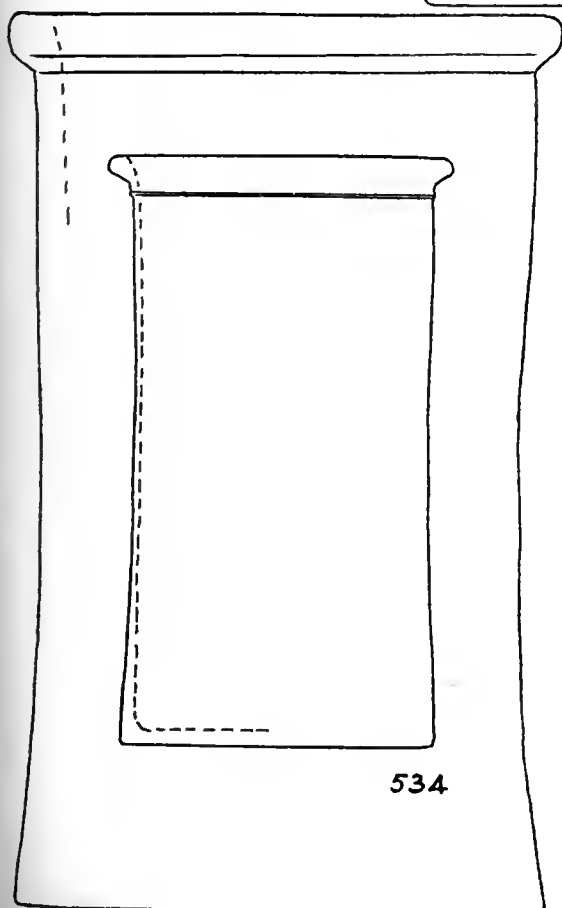
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221

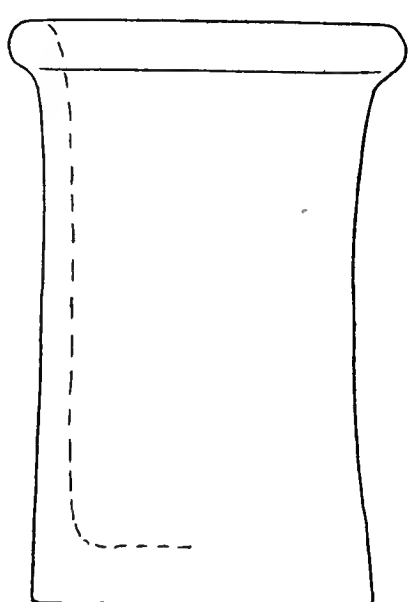


490 F.P.

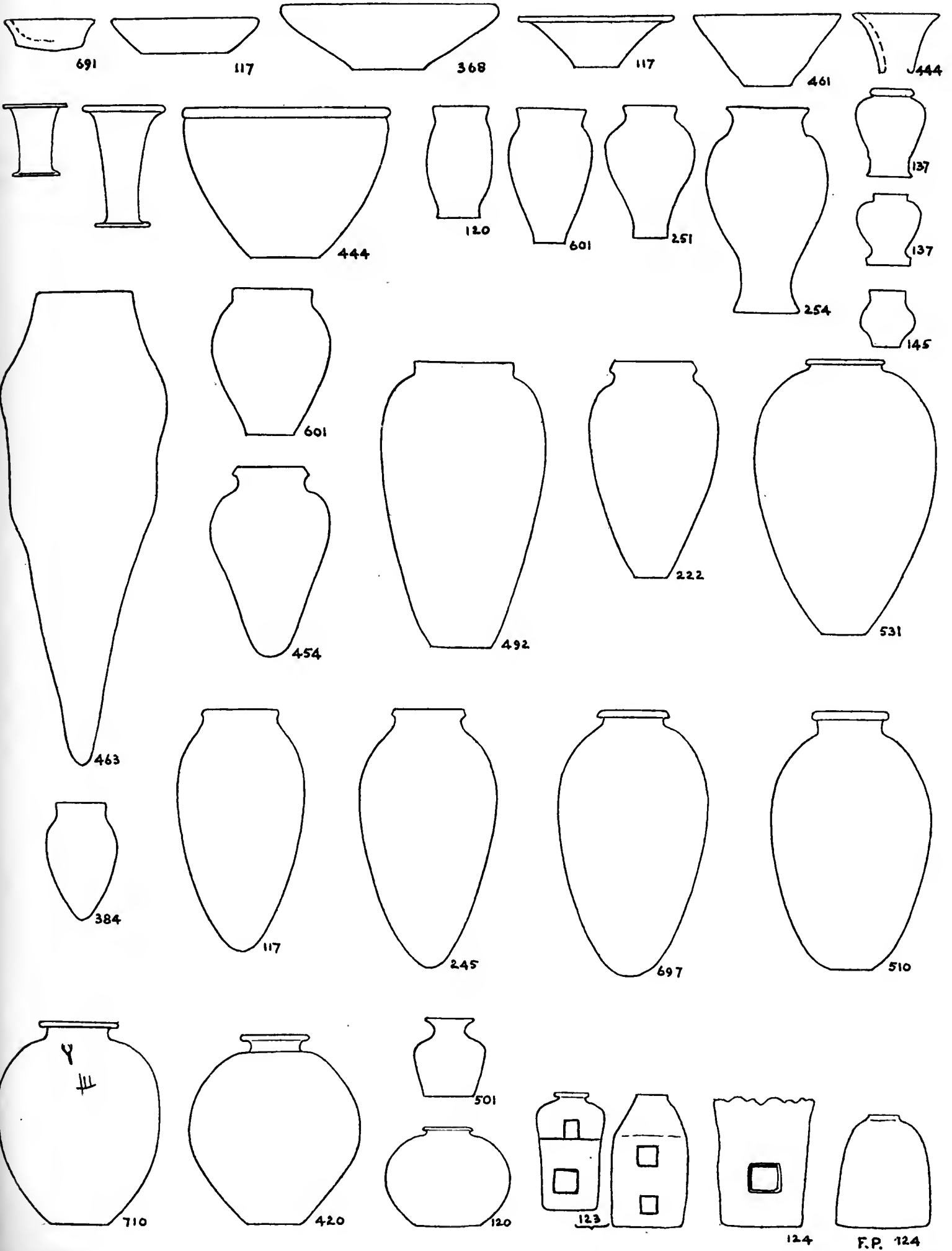


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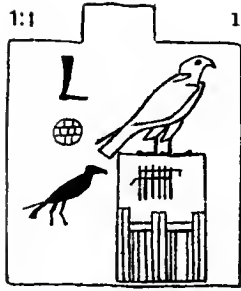
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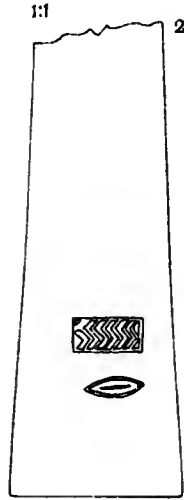
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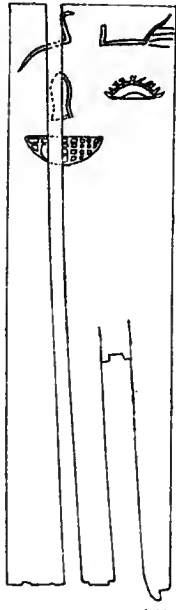




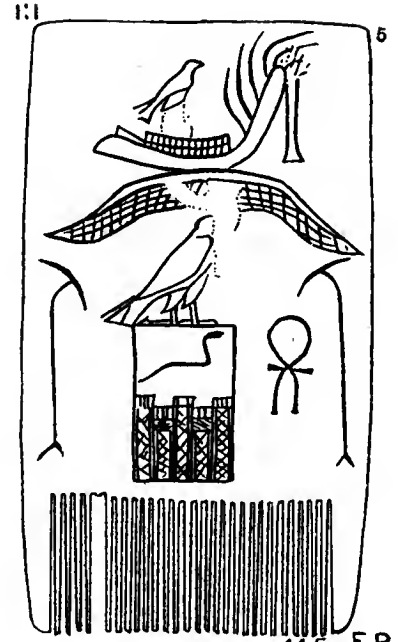
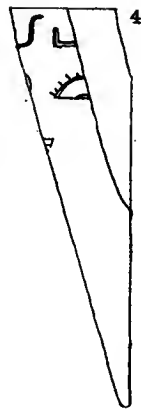
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524



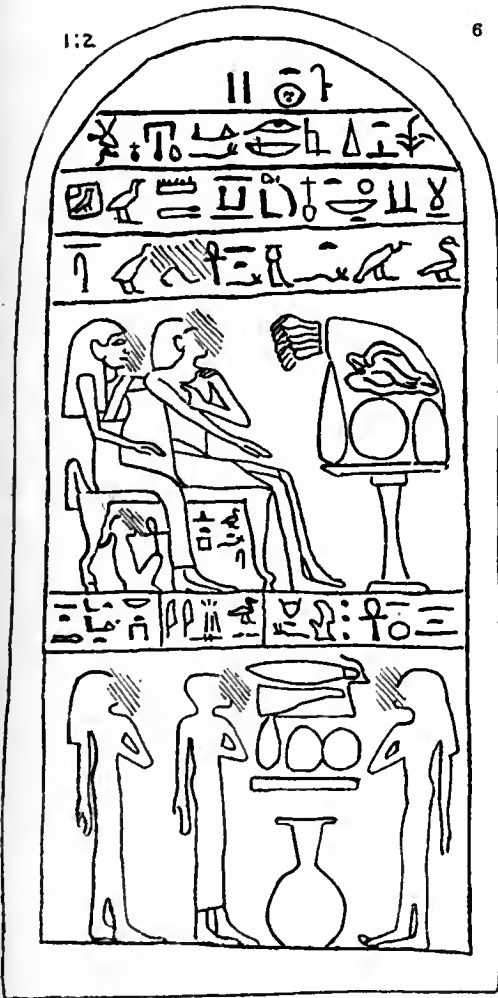
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445 F.P.

1:2

6



219 H.P.

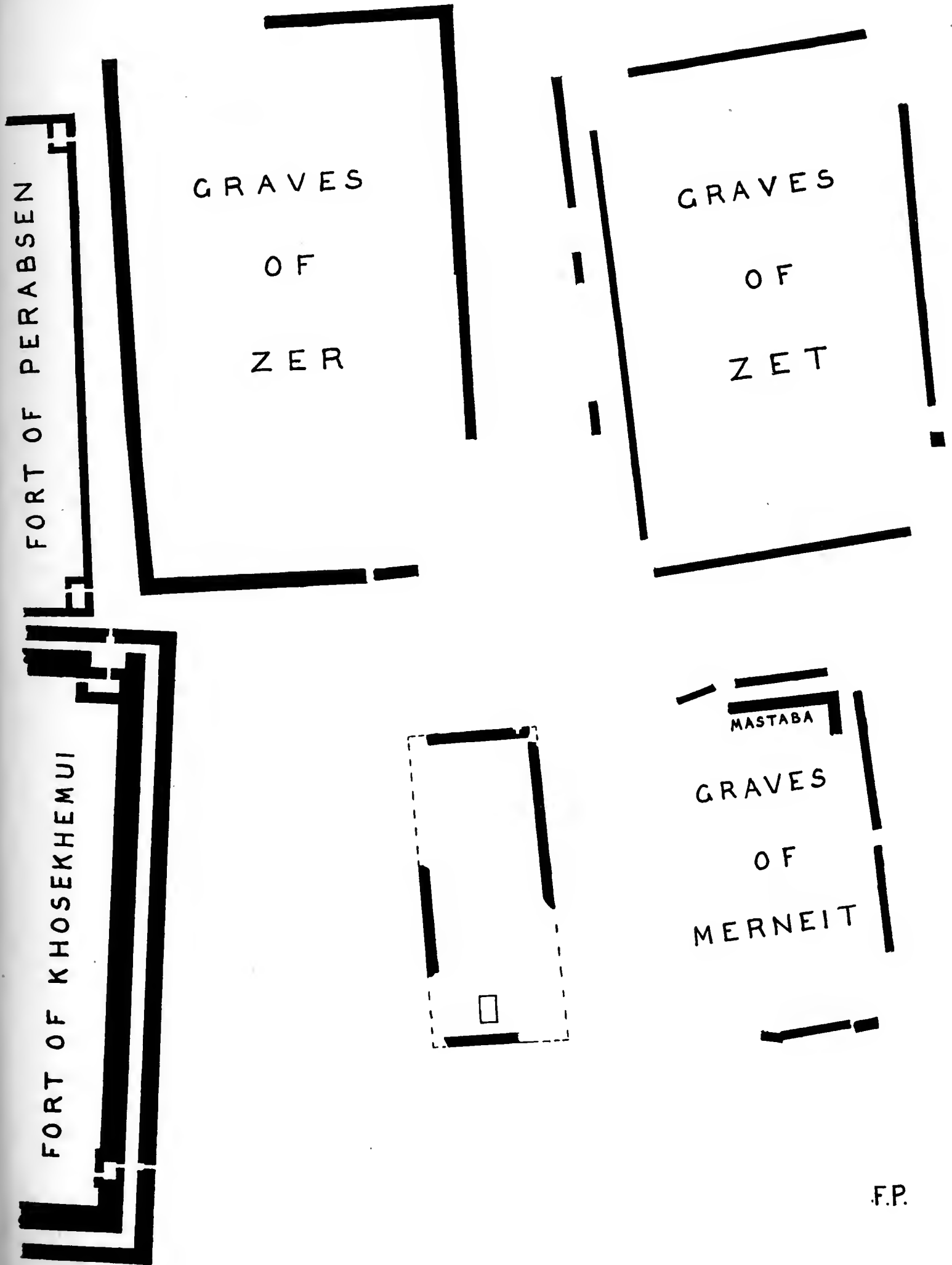
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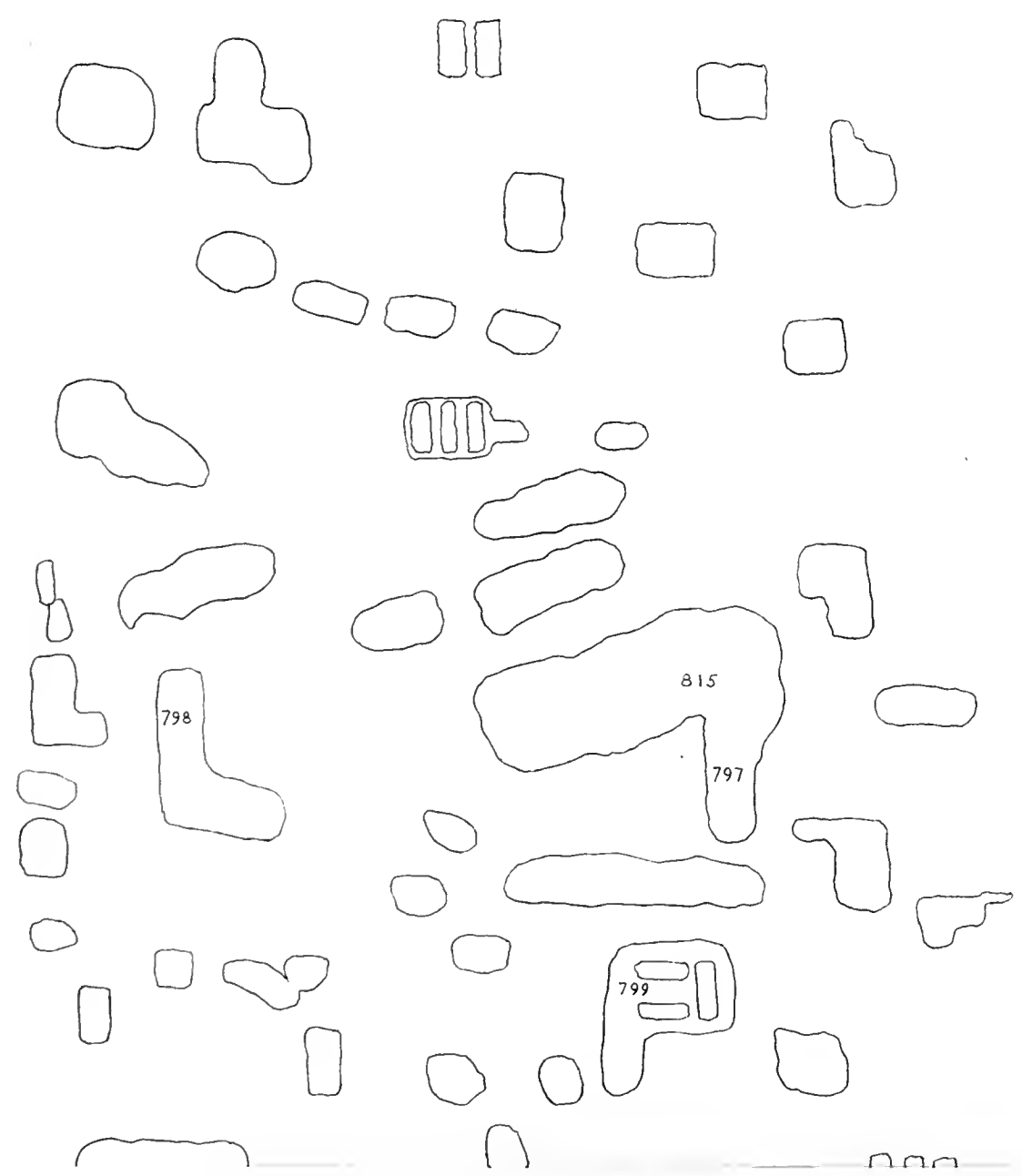
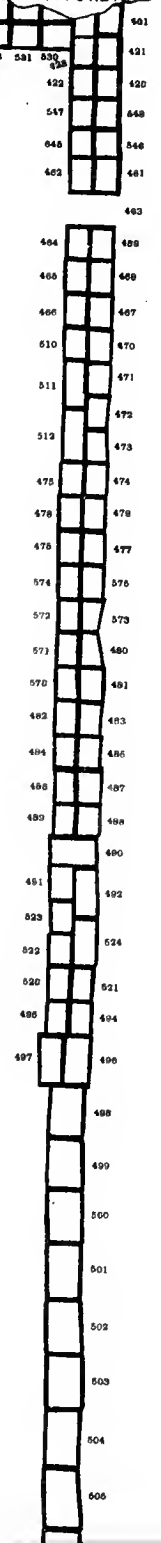
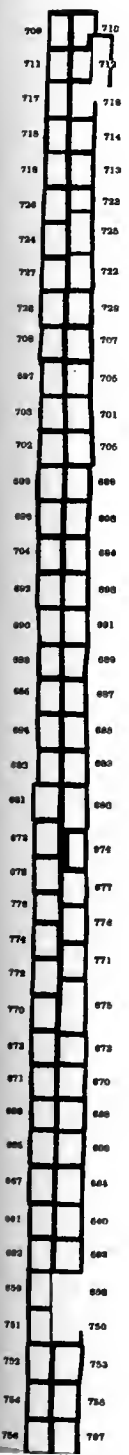
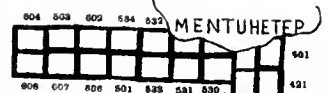
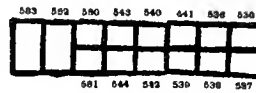
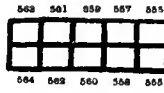


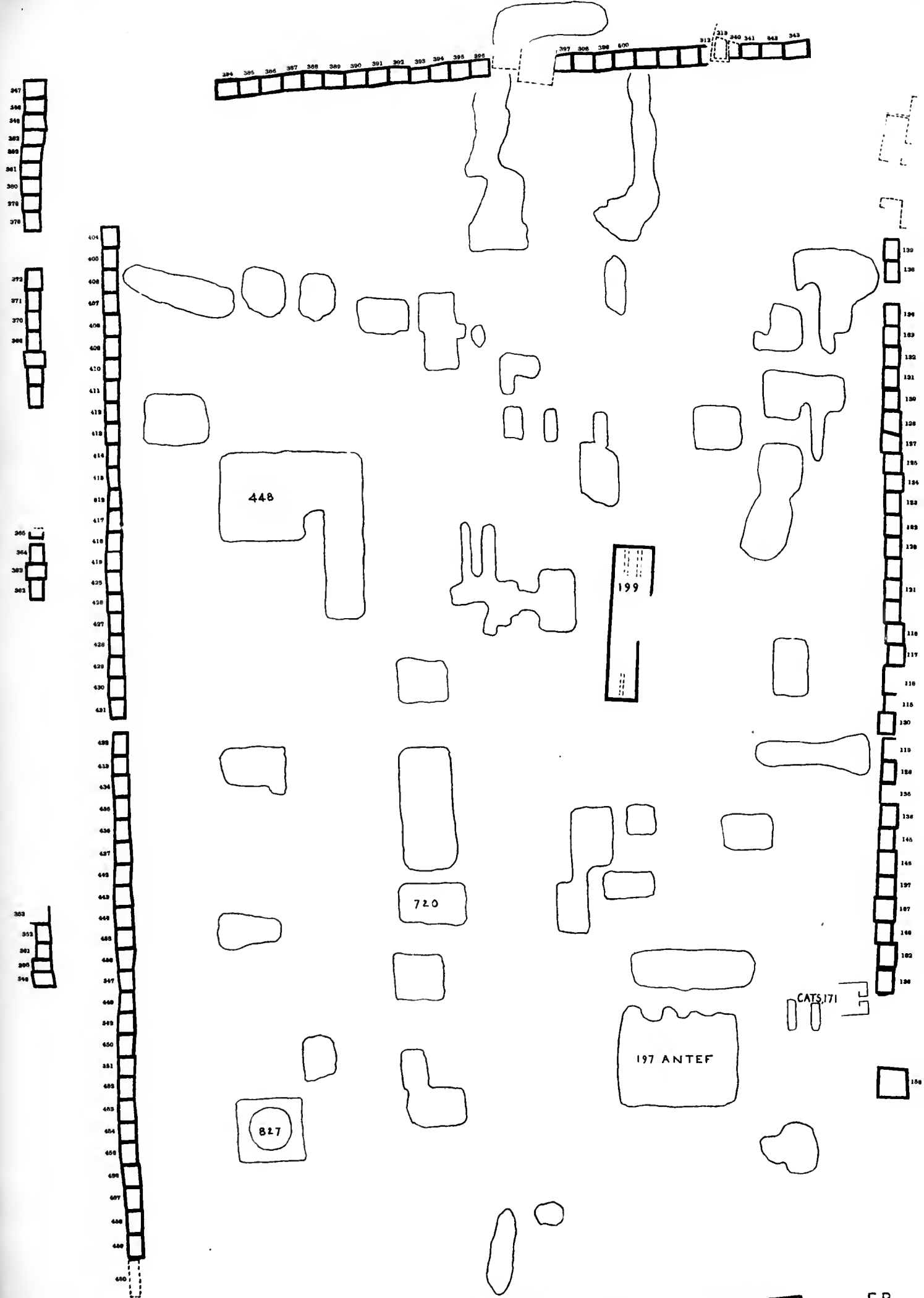
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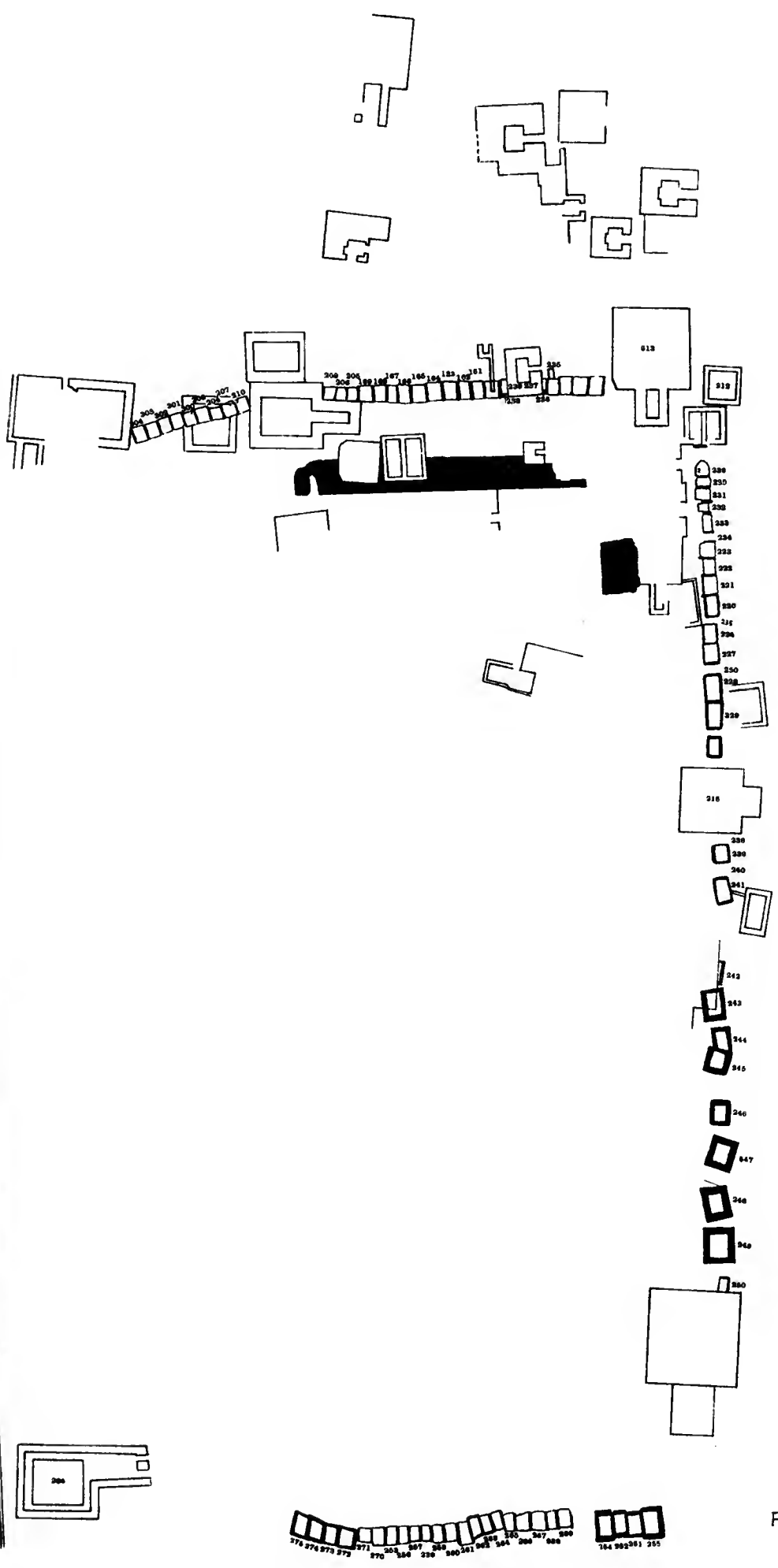
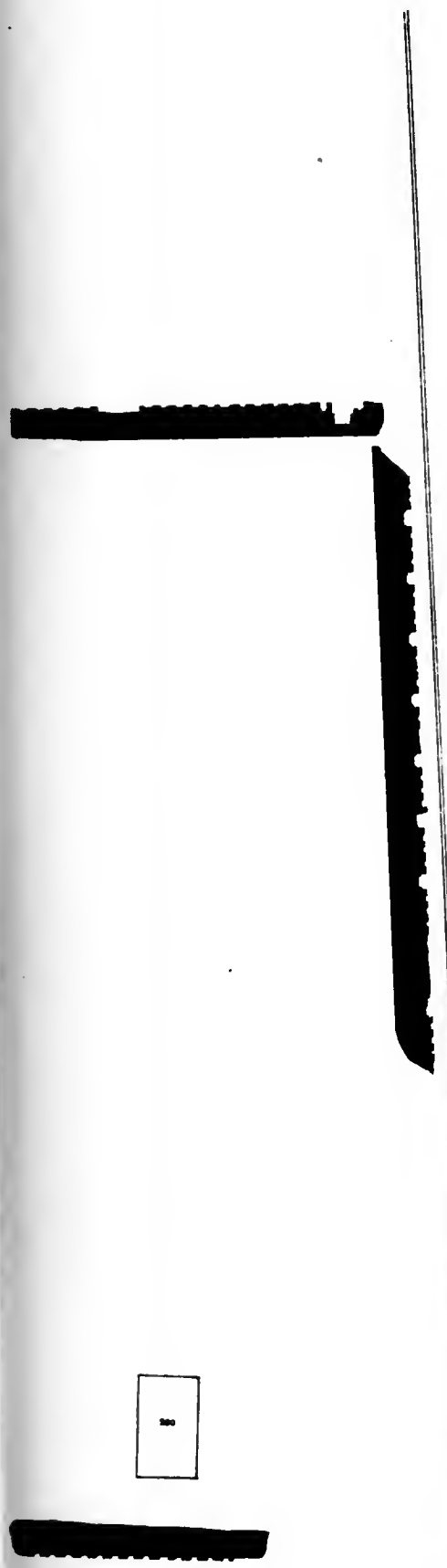


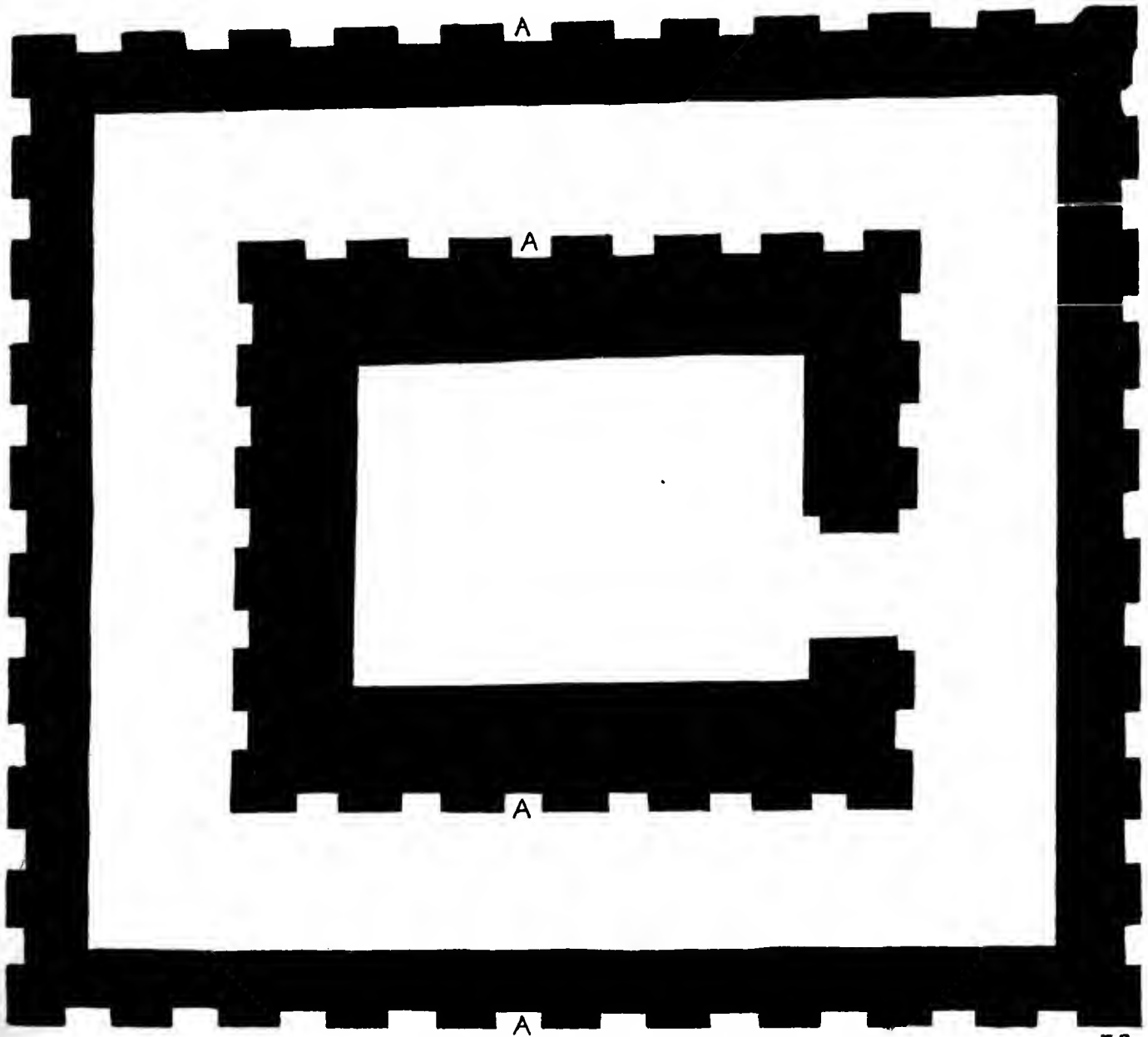
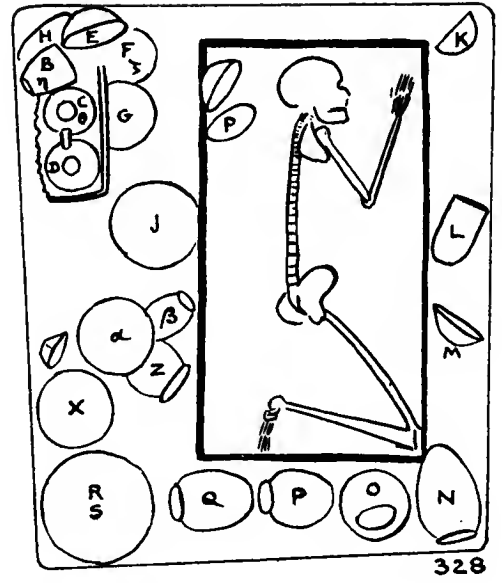
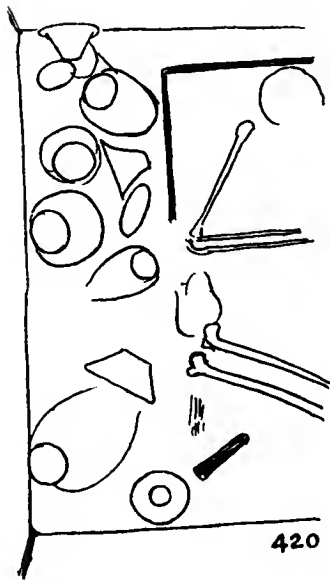
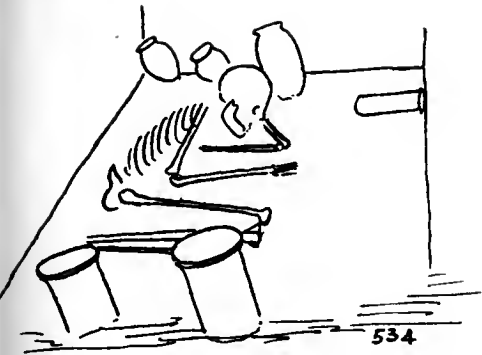












GRAVE NO.	BODY N.E.	PHOT. H.F.S	SEAL SKEL	STEEL	IVORIES	POTTERY	STONE	COPPER.	FLINT	MISCELLANEOUS
N. W. SQUARE OF ZER. 269 GRAVES.										
401	39.57									
461	42.66			+						
462	40.62									
463	123.67									
464	41.59									
465	40.60									
467	43.62			{II.4 III.11						
473	38.60									
484	38.70				BULLS LEG +, ARROWS					
485	39.60				LION, BITS, ARROWS	+				
486	37.56					IV. 10				
490	92.52					+				
491	43.57				ARROWS	+				
492	49.94				ARROWS	+				
500	61.101					XI.68g ² +				
501	60.107					+				
506	63.108				ARROWS	XI.74 s +	{21e SLATE 24m GY. ASH 24" SLATE	IV, 1-4 NEEDLE	FLAKES	MARBLES
507	67.127				2 LIONS					
510	39.58	S.W.M*		+		XI.58s +				
511	36.101			II.2, III.13		+				
522	40.62				HAIR PINS, ARROWS					
524	44.67				II.9. INSCR. XII.2					
531	54.46	E.S.M*		+		XI.92 D ²				
533	58.44	E.S. *	XIV			+				
534	54.41	W.N. *		+		+				
537	54.41	W.N. *	XIV							
539	54.39	W.S. *	XIV			+				
541	55.41	W.N. *	XIV							
542	55.42	W.N. *	XIII							
544	55.42	W.N. *	XIV							
546	44.55									
601	53.42	E.S. *	XIII							
602	55.43	W.N.M*		+		{20e 31f 57m p ³ x 59f 2 n 64d 88e 92n				
605	53.38	W.N. *				+				
611	103.73				II.11, XII.34 INSCR?	IV.11, VIII.10, 73Q	X			
612	98.70				{II.8 LABEL, ZER XII.1	57p ³ 75E				
615	78.51					25 D				
618	59.40									
634	56.42				GAME PIECE					
636	56.41				" "					
639	54.41				" "					
640	59.90					27r 33L 63b				
643	59.42			III.9						
646	56.40				COMB, ARMLET, ARROW					
654	56.43			II.3, III.14	RODS V 16					
660	49.62				ROD, POINTED BONE	64d				
661	44.64					14m				
684	42.66	S.				3a, 31f 57p ³ 63L				
688	39.63	S.				50f				
691	46.66					XI.7m.50f 74w9				
697	37.62					XI.63m				
702	41.64					59p, 63b	X			
703	39.64					50f 59f ² 68g ²				
708	38.64					20d 64d				
710	42.63					XI.92E ² 27d 86d ⁴	IX, X			
712	45.58	S.W. *				24L				
718	41.64					IA, 13m 34 63m				
726	43.63									
728	43.63	N.W. *				56b, 63f, 64A				
729	46.65	S.W. *								
744	39.57									
753	53.43	S				50f, 63L, 68g ²				
765	45.58									

{ MARK XXVIII, ZER WEIGHT.

POTTERY DUMP

CARNELIAN BEADS

MARK XXVIII

MARBLES, MARKS 4, XXVIII
A/ BEAD MARKS, 2, XXVIII

MARBLES

3 WEIGHTS ONKH-KA
2 CARNELIAN BEADS

MARKS XXVIII

+

MARK XXVIII
2 WEIGHTS, TRAY
72 DEEP

69 DEEP

SHELL & KOHL
COFFIN, 55x26 ZER
MARK XXVIII

BULLS' HEAD AMULETS

+

CARNELIAN BEADS

CARNELIAN & BL. BEADS

+

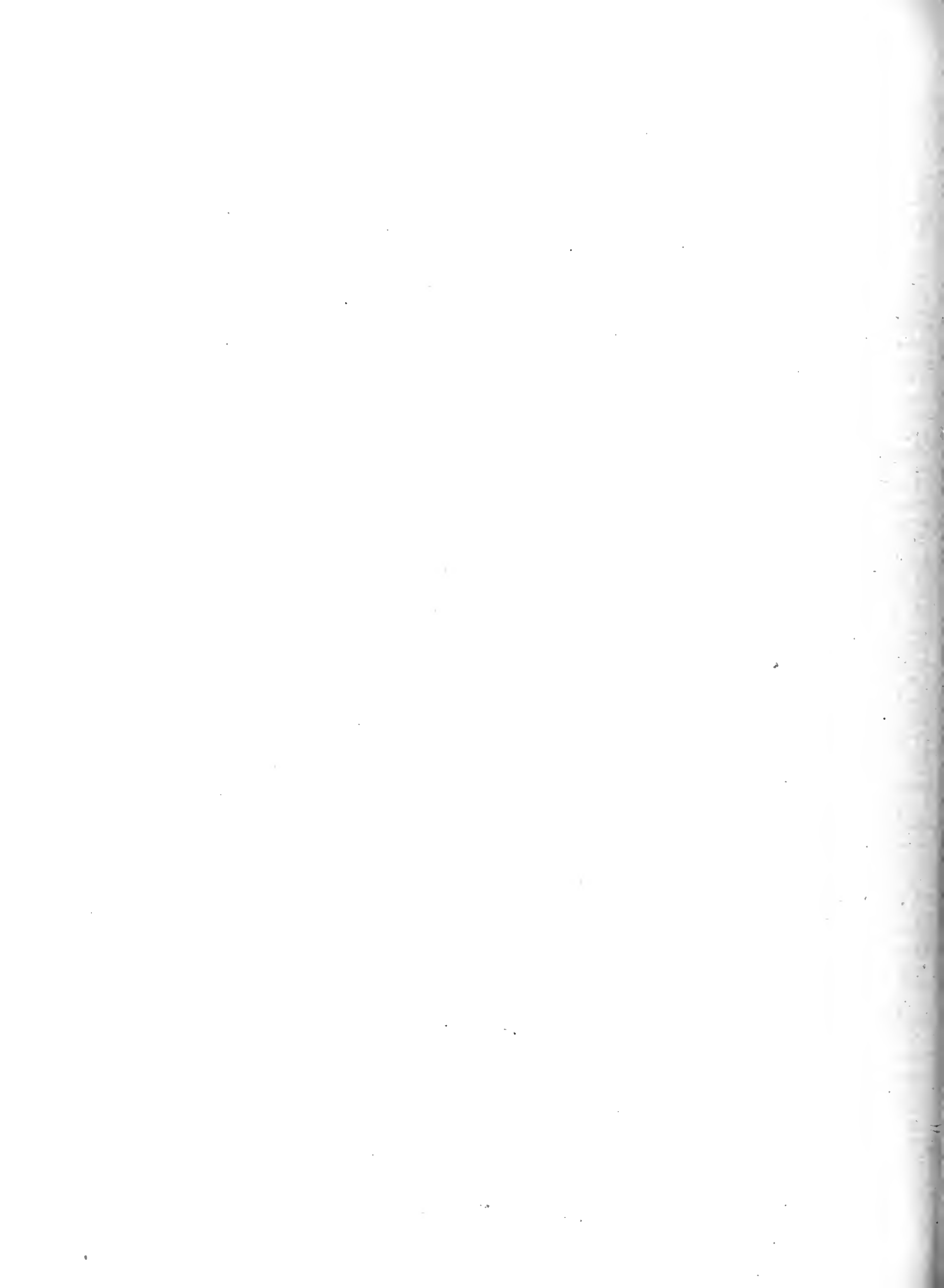
BULLS RIBS, BODKINS

+

MARKS XXVIII

3 KNIVES

WEIGHT.



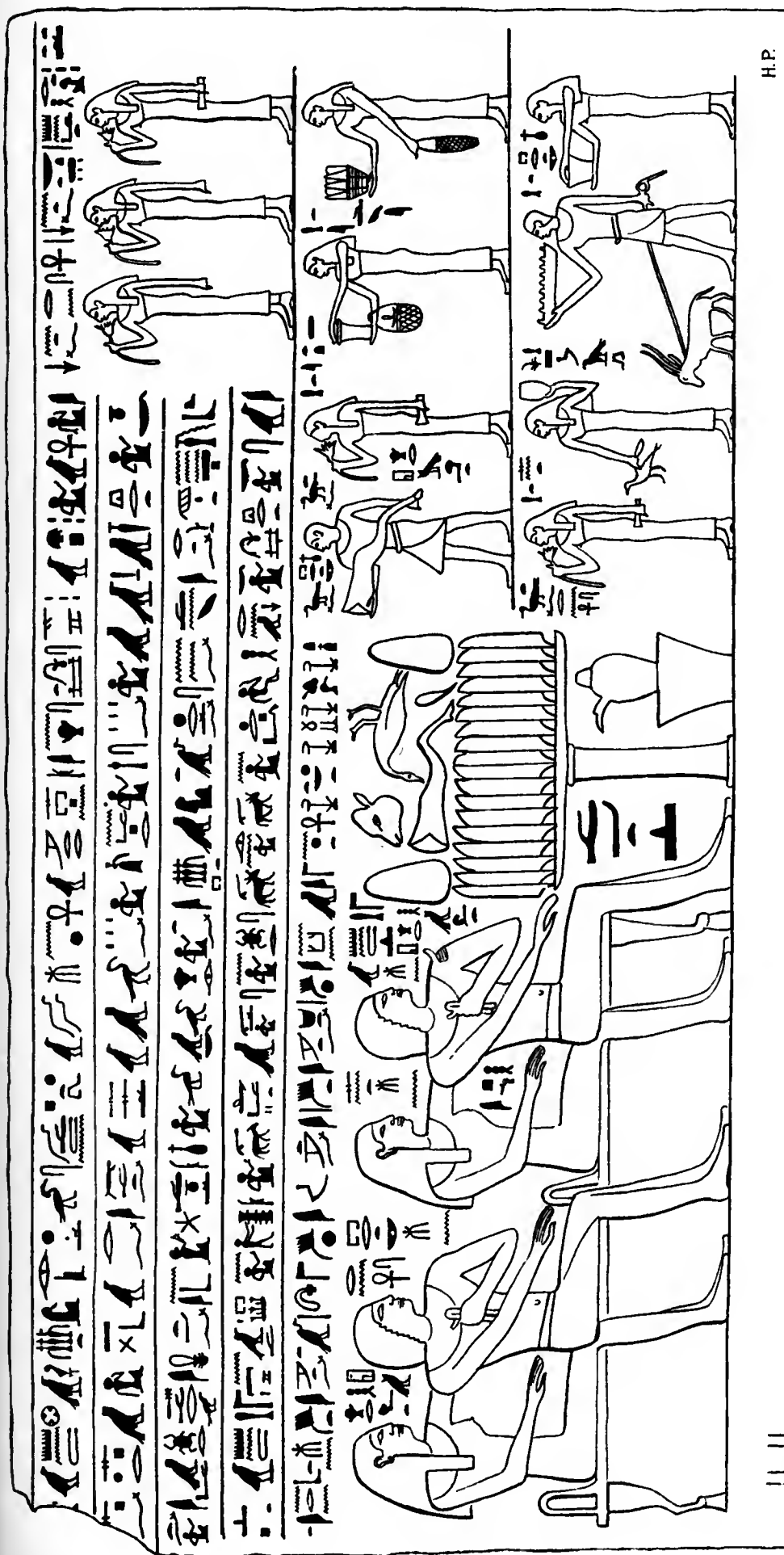
No.	GRAVE N. E.	BODY H-F M/F	PHOT. SKEL	SEALS STELE	I V O R I E S	P O T T E R Y	S T O N E	C O P P E R	F L I N T	M I S C E L L A N E O U S.
772	51-67			II-1, III-10						
777							+			
784	56-39							V-9. FORK	VI-2,4	
787	67-43				LION			CHISEL		A/BODKIN, BEADS+FOIL
790	55-40				II-10 LABEL, ZER?					CARNEL & BL. BEADS

N.E. SQUARE OF ZET. 154 GRAVES.

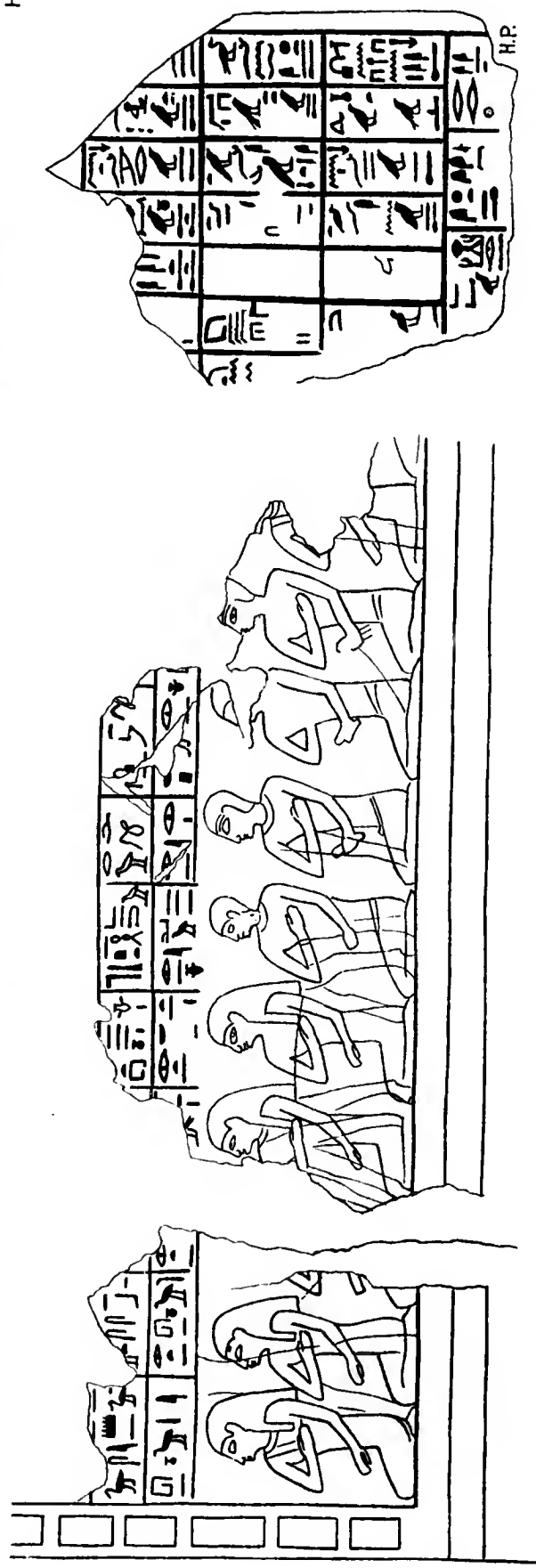
No.	GRAVE N. E.	BODY H-F M/F	PHOT. SKEL	SEALS STELE	I V O R I E S	P O T T E R Y	S T O N E	C O P P E R	F L I N T	M I S C E L L A N E O U S.
117				I			XI-7E, 3R, 63H			HETERNEB
120	44-63						XI, 570, 94L4			GRANARIES
121										2 WEIGHTS
122	49-61				II-7, VII-7-8 GAME					
123	46-65				NEEDLES ?		XI-99t, u			
124	63-55						XI-99t, w,			5 GRANARIES
126	45-73				VII-13 LION					
135	48-60							ALAB.		
136	48-61				II-5 LABEL					CRANARIES
137	54-63						XI-572			
145	45-70						XI-88H5			GRANARIES
156	47-73				VII-1-6 LIONS					
159	91-87			I-	II-12-17 LABELS, ZER		IV-9			COFFIN 71x36 MER NESUT
328	58-46	W-N *	+				MUCH			
329	56-48	W-N *	XIII					X		COFFIN 49x25 GRANARY
330	67-42								VI-5	3 WEIGHTS
341	56-50	W-N		III-1B						FLAKES
368	40-60						XI-17F			
384	65-47	E-S *	XIII				XI-59J3			GRANARY VIII-17
387	58-50	E-S *	+						III-6,7, V-5-7	AXE & ADZE OF ZET
388	61-48								V-8 CHISEL	COFFIN 36x24
413	41-64	S-W *	+						VI-3+	" 42-18-10 1/2
414	35-67	S-W *	XIII						+	
418	40-60									INScribed GRANARY, XXIX
420	58-	S-W *	+				XI-92F2 +	IX	IV-5,6	VI-7,8
423	39-56	S-W *	+				+	VIII-4 IX	2 NEEDLES	+++
424										+
426	37-58				VII-12, LABEL, LIONS					NEEDLE
428	38-63						+			FLAKES
429	48-61						+		V-23-GIRD ^L	GRANARIES. COFFIN 56x31
433	44-55						+			" 40x28
435	44-65	N-						IX		DOG IN GRAVE " 46x24
437	48-63						+			" 56x27
442	45-65			SEALING			+			
444	52-62			I			XI-3j, 16X.			
445	54-59				II-6 COMB ZET					FLAKES
446	53-64			I-	XII-5					ZET
453	49-66			I-						MARK, XXVIII COFFIN 26x9
454	51-55						XI-66g +			NETER SHED
455	50-66									GRANARIES

S.E. SQUARE OF MERNEIT. 79 GRAVES.

221	35-46	N-E-M*					+	VIII-7, IX, X		COFFIN 46x17x7
222	32-38	M*					XI, 68 &			" 37x19x7
224	40-38	N-E-M*	XIII	+						" 35x20x7
228	29-63						CYLINDER JAR			
245	33-43						XI-59F2, 16CYL JAR			
246	33-45									FLAKE
247	37-44						57 +			GRANARIES, MUD BOXES
250	27-39						+			COFFIN 40x22x9
251	35-52						XI-57h +	IX, X		3 MARKS, XXVIII, MERNEIT
254	35-55						XI-57s +			COFFIN 51x24x5
272	31-44						+			" 46x24x5
273	27-46						+			
275	32-46	N-E-M*						VIII-1, IX		" 41x25x7



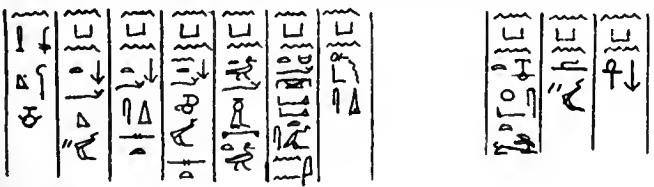
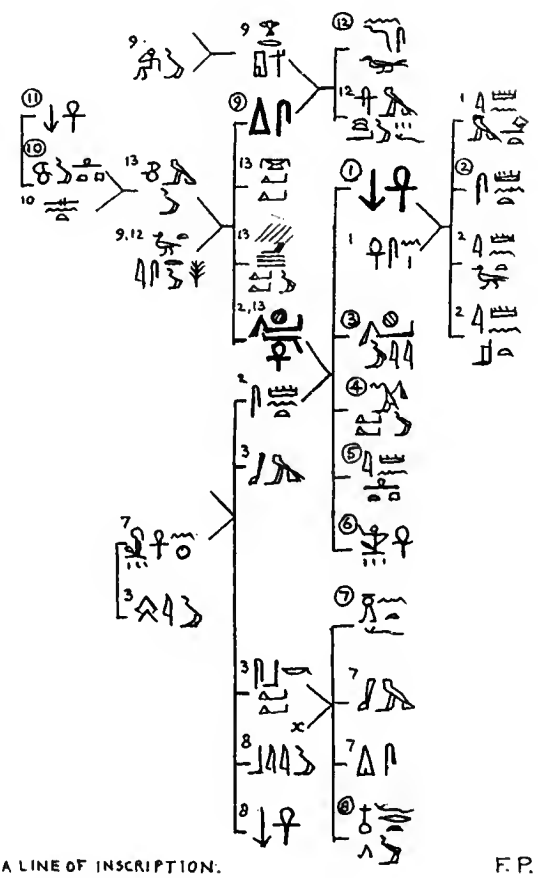
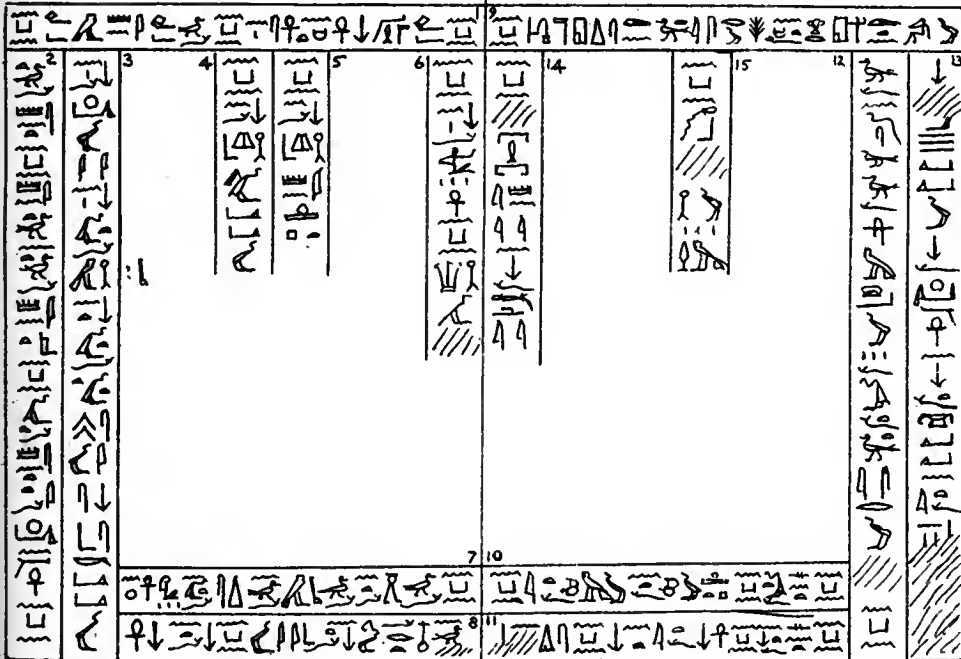
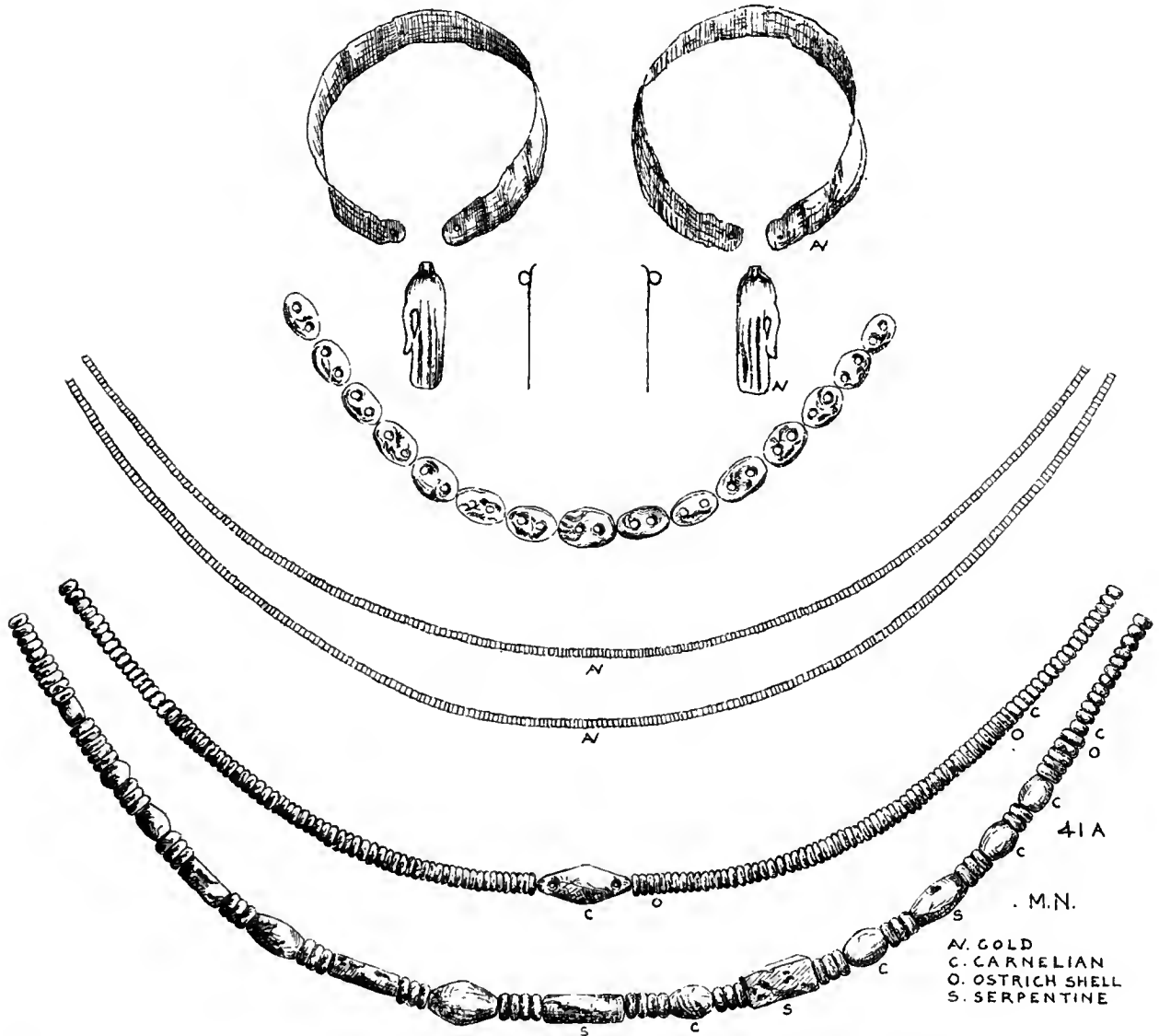
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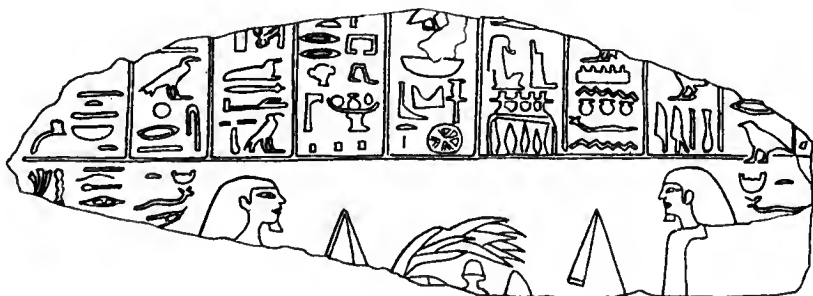
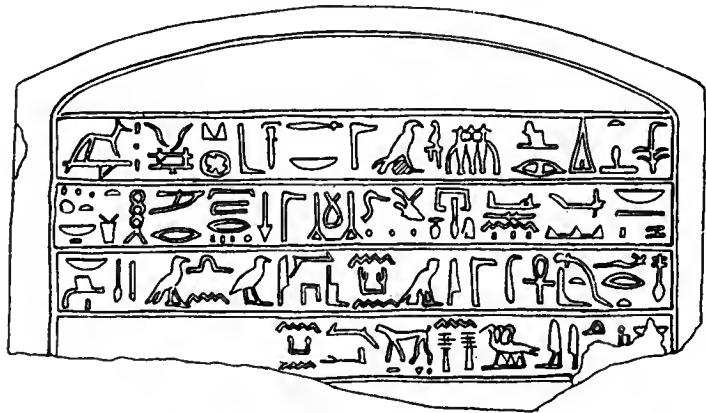
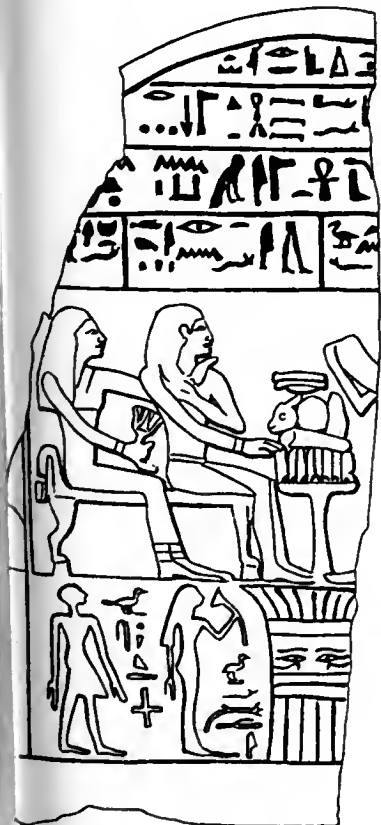
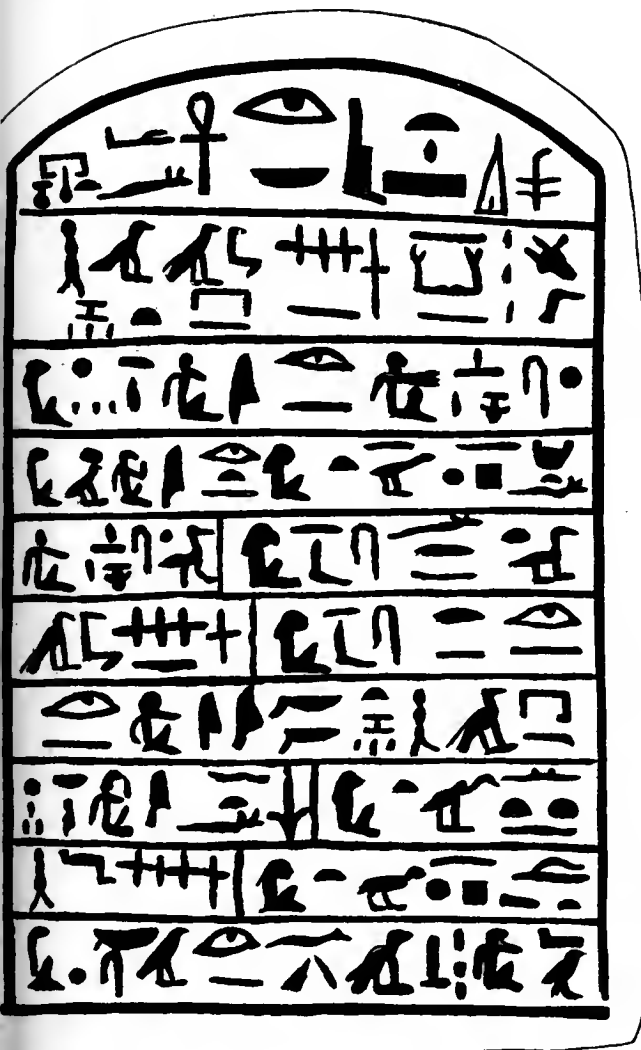


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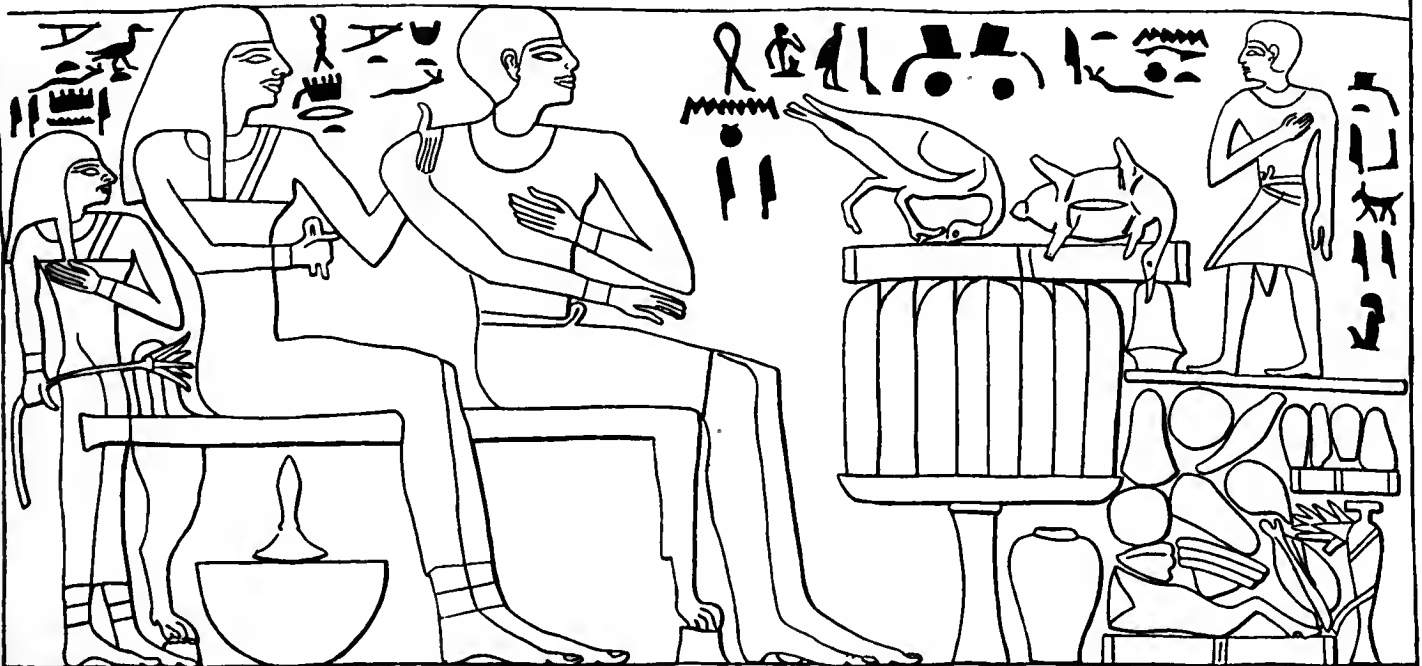




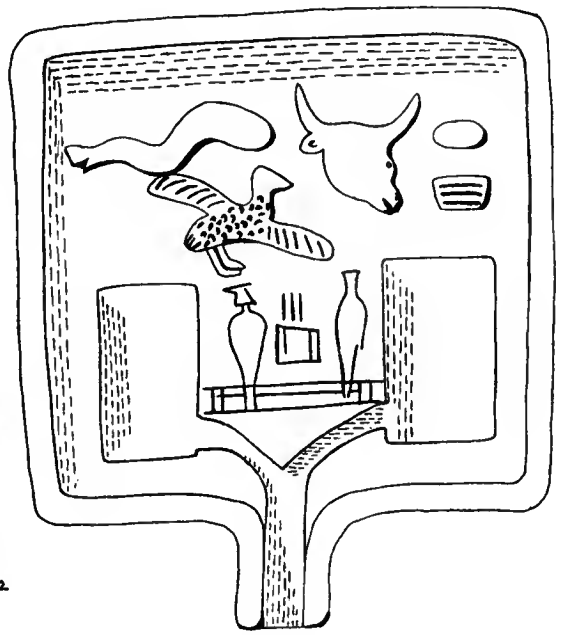
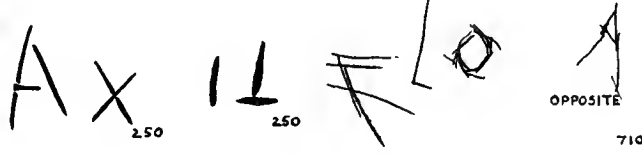
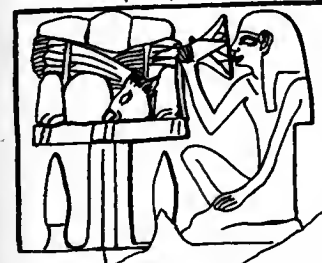
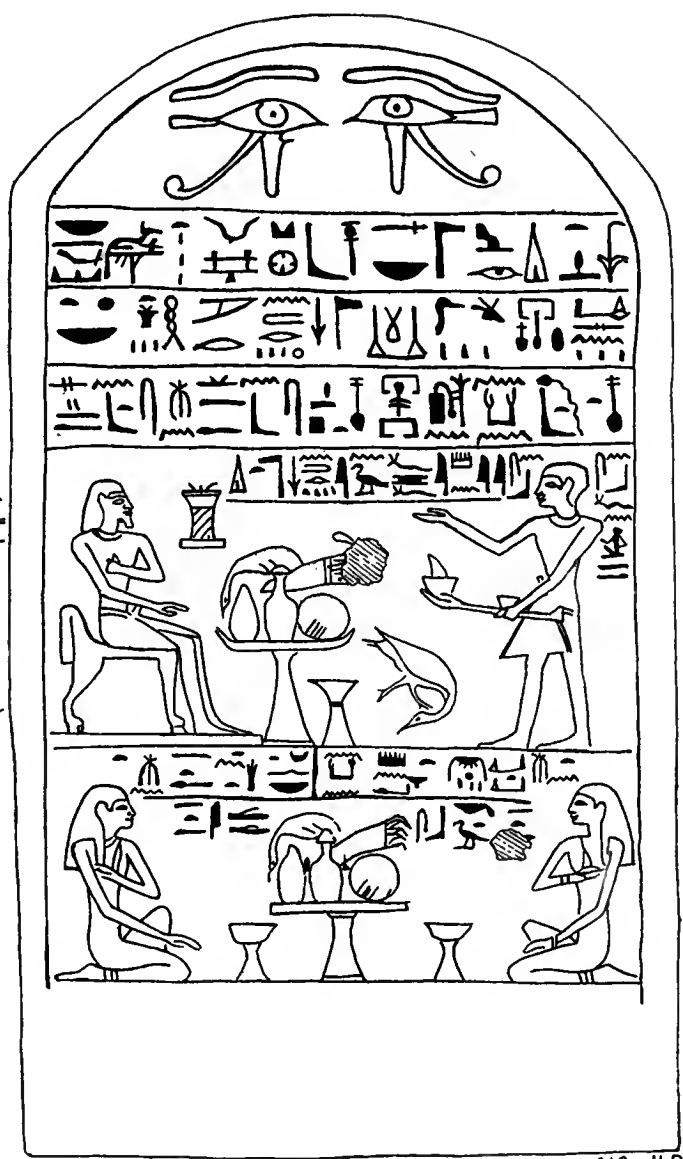
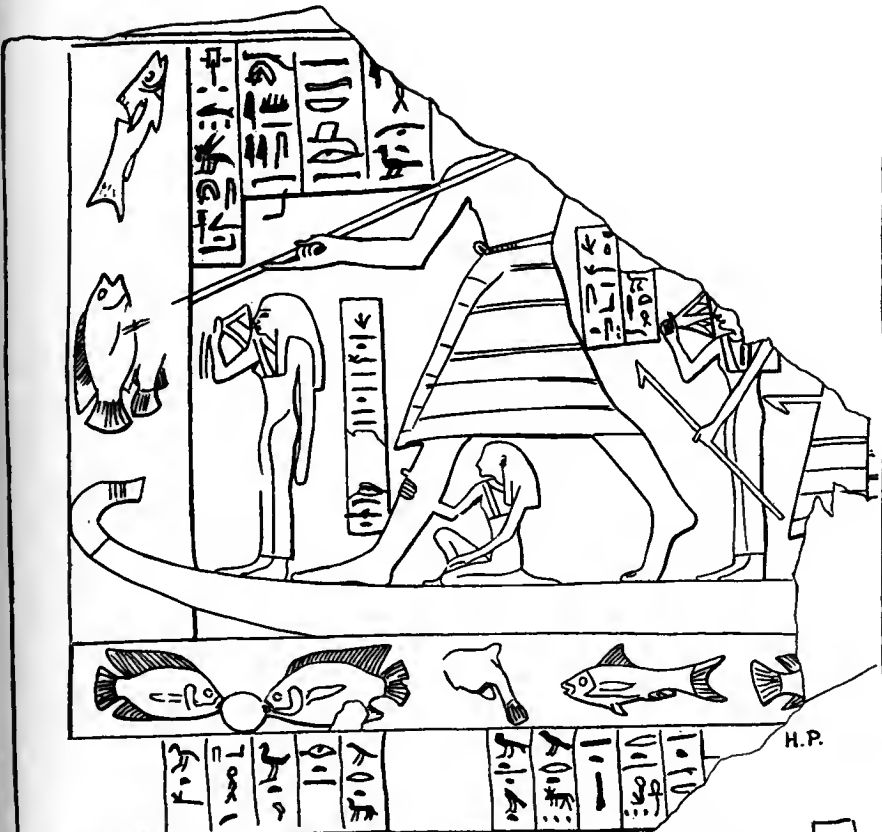


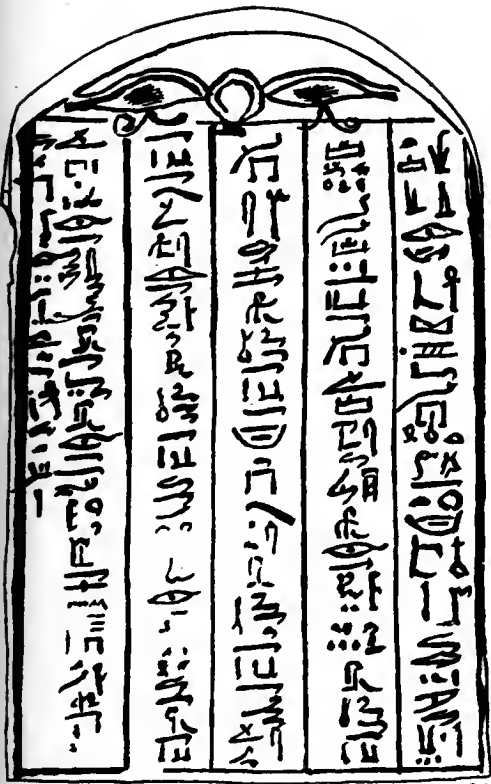


Hieroglyphic text consisting of ten horizontal registers. The registers contain various symbols including birds, human figures, tools, and abstract signs, arranged in a regular grid.

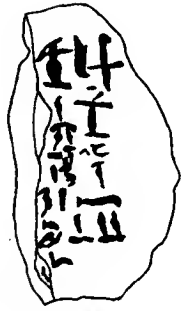








281



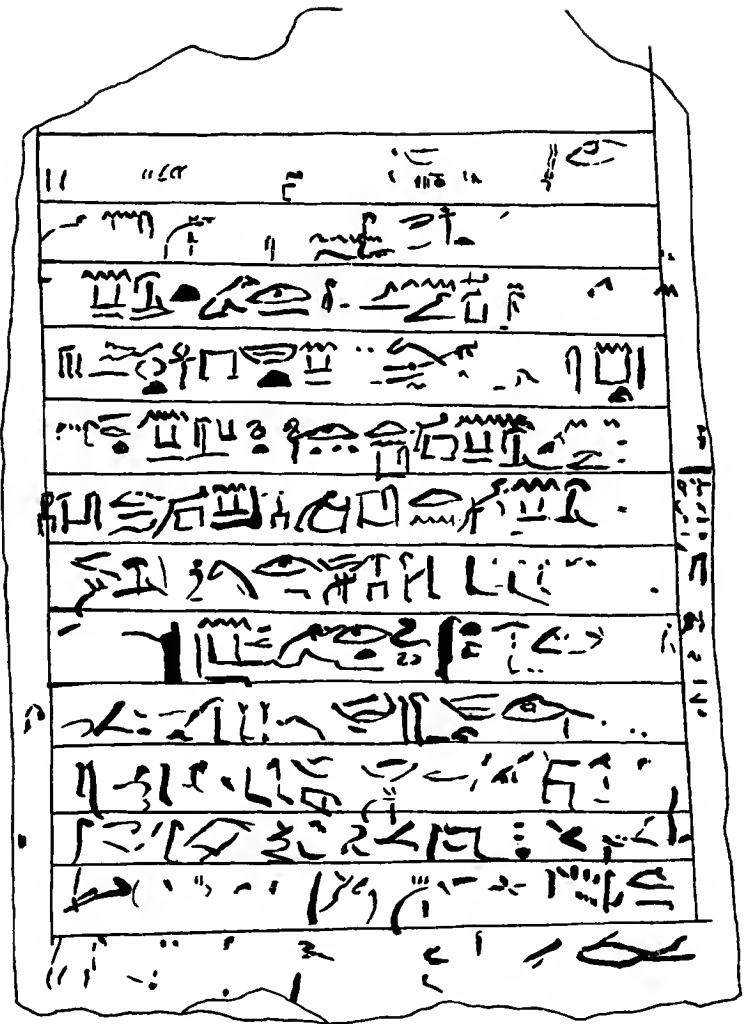
219



219



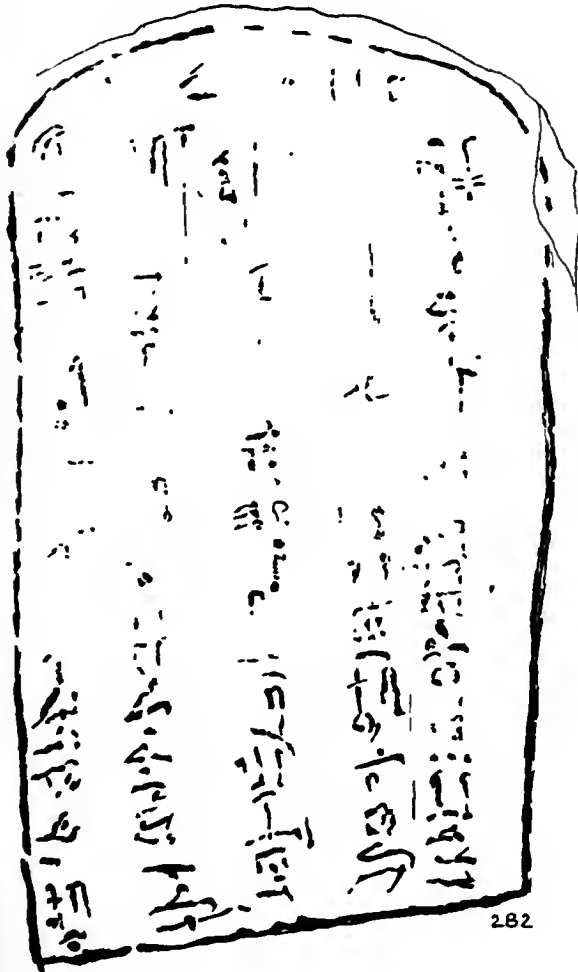
219



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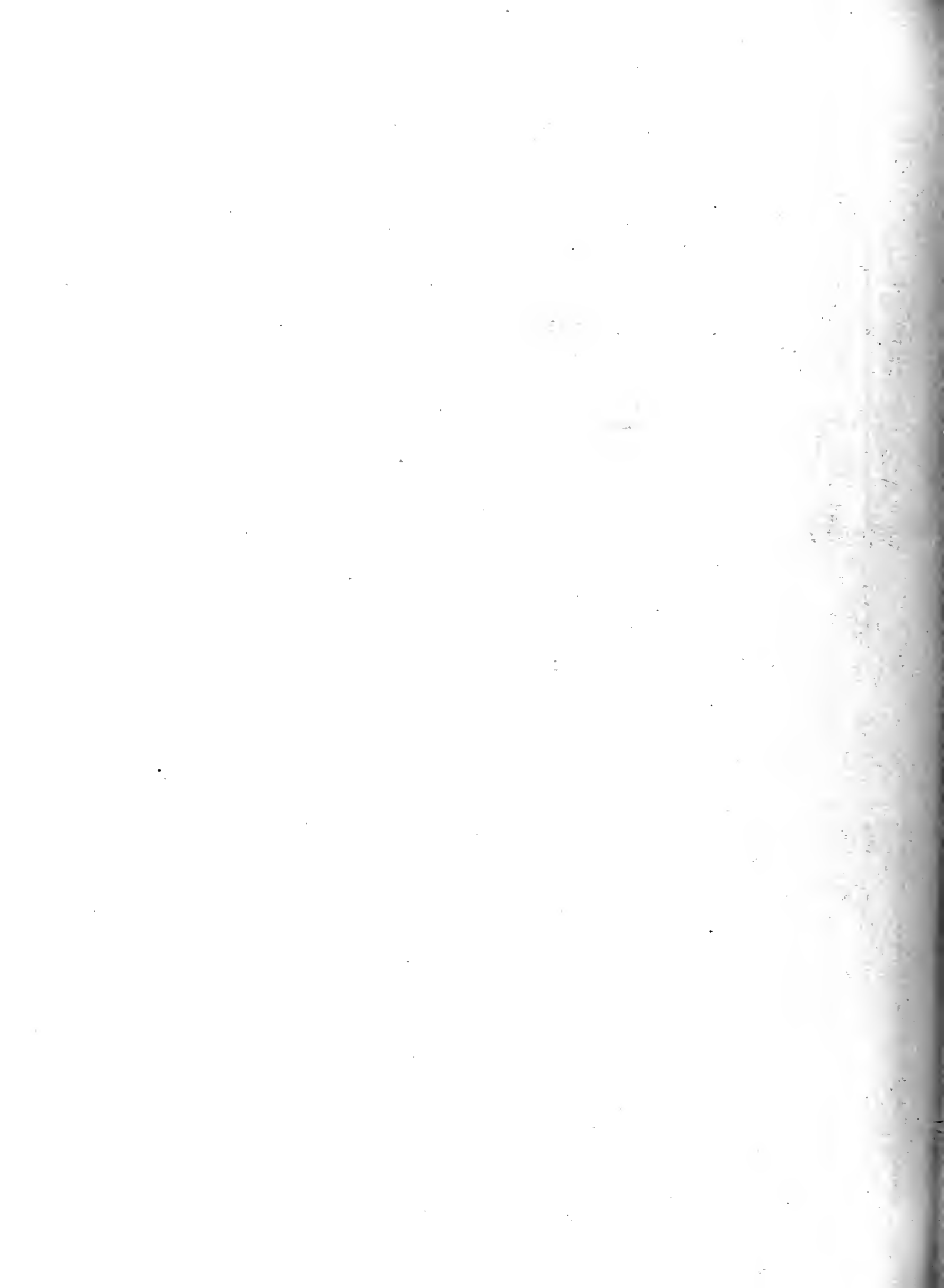
𓂏

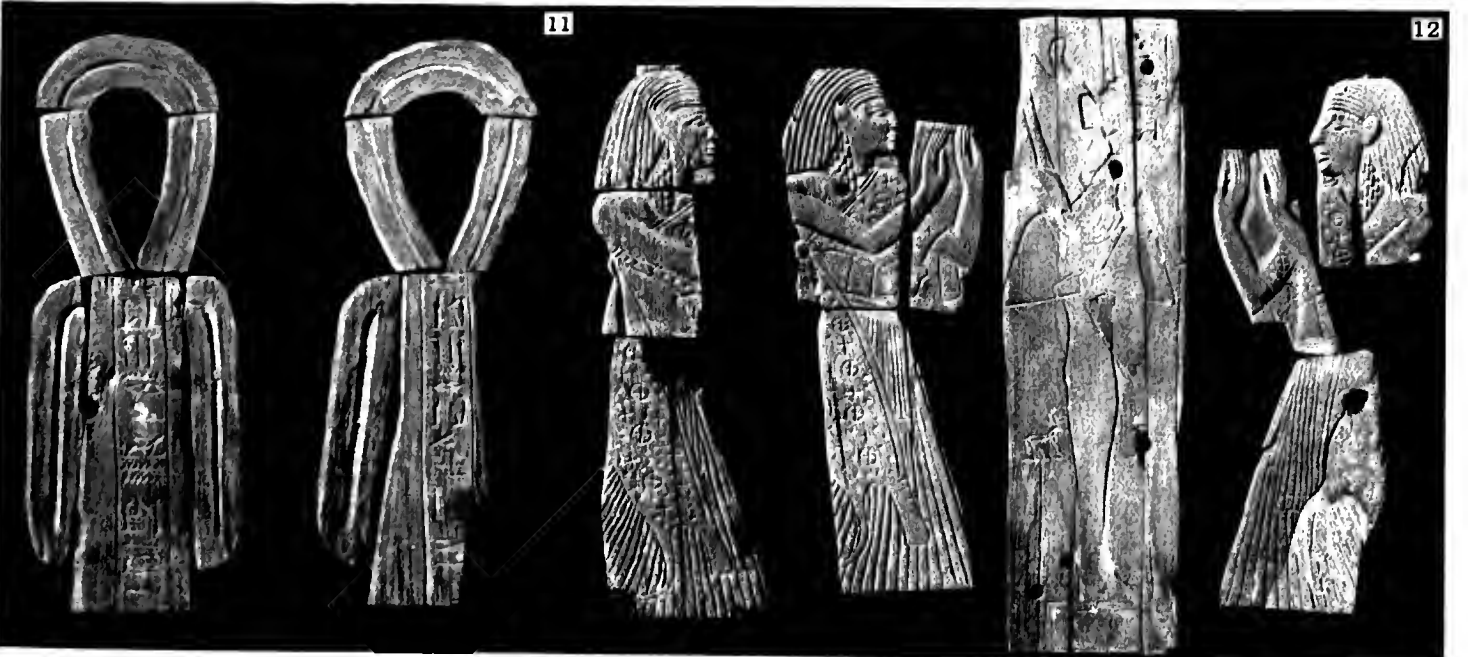
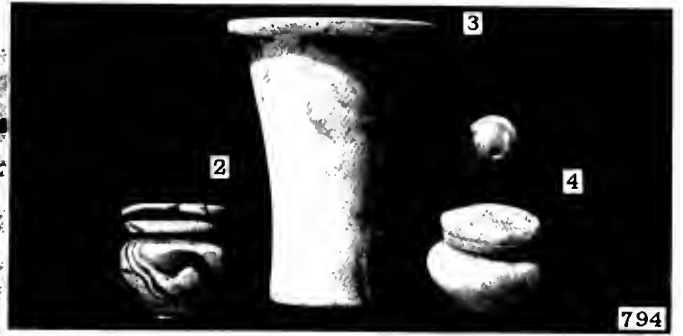
ON MUD GRANARY, 1ST D.



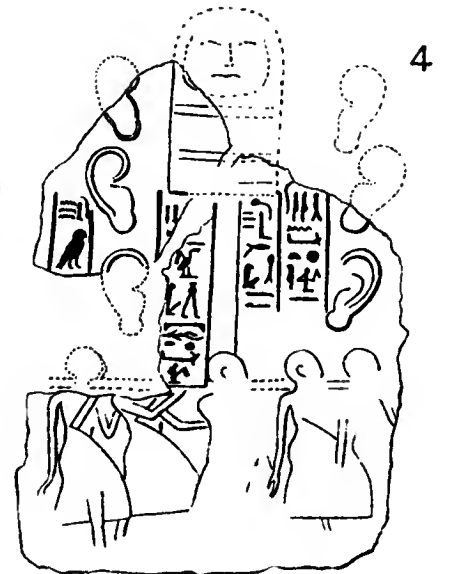
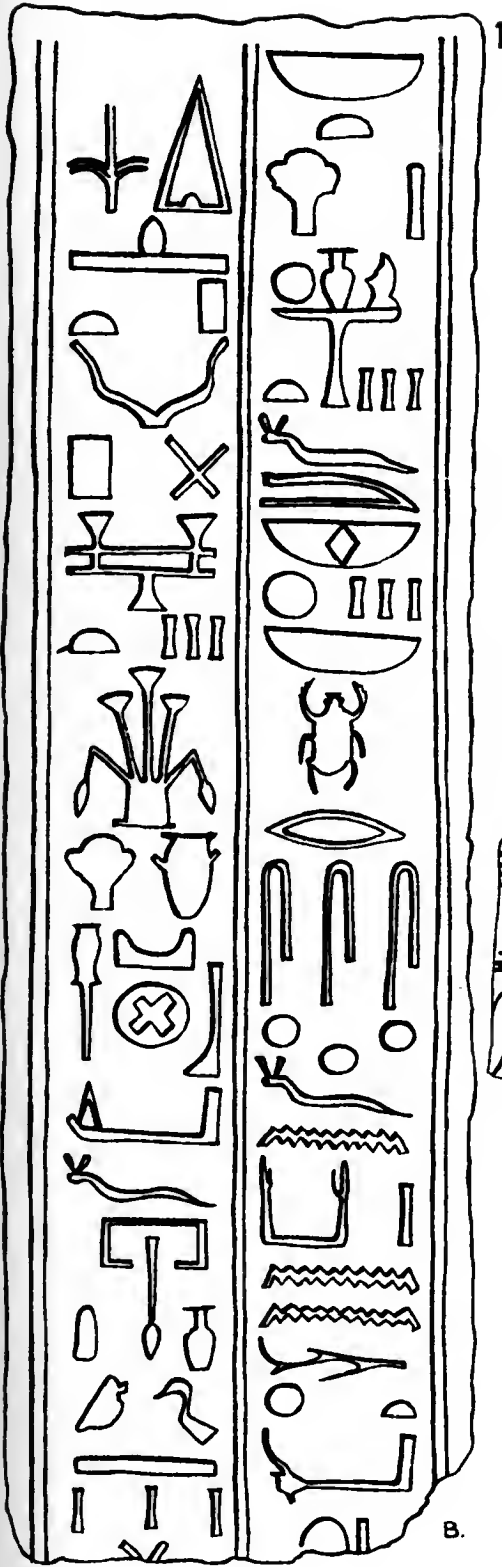
282













6

205 H.P.

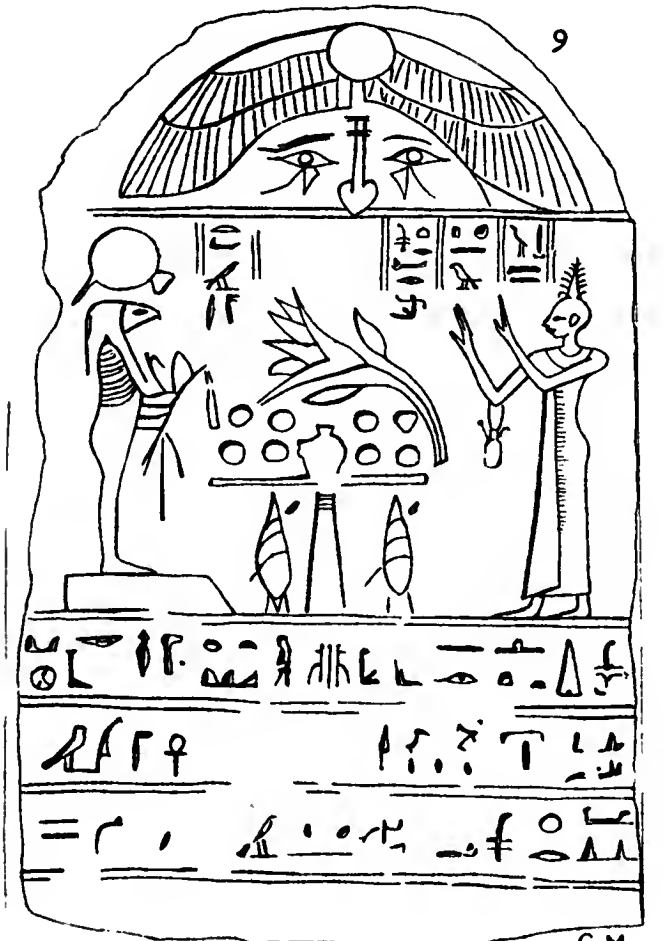


7

H.P.

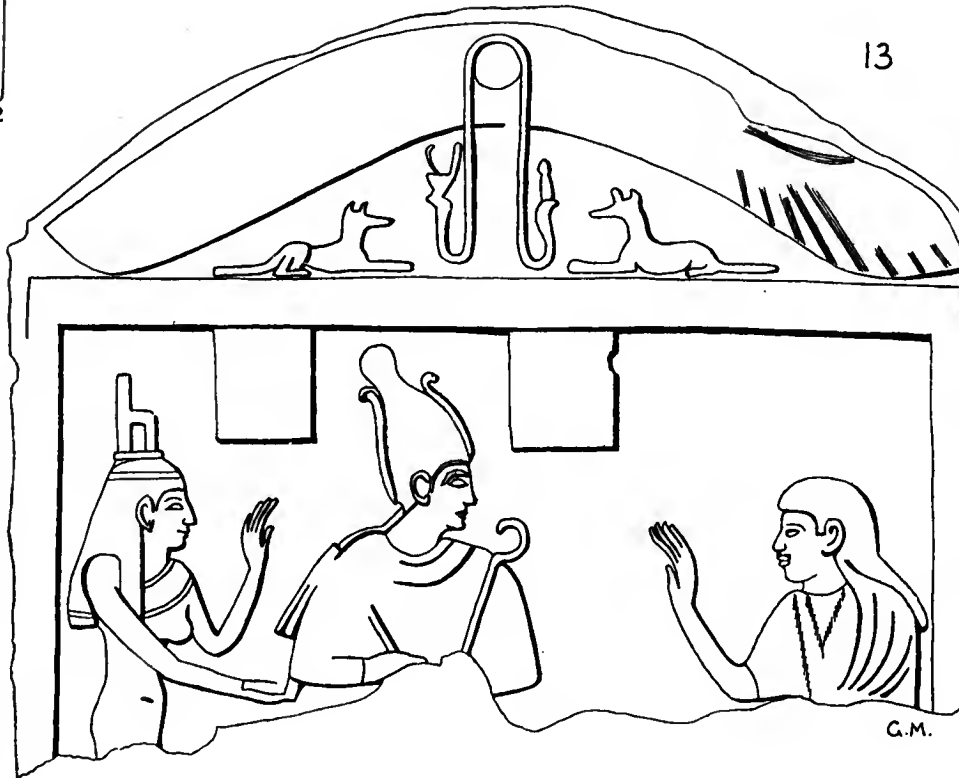
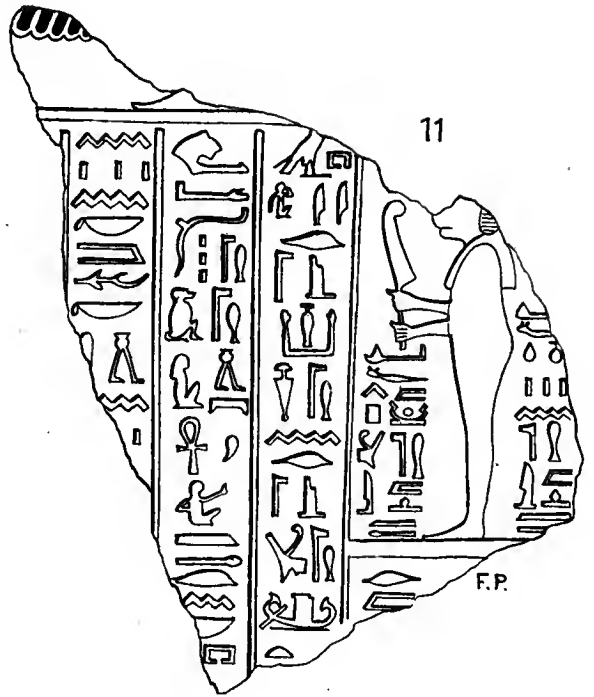


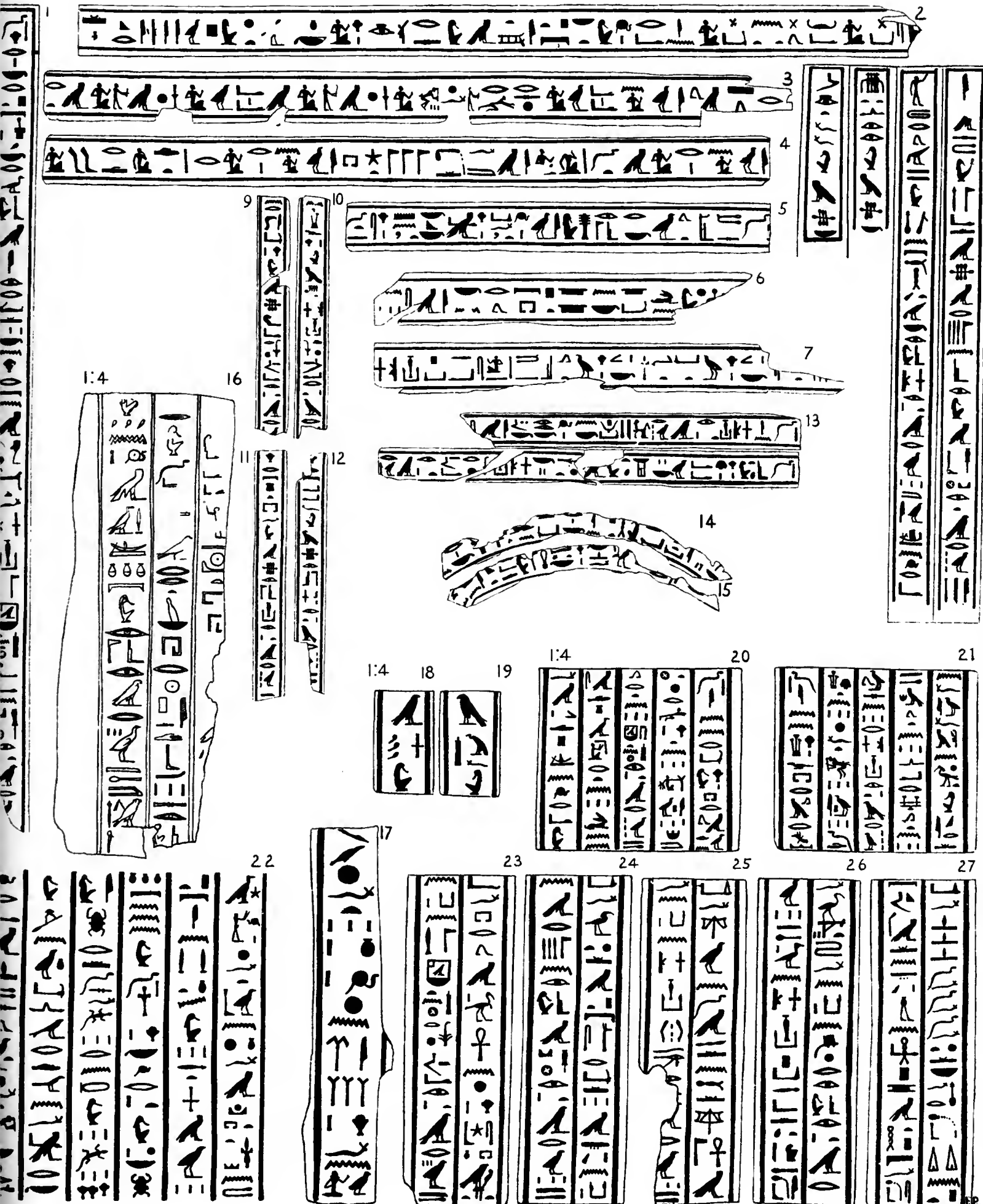
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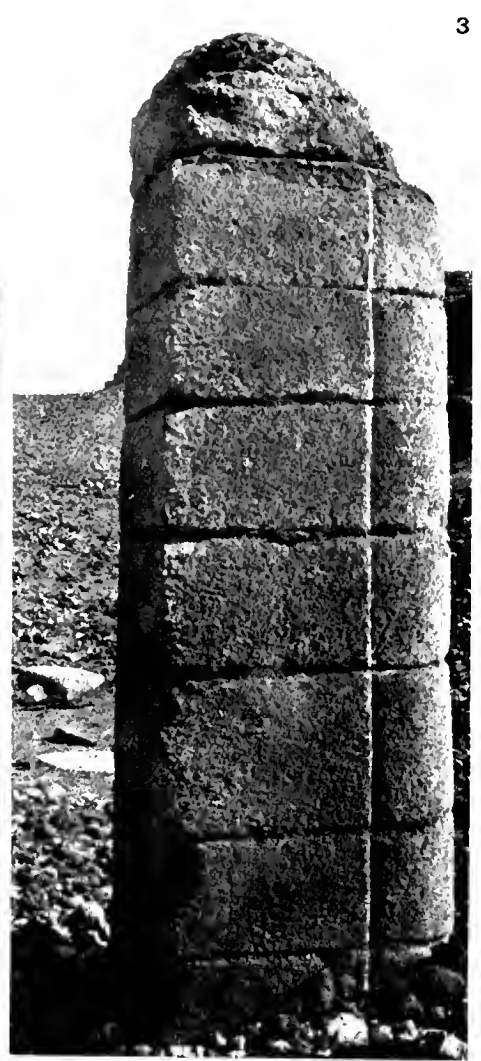


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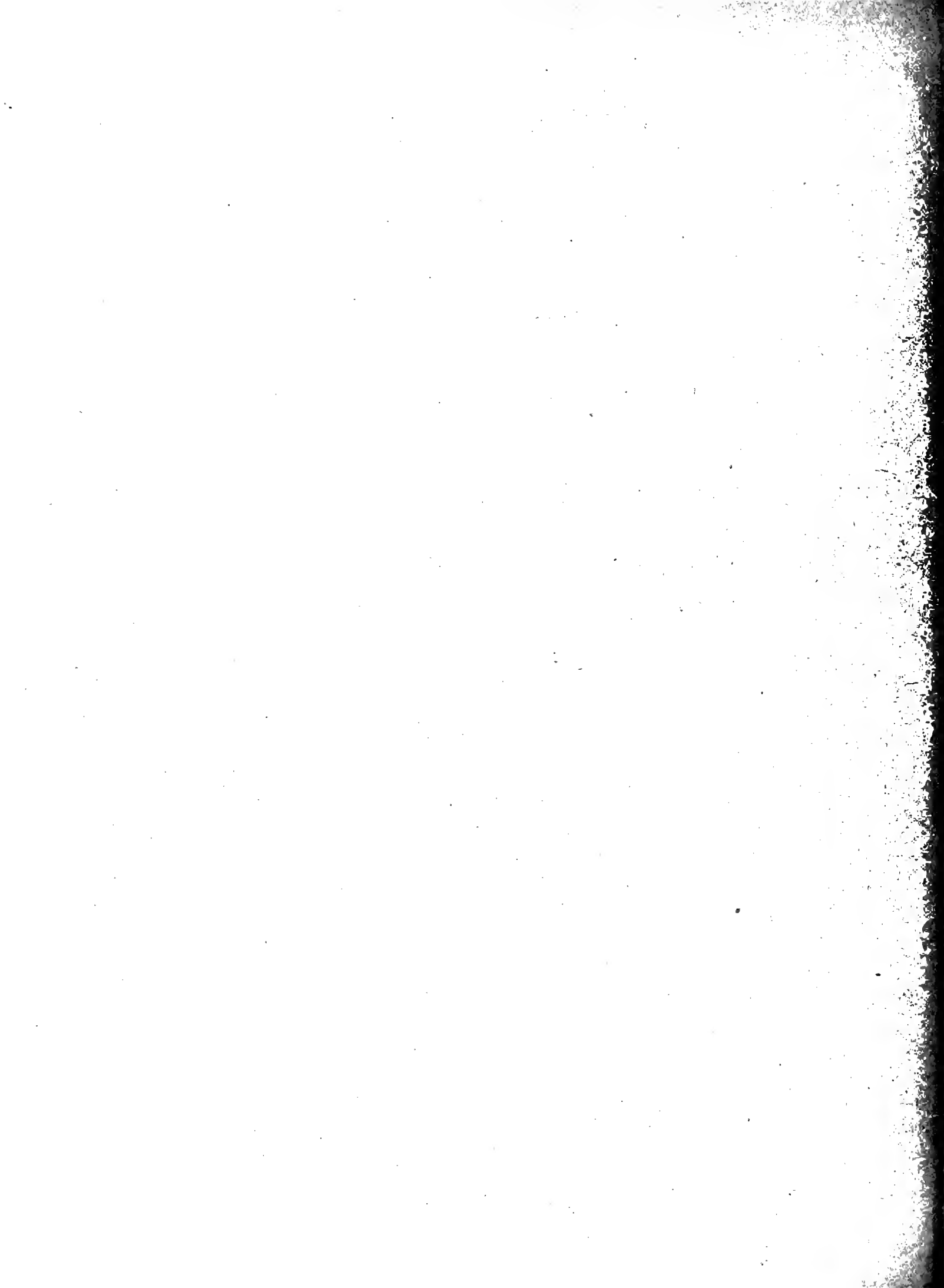
G.M.

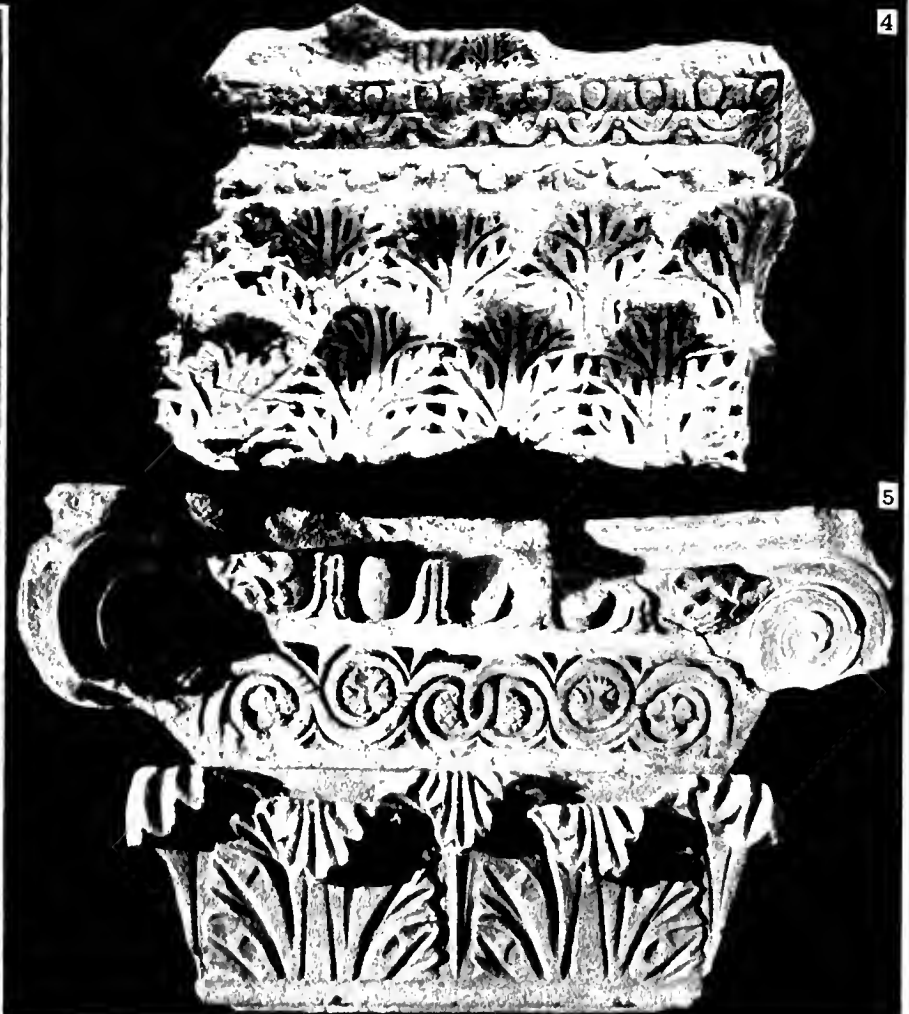


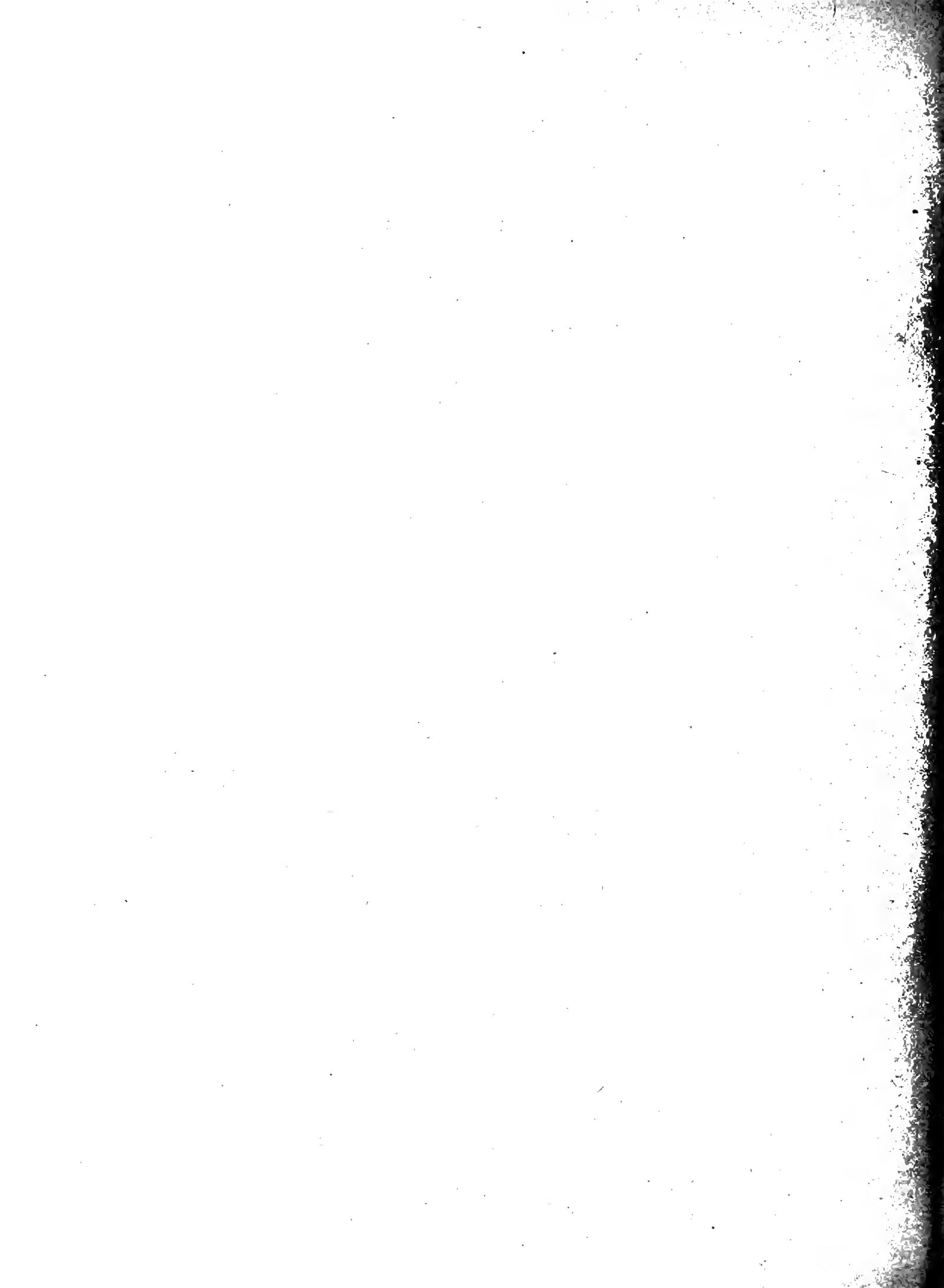




10





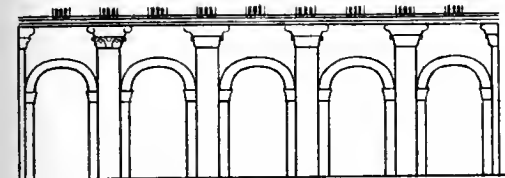




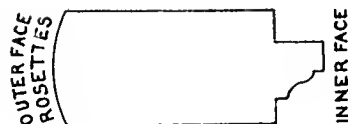
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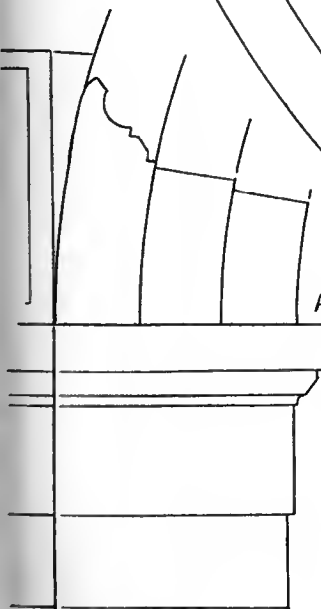
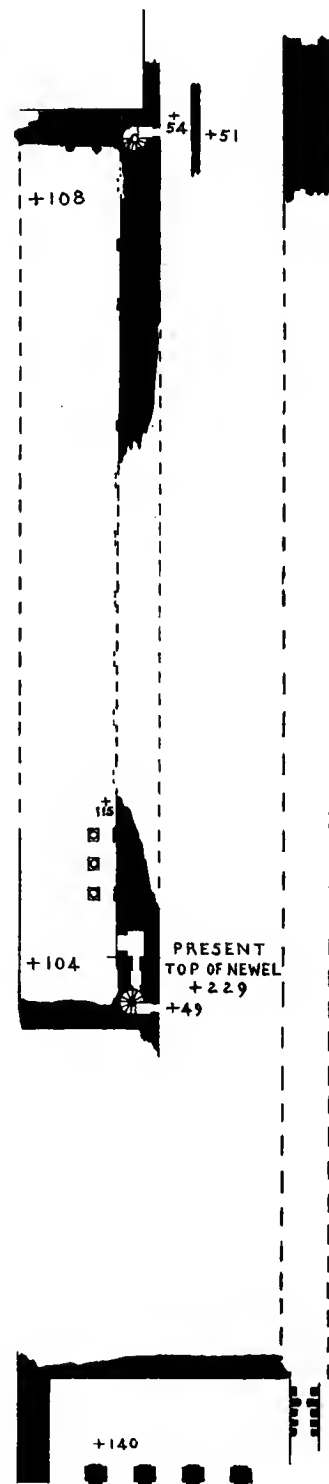
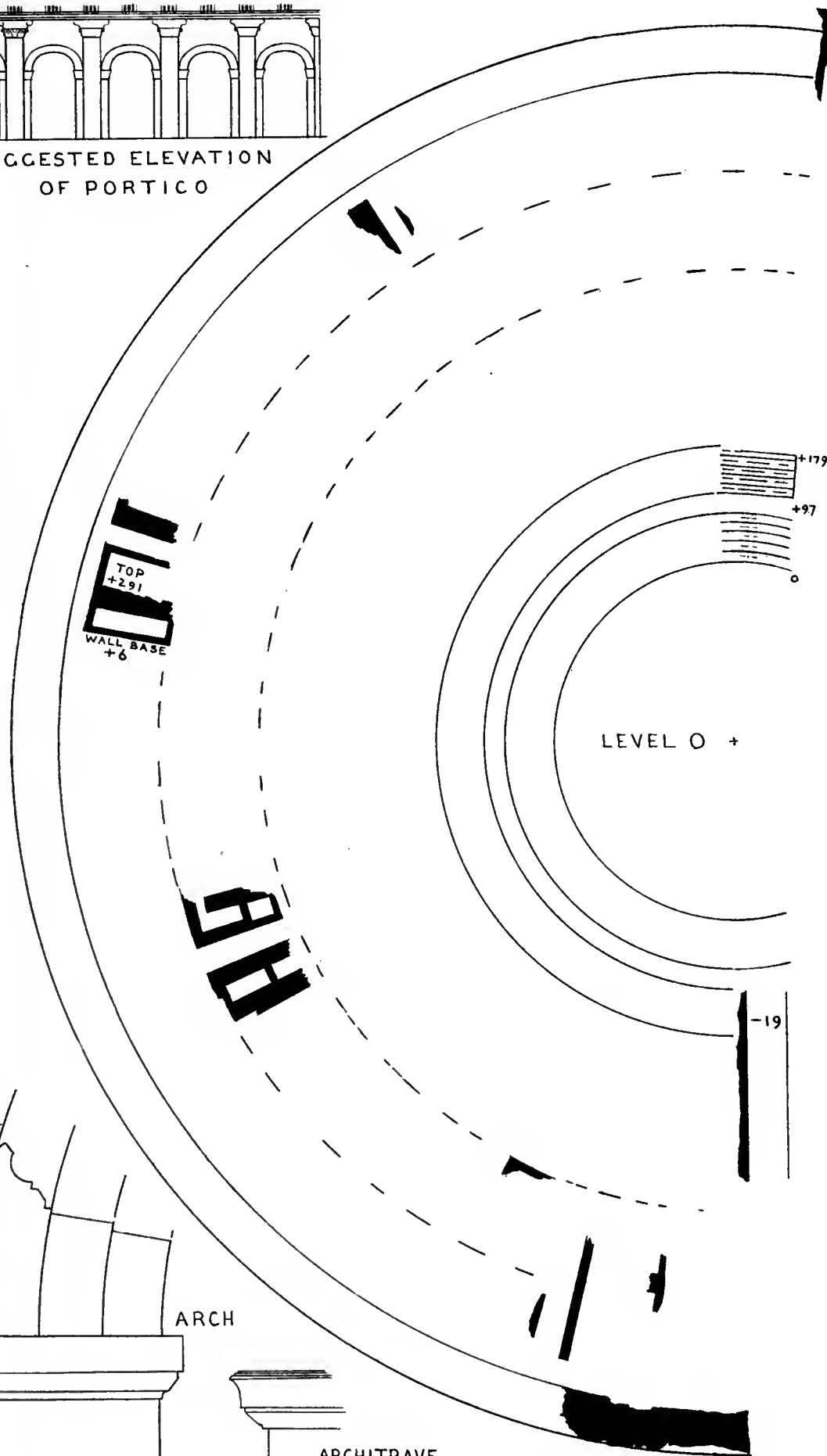




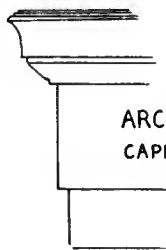
SUGGESTED ELEVATION OF PORTICO



SECTION OF COPING OF OUTER WALL 1:20

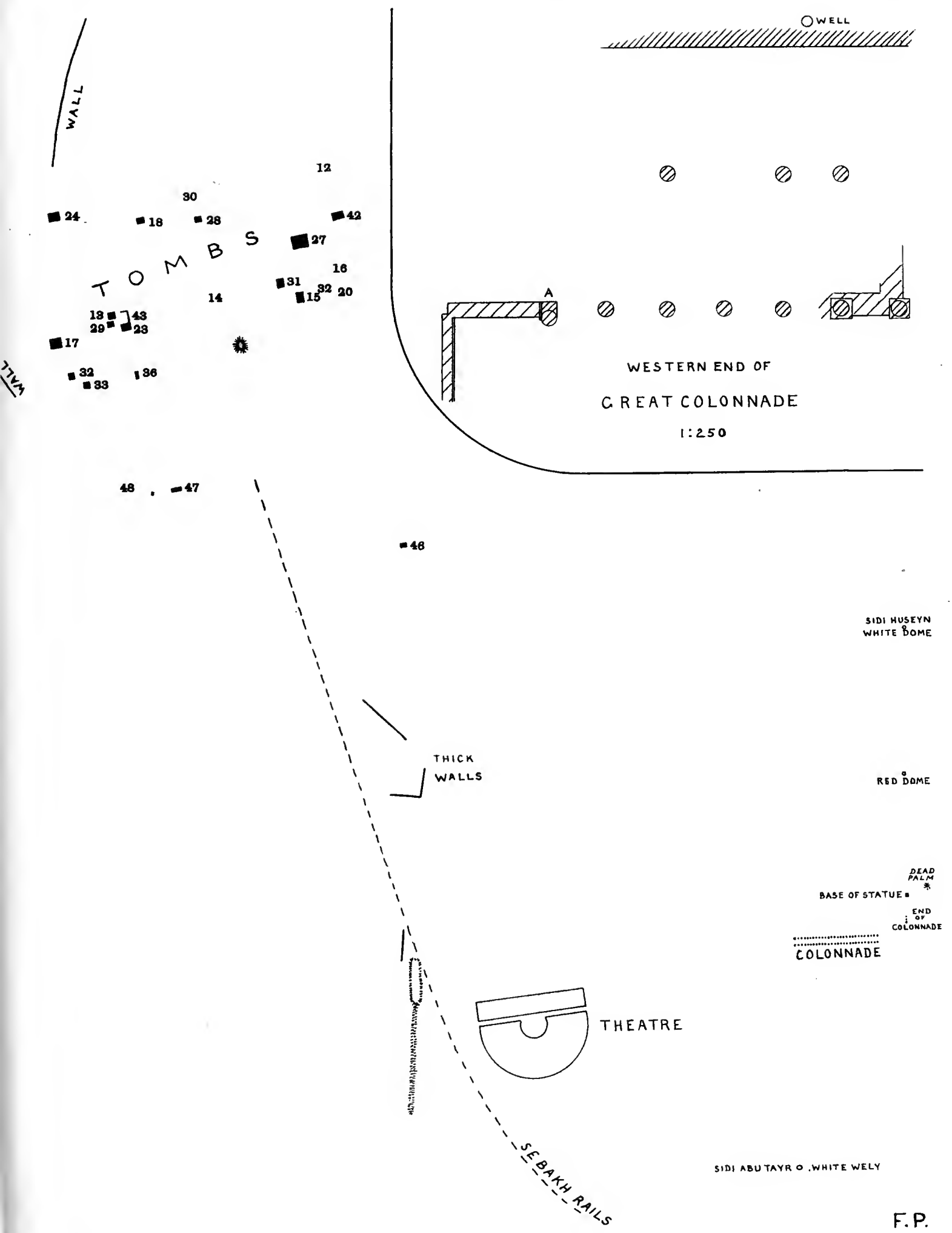


ARCH

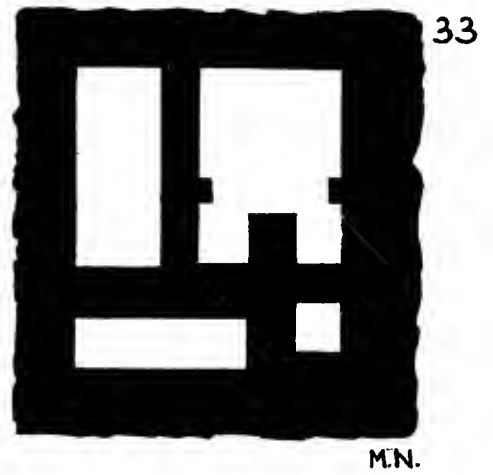
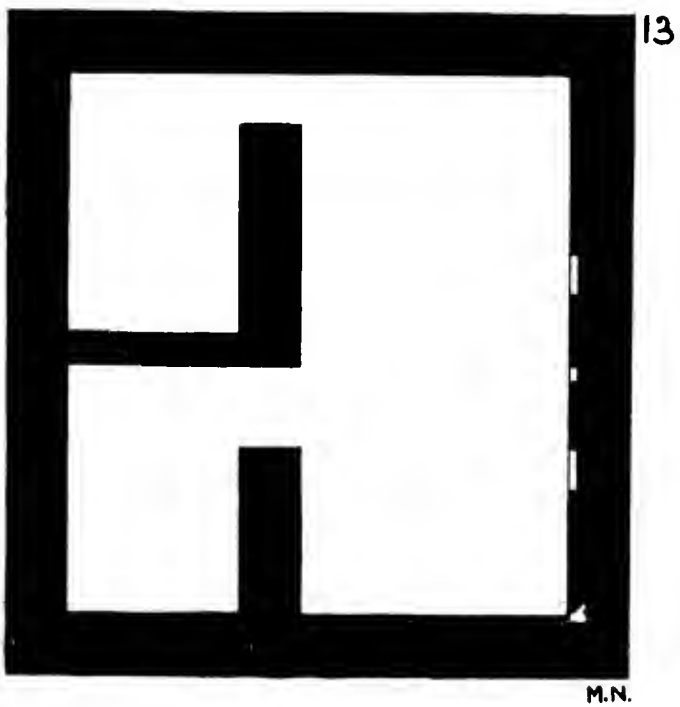
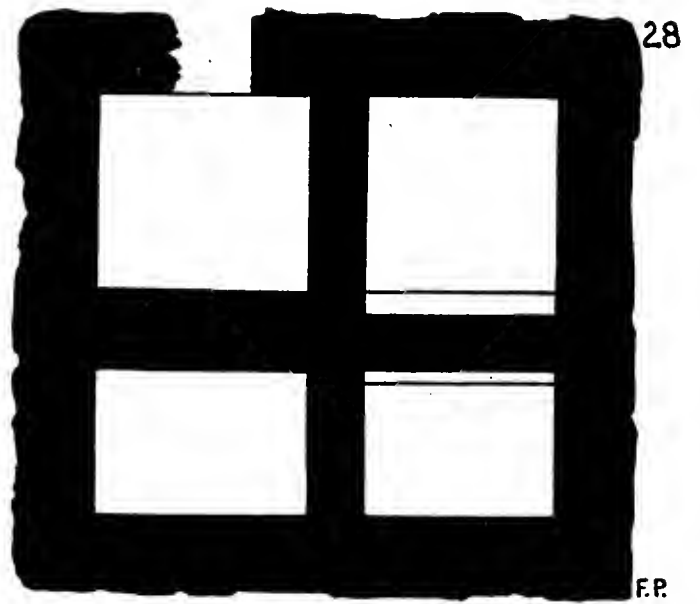
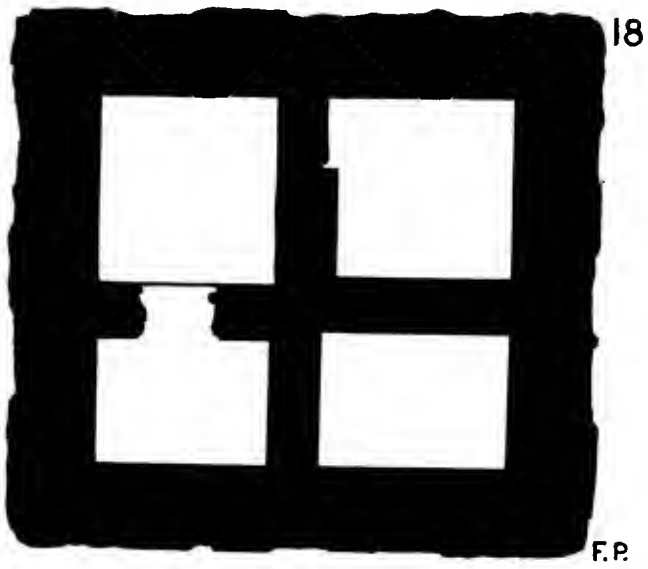
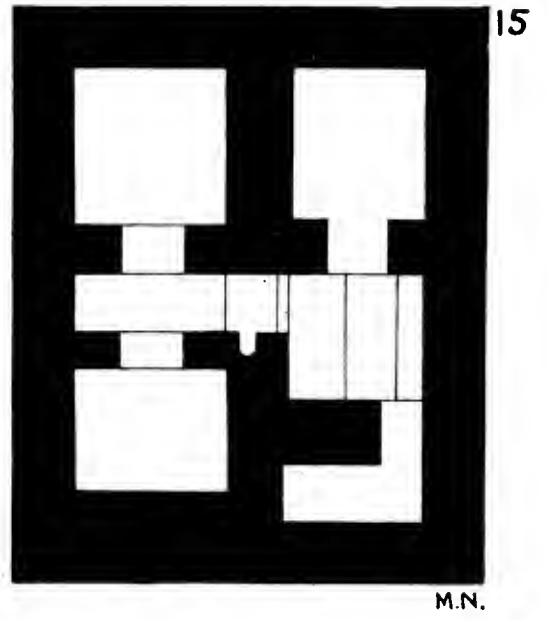
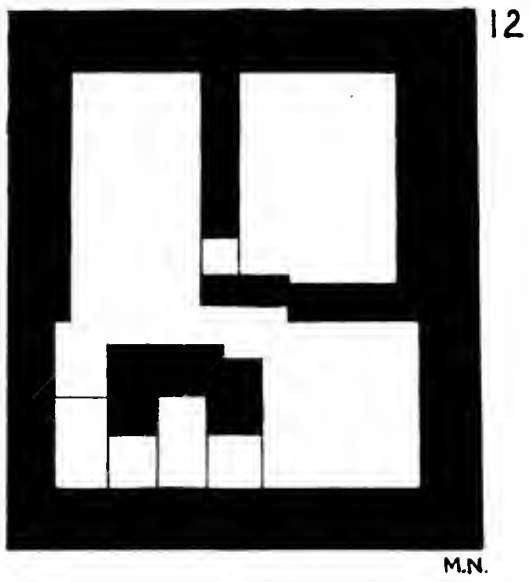


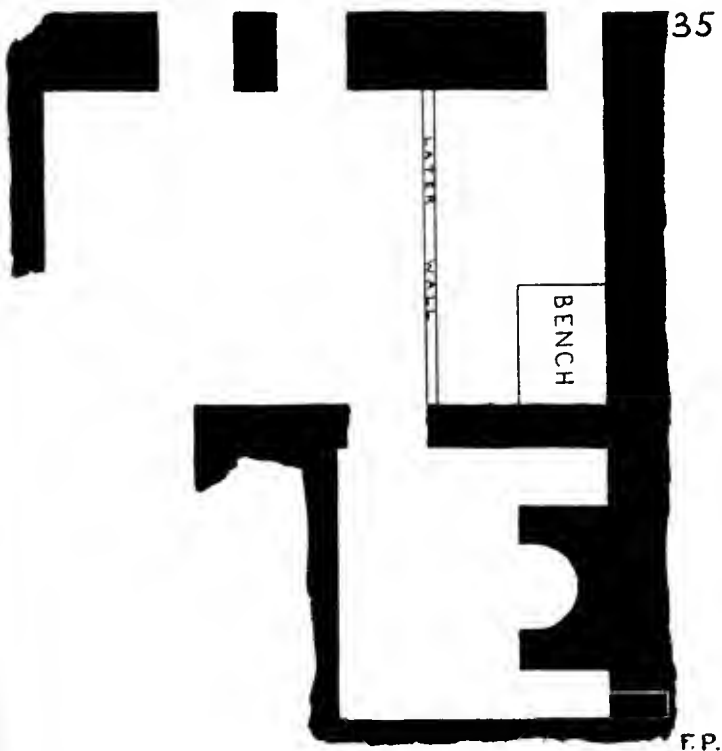
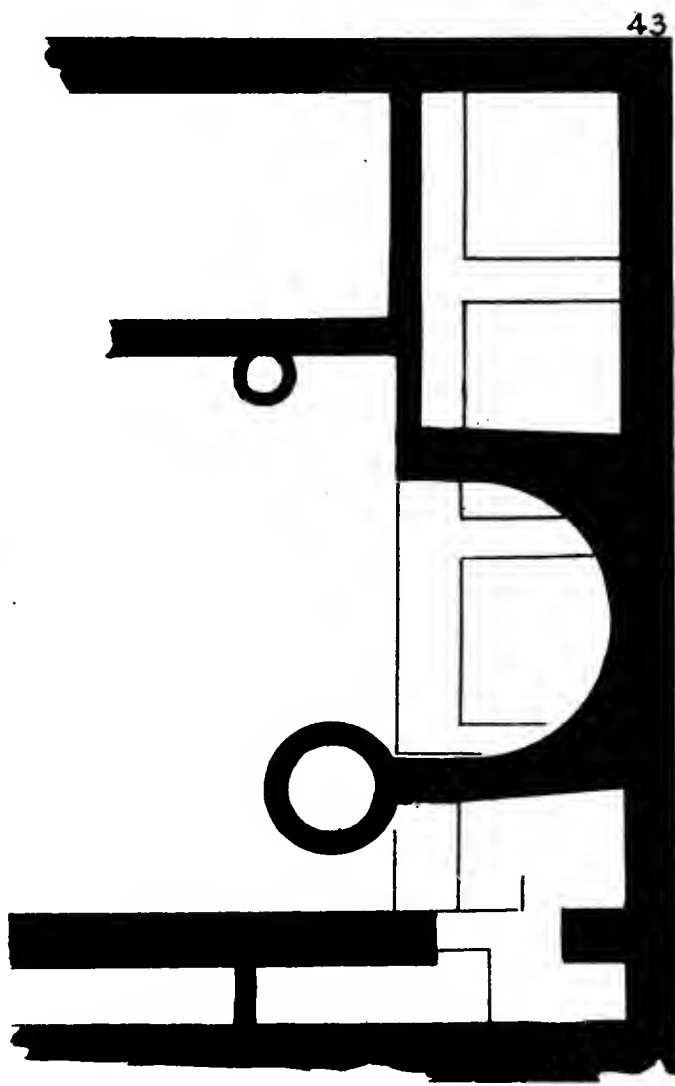
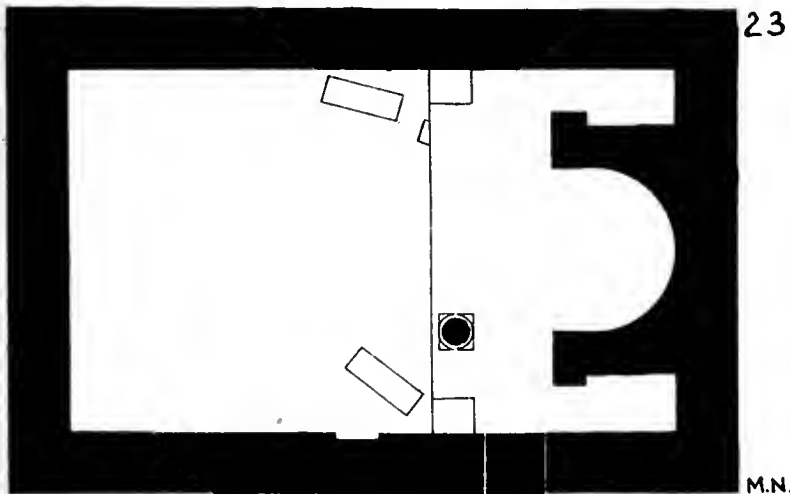
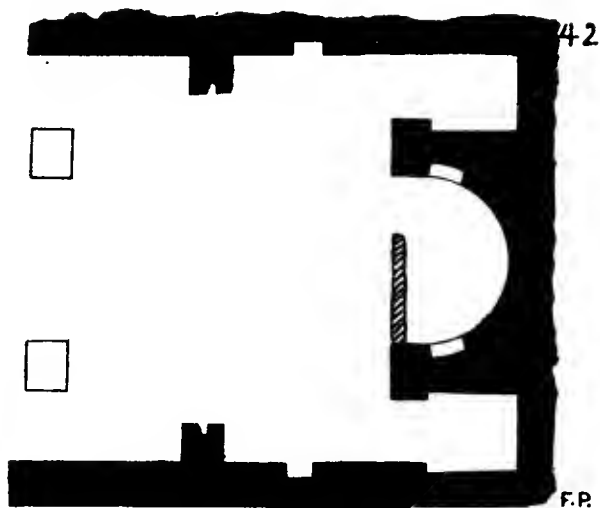
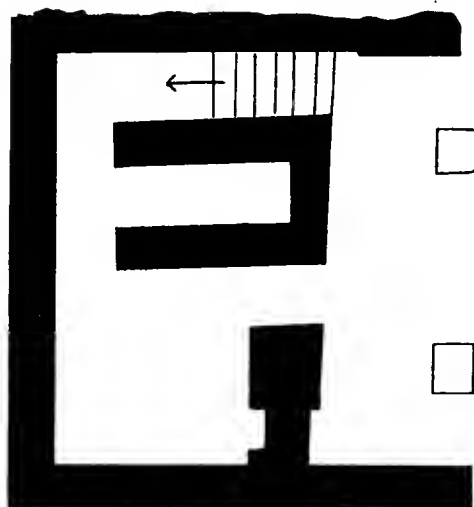
ARCHITRAVE CAPITAL XXXVI, 10

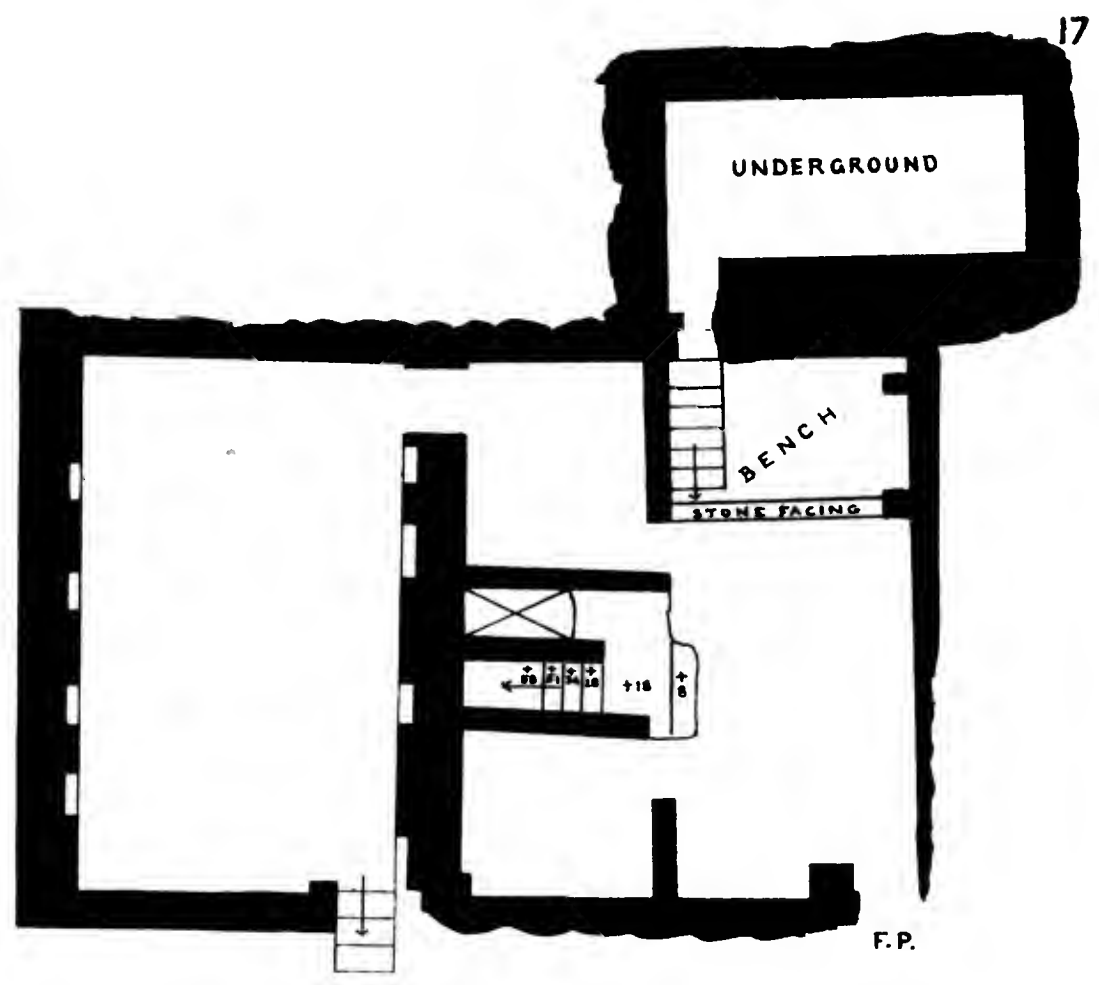
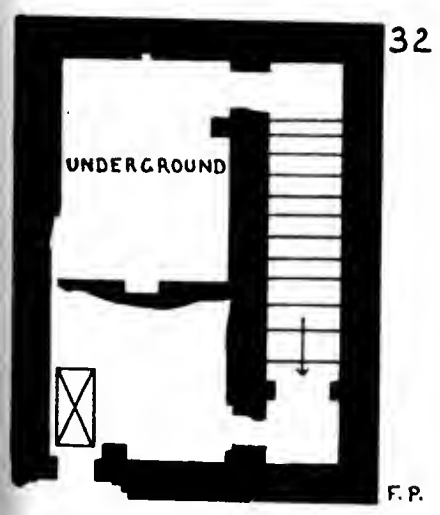
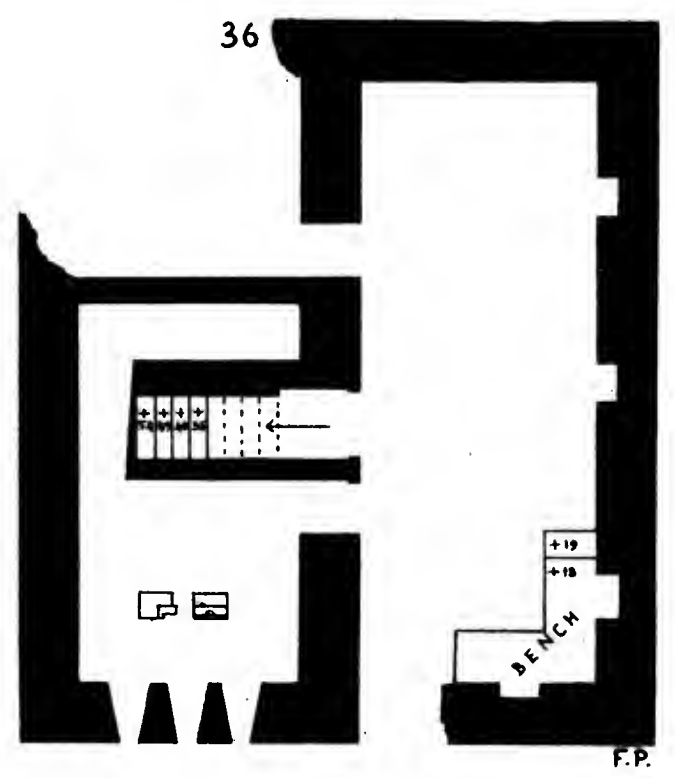
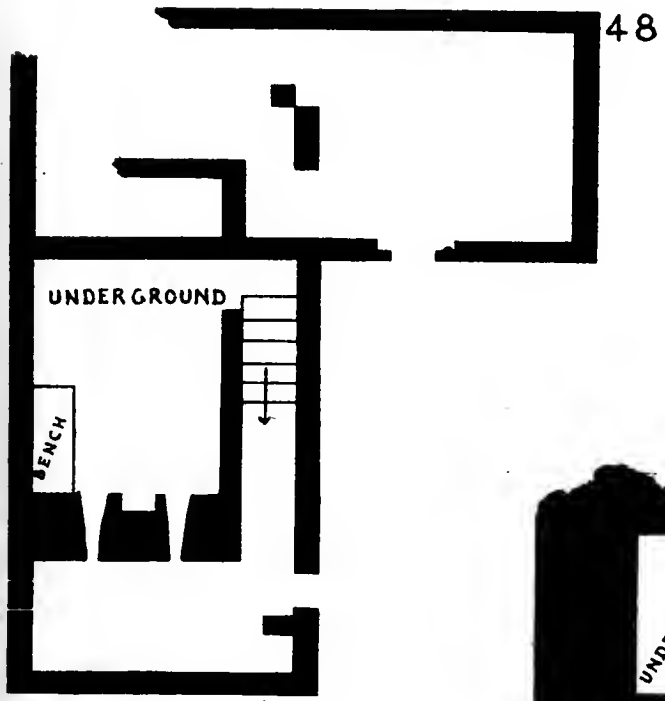
SCALE 1:10
DETAIL OF PORTICO

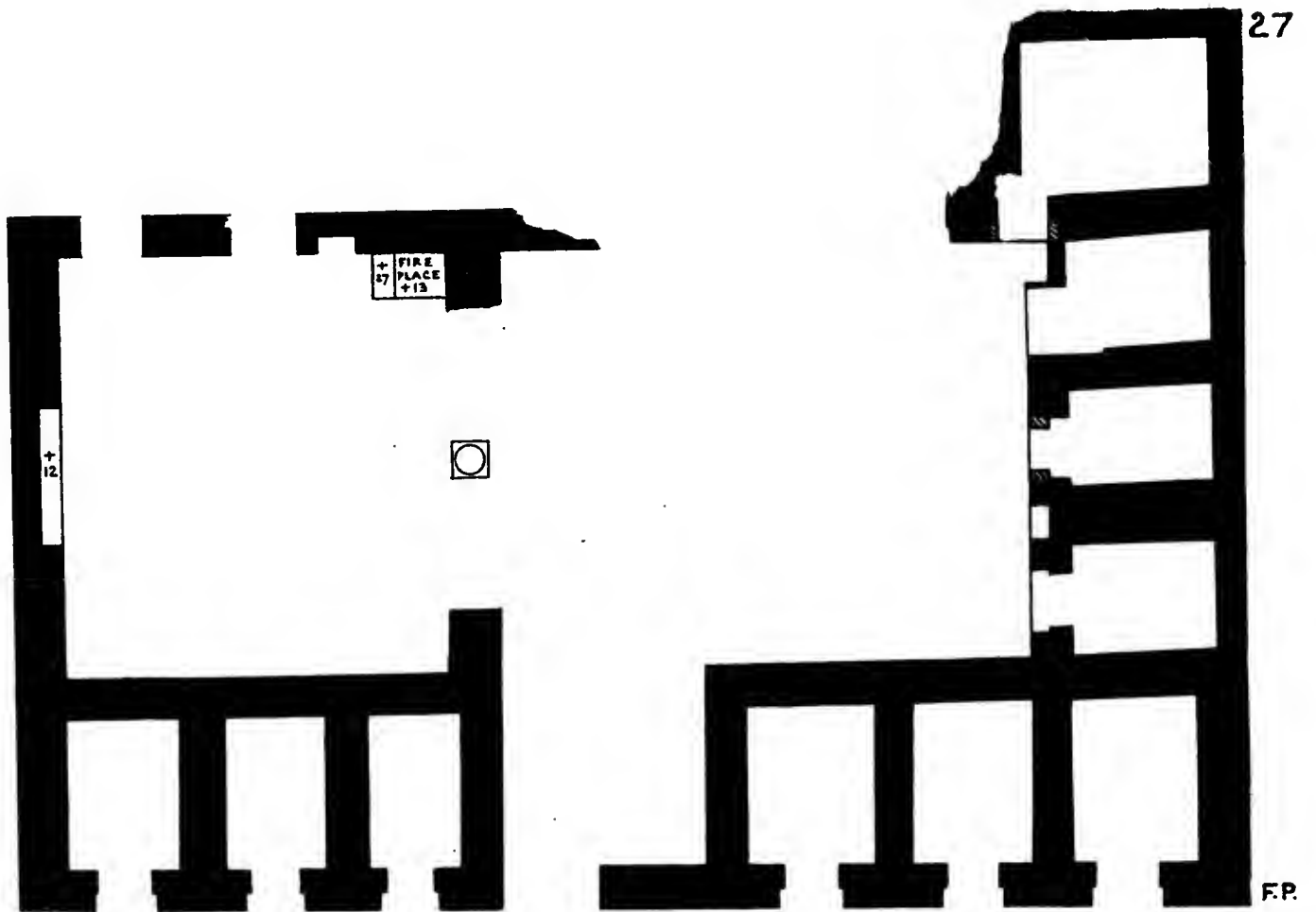
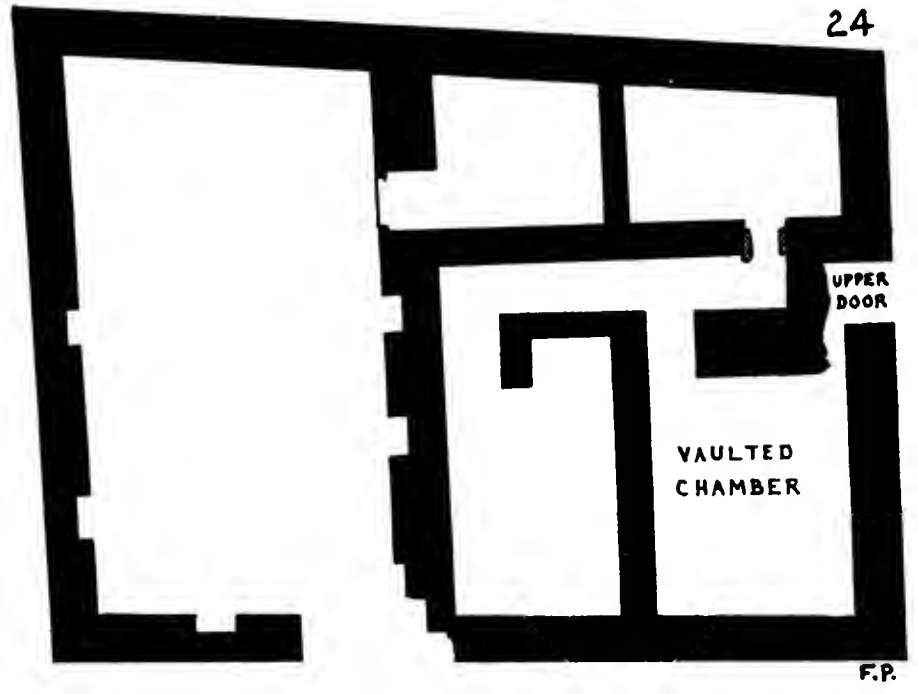
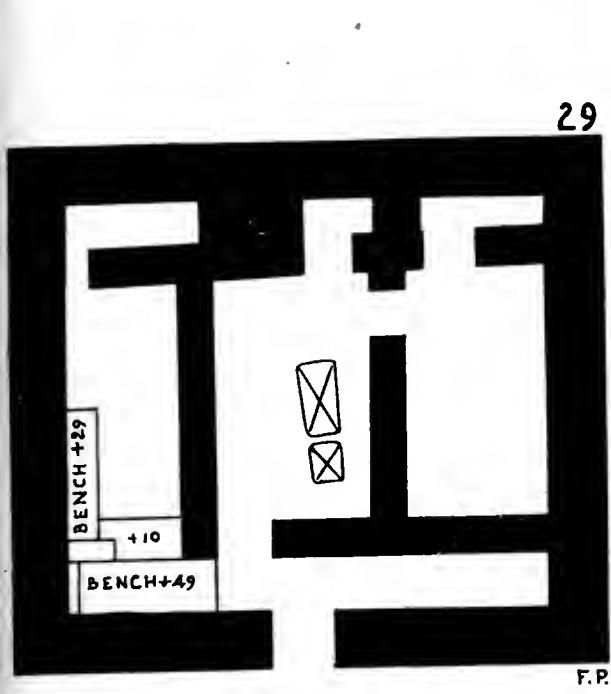


WESTERN END OF GREAT COLONNADE 1:250

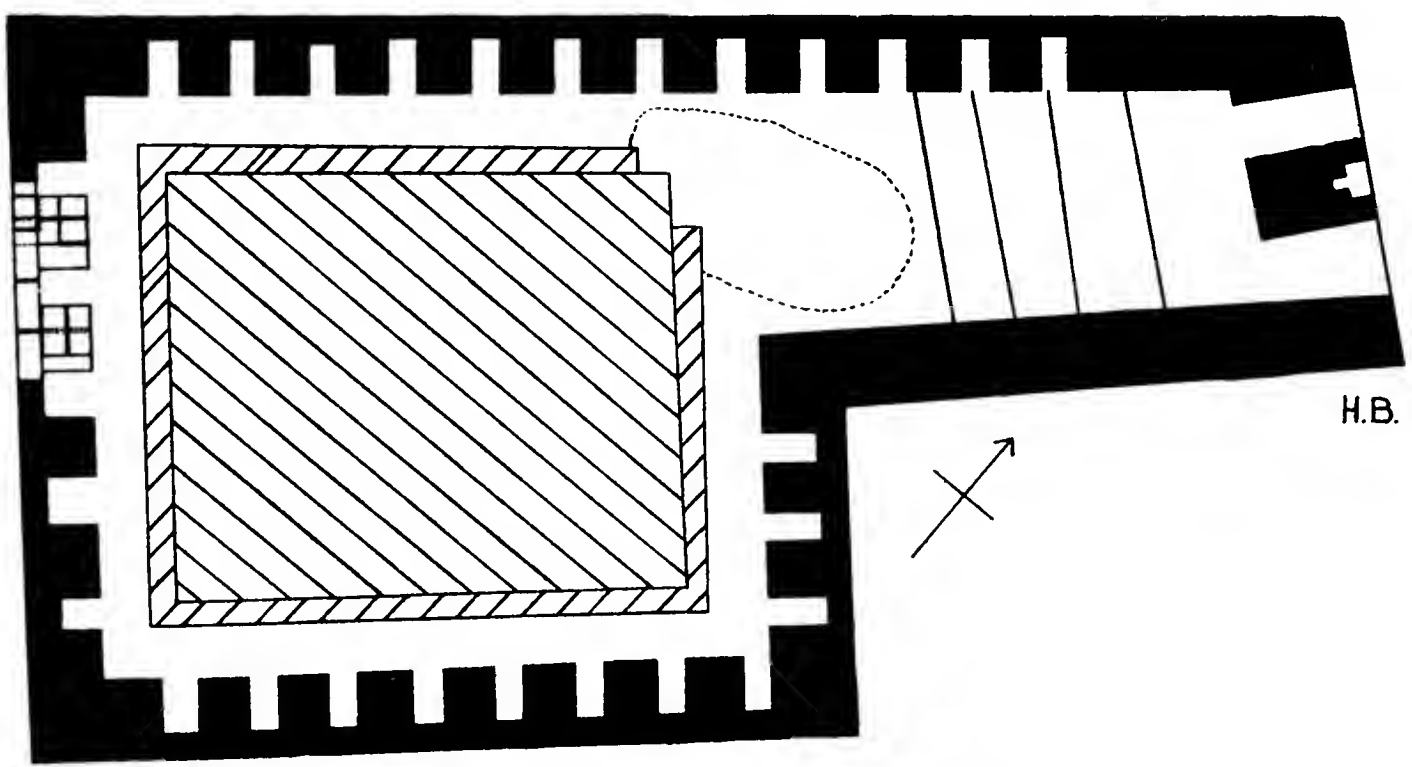
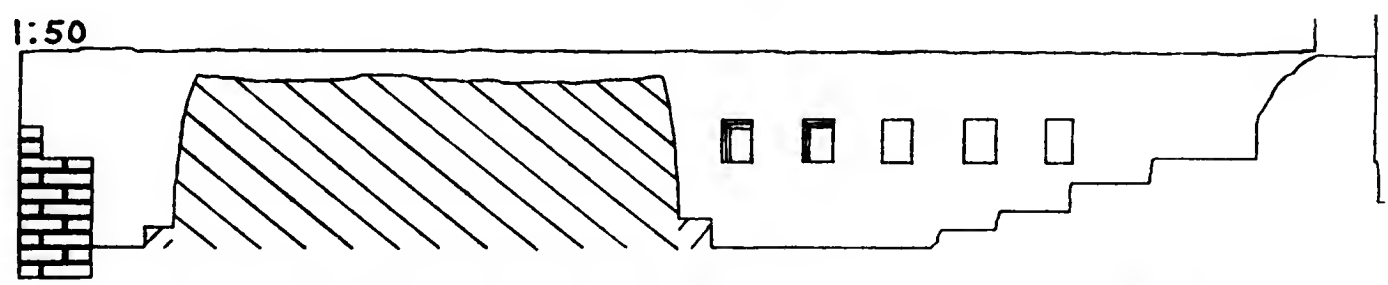
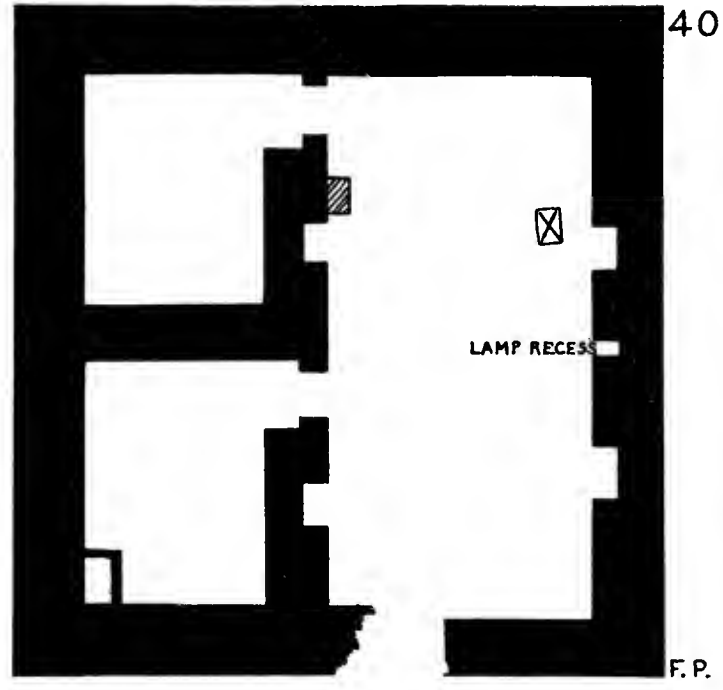
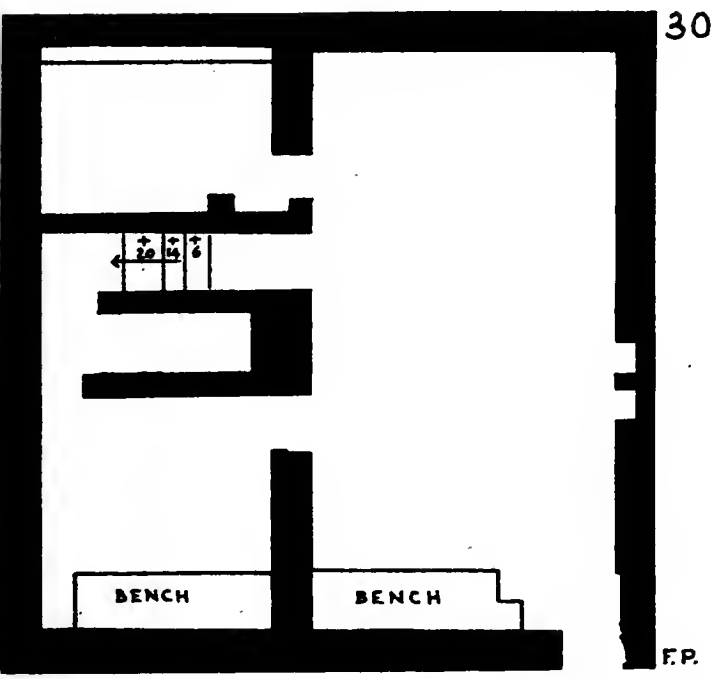














42



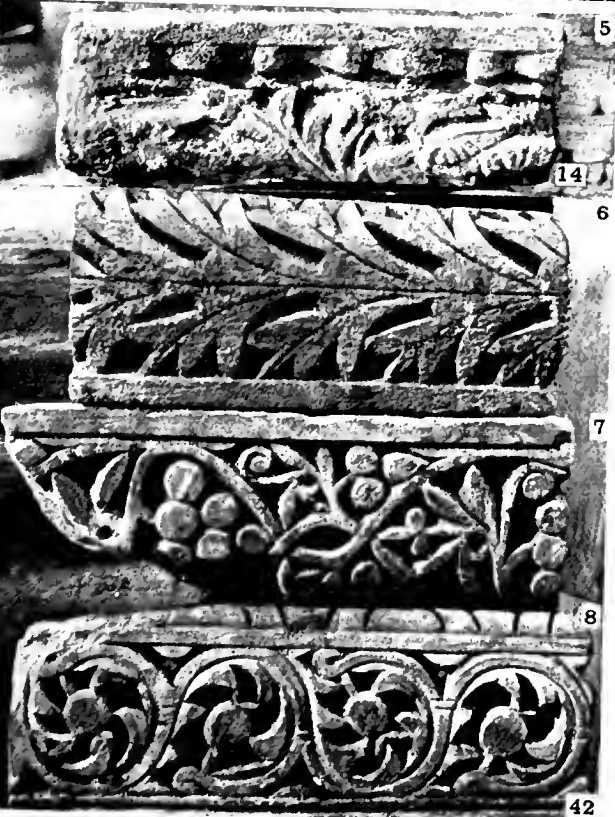
42



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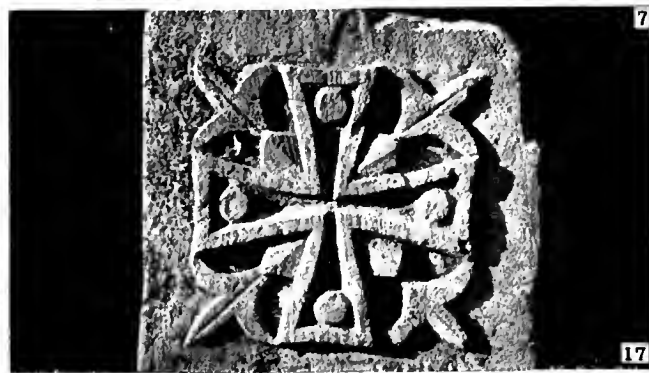


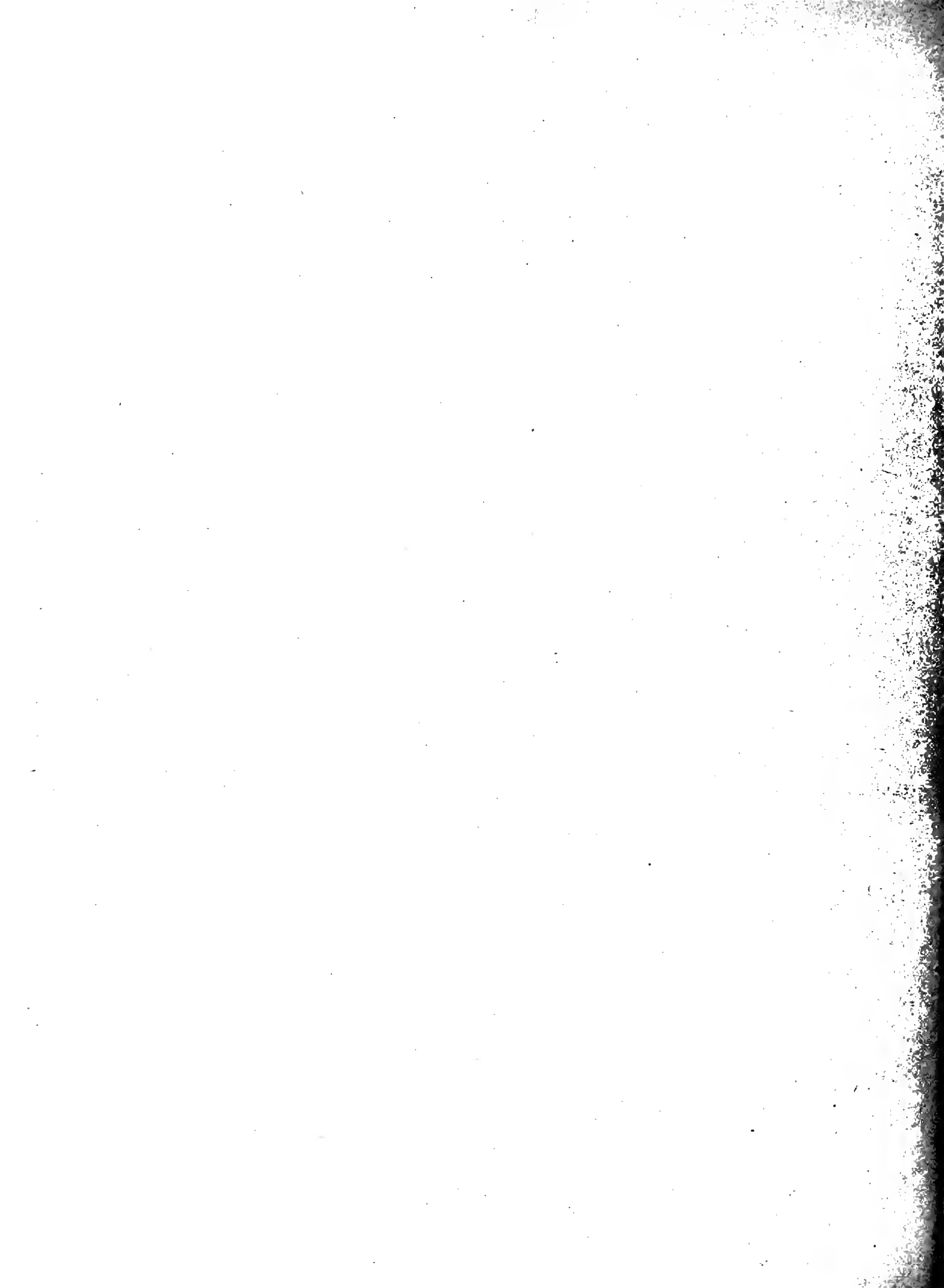
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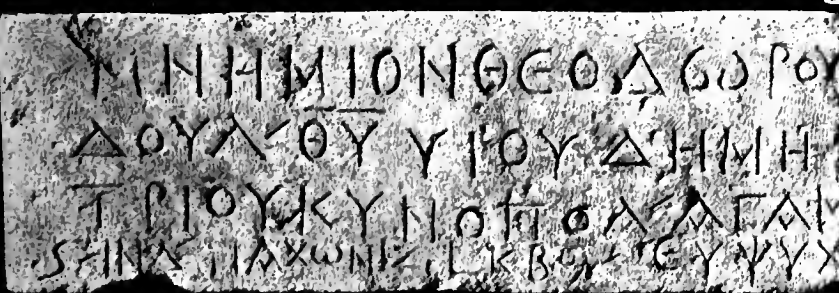
27

27

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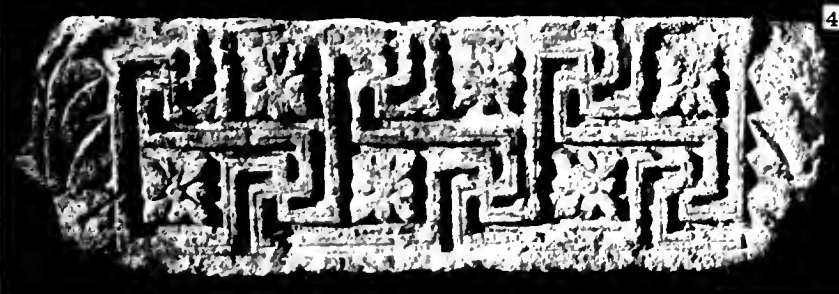
6



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9



Μ.ΣΕ.Μ

DIOTA SHOULDER, HARD BUFF, 1st CENT.

ΠΛΟΥ

SHOULDER SMOOTH AMPHORA

ΑΜΟΥΤΕΤΑΝΟΜΙΑ
BLACK ON AMPHORA 1VTH CENT.
ΝΟΥΤ

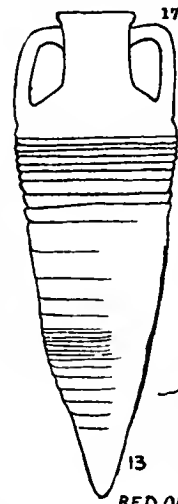
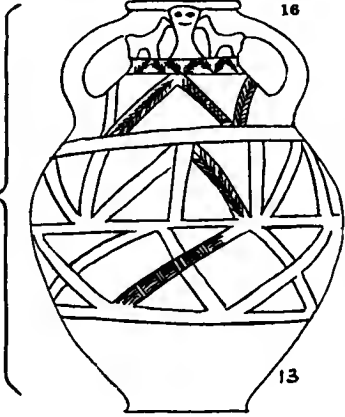
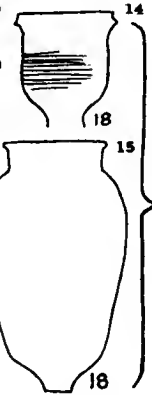
1VTH CENT AMPHORA
RED ON IT BROWN

RED ON HARD BUFF

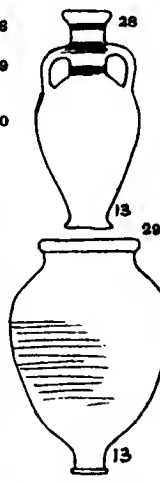
ΑΙΩΝΙΑΣ

ΡΧΗ
ΤΕ
Φ
ΡΜΙΝΑ

ΕΚΛ
ΕΚΥ
Β
ΔΙΜ



ΕΚ
ΕΚΤ
ΕΚ
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ΘΕ
ΘΕ
ΠΑ
ΔΗΚ
ΦΩΡ
ΙΩΖ



ΑΙΩΝΙΑΣ
ΑΙΩΝΙΑΣ
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ΑΙΩΝΙΑΣ

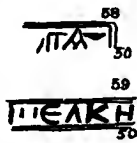
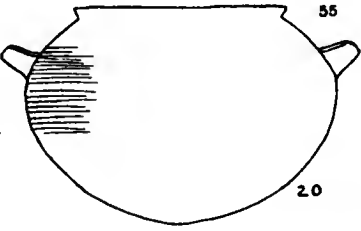
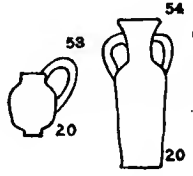
RED ON IT SOFT BROWN

RED ON HARD BUFF



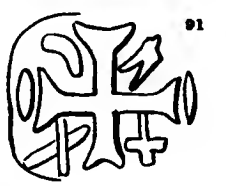
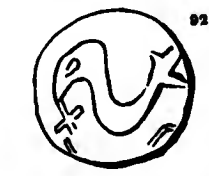
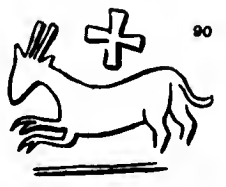
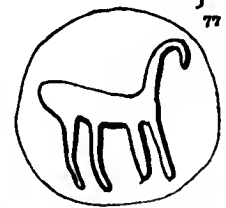
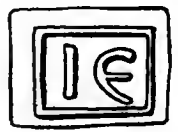
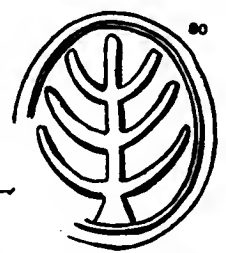
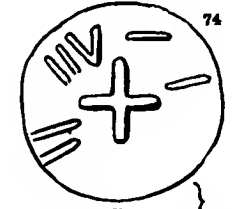
ΥΜΡ
ΘΥ
ΧΥ
ΑΥ
ΙΩ
ΤΩ
ΚΕ
ΑΥ

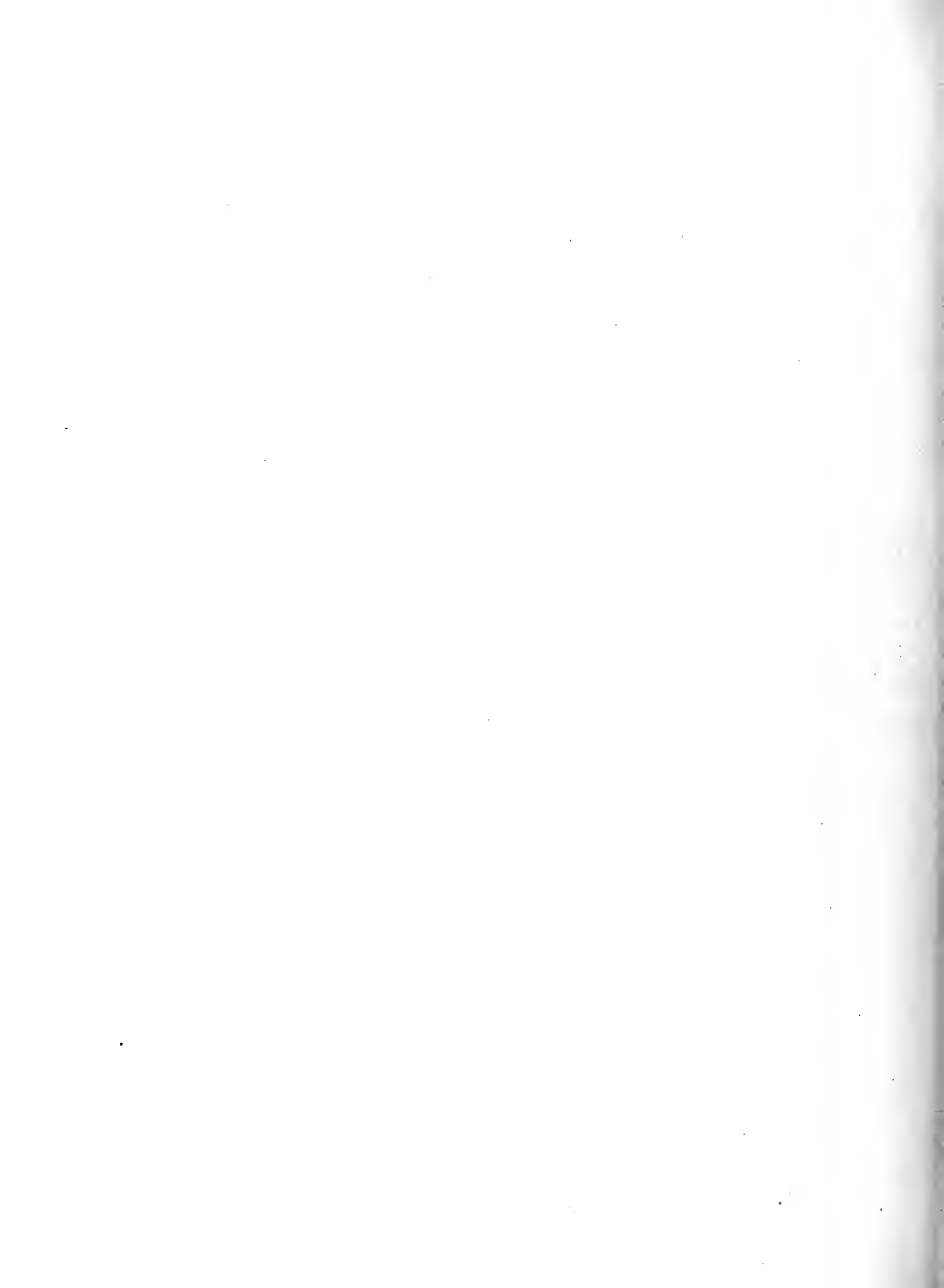
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ΚΑΘΦΛΥ
ΙΚΚ
ΦΩΣ

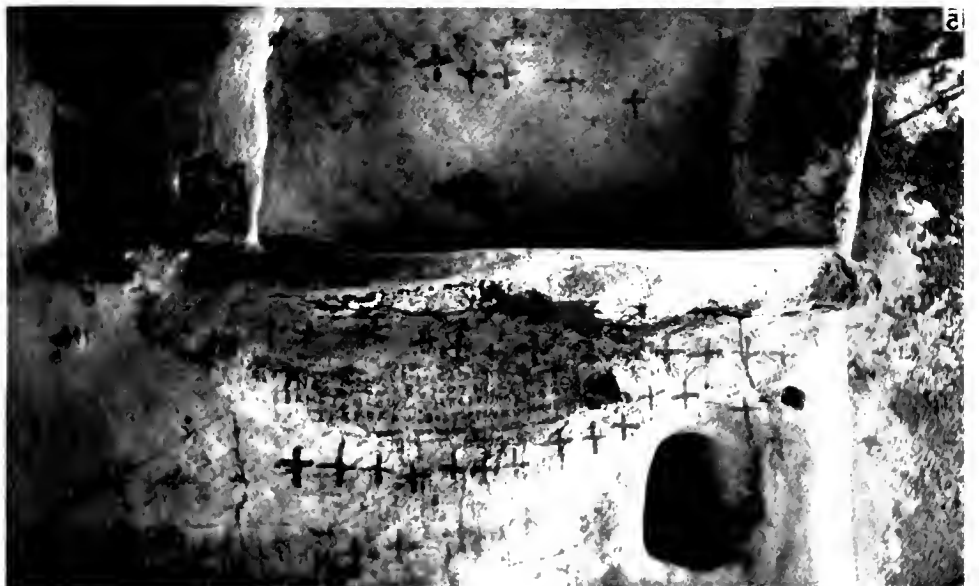
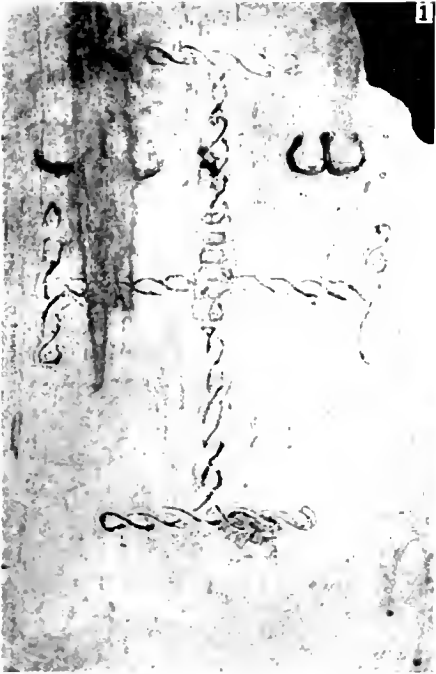


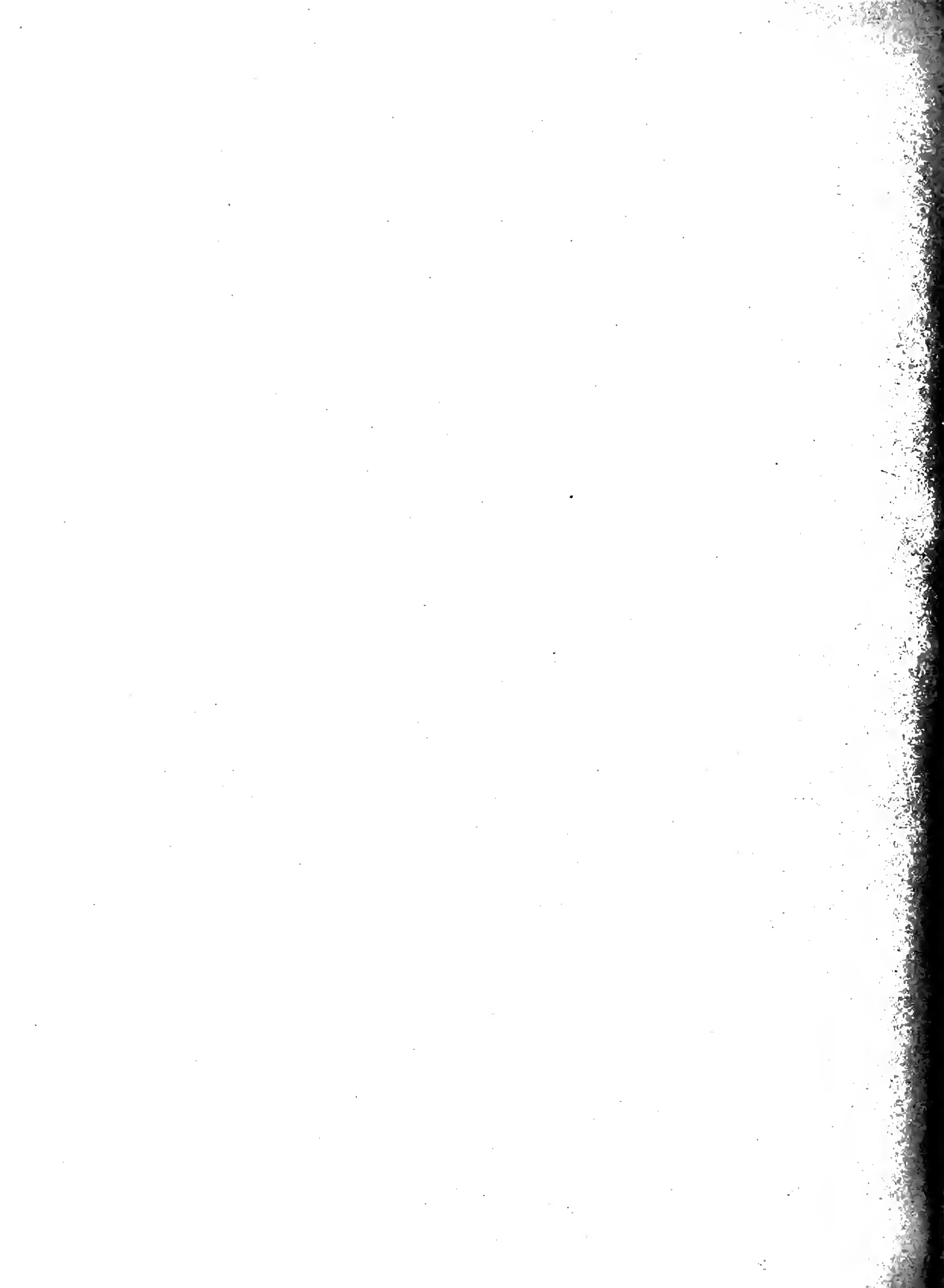
ΧΕΝΑΜΟΝ
ΧΕΝΑΜΟΝ
CHALKED ON NECK
ΤΟΜΕ BLACK

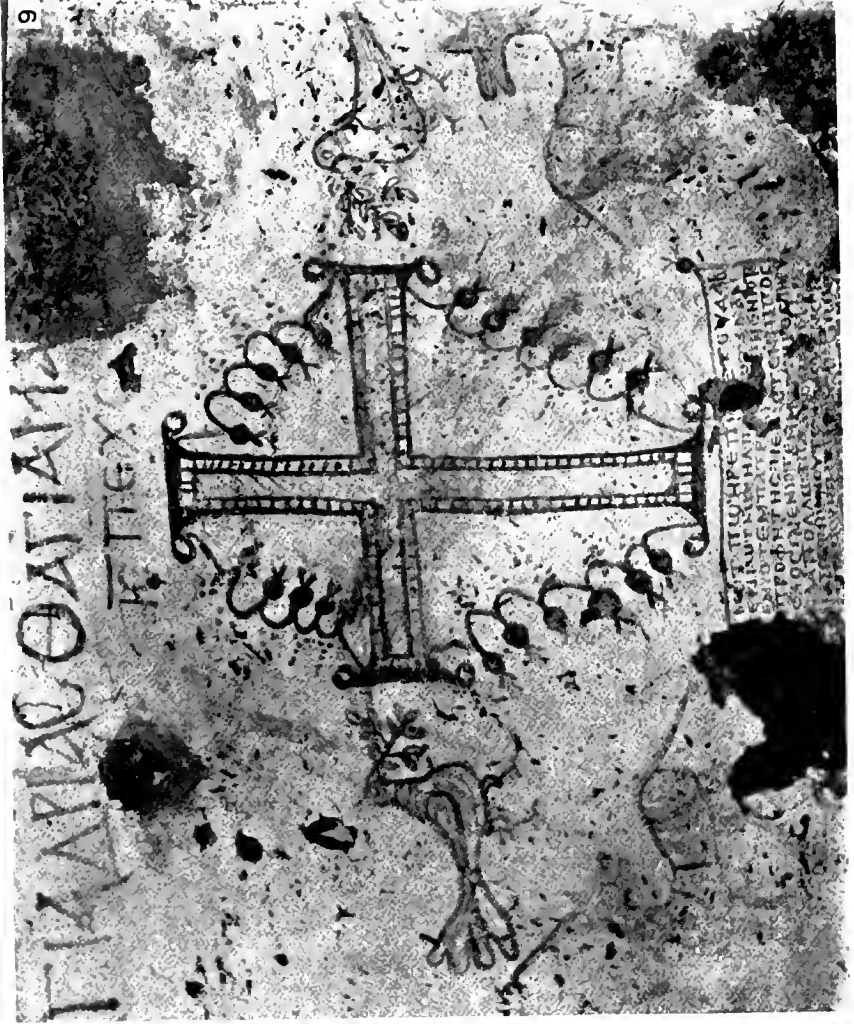
ΥΙΥ

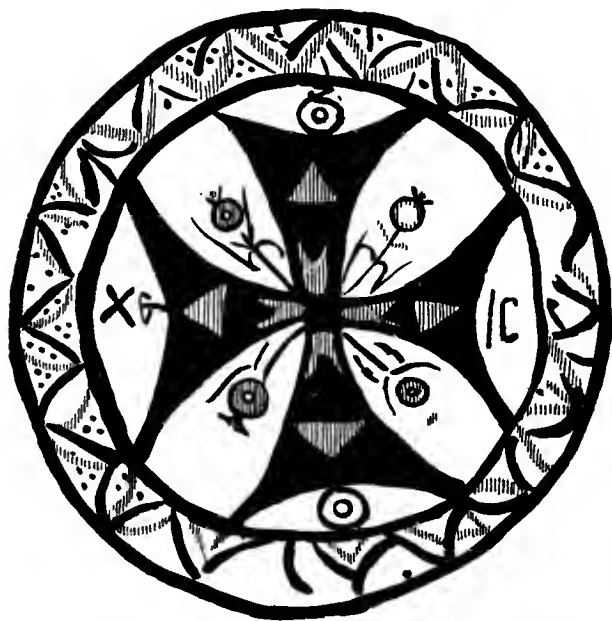












2



ϩϩϩ ΠΕΧΙΔΑΡΙΠΜΕΓΕΜΠΑΔΟΝ:ΦΙΒΜΕΝ
 ΜΗΝ ΔΚΟΥΙΜΕΝ ΔΩΡΟΒΕΚΟΥ:ΝΥΗ
 ΡΕΣΥΤΑΠΔΜΩΥΣΗ:ΜΕΝΤΙΣΡΑΗΧΟΙ
 ΙΑΚΩΒΚΟΥ:ΠΤΕΜΕΡΗ:ΩΤΑΤΑΙΑΚΩΒ
 ΠΤΕΜΤΩΣΕ ΔΙΠΜΕΤΕ ΜΗΝΑ? Δ
 ΜΗΝΕΥ ΨΕΨΩΠΤΕΥ

ΘΕΟΚΥΟΥΕ

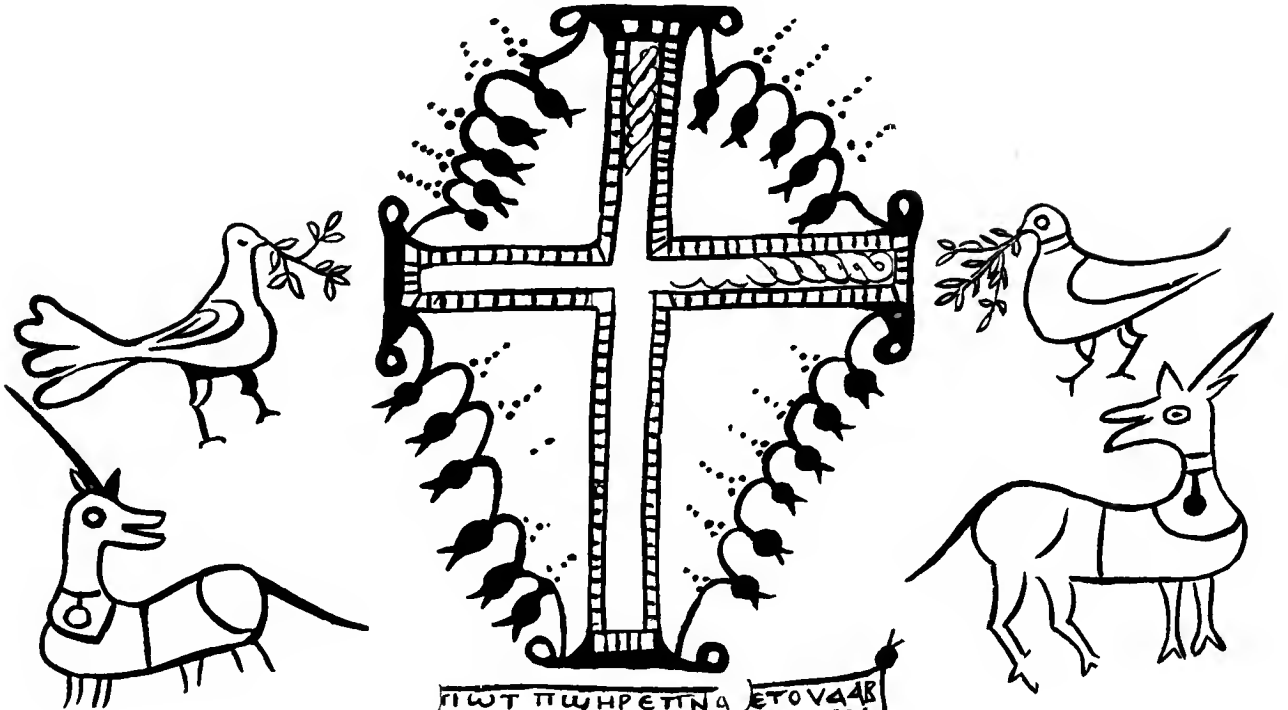
HP

3



 ΗΑΓΙΑΔΡΙΑΣ ΘΑΓΙΑΜΑ

 ΙΣΤΡΕΧΣ



4

† ΠΙΩΤ ΠΥΗΡΕ ΠΕΓΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΒΡΑΜΙΝΑ

 ΧΥΗΝΤ ΨΩΠΕΤ [] ΣΙΟ :

ΠΙΩΤ ΠΥΗΡΕ ΠΕΓΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΒΡ

 ΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΜΙΧΗΛΕΝΙ ΨΤΑΔΑΜ

 ΠΕΝΙΟΤΕΜ ΠΑΤΡΑ ΑΡΧΙΟΠΕΝΙΟΤΕ

 ΑΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΕΝΕΥΙΟΤΕΝΝΑΙΟΣ

 ΕΒΛΟΣ : ΝΕΝΙΟΤΕΜ ΜΑΡΤΗΡΟΣ ΤΗΡ

 ΑΠΑΤΤΟΛΛΩΑΠΑΔΑΝΟΥΠΑ ΠΑΦΙΒ :

 ΑΠΑΤΑΤΗΡ ΠΟΥΤΕ ΑΠΑΟΥ ΓΝΟ ΙΣ :

 ΑΠΑΤΑΜΟΥΝΗΑΠΠΙ ΡΚ ΑΠΑΤΙΩ ΟΙ

 ΑΠΑΤΩΣΑΝΗΣ ΑΠΑΤΑΚΩ Β

Η ΛΩΡΕ

 ΠΑΖ : Ο

 ΕΥΕΣ

 ΨΩ

 ΙΣ

ΣΥ ΨΓΓΕ

5

ΠΙΩΤ ΠΥΗΡΕ ΠΕΓΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΜ

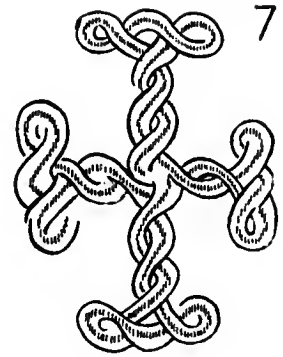
 ΑΡΙΜΕΚΕΝΤΑΣ ΑΝΜΙΝΑΚΟΥΠΙ

 ΠΡΜΤΕΜΧΙΡΙΑΝΕΒΝΟΒ ΕΝΑΒΕ 40Α

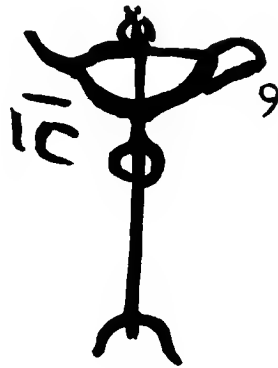
HP



ϜΠΙΩΤΠΩΗΡΕΠΕΙΝΑ⁶
 ΗΑΓΙΑΜΑΡΙΔΗΑΓΙΑ^Α
 Ϝ ΚΑΤΣΟΛΙΚΗ
 ΕΚΛΗΣΙΑ
 ΕΤΟΝΑΒΣ
 ΝΕΤΑΚΣΙΣ² ΑΜΗΝΣΕΣΕΥΩΠΕ
 ΑΡΙΠΕΜΕΟΥΕΣΑΜΗΝ



ΤΑΟΥΤΕΑΡΙΜΕΝΕ
 ϜΒΡΑΖΑΜΟ⁸
 ΠΡΕΜΑΣ^Κ ΑΥΡΑΥΤ
 ΝΤΠΝΟ:ΤΕΕΝΤΕΒΛΗ
 ΑΝΑΕ² ΝΑΝΟΥΣ



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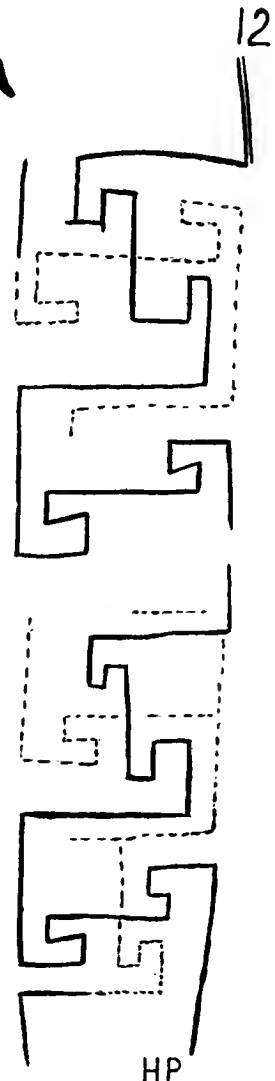
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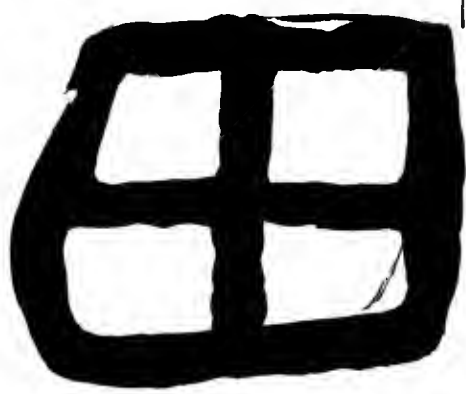
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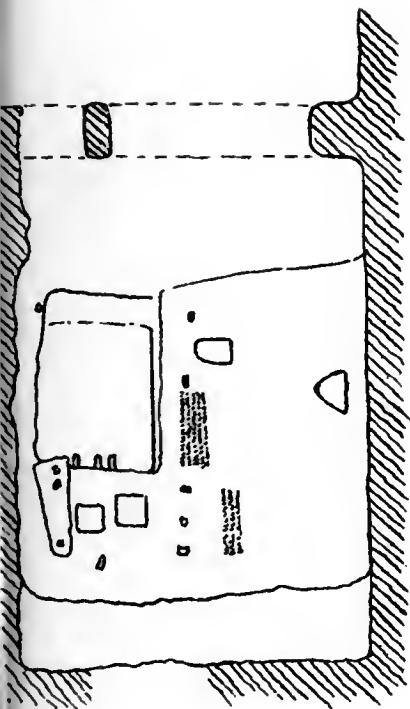
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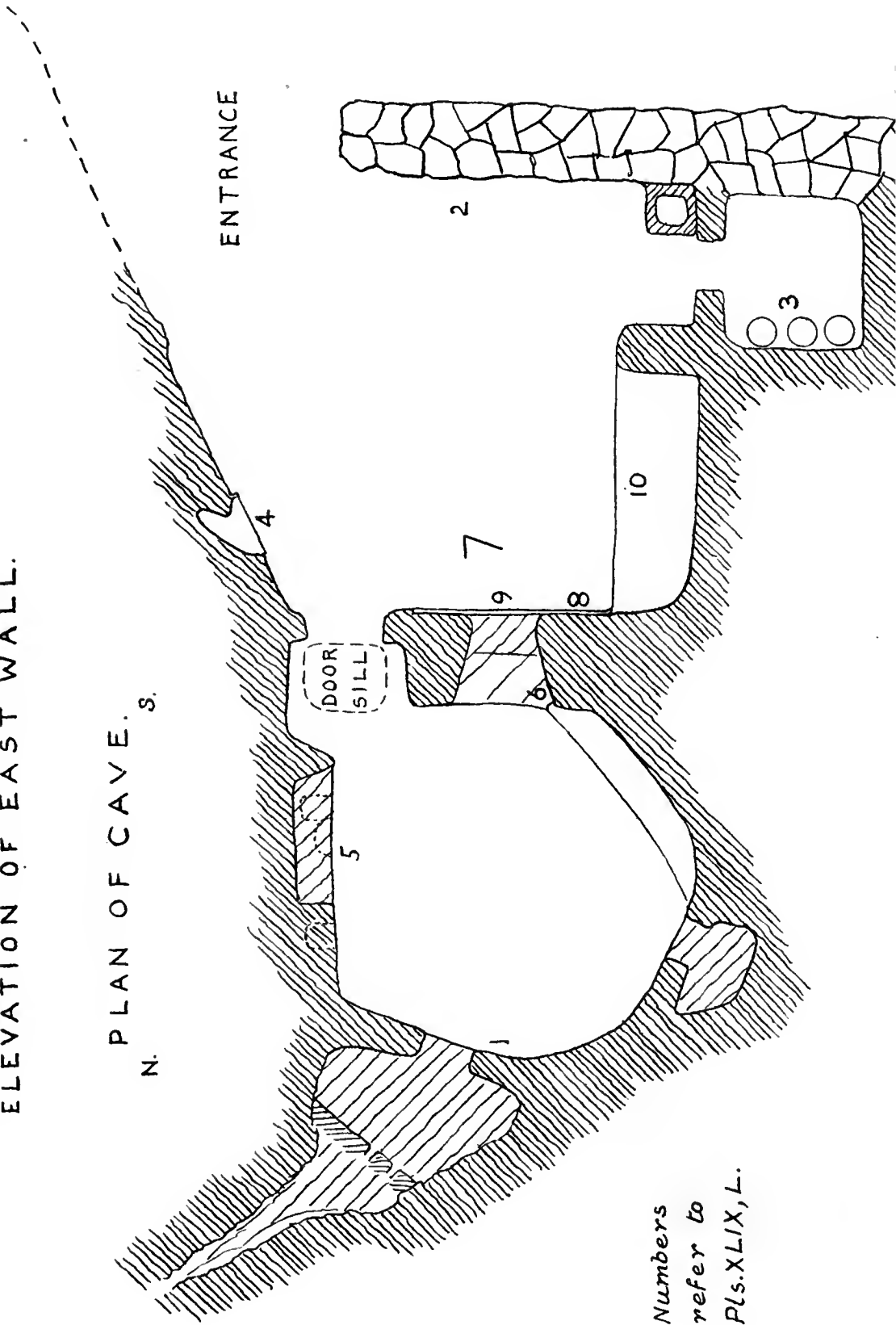


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ELEVATION OF EAST WALL.

PLAN OF CAVE. S.



Numbers refer to Pls. XLIX, L.





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