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EDITED BY  
T. E. PEET

IN COLLABORATION WITH

F. P. BARNARD	J. GARSTANG
R. C. BOSANQUET	W. R. HALLIDAY
J. P. DROOP	J. G. MILNE
J. G. FRAZER	P. E. NEWBERRY
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# OXFORD EXCAVATIONS IN NUBIA

By F. LL. GRIFFITHS, M.A.

WITH PLATES I-V

The Oxford Expedition in Nubia worked during three winters, 1910-13. The first two seasons were spent at Faras, a site that was recommended to us by Dr. Randall MacIver and by Professor H. Schäfer of Berlin, on the border line between Egypt and the Sudan, twenty-five miles north of the Second Cataract; the third season was occupied with Sanam, part of the site of Napata, in the Dongola province. We are much indebted to the Sudan Government for the concession of the two sites, and to its kindly officials for giving us every possible facility. Mr. Blackman was my assistant in the first year at Faras, and Mr. Woolley in the second, when Miss E. M. Cochrane most kindly gave her services, making copies of painted vases and of Christian frescoes; and Mrs. Griffith helped me strenuously throughout the three seasons. Mr. Drummond, acting for the Sudan Government, permitted us to bring home all the small antiquities we desired for study, so that our original notes could be supplemented by observations made at leisure. The full records will be deposited for consultation in the Ashmolean museum. At home, I have had skilled archaeological assistance from Mr. Wainwright and the late Mr. H. B. Thompson, M.C., and several friends have helped in mending antiquities and checking and arranging photographs and records in final form. To all these helpers, as well as to the subscribers and to the University which provided a scholarship for my archaeological assistants, is indeed due any value that the reports of the excavation may possess.

## I. THE EARLIEST PERIODS AT FARAS

See Map on Pl. 1 showing the pagan, pre-Christian, sites; also G. S. Mileham *The Churches of Lower Nubia* for some interesting views and a map (Pl. 10). In the following descriptions the orientation is by the river, which is presumed to flow due north and south; this accords with ancient and modern usage in Egypt and Nubia. Orientation by the compass is shown on the maps and plans.

The principal ruins of Faras—the Meroitic enclosure wall and its Christian citadel of crude brick—lie on the west bank of the Nile some twenty-five miles north of the Second Cataract and twelve miles south of Abu Simbel. A long stretch of the west bank bears the general designation of Faras. Its scattered huts and hamlets, dotted at intervals along the



shore wherever there is cultivable land are grouped under five separate names from north to south :—

Kaminjane, i.e., 'market of the camel,' where our camp was, north of the fortress or *diffi*.

Kolasuča, by the Hathor Temple, south of the fortress.

Fakiritti, where the present *omda* resides.

Gabbân, i.e., 'cemetery.'

Bidêr, where rough *sâgye* pots and very rude brown *zîrs* are made by the women.

At the southern end there is a large and fertile island, Jezîret Faras, 'The Island of Faras,' in Nubian Artikarjo 'Ripe Island,' with Artinög, i.e., Sidr el Jezira, 'Breast of the Isle' as the name of the village upon it. The western desert is here at an unusual distance, a kilometre and a half, from the river bank, leaving a wide expanse of land that once was cultivated. At several points indeed there were, in ancient times, waste stretches of original sand and gravel between the river and the desert; and near the bank, south of the ruins, an isolated rock protrudes, where was a temple of Hathor, and, in Christian times, a church; but now the sand driven by the north and north-west winds has piled itself on the tamarisks and *urak*,<sup>1</sup> converting a broad tract of bushes and trees and old villages into a barren waste of sand hills more than sixty feet high. It is remarkable how the bushes continue, as they have done for centuries, to thrust their twigs higher and higher through the sand until fresh accumulations overcome their vitality; and now the sand moves forward beyond them and threatens the remaining soil. Behind this belt of sand hills is a stretch of low-lying salt and sandy ground, reaching to the desert edge, where a river-channel flowed not many centuries ago. The desert itself rises in gentle slopes and low rock terraces to a plateau, beyond which, some eight kilometres from the river, begin the rugged desert hills. The nearest and most conspicuous of these, a pyramidal rock with a fine slope of drifted sand on its east face, is known as Sheikh Jebel. It has been a place of pilgrimage at least since Christian times, as the graffiti testify, and the Sheikh's tomb below it on the north west is frequently visited by the people of Faras and Serra for the purpose of family sacrifice. The beneficence of the Sheikh is indubitable. The long tramp through the desert ending in a picnic at this desolate spot is most invigorating after life in the comparatively heavy air of the valley. At the base of the hill on the south side

1. *Salvadora persica*; the twigs are used for scrubbing the teeth.

large slabs and blocks of stone are aligned to make the walls of rude chambers which may be very ancient. About a mile from its foot towards Faras we picked up an implement of quartz crystal of typically palaeolithic shape, unfortunately quite isolated. Mr. Firth informs me that palaeoliths in the same unusual material have been found by Captain Lyons further north in Nubia, and are now in the museum at Aswân.<sup>1</sup> Quartz is an unsatisfactory substitute for the flint of Egypt, but the present specimen is unusually well shaped; it also has the distinction of being the only drift-type palaeolith yet known from the Egyptian Sudan.<sup>2</sup> The implement, which is now in the Pitt Rivers Museum, at Oxford, is shown on Pl. III, 1, 2. It is of Acheulian type, L. 11·8,<sup>3</sup> W. 7·25, greatest thickness 3·8, with even taper to sides and point. The front edges are sharp, and remarkably thin and even, the butt roughly chipped. The face 1 is very successfully fashioned; the face 2 was more obstinate, the planes in the quartz permitting only rough flaking except towards point and edges. When found it lay on face 2 with only the thickest part from the middle to the butt end appearing above the sand, which part alone shows sand-wear. As the rest of the edges are brilliantly sharp it would seem to have lain precisely thus since it was first dropped or exposed.

After this 'anti-diluvian' relic, the earliest antiquities that we found at Faras were a cemetery and village remains of Protodynastic age, on the edge of the western desert.

Dr. Reisner and Mr. Bates by their explorations have shown that, already in the Early Prehistoric age, Egyptians had a settlement at the south end of the First Cataract,<sup>4</sup> and that a corresponding post above the Second Cataract was held by an isolated colony not later than the late Prehistoric period,<sup>5</sup> doubtless to control the trade with the south; but the intervening length of over 200 miles between these two important points was only slowly occupied by expansion from Egypt. In the Middle period the settlements reached at least to Dakka, 70 miles south of the

1. Apart from these, Mr. Henry Balfour knows of no parallel examples except from South Africa. He tells me that he has seen three examples, one of which is in the Buluwayo Museum, all found about 1910, south of the Zambesi, probably in the Salisbury district, by a prospector named Forbes.

2. Cf. C. G. Seligman's address to the Anthropological Section of the British Association, 1915, p. 2, where it is stated that none had been found in the Egyptian Sudan.

3. The measures throughout are given in centimetres when not otherwise stated.

4. Cemetery 17 on the West Bank, about five miles south of the First Cataract, in Reisner, *Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Report for 1907-8*.

5. At Gemmai, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* III, 219.

First Cataract, and continued thereafter to increase in numbers in this northern region, until the 'Protodynastic' age,—(the well-marked period extending from the extreme end of the Prehistoric age into the First Dynasty)—produced a long string of such small colonies. Protodynastic Cemeteries are recorded from point to point in the work of the Archaeological Survey under Reisner and Firth to its end in the neighbourhood of Korosko;<sup>1</sup> the examination of the bodies and skeletons by Dr. Elliot Smith, Dr. Derry and others show that the race was essentially Egyptian, although many of the objects found in the graves bore a distinct local character. Beyond Korosko, Mr. Weigall's collections of pottery and fragments in 1906 prove the presence of a Protodynastic colony at Amada,<sup>2</sup> and Steindorff in 1912 found a cemetery of this time at Anibe.<sup>3</sup> The Faras colony will doubtless be matched at short intervals throughout the Nubian valley as far as the Second Cataract.<sup>4</sup>

## II. THE PROTO-DYNASTIC SETTLEMENT AND CEMETERY

Two kilometres due west by compass (S.W. by the river) from the fortress on the Nile bank, the sand and gravel along the edge of the original desert is strewn with sand-worn fragments of early pottery for some six hundred metres north and south. There is no depth of remains, nor are there any traces of brick or stone construction, but in parts there is a layer of ashes and charcoal an inch or two thick under the sand. It is evidently the site of a primitive settlement of which the houses perhaps had no mud or brick walls, and consisted merely of such materials as the tamarisk branches, palm sticks and straw of which the modern cattle shelters and temporary huts in Nubia and Egypt are built.<sup>5</sup> The potsherds

1. Cf. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, no. 7, p. 17.

2. Weigall, *Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, Pl. A and p. 30.

3. *Städtisches Kunstgewerbe Museum zu Leipzig, Ausstellung Aegyptischer Altertümer der Sieglin-Expedition*, 1913.

4. Professor Junker, in his admirable publication of a cemetery a few miles north of the First Cataract, points out the similarity of the finds in that half-Nubian region of Upper Egypt to those of Nubia itself (*Bericht über die Grabungen auf den Friedhöfen von El-Kubanich-Süd*).

5. But see Firth's description of the parallel site at Dakkeh, *Arch. Survey of Nubia 1909-1910*, pp. 9-10, where he found traces of rubble construction. The Nubian river valley, now so bare, was probably well wooded and abounded in game and pasture for flocks; Mr. Firth characterises the predynastic population as apparently 'a hunting race which became pastoral and subsequently agricultural, and for this reason migrated to Egypt.'



showed ornament of comb-impressions like certain rare pieces from the Proto-dynastic cemetery beyond. We picked up also many flint flakes, a polished celt of dark stone,<sup>1</sup> a copper piercer, and a much worn Proto-dynastic<sup>2</sup> seal-cylinder of dark serpentine; not far away a marble (limestone) bangle, attributed by Firth to the C-group period, lay in fragments round a stone where it had been broken up.<sup>3</sup>

About 200 metres further in the desert, but still on the lowest slope, some denuded pottery and bones betrayed the presence of an early cemetery. We excavated this completely and found 116 graves with deposits such as are attributed by Dr. Reisner and Mr. Firth to the Proto-dynastic age, occupying an area about 35 metres broad from east to west, and 120 metres long from north to south. The cemetery was numbered 3, and the graves were numbered 1-59 (northern half) and 101-157 (southern half). (See Pl. II).

The graves were narrow and shallow pits, oval or rectangular with rounded corners, sunk through the loose top sand into a compact alluvial soil containing sand and fine gravel which was firm enough for the walls to stand vertically or even to overhang slightly. The gentle slope continued evenly westward over hard stony or rocky ground, avoided by the grave-diggers, which formed a fairly straight boundary to the alluvium. In the middle and east where the loose sand was deep very few graves were dug, but they included one with good pottery, gr. 148. The cemetery was thus divided into two portions; the graves were thickest at the north and south edges, and along the west side, and only a very few widely scattered graves connected the two groups.

The well-defined pits in the hard soil were often within a few inches of the surface. The deepest and largest grave (no. 147) was cut 1.30 metres into this soil, while some only touched it and others did not reach it at all, the loose sand continuing beneath the interment. The surface conditions may have changed a good deal by denudation in the thousands of years which have passed since the graves were made; but contiguous

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1. Another with edge worn flat from use as a rubber was found in the Meroitic cemetery, in the rubbish of grave no. 2340; a third was found in the Rivergate Church, in front of the North Sacristy.

2. Cf. Reisner *Naga-ed-der* I, p. 119. Petrie, in *Ancient Egypt*, 1914, 61, 1915, 78, has collected over a hundred of the inscriptions on such seal cylinders, attributing them for the most part to the Pre-dynastic age. Another cylinder was found at Faras in the Meroitic grave 2746.

3. Its presence here was probably accidental.

graves varied greatly in depth and probably had done so from the beginning.

The pits were mainly oriented to about 30°-45° east of north by the compass, i.e., to the local north by the river, the extremes of variation being 0° to 72°. They were all very simple, usually oval, rarely almost circular, but there were none of the beehive type. Some were rectangular with corners more or less rounded. No trace of roofing slabs or any other superstructures remained, nor was there any sign of brickwork. The chief difference in construction was when a transverse step marked off a slightly shallower continuation of the burial pit, the southern portion containing the body being sunk 10 to 20 cm. below the continuation (grs. 22, 35, 38, 39, 54, 101, 112). Some graves (8, 23, 102) had a small shallower excavation at the west side of the main pit, containing charcoal and burnt stones. In 55 a child was buried in a shallow lateral extension of the main grave, and in 106 a second burial was in a lateral extension of full depth. In 114 there was a very thin division between two completely parallel graves.

Not a few of the graves had been disturbed or plundered in antiquity. Some were so much denuded that the deposit showed on the surface of the ground. The finer pottery was almost invariably broken or crushed, and of organic material beyond the bones very few traces remained. The skeletons were contracted, usually on the left side with head to south. In grs. 6 and 55 two skeletons faced each other, one lying on the left side, the other on the right (in grs. 42, 45, two skeletons were parallel). In grs. 17, 19, 24, 27, 32, 46, 48, 52, 101, 104, 122, 142, 143, 150, 154, 157, the skeleton lay on the right side, with head to the south. In grs. 12, 15, 38, 56, 137, 141, 148, the head lay to the north, and in grs. 39, 53, with head to north, the body lay on the right side. Few single graves (6, 42, 45, 147) contained more than one skeleton.

The other contents, even when they appeared not to have been plundered, varied from a single pot (such as grs. 14, 15, 23, 25, 33, 36) to more than thirty pots with various accompaniments in gr. 147, where however, there seems to have been double furniture corresponding to a double interment. One, gr. 43, contained, along with the skeleton of a woman, only two very rough pots and a bowl, all cracked apparently in the firing.

The *pottery* in the graves was all hand made. It included (see Pl. III for the types):—



*I. Egyptian pottery—*

(a) Large jars of pink ware, often with drab surface; the shapes 1, 2, and 3, were very common,<sup>1</sup> but only two specimens were found of the shape 4, with three knobs or rudimentary handles. Smaller varieties of the same class 5-9 were scarce.<sup>2</sup> Coloured decoration in stripes, curves or wavy lines occurred only on 4 (a second example having irregular knobs) and 6. Incised figures and marks (Pl. III) occurred commonly on the form 2, also on 1, 5, and 7, but were not observed on any other pottery in the cemetery.

(b) 'Wavy handled' jars (forms 10-12) were very scarce, only five specimens being found,<sup>3</sup> grs. 15 (form 12), 41 (form 10) and 104, 142 (type 11<sup>4</sup> with rough brown type 21, and bl.m. rippled type 70, edge indented), 151. Unfortunately, these graves contained very little besides; one may assume the probability that they are a little earlier than the First Dynasty.

(c) Flat-based bowls of pink ware with vertical lines of pebble polishing inside (forms 13-17), and one with spout (18).<sup>5</sup>

A curious imitation of a stone vessel with shiny buff surface is seen in 19 (Pl. IV, 7).

The jar 39, with strainer, though of rough ware, is identical with Egyptian examples.<sup>6</sup>

*II. Native wares—*

The Egyptian ware of this period is generally distinguished by hardness and good firing, and seldom aims at anything beyond mere utility. The native wares are softer owing to weak firing in open kilns, but while much is altogether of miserable quality, decorative and artistic aims were still studied by the potter in Nubia with brilliant results.

A few coarse examples of what may be native wares are brown throughout, with rough surface. A cup of this ware, found alone in gr. 125, has a band of rudely incised ornament (Pl. V, 8). In gr. 148 (q.v., no. 5) was an example of a fine brown ware, a large thin open bowl, polished

1. In Egypt, Petrie, *Tarkhan I*, Pls. LI, LVII, sequence dates 77-81. They are specially characteristic of the early part of the First Dynasty and the period immediately preceding it, see the table, *ib.*, p. 3.

2. In Egypt, *ib.*, Pl. LVIII.

3. In Egypt, Petrie, *Tarkhan I*, Pl. XLIX, sequence dates 77-78.

4. Here, and in the descriptions of the graves, etc. 'type 1' refers to the type specimen, while 'form 1' or '1' only refers to specimens which more or less agree with the type numbered 1.

5. In Egypt, *ib.*, Pl. XLVII.

6. In Egypt, Petrie, *Naqada*, Pl. XLI, no. 50 and p. 42.



inside and out, and with rim evenly and delicately gashed like some of the haematitic ware described below.

The common native ware, however, has a black core, the surface brownish, ochreous or reddish. Some very rough and coarse examples of pots and pans, cracked in or after the burning, were found to have been elaborately mended by boring holes for (leather?) thongs to bind the cracking fragments together before they broke off, but none of the fine pots were so mended. Many saucers were thin and well smoothed inside and out. Dishes (shape 50) were thicker but well smoothed; in a few cases the inside was painted with a pattern of broad red lines of haematite laid on with the finger (Pl. V, 4). The bowls, etc., were often more or less coloured with haematite mixed irregularly with the clay on the surface. Shapes 20-40 are of the rougher wares, 39 (Egyptian, see above) and 40 figuring strainers. Shapes 41-48 are of finer surfaced wares, 49 is a rough red covering saucer.

Much of the ware was painted over with haematite, highly polished and burnt red on the outside, and black inside. This is similar to the so-called 'black topped' pottery of early periods in Egypt, except that in most instances the black externally only tinges the edge and does not reach down the side, see shapes 51-70. Mr. Firth calls it black-mouthed.<sup>1</sup>

In Nubia a charming variety of this 'black-mouthed' ware was obtained by applying the haematite in streaks, hatchings, lines, dabs, or triangles, producing a contrast between the red and the pale brownish ochreous colour of the plain surface. Only six of the richest graves in the cemetery at Faras contained it. In some examples of this 'variegated haematitic ware' the whole surface appears to have been painted with haematite and then wiped more or less irregularly, leaving the colour in varied shades. Some specimens are very fine, the ware thinner and lighter than is ever found in Egypt. Unfortunately, they have generally been crushed, and the fragments though fairly well burnt are out of shape or flattened by the pressure of the sand through long ages, so that they are very troublesome to repair.

The outer surface of some fine specimens of the 'black-mouthed' ware has been covered with lines of short thin gashes or indentations, probably made with a comb, and afterwards has been polished so that the gashes appear only as a faint rippling; the edge may also be evenly marked with close oblique or transverse gashes, like the milling on a coin.

1. *A.S.N. Report for 1908-1909*, p. 10, 1909-10 p. 10.

Mr. Leeds has pointed out to me in the Ashmolean Museum two Egyptian examples of a similar use of haematite, and rippling, from Naqâdeh. A smooth thick bowl of buff ware, type L.196 (Petrie) has been painted red on the outside and the red then wiped off irregularly (Ashm. 1895, 653 from grave 114, 2) and a cup, type L.21, of the same ware has rippled surface smeared with red and the edge 'milled' diagonally in two narrow lines (Ashm. 1895, 654 gr. 31).<sup>1</sup> The 'foreign' pottery at the northern extremity of this civilisation at Tarkhân (*T. II*, Pl. LXXI) seems to be of finer clay, with bands of haematitic or similar colouring.

In two vessels in gr. 113 pricked decoration is produced by impressions of a square-toothed comb. One of these is 'black-mouthed,' and the other is a pot of the same fabric but without haematite facing or polish (Pl. V, 9). The former, with another of the same peculiar shape and fabric but without pricked decoration (Pl. V, 1 and 2), is closely paralleled by a vessel from Egypt now in the Ashmolean Museum.<sup>2</sup>

*Stone.* Stone vessels, common in the Egyptian graves to the exclusion of fine pottery, were represented only by two small quartz cups, in grs. 54 (Pl. IV, 4), and (poorer) 57, and two objects in sandstone (the finer in Pl. IV, 3), pronounced by Mr. Firth to be censers, from the double-burial grave 147. Small pairs of grindstones (see Pl. II) were found in several graves. The thin oval palettes were abundant, all of quartz, usually white or whitish, sometimes with a brown, grey or preferably pink, tinge; a good example is shown in Pl. II, others are rougher and less shapely, and one was made out of a potsherd (gr. 17, 5, q.v.). Little groups of polished carnelian, agate and jasper pebbles were frequent, perhaps for smoothing and burnishing pottery, while a larger pebble often rested on a palette. Flint is represented by a single flake, in gr. 110 (q.v.). See also *Ornaments*.

*Copper.* Flat chisels (Pl. IV, 12) and axe heads (*ib.*, 11) occurred in several graves (grs. 10, 11); a square-section chisel was with a fish-hook (Pl. IV, 14) in gr. 110. Small piercers or awls were frequent; an exceptionally large and good one is from gr. 113; short piercers were fitted

1. A bowl from Hieraconpolis (Quibell and Green, *H. II*, Pl. LXIV, fig. 1 and pp. 22, 50) is black polished inside with outside rippled (i.e., pricked and burnished over). Such work seems absent from Junker's Kubanieh cemetery.

2. Figured in Pl. XIV, fig. 60 of Petrie's *Diospolis Parva*. It is there put amongst 'black incised' vessels; in reality it forms (with our examples and *A.S.N. Report 1908-9*, Pl. 46c, fig. 4) a special variety of coarser and thicker black-mouthed and 'variegated haematitic' ware, the strap-patterns edged with incised lines.

with bone handles of which remains were found (Pl. IV, 13). The piercers were generally in front of and close to the face, chin or neck, where the hands were placed, and might be taken for kohl-sticks or the like.

*Ornaments, etc.* Cylinder seal of ivory (gr. 4, see Pl. II). Bangles of shell (Pl. IV, 7), ivory (gr. 26), one of bronze wire (Pl. IV, 9). *Beads* :—Blue glaze, globular (gr. 33), large globular (gr. 39), cylindrical (gr. 33), hammer-head beads and others (gr. 26). Pottery : oval pinkish (gr. 33), very large with herring bone pattern (gr. 17, see Pl. IV, 5). Ostrich shell : disk (gr. 111). Shell : large quoit-beads (gr. 155), small Conus (?), (gr. 47). Carnelian : poppy-head (Pl. IV, 6) disk (grs. 47, 155), cruciform (gr. 59). Rock crystal : blue-glazed pendant (gr. 39), disk beads (gr. 47). Serpentine : tubular and ring beads (gr. 13), large ring bead (Pl. IV, 10), button in shape of buprestid beetle (Pl. IV, 8).<sup>1</sup> Garnet : disk beads (gr. 47).

A hollow ivory object, probably a cup, was found in gr. 10, q.v.

Ostrich eggs, unornamented, were found in grs. 21, 31, 145 and 149.

*Miscellaneous.* Various pieces of red ochreous stone (gr. 25). Remains of leather (grs. 32, 104), gum (?), (gr. 106c).<sup>2</sup>

The patterns of the fine pottery imitate basket work, in which the modern Nubians are skilled. The haematitic ware of all kinds seems hardly to occur on village sites, but to be confined to the graves, and perhaps, the basket pattern specimens were manufactured for the deceased alone as substitutes for the familiar but perishing vessels of plaitwork.

Only those types of pottery which are found also in Egypt and are probably of Egyptian fabric, bear engraved figures (see Pl. II) :—animals, birds, fishes, stars, oars, ropes, and other objects difficult to identify. Most are on forms 1 or 2, two are on form 5, and one jar with many designs (including an elephant) is type 7. The same scratched designs are met with in Egypt, and may have been put on the vessels as distinctive marks by their owners, or simply for ornament.

In the ordinary arrangement of a well-provided grave, one or two large jars were placed at the foot, each covered by a pan ; bowls, dishes, etc., were laid against the side walls, a bowl or two at the head, copper tools in the hand, and the palette near the head.

The difficulty of sexing the skeletons, always considerable for an

1. For examples from Egypt see Petrie's *Naqada*, Pl. LVIII, *Tarkhan*, p. 9 and Pl. I, 1552, *Amulets*, p. 50, no. 281.

2. Parallel finds of all classes from the early dynastic cemeteries in the north of Nubia are illustrated in Firth's *Report of A.S.N., 1908-9*, Pls. 38, 43-46, 55, also in Reisner's *Report, 1907-8* and Firth's, 1909-10.



amateur, was greatly increased by the rotten condition of the bones, and in only a very few cases was it considered worth while to record an opinion. The character of the accompaniments might be expected to vary with the sex of the deceased, and as far as can be judged, strings of beads, armlets, and the small copper piercers belong to women exclusively. All three are associated with skeletons marked as female in 31 and 147, beads are found with piercers in 47, 106c, 113, 128, 155, beads with bangle in 26, piercers occur with female skeletons in 49 and 51, beads with a female skeleton in 39, and in no case do any of these occur with a skeleton identified as male. On the other hand a copper chisel is associated with a male skeleton in 11 and such tools do not occur with the above female accompaniments. It is worth noting that palettes are frequent with both sexes; probably neither polishing pebbles (for pottery), grinding pebbles nor grinders are exclusively female, see 11, 113, 116, 147, and the beetle ornament or amulet (110) probably belonged to a man. Ostrich eggs were in women's graves in 31 and 145. The pebbles, which often have haematite or red ochre upon them and may therefore have been used for polishing pottery, seem to shew that fine potter's work was not then, as among the modern Barabra, confined to women.

The larger copper tools, celts and chisels (grs. 10, 11, 110, 116), and the variegated haematitic wares (grs. 4, 31, 113, 126, 147, 148) were confined to the larger and most important graves. It has been observed by Reisner and Firth that although the Nubian Proto-dynastic graves vary in size, they do not rise above the standard of those that would be called small and poor graves in Egyptian cemeteries of the same period.

It would seem that these civilised communities in different centres of Lower Nubia were small, and probably of short duration, beginning in the time just preceding Menes, and continuing through at least the first half of the First Dynasty. The small number of interments in our cemetery agrees with Mr. Firth's observations further north. The cause of the disappearance of civilisation from Lower Nubia so soon after its spread up to the Second Cataract may be sought in various possibilities—the growth of prosperity and activity in Egypt may have attracted the colonists back, they may have retired before famine or pressure by barbarous foes, or perhaps Egypt was alienated from its half-breed cousins and raided them to destruction.

Mr. Wainwright, using the rich evidence of Tarkhan and earlier excavation in Egypt, worked carefully through our pottery materials, type-

drawings and tomb records; from the Egyptian types in the Faras cemetery he concluded that Egyptian influence there extended from Petrie's Sequence Date 77 to 81, corresponding closely with the rise and expansion of the First Dynasty to its zenith under Zer and Zet, after which it dropped off rapidly. As to the native wares, Mr. Wainwright found the material too scanty and indefinite to form series, nor could he decide whether any graves were made in the cemetery after the Egyptian importations ceased. His detailed discussion is preserved with the records.

In Dr. Reisner's scheme, the 'A period' is followed by a 'B period' during which the Egyptian settlers amalgamated with natives and the connexion with Egypt weakened. Of this we recognised no trace at Faras. Professor Junker in his careful and critical account of the Proto-dynastic cemetery at Kubanieh, is inclined to put some of the so-called B-group graves, which are always very poor and scanty, somewhat earlier than the A-group.

The A-group in the Faras cemetery, far from the Egyptian boundary, shows an abundance of Egyptian imports, but certain Nubian characteristics are here accentuated. Black-mouthed ware was found by Junker in the Kubanieh cemetery, but the beautiful variegated haematitic ware is first traceable in the Survey work in the Dabod district, about 30 km. south of the First Cataract,<sup>1</sup> and began to be important in the neighbourhood of Dakkeh.<sup>2</sup> Quartz palettes occurred at Kubanieh with the Egyptian slate palettes, and the latter were found in the Survey work at least as far south as Dakkeh, but at Faras the Egyptian ones are completely ousted.

Plans of the following graves are in Pl. II :—

Grave 4, depth about 50, plundered anciently. (1) bowl, type for 64, var. haem., fine and thin, burnished: the exterior varies from bright plum colour to dull orange, herring bone in red on the orange over the whole surface, in places the red obscures the yellow ground almost entirely, perhaps as the result of the final polishing, the effect of the rich colour and evanescent pattern is very pleasing; (2) bowl 68, as the last but thicker, bands of red triangles on the yellow ground, D.17.<sup>3</sup> From the filling, (3) ivory cylinder seal, 2.5 × 1.5, the design (see Pl. II) is of two false doors (the stand or *serekh* of the royal hawk) alternating with two com-

1. Cem. 40, gr. 89.

2. Cem. 79.

3. Measures are in centimetres. D. is the diameter of the mouth, W. the greatest width.



partments in one of which is a figure which may perhaps be interpreted as a woman seated on the ground painting her eyes with kohl from a shell seen above her, in the other a smaller *serekh* with a symbol resembling the pole and crossed arrows of Neith but set on its side instead of upright (the long hair of the woman? and the symbol of Neith are common on the black stone seals which belong to about the time of the First Dynasty in Egypt);<sup>1</sup> (4) bowl 65 as (1), outside painted red and variegated throughout with short horizontal 'wipings,' D.17; (4a) part of rim and side of similar bowl 64-65, very fine and thin, D. about 20; (5) pan 50 rather thick, brownish, painted red inside and polished, leaving four large triangles of the original colour, D.31. (1),(3) in Ashm.,(4) in Khartum.

Grave 5. Adult, male (?). (1) pot, type 14, smooth, pink, slight vertical burnishing inside, horizontal outside, W.19; inverted on (2) jar 1, H.52; (3) jar 3, H.45; (4) bowl, type for 16, thinnish, red inside and out, vertical burnishing inside, W.26.5; (5) pan 43, rather thin, black core, burnished inside and out, D.20; (6) pan 70, outside reddish, inside streakily painted with haematite and polished, D.30; (7) (8) lower and upper grinders of quartzite; (9) jar 7, purple wave lines on shoulder in groups of four, H.24.5; (10) rhomboidal quartz palette with green oxide, L.15 (Pl. II); (11) green pebble 5.5 x 3.5. On right ankle, green and black glaze beads. Leather about foot, knee and small of back. (1) and (3)-(10) in Brit. Mus.

Grave 6, depth 62. Legs of westward sk. much destroyed. (1), (2) jars 2, the second incised with stone axehead? (Pl. III); (3) jar 1, some scratches on rim; (4) pan, type 41, coarse but thin, slightly burnished with haematite; (5) coarse cup 27, W.7; fragments resembling (4) and some very coarse fragments, lying behind 3; (6) bowl 65, bl.m., thin, W.21; (7) quartz palette. In filling (8) half of small bl.m. cup 62 but smaller and narrower, thin, trace of wavy pattern, H.10.

Grave 10. Arm bones in fragments stained green. (1) bowl 68 bl.m. upright; (2) similar bowl, inverted over (3) bowl 63, smooth thin brown, H.15.5; (4) copper celt, traces of basket on one face, L.12, W.5.5, haft end towards chest; (5) hollowed section of hippopotamus? tooth forming socket,<sup>2</sup> much decayed, L. about 5; (6) bowl type 17, thin pink; (7) jar 2, three cuts on rim and marks on shoulder (Pl. III); (8) cup 24 coarse blackish,

1. Reisner, *Naga ed Der I*, Pls. 43, 44; Petrie, *Ancient Egypt*, 1914, 61, 1915, 78.

2. The above was the impression recorded. Mr. Firth, however, found similar hollowed objects of ivory, pierced with two holes at the rim, which he calls cups, *A.S.N. Report, 1909-10*, Pl. 28b. No copper or other instruments were found with them.



H.13; (9) jar 1, pink, cross lines scratched on shoulder (Pl. III), covered by (10) fragments coarse blackish with herring-bone pattern incised; (11) jar 22, coarse, black core burnt red, H. about 35.

Grave 11, sides shelving, depth 40. Sk. male. (1)-(3) bl.m. bowls nested together, type 66, type 68, and 68; (4) two pebbles; (5) copper chisel, L.23 (Pl. IV, 12), resting on skull, edge pointing behind head; upon it, (6) quartzite palette, lower side stained by chisel, upper by malachite; (7) part of sandstone rubbing slab<sup>1</sup>; (8) thin bowl 42, red inside and out, D.14; (9) jar 1; (10) jar, type 51, bl.m. not burnished; (11) fragments bowl 44?, probably cover of (9).

Grave 17, depth 90. (1) jar 22, coarse blackish, upright; on it (2) bowl 42, black core, reddish; (3) bowl 42, coarse blackish, D. about 26. In front of face in a heap, (4) greenish pebble, resting on (5) curved oval palette of pink potsherd, L.9.50, W.4.0, resting on (6), (7) iron-stone rubbers; (8) translucent reddish pebble. In filling, (9) large pottery bead incised (Pl. IV, 5).

Grave 22, depth 30. Sk. large, female. At north end shelf about 9 higher. (1) jar, type 3, pink; (2) jar 2, engraving on shoulder (Pl. V); (3) pan 70 flat-bottomed, red, placed on edge; (4) behind last on edge, shallow bl.m. cup, shape as Pl. IV, 16; (5) cup, type 26, thin smooth reddish brown, W.11; (6) quartz palette; (7) rubbing pebble, green quartz.

Grave 31, depth in gebel 90. On level of top of gebel at N. end, (1) ostrich egg, emptying hole in side; (2) pot 64 var. haem., red criss-cross below rim to near middle, the rest with leaf-shaped red blotches, W.13, covering (3) pot 23 coarse brownish, H.15, inverted. On floor, (4) jar 2 engraved fish-tail? (Pl. III); (5) strainer jar, type 39, coarse reddish; (6) bowl 43 but shallower, reddish brown, D.19, inverted; beneath it (7) bowl with inturned flat rim, var. haem., pinkish brown, thick and rather coarse, rim and two red bands outlined by incised lines, W.17, (Pl. V, 2), inverted; (8) five polished pebbles:—one green jasper 3.5, four bright carnelian, purple, yellow, and red 2.5 to .75 (9) deep cup var. haem., fine pinkish yellow, at rim band of criss-cross in red between horizontal lines, and another below middle, H.11; (10) similar cup, band of triangles in compartments below rim, and another on lower half (Pl. V, 6); (11) bowl 45, very fine, thin and light, inside highly burnished, outside covered with short red lines somewhat curved in vertical bands producing

1. Used as palette? Cf. Junker *Kubanich-Stüd*, p. 87.

a kind of basket-work effect, W.13 ; (12) bowl 68, less fine, closely dappled with circular blotches (Pl. V, 3) ; (13) similar bowl, leaf-shaped blotches, W.15.5 ; (14) bowl or cover, triangles like lotus flowers from edge to shoulder (Pl. IV, 16) ; (15) small cup, thin, wiped horizontal scale pattern (Pl. IV, 17) ; (16) pan 50, brownish mixed with red outside, inside painted, with vague rectilinear pattern in broad red lines, not highly burnished, D.32.5, containing (17) quartz palette with green stain on convex side three pebbles, green, white, and banded, and four small reddish pottery barrel beads ; (18) touching left cheek fine thin and flat palette of white quartz, 10.5 × 6.5 ; beneath it (19) copper kohl-stick or piercer, L.10.5 ; (20) on r. wrist twisted copper bangle (Pl. IV, 9) ; (21) beneath hands large pan type 50, much red outside, inside with broad curved red lines (Pl. V, 4) ; (22) in front of chest large cowrie. The skull rested on a mass of fibrous stuff, probably the hair. Round neck long string of carnelian and garnet beads, each kind apart, the carnelian apparently at back of neck reaching to front where garnets began, three green glazed beads from front of neck perhaps on same string. On left ankle string of large shell beads. (All in Brit. Mus. except 21 in Ashm.).

Grave 38, depth 43, north end considerably undercut, with shelf H.18. Sk. of child. (1) saucer, type 49, coarse reddish, not reversed, D.8.5, closing mouth of (2) jar 5 but rim out-turned, coarse reddish, H.21 ; (3) quartz palette.

Grave 55, depth in hard sand and gebel 90, undercut on west side. Lateral shelf H.25 with sk. of child. (1) jar 3 H.41, engraved (Pl. III), fragments of bowl as cover ? ; (2) thick quartz polisher L.11.

Grave 106, skull at S. end, lateral extension A of same depth. (1) barrel-shaped jar, var. haem., paler and darker red in horizontal lines not much contracted, oblique impressions on edge (Pl. V, 5) H.16, W.15 ; (2), (3), (4) bl.m. bowls 69 ? ; (5) jar 1 ? incised (Pl. III) ; jar 33 ? coarse reddish ; (7) cup 23, very coarse, H.15.5, containing (8) cup 27, very coarse, H.8 ; (9) jar 4, three knobs on shoulder, band of ripple lines above shoulder from which triple ripple bands extend vertically to base ; (10) cup, type 28, coarse brown ; (11) rhomboid-oval quartz palette, green stain.

Grave 110, denuded, lower part of sk. destroyed. (1) jar 2, incised (Pl. III) ; (2) bl.m. bowl 46, D.21.5 ; (3) deep bowl 23 ? coarse, H.14 ; (4) cup 27 W.7.5 ; (5) flint flake, flat, one edge serrated and polished by wear, 4.75 × 1.30 ; (6) round hammer stone of quartzite ; (7) copper fish hook, L.3.8 (Pl. IV, 14) ; (8) copper chisel, flat 15.3 × 2.7 ; (9) another

lying on it, square section  $10.3 \times 1.0$ , (both Pl. III); (10) white quartz palette L.9.8; (11) on neck as button, buprestid beetle of hard whitish stone, section triangular, pierced transversely beneath (Pl. IV, 7).

Grave 113, depth 60. (1) jar, type 1, slight knobs on belly, groups of horizontal ripple lines in dull red above middle, incised (Pl. III); (2) (3) upper and lower grinders of quartz; (4) bowl with inturned rim, bl.m., polished, plain band round middle edged with incised lines, similar bands proceeding from it at intervals obliquely to the rim and to near the plain base, the intervening spaces filled with prickings of comb of seven prongs arranged roughly in chevrons (Pl. V, 1); (5) jar 7, pink H.18; (6) jar 8 but more rounded, red, on shoulder five groups of three curved lines like 6, W.14; (7) like (5), H.24.5, hole in side; (8) jar, thin but coarse, reddish brown, above middle herring-bone bands of neat comb impressions, kind of dog-tooth on rim, H.17, (Pl. V, 9); (9) jar 64, var. haem., bands of short vertical lines resembling plaiting, D.22; (10) bowl, type 13, horizontal burnish outside, vertical inside D.35; (11) cup 31 fine bl.m., H.16; (12) bowl 64, var. haem., deep red, leaving horizontal tongues of orange in vertical rows, D.22.5; (13) cup as Pl. V, 6, two rows of red triangles from rim to middle, lower half irregularly painted red, H.13; (14) bowl 45-46, var. haem., horizontal scale pattern D.18.5; (15) beneath (10), plain red bowl 41 D.33; (16) beneath last, bowl 42 but deeper, thin yellow, painted red and burnished inside and out D.24; (17) fine quartz palette; (18) on hands copper stick one end tapering to point, the other thinned to a curved edge, perhaps for cutting, L.15.4 (Pl. II); (19) large 'poppy seed' beads of carnelian (Pl. IV, 6); (20) two spirals of copper wire apparently from r. ear;<sup>1</sup> (21) beneath (8), oval burnishing pebble, greenish, L.5.25; (22) many burnishing pebbles lying in a mass of haematite.

Grave 122, double, or with recess for offerings on west. Sk. female. (1) quartz palette; (2) jar 2, pinkish.

Grave 147, depth 130, all sides somewhat overhanging. At 75 to 100 above floor are holes (some of them mouse holes), which may have held branches for roofing. Sk. female, and oval pile of male bones at S. end, perhaps deposited in a bag. Most of the floor had been strewn with reeds rather than a mat, before the burial. (1) to (4) jars 1, (2) with incised oryx? (Pl. III); (5) jar 3; (6) bowl 64 var. haem., close horizontal streaks of red to below middle, after which all red, D.15, containing (7)

1. But see Reisner, *A.S.N. Report for 1907-8*, Pl. 70b, 10, on the right wrist of a child in the B-group grave 7: 276.



bowl 25, fine thin pink D.11.5; (8) as (6), but the stripes in compartments like wicker work; (9) cup 24 but narrow flattened base, plain pink, red wash in places, H.13; (10) bowl 42, fine pinky brown, W.17; (11) cup 24 rough, H.15; (12) bowl 64 reddish brown H.15.5; (13) bowl 25 but less pointed, yellowish, slightly burnished D.15; (14) two bowls 16, vertical burnish inside, D.22.5 and 23.5; (15) fragments as 50, reddish brown unevenly streaked with orange; (16) cup 27 yellowish, not smoothed H.5.5; (17) vessel type 19, thick pale polished, doubly pierced lugs (Pl. V, 7); (18) bowl 43, narrow flat base, yellowish, core black, D.15, containing (19) bottle 38, yellowish, smoothed H.7; (20) jar 1 or 2; (21) very large bowl 17, red, vertical burnishing inside, W.50; (22) pan as 70, thick pink, core black, incomplete D.45; (23) fragments of jar sealing impressed; (24) bowl 65, fine, thin bl.m., D.18, inverted over (25) bowl 45, reddish brown, W.20; below it (26) pan 41, brown with haematite wash, polished, D.20; (27) bowl 16, plain reddish brown (imitating shape of the Egyptian bowls with vertical burnish); beneath it (28) pan 70 red clay, inner face lightly and vaguely patterned in red and yellow, D.31; (29) bowl 64, fine thin bl.m., W.16.5; (30), (31) one bowl 68 with small flat base, var. haem., basket-work pattern (as Firth, *A.S.N. Report for 1908-9*, Pl. 46, 2), D.19.5; (32) bowl 65, fine var. haem., two bands of plain triangles followed by band of basket-work triangles, base plain red, D.21.5; (33) disk of pale sandstone hollowed at top, the curved sides divided into triangles by black incised lines, opposite pairs of triangles coloured black and yellow, H.6.5, D.13, (Pl. IV, 3); (34) similar object, rough and plain, slightly hollowed, sides straight, D.11.5, H.8; (35), (37) upper rubbers of quartz; (36), (38) flat oval lower stones of purple quartzite; (39) before the face, copper piercer?, one end flattened and split, L.12.5; (40) on left arm, two shell armlets; on neck (41), (42) one? string of garnet disk beads with a few glaze and carnelian. In filling (43) ring bead of green translucent soap-stone, D.1.75, (Pl. IV, 10); (44) conical shell, end bored for use as pendant, L.3.25. (Some of the objects are figured in the *Bulletin* of the Metrop. Mus., New York, VIII, 202, including nos. 2, 21 in the uppermost figure, part of 31, 32 in the lowermost).

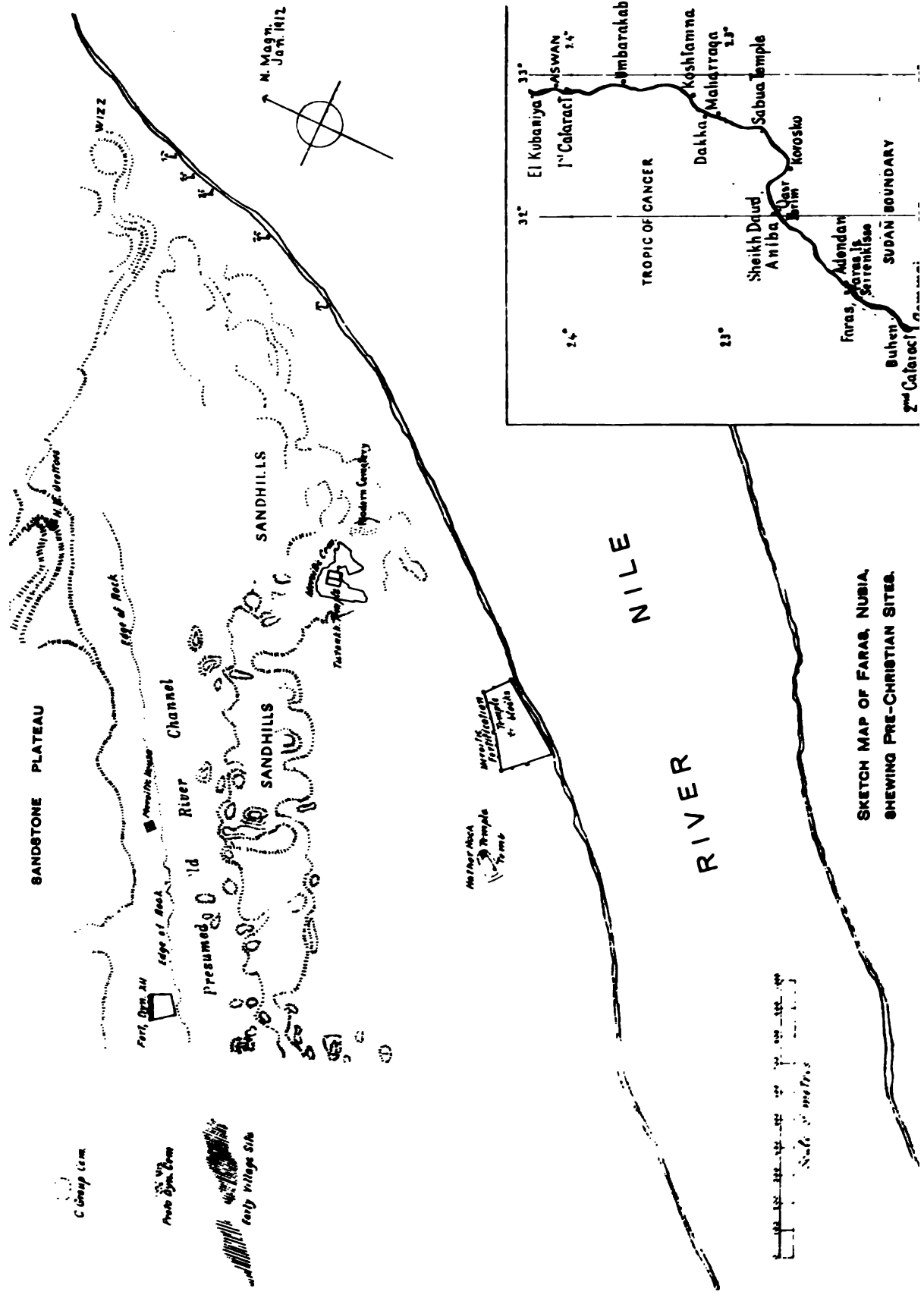
Grave 148, in sand. Principal (?) interment B destroyed except skull, pottery in position except (8) and (9) probably displaced from here; A, sk. of child, head due north. (1), (2) jars 3, H.54; (3) cup type 60, coarse bl.m. (4) bowl 15 pink, misshapen, D.23.5 to 27; (5) bowl 43 but shallower,

thin, polished, brownish, rim with herring-bone indented, D.30.5, H.11 ; (6) pot, type 86, reddish faced with whitish, groups of three curved lines in brown ; (7) jar, type 7, pink, incised (Pl. III) ; (8) pot 22, mud-coloured, H.24.5 ; (9) cup, fine and thin var. haem. in concentric circles, D.16 (Pl. IV, 15) ; (10) greyish quartz palette, green stain  $12.5 \times 7.5$  ; (11), (12) similar white  $9 \times 6$  and  $12 \times 7.5$  ; (13) at skull copper awl, four-sided, end pointed, set in bone haft, total L.11 (Pl. IV, 13).

#### CONTENTS OF PLATES IV, V

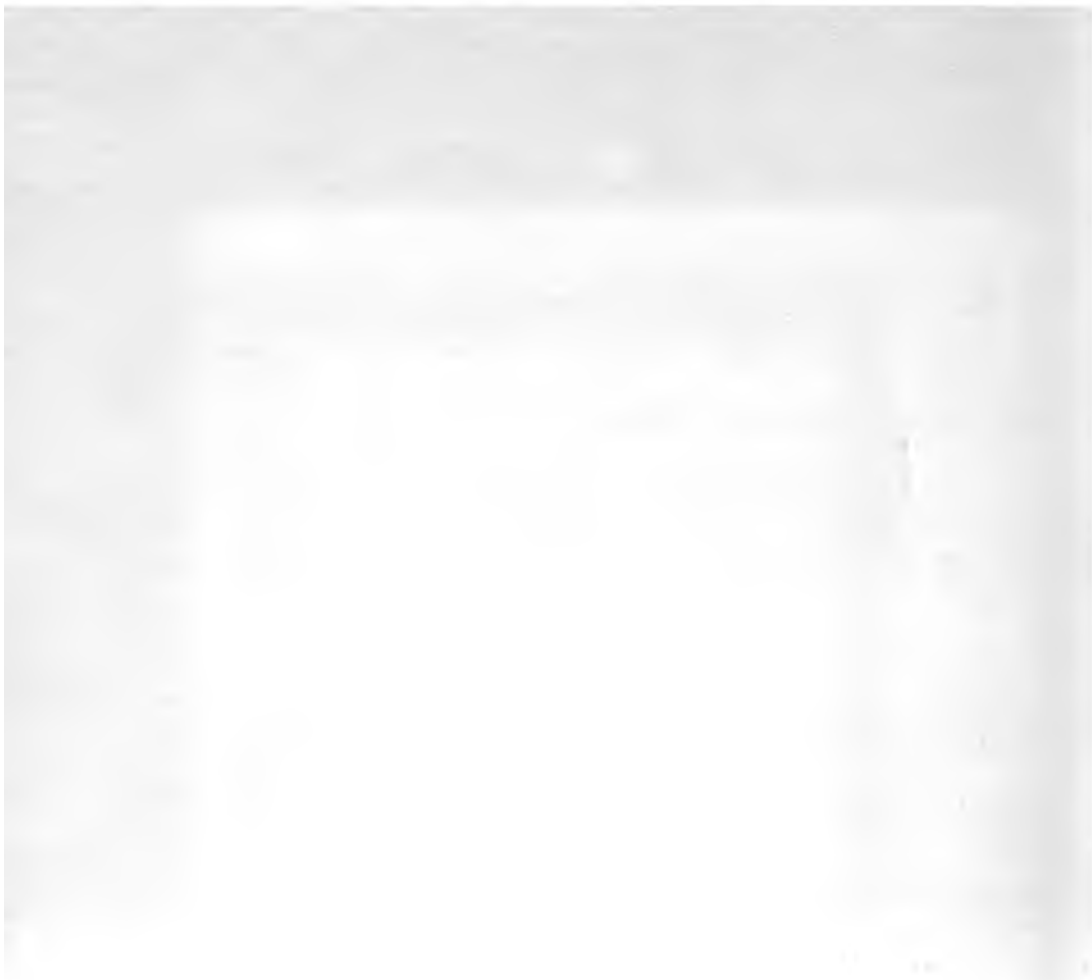
Pl. IV, 1, 2, quartz palaeolith (see p. 3). 3, sandstone censer (?) sc.  $\frac{1}{8}$ , gr. 147, 33. 4, oval vessel of whitish quartz  $9.5 \times 6.5$  (sc. about  $\frac{1}{2}$ ), gr. 54, 4, with coarse pottery 33 ?, 46 ?, 26 ?, palette, and opaque grey pebble, L.6. 5, pottery bead, sc.  $\frac{1}{8}$ , gr. 17, 9. 6, carnelian beads, sc.  $\frac{1}{8}$ , gr. 113, 19. 7, stone button, sc.  $\frac{1}{8}$ , gr. 110, 11. 8, shell bangle, D.5.5, sc.  $\frac{1}{8}$ , gr. 59, two on r. wrist of child, on r. ankle two green glaze beads and one cruciform of shell. 9, twisted copper bangle, sc.  $\frac{1}{8}$ , gr. 31, 20. 10, soapstone bead, sc.  $\frac{1}{8}$ , gr. 147, 43. 11, copper axe head, sc.  $\frac{1}{8}$ , gr. 10, 4. 12, copper chisel, sc.  $\frac{1}{8}$ , gr. 11, 5. 13, copper awl, sc.  $\frac{1}{8}$ , gr. 148, 13. 14, fish-hook, sc.  $\frac{1}{8}$ , gr. 110, 7. 15, cup, sc.  $\frac{1}{8}$ , gr. 148, 9. 16, 17, sc.  $\frac{1}{8}$ ,  $18 \times 7.5$  and  $12.3 \times 5.5$  gr. 31, 14-15.

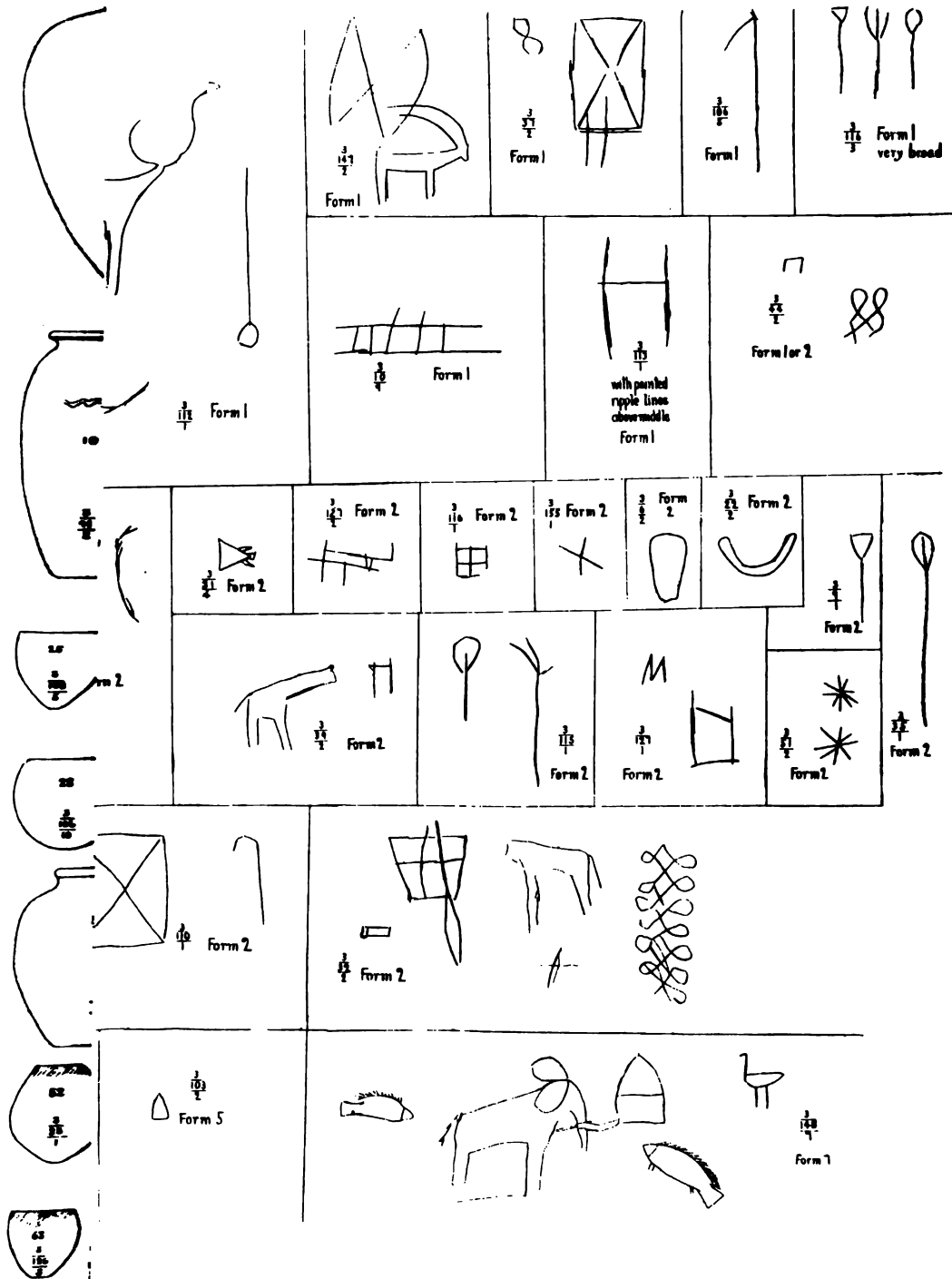
Pl. V. 1, incised bl. m. bowl, sc. about  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $22 \times 16.5$  gr. 113, 4. 2, incised var. haem. bowl, sc. about  $\frac{1}{2}$ , gr. 31, 7. 3, var. haem. bowl, sc. about  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $18 \times 11$ , gr. 31, 12. 4, dish, sc.  $\frac{1}{8}$ ,  $31 \times 16.5$  gr. 31, 21. 5, jar, sc. about  $\frac{1}{2}$ , gr. 106, 1. 6, sc.  $\frac{1}{8}$ , H.11, W.7, gr. 31, 10. 7, sc.  $\frac{1}{8}$ , H.9.5, gr. 147, 17. 8, coarse brown cup, band of rough and variable hatchings between incised lines, H.10, D.12, in N. end of small shallow empty gr. 125. 9, incised jar, sc.  $\frac{1}{8}$ , gr. 113, 8.



SKETCH MAP OF FARAS, NUBIA, SHEWING PRE-CHRISTIAN SITES.

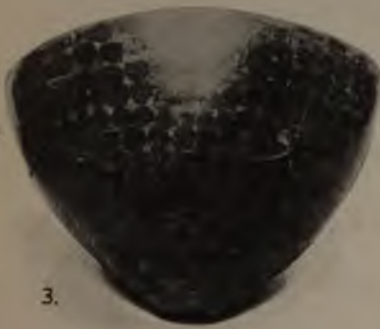






SCRATCHED DESIGNS ON POTS. SC. 1:4





PROTODYNASTIC CEMETERY, FARAS, NUBIA.







PROTODYNASTIC CEMETERY, FARAS, NUBIA.



## A FIBULA OF CYPRIOTE TYPE FROM RHODES

By the courtesy of Dr. A. Maiuri, the learned and energetic Curator of the Museum of Rhodes, I am permitted to publish yet another example of the rare type of Fibula already described by me in these ANNALS (Vol. V, p. 129), and assigned to the Early Iron Age of Cyprus, from which island all examples hitherto described have come.

The fibula now illustrated was acquired by purchase in Rhodes, under circumstances which make it highly probable that it was found in the Greek necropolis of Camirus (Kameiros); there is not, however, any record of associated objects, which might help to determine its date.

It is of bronze, fairly well preserved, except the pin, which is decayed and bent. The length from catch to hinge, is .11 m., or about the average size for this class of fibula. The central knob is rather smaller than usual, but has the transverse perforation which marks the more primitive



members of the class. A notable peculiarity is that the pin is attached to the bow, not by a coiled spring, but by a hinge; not extemporized, as in some early Cypriote fibulae (probably after breakage), but part of the original design. The necessary elasticity of the pin was supplied by the quality of the bronze, when strained against the 'stop' on the inner side of the hinge. Another curious feature is that the butt-end of the pin projects beyond the hinge sufficiently to allow of a second perforation, like that for the hinge-pin, but now strained and broken. It looks as though this had been the original place of the hinge-pin; damaged in use, and replaced by a fresh perforation further down the shaft of the pin.

The drawing was kindly made for me, under Dr. Maiuri's supervision, by the draughtsman of the Rhodian Museum, Mr. Husni.



## PHEIDIPPIDES: A STUDY OF GOOD FORM IN FIFTH CENTURY ATHENS\*

By W. R. HALLIDAY, B.A., B.LITT.

In aristocratic fashion as in other things the latter half of the Fifth Century B.C. was a time of transition. In the period of the Persian wars, the Ionic luxury of Peisistratean Athens had been succeeded by a reaction towards simplicity;<sup>1</sup> the Ionic linen tunic and the golden grasshopper comb had gone out of fashion.<sup>2</sup> The tendency was antagonistic to anything smacking of Oriental effeminacy, and the conquerors of the Mede adopted the style of the leading military state among the patriot Greeks. The Athenian man of fashion wore his hair long and curled<sup>3</sup> in imitation of the heroes of Thermopylae,<sup>4</sup> red Laconian shoes were on his feet,<sup>5</sup> and he carried in his hand a walking-stick of the true Laconian curve.<sup>6</sup> His political sympathies were with the champions of conservatism, and alike the character and stability of the Spartan constitution aroused his admiration. The athletic and military prowess of the Spartiate appealed to him; boxing became a fashionable amusement, and broken ears an honourable distinction.<sup>7</sup> Most things the Athenian aristocrat considered were not only differently but better managed in Lacedaemon than by the upstart sailor democracy at home.<sup>8</sup>

Megacles, the son of Megacles, one imagines to have been of this school.<sup>9</sup> When Thucydides, son of Melesias was hounded out of public life by the new generation, he despaired of politics.<sup>10</sup> It gave him no pleasure, he would say, to rub shoulders with the great unwashed in the Assembly.<sup>11</sup> Public life was no longer fit for a gentleman. That fellow Pericles, his own relation too, had started the systematic bribery of the rabble. They might boast of their progress, of their harbours, docks, and the like, but where was it going to end? As far as he could see, progress had eliminated honesty,<sup>12</sup> made the people slaves of a largess or bribe,<sup>13</sup> and created a race of corrupt and useless sycophants, minding everybody's business but their own.<sup>14</sup> There is no living nowadays in Athens for the informers.<sup>15</sup> And look at the kind of man, which payment for political duties is bringing into public life. In the place of Aristeides, Themistocles

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\* This paper was read to the Liverpool Branch of the Classical Association. Throughout, where Aristophanes and Theophrastus are quoted in English, the translations of Rogers and Jebb are respectively employed. The references also owe much to the notes of these scholars. The numbering of the fragments of Aristophanes is that of the Oxford Text.

and Miltiades you have Lysicrates, Cleon and Hyperbolus.<sup>16</sup> To be a gentleman or to have had a liberal education was nowadays a positive bar to a political career.<sup>17</sup> In fact to come to the front you had to be some sort of huckster or other.<sup>18</sup> The whole tone of public life had been lowered. You could see it in the way these political adventurers bawl and gesticulate instead of making a speech.<sup>19</sup> And the eloquence of the statesman has disappeared in the torrent of slang phrases, catchpenny metaphors of the market place and oracular rubbish with which this tanner fellow overwhelms his audience.<sup>20</sup> They were always urging expeditions to Carthage and God knows where; it would be a service to the State to put them on their sale trays and launch them out to sea to voyage to the kites and crows.<sup>21</sup>

In such terms we may imagine Megacles holding forth at the club over a game of dice or draughts. His political animus was no doubt embittered by the increasing demands on his purse. Democratic finance seemed to be based upon the blackmail and spoliation of the rich, and it but added insult to injury that the bulk of the spoils went into the pockets of the politicians rather than to the benefit of their dupes.<sup>22</sup> There was no justice for a gentleman in the courts when juries were reminded that convictions were necessary in order to finance the payment of their salaries.<sup>23</sup> What with liturgies and property taxes the demagogues seemed to think that they could bleed the gentlemen to any extent.<sup>24</sup> And living had become very expensive for a Megacles, who was too great a gentleman to improve his fortune by work.<sup>25</sup> The town house with its marble pillars<sup>26</sup> and frescoed hall<sup>27</sup> had to be kept up. An Alcmaeonid had a position to maintain, and he felt it his duty to do a certain amount of entertaining, both private and public.<sup>28</sup> Nor did the democrats seem to realise that a gentleman who kept up a certain style was doing a public service and benefiting the city as a whole.<sup>29</sup> The world was topsy turvey, and every Jack, nowadays thought himself a good deal better than his master. Even the slaves give themselves the airs of Athenian citizens.<sup>30</sup> And the price of slaves was preposterous. At the last New Moon Fair<sup>31</sup> he had had to pay over 300 dr. for a Syrian.<sup>32</sup> But a man in his position could hardly walk down Odeum Street with fewer than three attendants.<sup>33</sup> By Poseidon, he would give something to be in the capacious shoes of the founder of his family,<sup>34</sup> or have half the money that had been thrown away on that façade at Delphi.<sup>35</sup> His stud cost him a pretty penny, too, but after all one must have a pair of Corinthian thoroughbreds.<sup>36</sup> He had been

amused the other day at the barber's.<sup>37</sup> While Sporgilus<sup>38</sup> was manicuring him,<sup>39</sup> a dirty monkey-faced fellow, who looked as though you could have bought him up lock, stock and barrel for five minae, had come in and started arguing that he was the richest man in the shop, because he had no expenses.<sup>40</sup> A shrewd fellow that; most of the rabble didn't seem to realise what it cost a gentleman to live nowadays.

It will be observed that Laconian simplicity of fashion had been somewhat tempered to the needs of a society enriched by Persian booty and the spoils of empire. A Spartan would hardly have recognised its habit as his, and, if the clothes remained Laconian in cut, their material was of purple and fine linen.<sup>41</sup> Laconism was, in fact, an affectation to which none but the philosophers paid more than lip service.<sup>42</sup>

The growth of luxury was inevitable. The Piraeus had become the central mart for the civilised world.<sup>43</sup> To it flowed the commodities of all countries, and even those most valuable of rarities only to be found on the fringes of the known world.<sup>44</sup> To Athens, as to the court of Solomon, the ships brought home their peacocks, apes and ivories.<sup>45</sup>

But the development of commerce had had a further result. During the Fifty Years the balance of wealth in the community was changing hands. It was passing from the old aristocracy to the skilful investor like Nicias, in turn to pass from him in the fourth century to the slave or freedman banker like Pasion. Relatively, the class to which Megacles belonged was becoming poor, while at the same time family pride forbade a reduction in their style of living.

Megacles may well have been short of ready money, and was no doubt anxious to get his niece off his hands. She had turned fifteen<sup>46</sup> and it was high time that she was married. Old What-is-her-name, the match-maker,<sup>47</sup> had brought an offer from Strepsiades. The fellow was a bit of a boor, of course, with his big hobnailed boots,<sup>48</sup> but he had a nice little property at Kikynna,<sup>49</sup> and his father, who was notoriously close,<sup>50</sup> must have left him pretty well off. And probably he would not press the matter of dowry in a match socially so advantageous. The girl might do a great deal worse.

The girl herself was delighted at the prospect of marriage. She was tired of being told that little girls should not see nor hear anything nor ask questions,<sup>51</sup> and of listening to her aunt's lectures upon modest behaviour.<sup>52</sup> Her husband sounded rather countrified, but she had been told that every girl should pray 'for a wealthy husband, and a fool to



boot.<sup>53</sup> He seemed to be pretty well off and she would be able to wheedle him. What lovely saffron robes, transparent Cimmerian vests and embroidered dresses she would buy.<sup>54</sup> She would have nothing but the finest Milesian wool and Amorgos linen in her house.<sup>55</sup>

And so on the lucky fourth<sup>56</sup> of the fashionable month<sup>57</sup> they were married, the bride radiant in a lovely wedding dress.<sup>58</sup> But Strepsiades soon became alarmed at his wife's extravagance. She was always wasting money upon scents and sweets.<sup>59</sup> He had tried in vain to laugh her out of the use of powder, rouge and high-heeled shoes.<sup>60</sup> But worse than her extravagance was her waste. She could spin and cook, and was not idle, but she was a thoroughly bad housekeeper, with no idea of method or order, and the money seemed to melt away in a fashion calculated to make old Pheidon turn in his grave.<sup>61</sup> He had been driven at last to taking the store-room out of her hands and locking it up.<sup>62</sup> There had been a scene about that—she had even tried to hit him with a slipper.<sup>63</sup> In fact, although it never became a scandal, like the quarrels of Panaetius, the cutler, with his wife,<sup>64</sup> their married life was stormy. Nor can it be denied that the wife had some grounds for complaint. She was bored with her husband's endless talk of olives, sheepfolds and honey bees.<sup>65</sup> He was so slovenly in his dress, too, and she did object to the smell of the farm-yard being brought into the bedroom.<sup>66</sup>

The birth of a son and heir, however, drew them together.

Oh, what delight, surprise, congratulations !

The man runs in ; the nurse comes running out.

' A prodigy ! A lion ! Such a boy !

Your very image ; lucky, lucky man ! ' <sup>67</sup>

But the question of a name revived dissension. They were agreed that foreign names might be left to the sons of tyrants or diplomatists.<sup>68</sup> It was not a period of Athenian victories, so that there was little temptation to name him after an historical event.<sup>69</sup> Strepsiades favoured the good old-fashioned practice of calling the eldest son after his grandfather,<sup>70</sup> but his mother wanted something more aristocratic—after all she was an Alcmaeonid !

She was for giving him some knightly name—Callipides, Xanthippus or Charippus.

Comparative harmony was restored by the compromise, Pheidippides.<sup>71</sup>

The tenth day feast went off splendidly.<sup>72</sup> Nor did the baby cry when Uncle Megacles magnificently presented him with an Archytas rattle.<sup>73</sup>



In fact, the only thing that at all marred the success of the entertainment was the misfortune of a guest from the country who got sandbagged by a foot-pad on his way home. He had had a drop too much and went off in the dark without a link boy. After stumbling through the mud and stones of the streets he had just got outside the city walls when Orestes or one of that gang knocked him down from behind and stripped him of his cloak of Phrygian wool.<sup>74</sup>

The baby looked a dear little fellow in his Cretan shortening clothes, with little yellow Persian slippers like his mother's,<sup>75</sup> and Strepsiades was a doting father.<sup>76</sup> He was always fussing round it, and enraged the Spartan nurse<sup>77</sup> by declaring that she did not feed the child properly. He would snatch him from her and feed him from his own mouth, chirping endearments and calling him 'Papa's little rascal.'<sup>78</sup> When he grew older, he would play horses with him and career around astride a walking-stick.<sup>79</sup> He taught him to wrestle and to run, but was very careful not to let him get overtired.<sup>80</sup> On wet days, when the sun refused to respond to the nursery song, 'Come out dear Sun,'<sup>81</sup> they had great games indoors. The youngster was as sharp as anything and learned

To build small baby-houses, boats,  
Go-carts of leather, darling little frogs  
Carved from pomegranates, you can't think how nicely.<sup>82</sup>

Then, there was the great game of law courts. Sometimes Papa and Xanthias, the slave, would help, and the former would allow the boy to take the railing from the pig-pen in the stables, just inside the front door, to make a proper court. Often, of course, he had to play it by himself with Pincher, the house-dog, and the kitchen utensils to fill the rôles. Pincher was usually the prisoner, and the boy was quite ready to take all the speaking parts from that of the presiding officer to the accused.<sup>83</sup>

On his way home from the real courts, Strepsiades would often buy figs, and the boy would have a happy evening bobbing for them.<sup>84</sup> His first fee as a juryman his father spent at the Diasia fair upon a little toy cart.<sup>85</sup> It only cost one obol, but the boy was delighted. Even better though, he loved his jackdaw, for which Strepsiades paid the same price at Philocrates' stall in the bird market. They had great fun with it for they got a little brass shield, and made a little ladder, and taught the bird to play tricks, hopping up and down the ladder with the shield.<sup>86</sup>

Flatterers won an easy way into Strepsiades' favour by singing the praises of his son who put up heroically with their kisses, and the monotony

of being told that he was a 'chick of a good father,' for the sake of the presents of knucklebones, figs, apples and pears which they brought him.<sup>87</sup> At a dinner party, his father would send for him from the women's quarters, and have him sit on his couch and would listen complacently while the guests enlarged upon the likeness of father and son. The unfortunate guests were bored by having to play Wineskin and Hatchet with him, or having the tired urchin fall asleep on top of them.<sup>88</sup>

When there was no company Strepsiades would talk him to sleep<sup>89</sup> with stories of the country, picturing the time

When the goats you are driving from the fells  
Clad like your father in your sheepskin coat.<sup>90</sup>

The boy preferred these stories to Zeus, the Eagle, and the Dungbeetle,<sup>91</sup> once upon a time there were a cat and a mouse,<sup>92</sup> Atalanta<sup>93</sup> and the other items in his nurse's repertoire,<sup>94</sup> but Papa's vein of rustic reminiscence became a little monotonous. From his earliest years the boy had loved horses and fine clothes. Even as a baby his mother would soothe his crying with 'Don't cry, and mummy will buy you a Bucephalus,'<sup>95</sup> or hush him with promises of how, when he was grown up, he would drive to the Acropolis in the Panathenaic procession, like Uncle Megacles, dressed in a wonderful purple cloak, and behind a pair of iron grey Corinthian thoroughbreds.<sup>96</sup>

[To be continued.]

1. See further Wilamovitz Moellendorff, *Aristoteles und Athen* II, 68.
2. Thucydides I, 6. Cf. Aristophanes, *Knights* 1330, *Clouds* 984, 1360. Athenaeus XII, 5.
3. Plutarch, *Cimon*, 5, 481. Cf. Aristophanes, *Knights* 580, *Clouds* 545, *Birds* 911, *Wasps* 466, *Plutus* 572.
4. Herodotus VII, 208. Cf. Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 22, 53.
5. 'Now off at once with those confounded shoes,  
And on with these Laconians instantly.' *Wasps* 1157.  
Cf. *Thesmoph* 142, *Eccles.* 314, 345, 547. For their colour see Pollux, *Onomasticon* VII, 88.
6. The Man of Petty Ambition still affects the Laconian curve in Theophrastus VII, 20. In Aristophanes' day the Athenians habitually carried walking-sticks. Cf. *Wasps* 33, *Birds* 1283, *Eccles.* 73-5, 275-7.
7. Theocritus has described the athlete with his broken ears, Theocritus XXII, 45. For this outward and visible sign of Laconism among the Athenian aristocracy, see Plato, *Protagoras* 342B, *Gorgias* 515E, Aristophanes, *Frag.* 72.
8. Plutarch, *Cimon* 16, 488.
9. There was in Athens a Megacles, son of Megacles, the son of Hippocrates, the son of Megacles, of Alopece, at the time when the *Clouds* was produced. He was secretary to the treasurer of Athena in 429/428 B.C., and therefore well-to-do, C.I.A., I, 122. But 'uncle Megacles' is not the portrait of an individual but of a type. See Wilamovitz, *op. cit.* I, p. 111.
10. Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 703 foll.
11. Theophrastus XXIX, 22. I am inclined to think that the attitude of contemptuous abstention from politics was not unknown in the Fifth Century, and that

there is latent a political taunt in Pericles' famous statement: 'We are the only people that consider the man who takes no part in political life not as unofficious but as useless.' Thucydides II, 40.

12. Plato *Gorgias* 514 foll.
13. Theophrastus XXIX, 20. Cf. Aristophanes *Knights* and *Wasps passim*.  
'And if, by Zeus, two orators propose  
One to build ships of war, one to increase  
Official salaries, the salary man  
Would beat the ships of war man in a canter.' *Knights* 1350.
14. Aristophanes *passim*. Perhaps the best description of the sycophant busybody is the scene in *Plutus* 900 foll.
15. Theophrastus XXIX. Cf. Pseudo-Demosthenes, in *Theocr.* 1342, 65. Under the conditions of the restored democracy sycophancy became more rampant even than in Aristophanes' times, witness the orators *passim* and the enormous number of trials which the politician had to undergo in the course of an ordinary political career.
16. This was a cliché of the *laudatores temporis acti*. Isocrates *Peace* 91,174, Aristophanes, *Knights* 1325. The change in the Fifth Century was from Philaids and Alcmaeonids to Cleon and Nicias analogous to that from the Pitts and Palmerstones to the Gladstones and Chamberlains. Cleophon, the labour politician, did not come to the front until the close of the Peloponnesian War. Cleon himself belonged to the new plutocracy. His father Cleaenetus paid for the training of a chorus somewhere about 467 B.C. (C.I.A. II, 971a.), and was therefore no pauper.
17. 'DEMOSTHENES: Spring you from gentlemen? SAUSAGE SELLER: By the powers, not I,  
From downright blackguards. DEM.: Lucky, lucky man.  
O what a start you've got for public life!  
S.S.: But I know nothing, friend, beyond my letters,  
And even of them but little, and that badly.  
DEM.: The mischief is that you know *anything*.  
To be a Demus' leader is not now  
For lettered men nor yet for honest men,  
But for the base and ignorant.' *Knights* 185 foll.
18. οἶμοι δειλαιος  
πόθεν οὖν ἀν' ἐτι γένοιτο πώλης εἰς μόνος; *Knights* 139.
19. For the change in the manner of delivery in public oratory and the introduction of the popular style with violent gesture and shouting, see Plutarch *Nicias* and *Tib. Gracchus* 2. Cleon was the first to use gesticulation; previous orators kept their arms inside their cloaks, Aeschines in *Timarch.* 25, Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* 28, 3, Demosthenes *de fals. Leg.* 251. The epithet βιαίτατος, 'most violent' (Thucyd. III, 36) characterises Cleon's manner no less than his policy. For Cleon's high-pitched, strident voice, bawling like a torrent in spate, see Aristophanes *passim*, e.g., *Acharnians* 381, *Wasps* 36, 1034, *Knights* 137, 218, *Peace* 314, 757, and compare Plutarch's story of Gaius Gracchus (who similarly introduced mob oratory into Roman political life) and the pitch pipe.
20. It is clear from the *Knights* that Cleon was fond of appealing to popular religious sentiment and made great play with oracles. He used the trick of introducing slang (e.g., τὸ ἄπκαπαῖ = 'the lower deck,' from the sailors' cry at the oars, *Wasps* 909) or homely metaphor (*Knights* 464, foll.) to give vivacity to his speeches. He was a coiner of phrases (a tendency mocked in κατεσκευάσειε, *Wasps* 911) and liked to employ oratorical turns which had become proverbial, with a new twist (e.g., ἐραστής τοῦ Δήμου, *Knights* 732, 1162. It is curious that Mr. Rogers has not noticed that the original phrase is filched from Pericles, Thucyd. II, 43, and given a new turn). He employed personal vituperation and misrepresentation without scruple as a political weapon, and made large use of promises, not always fulfilled, of the benefits to accrue to the masses from the spoliation of the rich. His enemies alleged that political power was turned to personal profit. Modern analogies are not perhaps unknown.
21. *Knights* 1300-1315.
22. 'And Demus that is what he always does:  
Gives you the pettiest morsel of his gains  
And keeps by far the largest share himself.' *Knights* 1221.

This is of course the main theme of the *Wasps*; cf. especially II, 665 foll.



23. Theophrastus XXIX.  
 ' Now please remember, justices, ye'll have  
 No barley if the prisoner gets off free.' *Knights* 359.
24. *Knights* 912, Theophrastus, XXIX, Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* II, 5.
25. Xenophon, *op. cit.* I, 17. With the great increase in the cost of living and the financial losses of the great war, the upper classes were in many cases forced into working in the Fourth Century. Thus Aristarchus' difficulties were solved by following Socrates' advice to turn his female dependents on to work at weaving and spinning. Xenophon, *Memorabilia* II, 7.
26. *Clouds* 815.
27. With the greater luxury of imperial Athens frescoed halls had come into fashion, Plutarch, *Alcibiades* 16. Alternatively the halls of the great were adorned with embroidered hangings, *Wasps* 1215. Persian tapestries with designs of fantastic monsters were admired, *Frogs* 937. The Man of Petty Ambition affects hangings with Persians embroidered on them, Theophrastus VII.
28. Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* II, 5.
29. ' Again a magnificent man will erect a house in a manner suitable to his wealth, for even a private house may be an ornament to the city.' Aristotle, *Ethics* IV, 6. And Alcibiades claims that ' these doings of mine for which I am so much cried out against are an honour to myself and my ancestors, and a solid advantage to my country.' Thucydides VI, 16. Cf. Demosthenes *Adv. Phaenipp.* 1046, 14.
30. [Xenophon] Constitution of Athens I, 10.
31. For fairs at the New Moon at which slaves were purchased, see *Knights* 43, *Wasps* 171.
32. This price was paid at the sale of the Hermokopid's property, Hicks and Hill, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 72. At this sale two Syrians fetched 240 dr. and 301 dr. respectively. Male Thracians run from 115 dr. to 195 dr., and female Thracians from 156 dr. to 220 dr. After Alexander's conquests, black slaves became the fashion, as in England in the XVIIIth Century, and the Man of Petty Ambition is concerned to be accompanied by an Ethiopian attendant. Theophrastus VII.
33. The Odeum, built by Pericles, whose high bald head was likened by the comic poets to its dome (Plutarch, *Pericles* 13, 160) was the seat of the alimony courts, *Wasps* 1109. The Oligarchic Man in the Fourth Century took his constitutional in Odeum Street. Theophrastus XXIX. For the minimum of three attendants, see Demosthenes, *Phormio* 958, 14.
34. Herodotus VI, 125. According to the story, Croesus told Alcmaeon that he might take as much gold as he could carry away on his person. Alcmaeon not only filled the fold of his garment, his mouth, and a pair of extra large buskins donned for the occasion, but even sprinkled gold dust in his hair.
35. Herodotus V, 62. Calumny suggested that if the real facts were known the Alcmaeonid contractors made handsome pecuniary as well as political profit out of the transaction. Schol. Demosthenes' *Meidias* XXI, 144 (Müller II, 685).
36. *Clouds* 23.
37. Theophrastus XVII, 15, Lysias, *de inval.* 170, 20, Pseudo-Demosthenes, *in Arist.* 1, 786. Theophrastus called the barbers' shops *δουα σμυρδία*, Plutarch *Symp.* V, 5. For barbers' and perfumers' shops as places for gossip in Aristophanic times, see *Birds* 1441, *Plutus* 338.
38. *Birds* 300. Sporgilus was what Athenians called ' a bird,' see ll. 166 foll.
39. The Offensive Man goes about with his nails long, Theophrastus XII. The Oligarch has his nails delicately pared and his hair daintily trimmed, Theophrastus XIX. The Man of Petty Ambition will have his hair cut frequently, Theophrastus VII.
40. Cf. conversation between Critobulus and Socrates in Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* II, 3.
41. Plutarch, *Alcibiades* 16.
42. ' Why till ye built this city in the air  
 All men had gone Laconian mad. They went  
 Long-haired, half-starved, unwashed, Scratified,  
 With scytales in their hands.' *Birds* 1280.
- Aristotle shrewdly points out that this pose of asceticism is a form of boastfulness, ' for exaggerated deficiency is a form of boastfulness as well as excess,' *Ethics* IV, 14.



43. Thucydides II, 38. [Xenophon] *Constitution of Athens* II, 7-8. For a list of imports see Hermippus, frag. 63 (Kock) *ap.* Athenaeus I, 27 d-c. Her geographical advantages made Piraeus the central mart even after the loss of the Athenian empire. Xenophon, *Ways and Means* I, 6.

44. The bulk of Greek trade was in luxuries and necessities. The second were of national importance, and tended therefore to be controlled by the State. Regulations to secure adequate cargoes of corn, to prevent the diversion of the Black Sea supplies elsewhere and to control their distribution after arrival at Piraeus, were rigidly enforced by Athens. The timber trade, essential to a maritime power, was also subject to interference by the State. A minor instance of State control of raw materials of a 'key industry' is to be seen in the inscription providing for the Athenian monopoly of Kean ruddle used for Attic pottery. Hicks and Hill, No. 137. Luxuries were the more profitable cargo to the trader, and rarities were in constant request. Cf. Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 900 foll. Hence the truth of Herodotus' observation that the most valuable of commodities are to be found at the end of the world, Herodotus III, 106.

45. There are many references to monkeys in Aristophanes (e.g., *Acharnians* 907, *Frogs* 707, 1085) and the Man of Petty Ambition kept a monkey and a satyr ape, Theophrastus VII. Greeks were much addicted to keeping pets. The complaint, which still recurs in 'the silly season,' against the old maid who lavishes affection upon a lap-dog which would be more properly bestowed upon a child, though fathered by Plutarch upon Julius Caesar (Plutarch, *Pericles* I), in reality goes back to the Middle Comedy, Eubulus, *Frag.* 145 (Kock), the pets specified being geese, sparrows, and monkeys. Peacocks were still a novelty in Aristophanes' day. 'Are you bird or peacock?' Euclides asks Tereus. *Birds* 102. For Pylilampes' peacock farm, see below, note 138. Possibly Leogoras kept an aviary of pheasants (*Clouds* 109) which were also of recent introduction, though I am inclined to think that Rogers and the other champions of 'Phasian horses' are in the right, in view of the context and the known horsey character of the father of Andocides.

46. Ischomachus' wife married before she was fifteen. Xenophon *Oeconomicus* VII, 5. Aristotle (*Politics* VII, 16) and Hesiod (*Works and Days* 698), if I understand him aright, favour a later age upon eugenic grounds, and Spartans, as contrasted with other Greeks, practised the sounder doctrine. Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 15.

47. *Clouds* 41. Cf. *Xen. Mem.* II, 6, 36.

48. Theophrastus XIV, ll. 5 and 28.

49. A deme of Acamantis. For the property see *Clouds* 134, 210.

50. Pheidon ('Stingy') became a stock character in Middle Comedy, see Athenaeus VI, 223. A similar play upon the name Pheidon and Pheidonian measures occurs in Theophrastus XXVI. Cf. the story of Phryne's retort to the mean lover, Athenaeus XIII, 49.

51. Xenophon *Oeconomicus* VII, 5. Cf. *ib.* III, 13. Thucydides II, 45.

52. 'My business, my mother told me, was to be modest' (*σωφροσύνη*) Xenophon *Oeconomicus* VII, 15. The training in this case seems to have enabled the girl to live happily with a prig.

53. *Thesmoph.* 289-290.

54. Saffron robes, *Eccles.* 331, *Thesmoph.* 253. Cimmerian vests, *Lysistrata* 48. The spangled robe which women love, Plato, *Republic* 557C. For the question whether silk had yet come into use at this date, see Becker's *Charikles*. It would seem to have been a rarity still in Aristotle's time.

55. Milesian wool, *Lysistrata* 729. Amorgos linen, *ib.* 48, 150.

56. Hesiod, *Op et Di* 800.

57. Gamelion. Aristotle (*Politics* VII, 16, 1335a) agrees with popular custom that the winter months are the most suitable for marriages.

58. *Plutus* 529, *Birds* 1093. For perfuming of bride and bridegroom, cf. *Peace* 862, *Lysistrata* 938.

59. *Clouds* 51.

60. *Xen. Oec.* X, 2 foll. For use of white lead and alkanet as aids to beauty, cf. Aristophanes, *Eccles.* 878, 929, 1072, *Lysistrata* 48, *Plutus* 1064. Girls who wished to appear taller put cork soles in their shoes. For these, bustles, and other feminine devices, see Alexis *ap.* Athenaeus XIII, 23.

61. *Clouds* 53. Spinning, weaving, and cooking were essential qualifications in a wife (Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* III, 6), but in Ischomachus' view the most important qualification is the power of organisation. The good housewife should have her house as tidy and as methodically arranged as a ship, *ib.* III, 15, VII, 32.

62. *Thesmophoriazusae*, 418 foll. The interest taken by the master in the details of housekeeping was, in fact, more marked towards the end of the Peloponnesian War, for reasons painfully familiar to these days, see *Frogs* 980 foll. Domestic quarrels over housekeeping recur frequently in the later plays of Aristophanes.

63. *Lysistrata*, 658.

64. *Birds*, 440 foll.

65. *Clouds*, 45.

66. *Clouds*, 50.

67. *Thesmoph.* 512.

68. Greeks settled in foreign countries sometimes gave their children foreign names, e.g., Psammetichus, son of Theocles (Hicks and Hill, No. 3), or great personages might cement diplomatic ties by naming their children after a foreign potentate or an allied community, e.g., Psammetichus, nephew and successor to Periander, or Lacedaemonius, Thessalus, and Eleius, the sons of Cimon.

69. Analogous to the 'Almas' of the Crimean War or the 'Irenes' of the Boer War are names like Carystonicus and Naxiades. Hicks and Hill, No. 46, note.

70. The most usual practice, cf. Plato, *Laches* 179, Aristophanes, *Birds* 283. The eldest son had a more or less recognised right to his grandfather's name. Sometimes, like Megacles or Demosthenes, a son was called after his father, often the father's name was given with a slight change of form. Full references are to be found in Becker's *Charikles*. As is usual in societies where surnames are not developed, people were largely designated in practice by nicknames like Battalos, Krobylos, etc. See *Birds*, 1290 foll.

71. *Clouds* 60 foll.

72. *Birds* 494, Theophrastus VIII.

73. 'Thus the most beautiful of balls or bottles has a certain magnificence as a present for a child, though its price is trifling and paltry. It is characteristic, then, of the magnificent man, whatever be the class of work that he produces, to produce it in a magnificent way.' Aristotle, *Ethics* IV, 6. 'Children should have something to do, and the rattle of Archytas, which people give to their children in order to amuse them and prevent them from breaking anything in the house, was a capital invention, for a young thing cannot be quiet.' Aristotle, *Politics* VIII, 6, 1340b.

74. *Birds* 492 foll. For the state of Athenian streets in the dark, cf. *Wasps* 260. Link boys were of course a necessity, except in the brightest moonlight, *Clouds* 612, *Peace* 839. Plutarch, *Pericles*, 5, 2. For Orestes the footpad, see *Acharnians* 1164, *Birds* 1490.

75. *Thesmoph.* 730. It was cut rather than material that is characterised by κρητικόν. In its proper sense the Cretan robe was a very short himation worn by the King Archon, Pollux VII, 77. Hence probably 'shortening clothes' or 'pelisse.' Persian slippers are the feminine footgear as opposed to the masculine Laconian shoes, *Eccles.* 319, 345. The little shoes of wax made in the flea experiment are Persians, *Clouds* 151, and Pollux says that they were light coloured (λευκόν ὑπόδημα) VII, 92.

76. *Clouds* 1381.

77. Spartan nurses were the fashion in Greece. Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 16. Alcibiades had a Spartan nurse named Amykla. Plutarch, *Alcibiades* 1.

78. 'And feed him badly as the nurses do,  
You chew and pop a morsel in his mouth,  
But thrice as much you swallow down yourself.' *Knights* 715.

For pap feeding in second childhood, see Athenaeus XII, 40. For Strepsiades' behaviour, see Theophrastus XI.

79. Plutarch, *Agesilaos* 25.

80. The Stupid Man makes his children wrestle and run races until he has exhausted them. Theophrastus XIII.

81. Aristophanes, *Frag.* 389; Pollux VII. ἐξεχ' ὡς φιλ' ἤλιε is the Mediterranean counterpart to the 'Rain, rain, go to Spain' of our more negative climate.

82. *Clouds* 878.
83. *Wasps* 824 foll. Labels the house-dog, *Wasps* 841. The stables were just inside the front door, *Wasps* 179. For the use of the pig pen to make the court, see *Wasps* 844.
84. The figs were dangled in front of the child, who tried to catch them with his mouth, see *Knights* 755.
85. *Clouds* 361.
86. The performing jackdaw as pet, Theophrastus VII. Philocrates the bird-seller is mentioned *Birds* 14. His prices were one obol for a jackdaw, three obols for a crow, and sixpence seven an obol, *Birds* 18, 1077.
87. For figs and knucklebones as acceptable offerings to a boy, see *Wasps* 291 foll. Knucklebones were used not only in the modern way, but also with nuts and acorns in a variety of marble games. See Pollux IX, 102. The Flatterer buys 'apples and pears and will bring them in and give them to the children in the father's presence, adding with kisses "Chicks of a good father,"' Theophrastus I. The Flatterer's phrase corresponds to our 'Chip of the old block,' and was proverbial, cf. *Birds* 767.  
*εἰ δ' ὁ Πεισίου προδοῦναι τοῖς ἀτίμοις τὰς πύλας  
 βούλεται κέρδιζ γενέσθαι τοῦ πατρὸς νεότιον.*
88. The Complaisant Man 'when asked to dinner will request the host to send for the children and will say of them, when they come in, that they are as like their father as figs; and will draw them towards him and kiss them and establish them at his side—playing with some of them, and himself saying "Winekin Hatchet," and permitting them to go to sleep upon him to his anguish,' Theophrastus II. Xenophon, *Symp.* I, 12, shows us an older boy at a dinner of grown-ups. He does not recline like his elders, but sits.
89. 'Nay he (the Loquacious Man) will endure to be the butt of his own children when drowsy, at last they make their request to him in these terms, "Papa chatter to us that we may fall asleep,"' Theophrastus XIX.
90. *Clouds* 71.
91. *Peace* 133, *Lysistrata* 697, *Wasps* 1448.
92. *Wasps* 1182.
93. *Lysistrata* 781.
94. Further references to Aesop *Birds* 471, *Wasps* 1401, 1446. For nurses' tales and the evil of frightening small children with bogey stories, see the references in Becker, *Charikles*.
95. Aristophanes, *Anargyros*, frag. 41.
96. *Clouds* 69.



## REVIEWS

[The Editor would be glad to receive Books and Periodicals for review.]

A. B. COOK. *Zeus. A Study in Ancient Religion*, Vol. I. 'Zeus, God of the Bright Sky.' Cambridge University Press, 1914, pp. xvii and 885, 42 Plates and 569 figures.

It is an ungrateful task to belittle the results of years of patient labour and real erudition, but honesty compels the recognition that Mr. Cook shows the defects of his qualities of enthusiasm and imagination. He would make a better advocate than judge, not in the least because he is in any way insincere, but because he is by temperament sanguine rather than critical. There is a mass of information collected in this thick volume, some of it relevant, some of it irrelevant to the main argument. For the latter, however, it were pedantic to be ungrateful; if somewhat Herodotean in his love of digressions, Mr. Cook conveys in them a great deal of interesting information which will be new to the majority of his readers. But it is a more vital defect that he does not sufficiently appreciate the very variable merit of his citations as evidence; good, bad or indifferent, they are collected and set down though in many cases their authority to establish the desired point seems very questionable. To take a random example it seems very doubtful whether the testimony of Clement of Rome, Rufinus and Servius about a Graeco-Sicilian myth concerning the parentage of the Sikel Paliki can correct or supplement the view of Homer and Hesiod as to the original relationship of Zeus and Thalia in Greece.

I find, too, a lack of historical sense, both in the handling of the evidence and in the conception of the theme. For example, Macrobius alleged that Cretans called the day Zeus, and Mr. Cook believes that in Cretan Doric the word Zeus retains its primitive meaning. Of this he finds confirmation in the occurrence of the difficult phrase *παγκρατὲς γάνος* in the Palaikastro Hymn. It is true that he pays lip service to the facts that our copy of the hymn dates from about 200 A.D., and that the original cannot be put further back than about 300 B.C., but he does not draw the conclusions which are surely (1) that the Hymn contains the original prehistoric conception of Zeus at all is pure assumption, (2) that the selection of this particular phrase is arbitrary, nor is there any reason to suppose that it represents a survival unless we assume what we have set out to prove. Again, Hellenistic paintings, with their blue orbs and blue *nimbi* are invoked as evidence that 'Zeus was once the blue sky and the blue sky only.' But, of course, they are not evidence for the prehistoric conception of Zeus, but only for the conception of the god and his attributes belonging to the age in which the artists worked. It is really Mr. Cook not the evidence which affixes the labels earlier or later. Inevitably this lack of historical sense affects the work as a whole. Throughout, we are being presented not with what the Greeks of any particular period or series of periods thought of Zeus, but with the ideas of classical antiquity as a whole. Again, the methods of argument employed by the sanguine school are not absent. 'It is permissible to suppose' or some similar phrase too often covers a gap in the argument. Sometimes the argument itself is perilously near the fallacy of *non sequitur*. For example, Mr. Cook believes that the single wheel upon



the earlier vase-paintings of Triplotemos does not represent a two-wheeled chariot seen in profile, but a single solar wheel. The derivation of Triplotemos' snake drawn chariot from the simple solar wheel is 'emphatically confirmed' by the story of Antheias, who came to grief from falling off—a solar wheel, one would expect. But no : in fact, he fell out of Triplotemos' chariot. His fate may support the theory of a solar origin for Triplotemos' car, but it has no bearing upon the solar wheel theory at all.

Mr. Cook's main thesis that Zeus was originally conceived in zoistic fashion as the Bright Sky, and gradually attained an anthropomorphic form on the pattern of weather making magicians belongs to the region of faith rather than of proof. The positive evidence in favour of the theory consists mainly of phrases belonging to poetic imagery and diction (what scope Francis Thompson may one day give to a similar enquiry by posterity !), and 'cult titles and art types of a more sophisticated age' in which Mr. Cook traces the earlier character of the god. To this latter process we may fairly answer once more with a charge of *petitio principii*. Why should the selected features be earlier and not later ?

After all there are grave difficulties in the theory of a pre-anthropomorphic Zeus. In the first place, Hestia and Gaia are the only certain examples of Greek deities originating in the conception of a material object or element as animate, and the history of their cults suggests that this process of religious thought was upon the whole alien to Greek temperament. In the second, we are entitled to apply the test of history. Strictly speaking this alleged stage of religious thought cannot be Greek, nor is it easy to assign it to either of the racial stocks from the fusion of which the Greeks sprang. As early as we know anything of the Northerners their divinities are anthropomorphically conceived and the Aryan heaven mimics the social structure of the Aryan family. For Mediterranean man the archaeological evidence is decisive. It shows that for hundreds of years before the break up of the Bronze Age civilisation gods, though worshipped in aniconic form, were anthropomorphically conceived. And this by the way knocks the bottom out of Mr. Cook's arguments upon p. 121. Whatever the motive of aniconic worship in the Bronze Age, it was not because deities were not yet anthropomorphic, and it is quite illegitimate to assume that the cults of Zeus which were celebrated at an altar with neither temple nor statue, 'must be traced back to the primitive conception of Zeus as the Bright Sky, alive and potent, but not as yet anthropomorphic.' Would Mr. Cook apply the same argument to Jacob's worship at Bethel ?

But, although I am unable to agree with Mr. Cook's main conclusions or to endorse his methods in arriving at them, a tribute must be paid to a notable contribution to learning. Its 786 pages of text, thickly encrusted with footnotes, display real erudition, both literary and archaeological. It is a mine of information which Mrs. Cook's admirably full index makes easy to use. Whatever may be thought of its merits as a constructive work, it will remain an indispensable book of reference. And if it betrays the defects of the sanguine school, it shares also their merits. It breathes a live enthusiasm for the subject, and is full of rich

## PHEIDIPPIDES: A STUDY OF GOOD FORM IN FIFTH CENTURY ATHENS

BY W. R. HALLIDAY, B.A., B.LITT.

*(Continued from p. 30.)*

His aristocratic uncle took a kindly interest in the boy, and when he was seven years old he urged his father to send him to school.<sup>97</sup> He was getting spoiled at home, and it was high time that he was packed off. The great thing was to make a gentleman of him. Of course, he must learn his three R's, and be able to quote Homer.<sup>98</sup> You don't want him to be as ignorant as a sausage seller.<sup>99</sup> But on the other hand, manners are the great thing, and character matters more than playing the harp.<sup>100</sup> You don't want him to turn out a narrow-chested, pale-faced intellectual with the authentic Attic look.<sup>101</sup> It is most important to choose a good old-fashioned school where the lads get taught to respect their elders,<sup>102</sup> and there is none of this modern nonsense of coddling the boys up.<sup>103</sup> It is ludicrous to see these little fellows nowadays, wrapped up to the eyes in cloaks, when you think of how we used to walk down to school, all the boys of the parish together, singing a good old tune—none of this modern ragtime—and whatever the weather, snow or sleet, none had more than a tunic on.<sup>104</sup> A boy needs hardening. And none of your new-fangled hot baths, sir.<sup>105</sup> They are the ruin of the boys. It makes them soft, and they get into all sorts of mischief hanging about the baths after school hours.<sup>106</sup> Choose a school where the discipline is good. Don't send him to one of these palaestras where parents and others are always dropping in. Solon knew what he was about when he made the law that nobody except a son, brother, or son-in-law of the master should be allowed to enter school or palaestra in school hours.<sup>107</sup> It is the ruin of discipline. The parents get chattering to the master and the boys and nothing gets done,<sup>108</sup> and there are some nasty stories going about about the moral tone of some of these places. The boys pick up all sorts of effeminate tricks, messing themselves about with unguents and goodness knows what.<sup>109</sup>

The advice of Megacles was taken—and a school was chosen, a better class seminary than that in which the young Aeschines mixed the ink and swabbed the benches.<sup>110</sup> Every morning before daybreak<sup>111</sup> Pheidippides would set out in charge of an elderly slave who carried his books and

writing materials. This pedagogue was a foreigner, but he had been carefully selected. He was sensible and strict, and spoke excellent Greek, except when he had had a drop too much.<sup>113</sup> He kept the boy in order, and brought him back when the school closed at sunset. When he started going to school, his father gave Pheidippides a little tawny coloured Melitean dog for his very own.<sup>113</sup> The boy carried it in the fold of his cloak and it went with him everywhere, lying behind him while he was doing his lessons.<sup>114</sup>

These, at first, were not heavy. In the palaestra he spent most of his time watching the older boys though there was a certain amount of simple physical exercises through which, in company with the rest of the infant class, he was put. In school he learned the alphabet, and then to write the letters between the lines ruled for him by the master on his wax tablet. Later on he learned to count, first on his fingers, and then with the counting board, and to grapple with simple sums. Then, of course, there was the music lesson, and the literature class where he learned something of the poems of Homer and Hesiod. His training on the physical side was similarly progressive, and when he passed out of the infant class he learned wrestling, running, boxing, and the other manly accomplishments.<sup>115</sup>

Pheidippides was a sturdy boy<sup>116</sup> and thoroughly enjoyed these athletic exercises, and his favourite way of spending a holiday was to go down to the Academy, the great recreation ground, laid out originally by Cimon, about three quarters of a mile beyond the city walls, and spend a happy day running races with his special chum.<sup>117</sup>

All fragrant with woodbine and peaceful content, and the leaf which the  
lime blossoms fling  
When the plane whispers love to the elm in the grove in the beautiful  
season of spring.<sup>118</sup>

The Athenian small boy was very like other small boys, and learned much the same lessons from contact with his fellows. Pheidippides soon learned that juniors must be seen and not heard,<sup>119</sup> and may on no account help themselves before their seniors at table.<sup>120</sup> He was taught to sit in class with his knees together and tucked up decently under his chiton,<sup>121</sup> to rise and give up his seat to his elders,<sup>122</sup> and not to giggle or cross his legs at table. Eating tuck was also forbidden,<sup>123</sup> but one may doubt if the law was honoured by small boys in the observance.

When he went home he would retail, after the manner of small boys,



the gossip of the school, and Strepsiades soon got to know the nicknames of the boys, and all about those mammysucks, the sons of Hippocrates. Nasty little beasts! We call them the swine.<sup>124</sup> They are no good at anything except swotting. They are hopeless to have on the side at 'Night and Day,'<sup>125</sup> and they are always the first to be made donkey when we are playing ball.<sup>126</sup> Of course, the master is keen on them. He gave one of the little beasts a basket of knucklebones the other day as a prize for writing.<sup>127</sup> We soon won them off him though at odd and even.<sup>128</sup> Their people live in a lodging house, too.<sup>129</sup> There is no snob like your school boy!

There were two fellows whose father was so mean that he didn't send them to school at all in Anthesterion, because there were so many holidays in the month that he was not getting his money's worth.<sup>130</sup> Pretty good business for the boys that, but they lost on the feasts of Hermes and the Muses, for then their father put them to bed and pretended that they were ill, in order to avoid sending a contribution to the sacrifice and a present to the master.<sup>131</sup>

Stories, too, were brought home of the escapades of the school heroes. There was a fellow who called out 'Look at the swallow' as he passed the cook's shop, and while they were looking up, snapped up a piece of meat.<sup>132</sup> The same chap had to divide a drachma with a shortsighted fellow. He put down some fishscales and the shortsighted chap put them into his mouth, thinking that they were coins!<sup>133</sup> They had a great plan, too, one day of tying a light onto one of the cockchafers they had on a string, and setting the master's house on fire.<sup>134</sup> It didn't work, but it was a jolly good idea. And then there was that ass Euelpides. His father gave him a tip the other day, and he was going down to the bazaar when he saw the first kite of the year. He prostrated himself to salute it, and in doing so swallowed the coin!<sup>135</sup>

Strepsiades would listen to all this school gossip, and, like other fathers, would try to show an intelligent interest in his son's lessons, examining him about the meaning of the long words in Homer. Pheidippides retorted with embarrassing conundrums about Solon's laws, and, like other fathers after him, Strepsiades would sometimes find himself out of his depth.<sup>136</sup>

In the holidays the father would take his son to see the conjuror,<sup>137</sup> or they would spend a day in the gardens of Pylilampes looking at the peacocks which he had brought home from Persia when he was ambassador.<sup>138</sup> At the Lenaea and Dionysia they would go to the theatre.<sup>139</sup> And then there were the school festivals—those of the Muses in the schools and of



Hermes in the palaestra.<sup>140</sup> His mother would take out the boy's best white clothes<sup>141</sup> from the chest where they were carefully put away with citrons to make them fragrant and to keep out the moth,<sup>142</sup> and off Pheidippides would trot with the pedagogue behind him carrying a contribution to the sacrifice, and perhaps a sack of flour as a present to the master or paidotribes.<sup>143</sup> All the boys, big and little would be assembled<sup>144</sup> and there would be a lot of grown ups present, and feasting and a good deal of playing of knucklebones and odd and even.<sup>145</sup> And as they went home at sunset the pedagogue would be a little unsteady on his legs.<sup>146</sup>

In fact, Pheidippides had a pretty good time, and if he was kept in order at school there is little doubt that he was spoiled at home. Once or twice he received the thrashing which he deserved. He got caught once playing with his mother's spinning instruments,<sup>147</sup> and then there was the time when he took advantage of the slave's back being turned to jump into the mule cart and drive off in it.<sup>148</sup> But his father beat him with reluctance,<sup>149</sup> and as he grew older his hold over him became weaker and weaker. He was more than half afraid of him to tell the truth.<sup>150</sup> And Pheidippides had now become a school blood to whom the little boys looked up with awe,<sup>151</sup> and was inclined to treat his family cavalierly. When spoken to by his father he would sometimes answer back, or go off grumbling audibly to himself about musty old Japhets and antediluvian notions.<sup>152</sup>

When Pheidippides was sixteen, and the time had come for him to leave school, the problem of what was to be done with him arose. It was a problem familiar to the Athenian parent of the upper class for the educational system in Athens was not organised, and the gap between school and military service presented real difficulties to the parent.

Pheidippides, at the end of his schooling, had developed a taste for luxury, and had learned to look down upon agricultural labour. Like the father in the 'Banqueters,' Strepsiades complained that his boy had not learned any of the things he was sent to school to learn, but only to drink, to sing rather badly, and to appreciate Syracusan cooking, Sybaritic feasts and Chian wine out of Laconian cups.<sup>153</sup> And Pheidippides declared that he was not going to break his back digging in the fields at Kikynna.<sup>154</sup>

Probably the lad got support from Megacles. We know that at a later date, when Strepsiades insisted upon his going to Socrates' lectures, that he threatens to appeal to his uncle, who he is confident will not leave him horseless.<sup>155</sup> The Megacles type takes a generous view of youth's

wild oats. His father, as we have noticed, was more than half afraid of his aristocratic son, and so Pheidippides ran wild with the knights.

Our hero has been compared to Thrasymachus in the "Banquets," but to give him his due he was not like Thrasymachus, a dilettante aesthete, who found even playing the flute or lyre an awful lag.<sup>156</sup> Nor, as a whole, were the Athenian knights decadents like the young aristocracy, which Sybaris is said to have bred.<sup>157</sup> There were, of course, exceptions. There were the young men who lounged about the perfume market using exquisite adjectives ending in *ταειν*, and spending their day in the discussion of *causes oelbtes*, when in Aristophanes' opinion they would have been better employed in the hunting field.<sup>158</sup> Parallels will be familiar among Oxford and Cambridge undergraduates, but in ancient, as in modern times they do not represent the type. Effeminate individuals like the fat glutton and coward Cleonymus,<sup>159</sup> or the smooth-checked Cleisthenes<sup>160</sup> are definitely under the ban of public opinion. And though the morals of youthful aristocracy were no more straddled at Athens than elsewhere, there was evidently a definite code, to offend which put a man beyond the pale. Ingenious experts in vice like Amphrades are put in Coventry,<sup>161</sup> while an Aristyllus, whom one may suspect did not show petty ambition in the matter of cleaving his teeth, has his nose rubbed in the mud for it.<sup>162</sup> Until Alcibiades set the new fashion, their attitude towards the intellectuals was contemptuous, and they looked down from the twin heights of athletic and aristocratic prejudice upon the unwashed *terrae filii* who went about clad in rags with countenances paled by study.<sup>163</sup> And, if in times of peace, they were extravagant, reckless and affected, when war came they rose to the occasion. There were, no doubt a few, hangers-on like Amynias,<sup>164</sup> shirkers of military service, whose courage was limited to the gambling den, but, as a class, they responded to their country's call.

Our ambition is to fight  
 Freely for our gods and country, as our fathers fought before  
 No reward or pay receiving, asking this and nothing more.  
 When returning Peace shall set us free from all our warlike toil,  
 Grudge us not our flowing ringlets, grudge us not our baths and  
 oil.<sup>165</sup>

These were the associates of Pheidippides, and from them he learned the canons of good form. It was the thing to wear the hair in long ringlets, golden ringlets being especially admired.<sup>166</sup> Some, like the young Cratinus,

affected the topknot, the hair at either side of it being shaved off with a razor.<sup>167</sup> This mode, however, was a little extreme. In clothes, bright colours were the fashion, and the exquisites wore the himation long, trailing to their heels. A variety of Persian wraps like the *kaunakes*, with its lining of rough wool or the fringed cloak of *Wasps* 471, were brought into fashion.<sup>168</sup> An onyx ring was worn on the finger.<sup>169</sup>

The fashion of the exquisites was set by Alcibiades.

He walks like one dissolved in luxury,  
Lets his robe trail behind him on the ground,  
Carelessly leans his head, and in his talk  
Affects a lisp.<sup>170</sup>

The young bloods followed suit. One may hazard the suggestion that the babyish way of talking upon which Socrates rallies Pheidippides<sup>171</sup> was an affectation of the young swell analogous to the clipping of the 'g' of participles familiar in this country before the war. It is fair, however, to notice that Alcibiades had a true lisp (he said 'kolax' for 'korax'),<sup>172</sup> while Pheidippides seems to have mispronounced the diphthong *ω*. The 'Alcibiades shoe,' at any rate became the mode,<sup>173</sup> and probably a more rapid speech was considered good form by his youthful admirers than would have become Aristotle's megalopsychos.<sup>174</sup> And it is clear that a more emotional habit of phrase was coming in. The old colourless form of greeting *χαίρει* gave way to the more emphatic *ἀσπάζομαι*.<sup>175</sup>

Like Philocleon, when emerging from his second childhood, Pheidippides had of course to master the elements of good form. The first importance was attached by Athenians to deportment.<sup>176</sup> In dress he had to learn to put on his himation like a gentleman, not like an uncivilised Triballian, nor like Laispodias, who was compelled to wear his over the wrong shoulder in order to conceal his withered leg.<sup>177</sup> And the art of sitting gracefully in a himation had to be acquired.<sup>178</sup> And of course he would not be seen in the streets in clothes marked with stains,<sup>179</sup> nor omit to put on summer clothes when the swallow appeared.<sup>180</sup>

To walk properly was considered a sign of *sophrosyne*, that eminently aristocratic virtue,<sup>181</sup> and the gentleman of fashion, no less than the High-minded Man, must affect a deliberate and leisurely gait.<sup>182</sup> 'It seems too,' says Aristotle, 'that the High-Minded Man will be slow in his movements, his voice will be deep and his manner of speaking sedate. For it is not likely that a man will be in a hurry if there are not many things that he cares for, or that he will be emphatic if he does not regard



anything as important, and these are the causes which make people speak in shrill tones and use rapid movement.<sup>183</sup>

That nothing is to be regarded as important is one of the darling poses of youth in all ages, and is the real link between the young swell and the megalopsychos. The prejudice against walking fast and talking loud, like the money-lender Nicobulus,<sup>184</sup> or stepping high like Aeschines and Pythocles,<sup>185</sup> remains in the Fourth Century, but when the latter are accused of bad form in wearing cloaks down to their heels, it is due, probably, to an anti-aristocratic reaction against the dress of Alcibiades and the Thirty. Nicobulus' crimes were apparently aggravated by his carrying a stick. Everyone carried sticks in the Fifth Century, and that they did so still in the Fourth is clear from Theophrastus. I can only suppose that in Nicobulus it was considered a piece of 'swank' on the part of a despised money-lender.

The days of the young men with whom Pheidippides was now associated were spent in hunting boars, horse racing, cock-fighting, and quail-fighting.<sup>186</sup> To all of these sports the young Athenian was passionately addicted. 'I would rather have a good friend,' says Socrates to a youthful hearer, 'than the best cock or quail in the world; I would go even further, and say than a horse or dog.'<sup>187</sup> A less innocent recreation was dicing, and the young bloods in Athens, as in Eighteenth Century London, recklessly dived away their fortunes.<sup>188</sup>

Their evenings they spent at dinner-parties, and often Pheidippides and his friends will have dined at the house of Leogoras, the father of Andocides, himself a keen horseman, fond of entertaining and no doubt glad to attract round him the young men of the aristocratic party.<sup>189</sup> For the dinner-parties in the *Wasps*<sup>190</sup> show us the employment of social functions for political ends, which reached its highest point in the organisation of the aristocratic clubs in which the extremists matured and engineered their *coups d'etat* in 411 and 403.

The beginning of the evenings was decorous enough. The young guests lay orderly upon their couches in the correct manner, as described to Philocleon by his son.<sup>191</sup> But when the meal was finished, the manchets of bread on which they wiped their hands had been thrown to the dogs,<sup>192</sup> the tables had been cleared away, the guests had washed their hands,<sup>193</sup> and the loving cup of unmixed wine had been drunk by all to the toast of the Good Daimon,<sup>194</sup> the drinking began, and things became increasingly lively.



No gentleman was a temperance crank or water-drinker,<sup>195</sup> though of course a man of breeding would show it in the way he carried his liquor, and strong heads like Socrates' were much respected. The company elected a president, who prescribed the toasts and the proportion in which the wine and water should be mixed. The normal mixture seems to have been three parts of water to two of wine.<sup>196</sup> The president decided also (upon the expression of their wishes by the company) with what amusements the drinking should be accompanied. It would seem that the older fashion of the sing-song was temporarily out of mode,<sup>197</sup> and if songs were sung, they were sad degenerate stuff, according to the older generation, licentious pornographic nonsense, not the good old simple tunes. 'John Peel' and 'Hearts of Oak' had been ousted by music-hall impropriety.<sup>198</sup> The conversation was much what one would expect. A great deal of hunting and athletic shop, and no doubt a good deal of personal exaggeration.

' Tell how you slew the boar  
Or coursed the hare or ran the torch race. Tell  
Your youthfulest gayest act.'<sup>199</sup>

Raconteurs—and one may suspect that their repertoire was more racy than Aesop, though probably as antique (for there is nothing so old as the smoking-room story)—were in great request. The tactful raconteur was often a peacemaker, and could divert attention if guests were getting quarrelsome in their cups.<sup>200</sup>

Free women were not, of course, admitted to these entertainments. Flute players made music, and lavished their charms on the company, as may be seen on the vases as well as in Aristophanes' plays. As the wine circulated the proceedings became more uproarious. The parties often fell to dancing. Indeed, the Greek felt that the man who danced without having 'drink taken' was out of place;<sup>201</sup> but the maudlin and unending dancing of Philocleon was equally to be deprecated by those who could carry their liquor like gentlemen.<sup>202</sup>

When the company got worked up, a rag not infrequently got under way. Sometimes the party would stagger off, wreaths and all, to visit someone else. The entry of Alcibiades in Plato's *Symposium* will be remembered, the most lively portrait I know in literature of the intrusion of one who has well-dined upon a more sober company.<sup>203</sup> In the streets, the more hilarious would get into mischief, and damage would be done to the tradesmen's wares or premises, leading often to police court proceedings

next day.<sup>204</sup> Two of these rags were to have an important influence upon history. The brilliant idea of semi-intoxicated young aristocrats of carrying out a parody of imitation at the Mysteries and the drunken humour expressed in the mutilation of the herms which stood at the corners of Athenian streets, led to consequences which could not be averted by cash payments on the morrow.

Pheidippides' amusements were expensive. The pace was set by nouveaux riches like Diitrephes, who had made a fortune out of the manufacture of wicker shield-handles.<sup>205</sup> It was all very well for the lad to complain in his cups of how short the old man kept him,<sup>206</sup> but Strepsiades' income, which had been sensibly diminished, thanks to the destruction of his vines by the Spartan invasions, was already strained to meet the increase in the cost of living. Currency was inflated and commodities were scarce. Merchants continued to make a large profit, and the munition makers were reaping a fortune,<sup>207</sup> but the landowner watched his property being destroyed, and lost his harvests. Charcoal was scarce and oil increasingly difficult to procure.<sup>208</sup> Even the slaves needed careful handling, while skilled labour was extremely restive. It could only be controlled by concession, for since the war desertion had been easy.<sup>209</sup> Rigid economy became increasingly necessary as the war went on. Meantime, the prodigal son was wasting money upon high living and the incidental expenses of vice. His father was always having to raise the wind to pay his racing debts, or to square the market women to avoid his appearance in the police court after some drunken frolic. And many a father, without the comic motive of acquiring a family interest in the Unjust Argument, must have driven their sons to the sophists to continue their education during the awkward gap between school and military service. The problem is seriously discussed from a very different angle in Plato's *Laches*. There, too, the solution is Socrates.

If, on the one hand, parental pressure may have been applied, on the other philosophy became the mode with the young aristocracy. Alcibiades, whose disapproval had put an end to flute-playing as a social accomplishment,<sup>210</sup> was the undisputed arbiter of fashion. His first association with the threadbare Socrates, if we may trust Plutarch, had aroused surprise and had seemed yet another of the pranks by which he courted public notoriety and kept the gossips busy.<sup>211</sup> But his lead was followed, and philosophy became the fashion.<sup>212</sup> Already, in 423, the older heads may have felt uneasy. Brilliant, beautiful, rich, reckless, and versatile, the

younger generation, whose virtues and weaknesses Alcibiades embodied, represented that fine flower of the complete democracy, the democratic man of Plato's *Republic*.

A man so various that he seemed to be  
Not one but all mankind's epitome.<sup>213</sup>

Their lack of scruple, and the supple facility of their assimilation of the worse features of sophistic learning gave room for foreboding. Charming as appeared the embroidered robe, its spangles lacked design.<sup>214</sup> To the iconoclastic enthusiasm of youth, the new learning presented fatal attractions. The old restraints were removed, but no moral purpose was set in their place. Eagerly they learned the superiority of Nature's law over those conventions cantly termed morality, which the many weak have imposed on the few strong.<sup>215</sup> They were to be a race of supermen; they became the Thirty Tyrants.

The scene at the end of the *Clouds* is tragically prophetic.

'O fool, fool, fool, how mad I must have been,  
To cast away the gods for Socrates.'<sup>216</sup>

cries the disillusioned old Athenian, and calls, in vain, upon his misguided son to help in the work of revenge.

'Come, my darling,  
Come and destroy that filthy Chaerophon,  
And Socrates, for they've deceived us both.'<sup>217</sup>

Athens, too, had come to her senses with the restored democracy after the nightmare of the Thirty. Judged by its fruits, philosophy had been a worse guide than the religion it had destroyed, and Anytus, like Strepsiades, had cause to mourn a son for whose moral ruin he held Socrates responsible. On the facts, it is difficult to refuse some sympathy to the infuriated fathers, however violent their revenge. In fact, the Socratic circle had produced, not only Plato and Xenophon, but Critias and the extremists of the Thirty. Socrates' personal virtue, his moral greatness, and his excellence of motive, are no more in question than the largeness of the debt to him of all subsequent ethical enquiry. But his method was analytical, and, in its immediate results, purely destructive. It destroyed the faith of his younger contemporaries in established standards, it did not teach them the intellectual humility of their master, whose personal faith in morality itself was not shaken by the discovery that the sanctions of conduct of the ordinary man are inadequate or unworthy. The strong wine of intellectual freedom was too potent for clever but empty heads, and the



result was disaster. Though the fault was that of the pupils not of the master, it was, one must admit, a sound instinct based upon bitter experience which inspired the plain man's hatred of the new learning. Nor can the crowd be altogether blamed for regarding Socrates as its representative. In this precisely lies the tragedy of a judicial murder as stupid and futile as it was unjust.

97. Plato suggested that physical education should begin at six and literary at ten, *Laws* VII, 794. Aristotle begins education in both spheres at seven, *Politics* VII, 17. In practice the age at which children began going to school varied; the sons of the well-to-do classes tended to begin earlier.

98. Nicias made his son learn the Iliad and Odyssey by heart to make him a good man. If his table-talk is fairly reproduced he made him a bore. Xenophon, *Symp.* III, 51. Cf. Aeschines in *Ctesiphon* 135. To be able to quote Homer was a feature of liberal education. The Late Learner studied passages for recitation when he was past sixty and always broke down when he tried to deliver them over the wine. Theophrastus VIII. The oligarch has only mastered one line, 'No good comes of manifold rule, let the ruler be one,' Theophrastus XXX. For boys rehearsing for a speech day at a wedding feast, see *Peace* 1265 foll. Recitations were a recognised social diversion over the wine, *Clouds* 1364.

99. *Knights* 189.

100. In *Protagoras* 325, Plato lays stress upon this point. 'At a later stage they send him to teachers and enjoin them to see to his manners even more than his reading and music and the teachers do as they are desired.' The Greek for 'I am not an intellectual' is *κιθαρίζειν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι*, *Wasps* 959, 989. It implies a claim to be a plain honest man like Laches. Of course, on the other hand, in polite society the intellectual pose is effective and at least an apparent knowledge of prosody can be turned to uses of display, *Clouds* 649.

101. Cimon had been the political leader of Megacles' youth. *οὔτε μουσικὴν οὔτε ἄλλο τι μάθημα τῶν ἐλευθερίων καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπιχωριαζόντων ἐκδιδαχθῆναι, δευρότητός τε καὶ στωμυλλίας Ἀττικῆς ὄλωι ἀπηλλάχθαι καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ πολὺ τὸ γενναῖον καὶ ἀληθὲς ἐνυπάρχειν καὶ μᾶλλον εἶναι Πελοποννήσιον τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ ἀνδρός.* Plutarch, *Cimon* IV, 480. For the physical results of an over-intellectual training, see *Clouds* 1015 foll. For the authentic Attic look, *Clouds* 1170-6.

102. *Clouds* 962, 993.

103. *Clouds* 987.

104. *Clouds* 964 foll.

105. *Clouds* 1044 foll. The hot bath controversy was evidently acute at the time, cf. Athenaeus I, 32. The hot bath, however, came in, in spite of old-fashioned opposition (Xenophon, *Mem.* III, 13, 3), and in Aristophanes' own day the public baths were a refuge for the destitute in cold weather, *Plutus* 553, 952. In the Fourth Century, the Evil Speaker says of a man that he even makes his wife wash in cold water upon Poseidon's day, Theophrastus XXI. The writer remembers a comment very similar to that of Megacles made by his grandfather, an old Wykehamist, upon the laying-on of hot water in College at Winchester, a blessed innovation which took place as lately as his school-days.

106. *Birds* 139.

107. Aeschines, in *Timarchum* 12. The punishment under Solon's law was death, but the law was clearly a dead letter. When Socrates comes home from the front, he drops in at the palaestra of Taureas, sure of meeting friends there. Plato, *Charmides* 1. A palaestra is the scene of the *Lysis*. The results of the practice were undesirable, *Wasps* 1025, *Peace* 762. Eupolis, the comic poet, was notorious for this objectionable hobby, and Aeschines (in *Cles.* 216) repudiates a similar charge.

108. 'He will go into the schools and palaestras and hinder the boys from getting on with their lessons by chattering at this rate to the trainers and masters,' Theophrastus XIX.

109. *Clouds* 977.



110. Demosthenes, *de Corona* 312-313.

111. The law prescribed that the schoolrooms should be opened not earlier than sunrise and close not later than sunset. Aeschines, in *Timarch* 2. Ancient Greeks, like the modern Greek peasant, began their day's work with the sun (e.g., chorus of *Wasps* groping their way into the town before dawn) and slept longer in winter than summer (e.g., Plato, *Symposium* 223B). When the Thracian mercenaries sacked Mycalessus at dawn, the school had already assembled. Thucydides VII, 29.

112. 'Suddenly we were interrupted by the tutors of Lysis and Menexenus, who came upon us like an evil apparition with their brothers and bade them go home as it was getting late. At first we and the bystanders drove them off, but afterwards, as they would not mind and only went on shouting in their barbarous dialect and got angry and kept calling the boys—they appeared to us to have been drinking rather too much at the Hermaea, which made them difficult to manage—we fairly gave in and broke up the company.' Plato, *Lysis* 222.

113. Melitean dogs were favourite pets (*Theophrastus* VII) and frequently appear on the vases. I am inclined to agree with Jebb that Pliny's statement that they came from the modern Meleda near Curzola in the Adriatic (*Nat. Hist.* III, 26) is more correct than the more obvious Maltese derivation (Strabo. VI, 2).

114. For a description of a Melitean dog peering out of the fold of the cloak in which he is being carried, see Lucian, *de merced. cond.* 34. Vases depicting school life represent the boys' dogs as being present in the schoolroom.

115. An excellent account of primary education with reference to all the pertinent passages will be found in Freeman *Schools of Hellas*.

116. *Clouds* 799.

117. *Clouds* 1004. For chums, cf. *Lysis* and *Menexenus* in Plato *Lysis*.

118. *Clouds* 1007.

119. *Clouds* 962.

120. *Clouds* 981.

121. *Clouds* 972. Cf. Plato, *Charmides* 155.

122. *Clouds* 993.

123. *Clouds* 983.

124. *Clouds* 962, 1001, with Rogers' notes.

125. *Knights* 855, Plato *Republic* 521C, *Phaedr* 241B. The game is described in Pollux IX, 111-112. A kind of prisoners' base. A line was marked between the two sides, one of which was 'Night' and the other 'Day.' A piece of potsherd, black one side and white the other, was tossed up. If white came uppermost, 'Day' were the pursuers, and 'Night' had to get home before being caught. A catalogue of games is, of course, to be found in Pollux, which includes tug-of-war, blind man's buff, and hide-and-seek. Athenaeus XIV, 27, mentions a game which sounds very similar to 'Here we come gathering Nuts in May.' The refrain being

'Where are my roses and where are my violets ?

Where is my beautiful paraley ?

Are these then my roses, are these then my violets ?

And is this my beautiful paraley ?'

126. Plato, *Theaetetus* 146. A variety of ball games are described in Pollux IX, 104 foll.

127. *Anthology* VI, 308. A prize of 80 knucklebones given by the master to Konnaros for calligraphy. The evidence is, of course, Alexandrian in date, Asclepiades, master of Theocritus, being the author of the epigram. There is no earlier evidence for school as opposed to State prizes, see Freeman *Schools of Hellas*, pp. 62 foll.

128. For odd and even played sometimes with dice, knuckle-bones, or nuts, sometimes with the fingers, *Plutus* 816, 1056, Plato, *Lysis*; Pollux IX, 101. Cf. Horace, *Sat* V, 248.

129. *Thestomoph.* 273.

130. 'All through Anthesterion he (the Avaricious Man) will not send them to their lessons because there are so many festivals and he does not wish to pay the fees,' *Theoph.* XXVI. Schoolmasters were paid monthly. For a schoolmaster whose fees were not paid, see Demosthenes in *Aphob.* I, 828. The Anthesteria, Lesser Mysteries, and Diasia, all fell in Anthesterion, and not only were these holidays, but it was also customary to make presents to the schoolmaster in celebration of them.

131. The Mean Man 'is apt also not to send his children to school when there is a festival of the Muses but to say that they are unwell in order that they may not contribute,' Theophrastus XXV.

132. 'And lots of other monkey tricks I practised as a boy,  
O how I used to chouse the cooks by shrieking out "Ahoy  
Look, lads, at the swallow! Spring is here. Look up, I pray."  
So up they looked while I purloined a piece of meat away.' *Knights* 417.

133. 'We'd got one drachma  
Betwixt us two; he changed it at the fish-stall;  
Then laid me down three mullet scales: and I,  
I thought them obols, popped them in my mouth;  
O the vile smell! O la! I spat them out.' *Wasps* 791.

134. Cockchafers on a string, *Clouds* 763. For the puerile device of incendiarism by tying light on to such a cockchafer, see *Acharnians* 920.

135. *Birds* 501. Greek garments had no pockets. Larger articles, such as papers (Theophrastus XVI), vegetables (Theophrastus XXV), or lap-dogs (Lucian, *de merced. cond* 34) could be carried in the folds of the himation. Small change, of necessity, was carried in the mouth. Cf. Aristophanes *Wasps* 791, *Eccles.* 818, *Aeolosicon* Frag. 3, *Anargyros* Frag. 48, Athenaeus III, 10. This is probably one of the reasons why Attic small coins were of silver. The only issue of copper small change (Aristoph. *Frogs* 720-6) was soon withdrawn, see P. Gardner, *History of Ancient Coinage*, pp. 226, 295.

136. Aristophanes, *Daitales*, Frag. 222.

137. Conjurors became increasingly popular in the Fourth Century, and the names of the most celebrated have survived: Scymnus of Tarentum, Philistides of Syracuse, and Heraclitus of Mitylene. Athenaeus XII, 54. Public performances with travelling booths, Plut. *de fac. Lun.* 8. Entertainments at private dinner parties, see Xenophon, *Symposium*, where a female acrobat juggles with twelve rings while dancing, and turns somersaults into a stand round which sharp knives are set. For illustration, see Blunner, *Home Life of Ancient Greeks*, Figs. 99, 100. Familiar tricks were bringing fire from mouth (Athenaeus IV, 129), knife swallowing (Plutarch, *Lycurg.* 19), or making pebbles pass from one cup to another, or extracting them from mouth or ears of spectators (Aeiphron III, 20). One of Plutarch's favourite Laconian apothegms shows us the imitator of song-birds. Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 20, *Agessilaos* 21. Conjurors also gave puppet shadow plays. Plato, *Republic* VII, 14. See further Bekker, *Charikles*, Scene X, and notes.

138. For Pylampes and his peacock farm, see Plutarch, *Pericles* XIII, 6. Plato, *Charmides* 158. Athenaeus IX, 56, 397 c.d. People came from all parts of Greece to see the birds, and the public had to be limited to certain specified visiting days. For Pylampes' son Demos, see *Wasps* 97.

139. Boys evidently attended the theatre in Fifth Century, *Clouds* 539, *Peace* 50, 765. In the Fourth, the Shameless Man manages to get his sons and their pedagogue, as well as himself, into the seats paid for by his foreign friends (Theoph. XV), and the Avaricious Man 'seizes the opportunity of taking his boys to the play when the lessees of the theatre grant free admission,' Theoph. XXVI.

140. Plato *Lysis*; Theophrastus XXV; Aeschines, *In Timarchum* 10.

141. Plato, *Lysis* 206. White clothes are the regular gala attire, *Acharnians*, 1024; thus the Man of Petty Ambition 'having provided himself with a smart white cloak and put on a wreath,' reports the auspices. Theoph. VII. Cf. Demosthenes' behaviour on the death of Philip. Aeschines, *Otesiphon* 46, 77.

142. *Wasps* 1056.

143. Theophrastus XXV. Socrates gets a present of a sack of meal, *Clouds* 669, 1146.

144. 'As this is the festival of the Hermaea the young men and boys are all together, and there is no separation between them.' Plato, *Lysis* 206.

145. 'Upon entering we found that the boys had just been sacrificing; and this part of the festival was nearly at an end. They were all in white array, and games at dice were going on among them. Some were in the outer court amusing themselves; but some were in a corner of the Apodyterium playing at odd and even with a number of dice which they took out of little wicker baskets.' Plato, *Lysis* 206.

146. Plato, *Lysis* 222.

147. Plato, *Lysis* 208.

148. Plato, *ibid.*

149. *Clouds* 1409. Description of boy waiting to be beaten, *Wasps* 642.
150. *Clouds* 79.
151. 'That grown-up men like ourselves should have been affected in this way was not surprising, but I observed that there was the same feeling among the boys; all of them, down to the very least child, turned and looked at him as if he had been a statue.' Plato, *Charmides* 154.
152. *Clouds* 998.
153. Aristophanes, *Daitales*, Frag. 216.
154. Aristophanes, *Daitales*, Frag. 221.
155. *Clouds* 124.
156. Aristophanes, *Daitales*, Frag. 221.
157. Athenaeus XII. Timaeus' story was that one young Sybarite told another how the sight of a man digging had positively given him a pain in his back. 'Stop, my dear fellow,' said the second, 'merely hearing of it has given me the deuce of a stitch.'
158. Aristophanes, *Knights* 1375 foll. Aeschines in *Ctes* 255.
159. *Acharnians* 88, *Wasps* 19, 592, 822, *Birds* 1475.
160. *Clouds* 355, *Acharnians* 118, *Knights* 1374, etc.
161. *Wasps* 1283, *Peace* 883.  
'Whoso loathes not such a monster never shall be friend of mine,  
Never from the selfsame goblet quaff with me the rosy wine.' *Knights* 1285.
162. *Eccles.* 647, *Plutus* 314. The Man of Petty Ambition 'will have his hair cut very frequently, will keep his teeth white; he will change his clothes too while still good.' Theoph. VII.
163. 'How could I face the knights with all my colour worn and torn away,' *Clouds* 119. The philosophers are unwashed and pale, *Clouds* 101, 837. 'These then are the mighty secrets you have picked up amongst those earth-born fellows,' *Clouds* 852-3. 'In der demokratie sind alle Athener gleich, alle ergeboren und alle gottgeboren (cf. *Wasps* 1076, *Lysistr.* 1082). Aber das soll uns nicht darüber täuschen dass einst die götteröhne stolz auf die terrae filii herabsehen, wie es die Römer immer getan haben.' Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen* II, 50.
164. Amyntas, the long-haired swell and gambler, *Wasps* 74, 466. Shirked military service, *Clouds* 690.
165. *Knights* 576 foll.
166. 'Slim as an eel with golden ringlets.' Aristophanes, *Daitales*, frag. 218. *Wasps* 1069. Pheidippides' long hair, *Clouds* 14. Cf. *Knights* 1121, *Lysistrata* 561. Thus wearing long hair means 'to put on side,' *Clouds* 545, *Wasps* 1317.
167. *Acharnians* 849. The vicious fop, brother of Hegesander, was nicknamed Krobylos. Aeschines in *Timarchum*.
168. *Wasps* 471, 1137, 1142.
169. *Clouds* 332.
170. Plutarch, *Alcibiades* 1. The description is of Alcibiades' son, but the point of attack is his imitation of his father's poses.
171. *Clouds* 872.
172. *Wasps* 44-46. Plutarch, *Alcibiades* 1.
173. Athenaeus XII, 47. Pollux VII, 89.
174. Plutarch, *loc. cit.* 'It is said that his lisping, when he spoke, became him well and gave a grace and persuasiveness to his rapid speech.' Ready and rapid speech was a characteristic of his uncle Pericles, a point of resemblance to Peisistratus. Plutarch, *Pericles* VII, 1.
175. χάλειν μὲν ὑμᾶς ἐστίη, ὄνδρες δημόται,  
ἀρχαίων ἤδη προσαγορεύειν καὶ σαπρῶν  
ἀσράζομαι δ' *Plutus* 322.
176. Plato, *Theaetetus* 175. Theophrastus XXIX.



177. οὔτος τί δρᾶς ; ἐπ' ἀριστέρ' οὕτως ἀμπέχει ;  
οὐ μεταβαλεῖς θοιμάτιον ὧδ' ἐπιδέξια ;  
τί ὦ κακοδαίμων ; Λαισποδίας εἰ τὴν φύσιν. *Birds* 1567.
178. The Boor 'wearing a cloak which does not reach his knee will sit down,' Theophrastus XXIV. The Penurious Man wears a short cloak, *id.* XIV. In the Protagoras the short cloak is regarded as an affected Laconism. Plato, *Prot.* 342C.
179. A mark of the Offensive Man, Theophrastus XII.
180. For changing clothes when the swallow appears, see *Birds* 714. The Offensive Man goes about in a thick winter tunic and a light summer cloak, Theophrastus XII.
181. Plato, *Charmides* 159B. Cf. Athenaeus I, 21, 38.
182. 'Quick, father, get them on ; and then move forward  
Thus : in an opulent swaggering sort of way.' *Wasps* 1168.
183. Aristotle, *Ethics* IV, 9. The Boor 'talks in a loud voice,' Theophrastus XIV.
184. Demosthenes, in *Pantaenetus* 982, 52.
185. Demosthenes, *de Fals. Leg.* 442, 314.
186. Aeschines, in *Tim.* 53, 59. For forms of quail-fighting, see Pollux IX, 107. The sport of flipping a quail out of a marked circle is alluded to, *Birds* 1297 ; cock-fighting, *Birds* 759 ; horse racing, *Birds* 798 and 442, *Clouds*, *pass.*
187. Plato, *Lysis* 211. The same figure, in almost identical words, occurs in Socrates' mouth (Xen. *Mem.* I, vi, 14), a coincidence which suggests that it is an authentic saying of the historical Socrates.
188. See the orator's *passim*.
189. *Wasps* 1269. Cf. *Clouds* 109. For the pheasant *v.* Phasian horse controversy, see Athenaeus IX, 37, 367A. Andocides pleads an alibi for his father on the ground that he had been thrown and seriously hurt. Andocides, *de Myst.* 61.
190. *Wasps* 1220, 1301.
191. PH. 'Yes how lie down ?' BDEL. 'No, not in the least like that.'  
PH. 'How then ?' BDEL. 'Extend your knee and let yourself  
With practised ease subside along the cushions ;  
Then praise some piece of plate ; inspect the ceiling ;  
Admire the woven hangings of the hall.' *Wasps* 1210.
192. *Knights* 415, 819.
193. *Knights* 357, *Wasps* 1216.
194. *Knights* 85, *Wasps* 525, *Peace* 300, Athenaeus XI, 73.
195. *Knights* 89, 345. Cf. Demosthenes, *Philip.* II, 32, 73. 'They say that, being a water-drinker, I am naturally a cross-grained and ungenial fellow.'
196. *Knights* 1187. Hesiod's farmer mixes in proportion of three to one, *Op et Di* 594. Athenaeus X, 426, 28, gives five to two.
197. *Clouds* 1355, *Daitales, Frag.* 223. The Surly Man 'will not consent to sing or to recite or to dance,' Theophrastus III. But Pheidippides' reason for refusal is not surliness. Evidently fashion was temporarily against it in young aristocratic circles. And among their elders the charms of after-dinner music had paled before the attractions of intellectual debate. 'Then said Eryximachus, as you are all agreed that drinking is to be voluntary and that there is to be no compulsion, I move in the next place that the flute girl who has just made her appearance be told to go away : she may play to herself or, if she has a mind, to the women who are within. But on this day let us have conversation instead.' Plato, *Symposium* 176e. (Trans Jowett).
198. *Clouds* 1361 foll.
199. *Wasps* 1201.
200. *Wasps* 1175 foll.
201. The Unseasonable Man, 'when he is minded to dance, will seize upon another person who is not yet drunk,' Theoph. IX. The Reckless Man is just the person to dance the cordax, sober and without a mask, in a comic chorus, Theoph. XVI.
202. *Wasps* 1478. *À propos* of Herodotus' story of Hippocleides, Athenaeus remarks, 'in dancing and walking decorum and good order are honourable and disorder and vulgarity are discreditable,' XIV, 25. At the end of the same chapter he says 'the dance is very



nearly an armed exercise, and is a display, not only of good discipline in other respects, but also of the care which the dancers bestow on their persons.' Cf. *Clouds* 988.

203. Plato, *Symposium* 212 foll. Later in the same evening, 'Agathon arose in order that he might take his place on the couch by Socrates, when suddenly a band of revellers entered and spoiled the order of the banquet. Someone who was going out having left the door open, they had found their way in and made themselves at home; great confusion ensued, and every one was compelled to drink large quantities of wine,' *ib.* 223.

204. *Wasps* 1387 foll. Cf. *Geras*, frag. 125, *ap* Athenaeus III, 74. For the concerted breaking-up of a gambling hell by young bloods, see Aeschines in *Timarchum* 59: 'One night when they were drunk, they, with certain others, whose names I do not care to mention, burst into the house where Pittalacus was living. First they smashed the implements of his trade and tossed them into the street—sundry dice and dice-boxes and his gaming utensils in general; they killed the quails and cocks, so well-beloved by the miserable man, and finally they led Pittalacus himself to the pillar and gave him an inhuman whipping which lasted until even the neighbours heard the uproar,' Aeschines, in *Timarch.* 59. In the Fourth Century there were clubs of 'mohawks' calling themselves by such names as Ithyphalloi, Autolekythoi, or Triballoi. Demosthenes' *Conon*, which is a speech for the prosecution in an assault and battery case, has furnished the material for Becker, *Charikles*, Scene V.

205. *Birds* 1442.

206. *Knights* 1356. Cf. *Wasps* 1367.

207. *Peace* 1206 foll.

208. *Clouds* 56, *Wasps* 252.

209. *Clouds* 6 foll. On the general conditions of Athens in war time, see Murray, *Aristophanes and the War Party*, p. 17.

210. Plutarch, *Alcibiades* 2.

211. See Plutarch, *Alcibiades*. The docking of the tail of a dog purchased for an extravagant sum, the unprovoked boxing on the ears of a respected citizen in public for a wager, the removal of part of his host's dining-room plate, are examples of the pranks by which the young Alcibiades advertised himself.

212. In the introduction to one of his latest and poorest comedies, Mr. Shaw divides English Society before the war between Heartbreak House, the home of intellectual diletantes, and Horseback Hall, the home of unintellectual sportsmen. The great original has been anticipated by Aristophanes, whose *Clouds* does much the same for Athens. The list given by the goddesses of the 'Sophists' for whom they provide includes 'imperialist prophets, doctors, drawing-room diletantes, theatrical poets, and natural scientists,' ll. 331 foll.

213. Plato, *Republic* 561c. Versatility was the most striking characteristic of Alcibiades (Plutarch, *Alc.* 23, going back evidently to Satyrus, Athenaeus XII, 47), it is characteristic also of the new goddesses, the *Clouds*. γίγνονται πάνθ' ὅ τι βούλωται, *Clouds*, 348.

214. Plato, *Republic* 557C.

215. *Gorgias* 481 foll. and Plato *passim*. Cf. the Melian Dialogue, Thucyd, V, 85 foll. Emphasis is laid in the *Clouds* upon the claims of the new rationalism in morals to be based upon the results of the scientific observation of Nature, not only in the opening scene in the Thinking Shop but also in Pheidippides' arguments from the analogies of natural history.

216. *Clouds* 1476.

217. *Clouds* 1460.

## THE ROMAN CEMETERY IN THE INFIRMARY FIELD, CHESTER

[PART II]

WITH PLATES VI, VII AND VIII

By R. NEWSTEAD, F.R.S.

This paper forms the second and concluding part of the record of my observations on the Roman burials in the Infirmary Field, Chester; and deals with all the finds which have been brought to light since the publication of the first report issued in these Annals in 1914.

Eleven additional burials have been excavated since the issue of the first report, making a total of 40—all of them burials by inhumation. The graves are numbered consecutively, and the archaeological objects found in association with them are numbered in the same way as in the first report.

Further excavations on 'site X' (Rep. I, p. 156<sup>1</sup>) yielded an abundance of pottery; and trenches cut in various parts of the field revealed the presence of rock-paved foot-ways.

It may be convenient here to summarise the results obtained from these excavations which have now extended over a period of five years (1912-1917). The archaeological evidence proves conclusively that the burials are Roman, and that the interments took place towards the close of the second century or at the beginning of the third. This is evidenced by the presence of six coins of *Antoninus Pius* (138-161 A.D.); and also one of *Commodus*, dated about the year 189 A.D. All of the coins were found in immediate association with the burials, and their exact position in relation to the various skeletons is given in the text of the reports. Apart from the definite chronological evidence which the coins afford, there is abundant evidence also from the other archaeological finds, that all the interments herein described are unquestionably of Roman origin.

The graves, for the most part, were shallow trenches cut into virgin boulder clay, the floors of which were generally very thinly spread with finely pounded bricks or tiles; in some instances this material was barely

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1. "Rep. I" with the pagination which follows, refers to the Report, Part I, *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, Vol. VI, pp. 121-167; Plates XXIX-XXXIV, 1914.

traceable, in others quite pronounced ; and in tomb No. 1 (Rep. I, p. 125) the floor was covered with such material to an average depth of 1·5 in. Roman roofing tiles were used to protect the burials in twelve of the graves, and many of the tiles were impressed with the stamp of the Twentieth Legion (LEG XX VV = *Leg(io) xx v(aleria) v(ictrix)*). Several of the burials were also protected by a superstructure of rough sandstone blocks (No. 40, Plate VI, fig. 2) ; and one was placed in a well-built tomb (Rep. I, p. 125) formed by solid masonry having a rectangular chamber with a corbelled-over roof—erected in all probability to a person of rank or merit. Iron nails were found in many of the graves ; and, in two instances, fragments of timber (*Pinus*, sp. and *Quercus*, sp.) were found attached to them. It seems to have been the common practice to break the sepulchral vessels or to render them otherwise unfit for use by punching a hole in their bases (grave No. 23) ; the two mirrors (graves Nos. 19 and 30) were also broken at the time of the interment ; this was partly, in all probability, symbolical, and partly it maybe, done to prevent desecration.

The well-defined burnt layer on ' site X,' is clearly of an earlier date than the three more or less intact skeletons found immediately above it ; and the chronological evidence based upon the *Terra Sigillata* vessels found in this stratum, points to its having been deposited at the close of the first century and the early years of the second.

The ' paved foot-ways ' do not all admit of close dating ; but one of them (No. 3, p. 60 of this report), appears to belong to the beginning of the second century if the dating of the potter's stamp, *Apronius*, may be taken as approximately correct.

It is my pleasant duty to acknowledge the assistance rendered me by my colleague Dr. John Elliott, who assisted in the excavations and has given me the data concerning the determination of sex, and the estimation of age of the anthropological remains. I wish also to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. George F. Hill, Keeper of Coins and Medals, British Museum, for his determination of the coins ; his ready response to my enquiries has not only lightened my task, but has enabled me to assign a definite period to the interments.

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE FINDS.

No. 30. GRAVE : Formed of a double series of Roman roofing tiles ; two tiles on either side each one placed on end with the flanges outwards



the tiles separated at the base, by the head, 14 in. and at the foot 10 in. The space inside the tiles completely filled with stiff clay loam so that apparently the soil was placed there when the interment was made. Depth below existing land surface to apex of tiles, 2 ft. 6 in., depth below virgin soil to apex of tiles 12 in.

*Burial*: A young adult female; extended on back with the hands at the side. Orientation East and West, head West. It may be noteworthy to add that the skull projected 3.5 in. beyond the tiled covering.

*Contents*: 30:1. Mirror or speculum of white bronze; flat on both surfaces; one side with a double sub-marginal hair-like groove. Diameter 3.5 in., approximately (= 90 mm.). This relic was so badly oxidised that it was possible only to recover a few fragments with the polished surfaces intact. The position of the fragments on the floor of the grave proved conclusively that this mirror was broken at the time of the interment as they were lying scattered over a relatively large area at the feet of the skeleton.

30:2. Bronze coin so completely oxidised as to render its determination impossible. It was lying upon the upper and lower incisor teeth respectively.

30:3. Five iron nails, all with traces of oak timber attached.

30:4. Beaker (Plate VII, fig. 3) precisely similar in form to the three vessels found in grave No. 26 (Rep. I, p. 146; Pl. XXIII, fig. 3), but smaller. Bulbous in form; foot small; rim sharp-edged and deeply grooved beneath. Paste hard, bright buff; surface-coating greyish coffee-brown, sublying paste showing through, at the foot. Height, 67 mm.; diameter of rim, 57 mm.; diameter of foot, 25 mm. The rim fragments of this vessel were lying near the middle of the left tibia; the base, with several side-fragments inside it, close up to the tarsal bones of the right foot.

30:5. Glass vessel, in many fragments (43 in all). Form doubtful, but apparently sub-hemispherical; the base, however, is much more broadly flattened and the side also more suddenly curved upwards than in the examples previously recorded from this site (Rep. I, p. 145). The glass clear and colourless; the surface smooth but not highly polished. Foot-ring well formed and within it a concentric ring. Rim slightly thicker than the walls of the vessel. Diameter of foot-ring, 46 mm.; height 5 mm.; width 5 mm. Diameter of inner ring, 17 mm.; width, 7.6 mm., height slightly less than that of foot-ring. Diameter of rim,



80 mm. approximately. Height doubtful. The fragments of this vessel were lying scattered over an area of one square foot just in advance (East) of the left foot. Much of the rim is missing, and although careful search was made only a few fragments of it were recoverable.

30 : 6. A small piece of pale blue window glass.

*Position* : The position of this grave is given on the plan (Rep. I, Pl. XXIX).

No. 31. GRAVE. Tiled with Roman 'roofers' arranged so as to form a gable roof like an inverted  $\Lambda$ ; three tiles on either side placed on their long axis with the flanges outwards. Two examples bear the Legionary stamp LEG XX VV, and all but two were broken by pressure of the superincumbent earth. At the head (East) the grave was partly closed by a large portion of another 'roofer' and immediately outside this was a smaller tile measuring 7 in.  $\times$  7 in. This example has one of the angles broken away and exhibits signs of rough usage before baking.

Length of tiled covering 5 ft. 3 in., distance between the tiles at the head on floor line 18 in., at the feet, 22 in. Distance between existing land surface and the floor of the grave, 4 ft. 2 in. The apex of the tiled roof slightly below the virgin soil.

*Burial* : A young adult, probably a female. Skeleton extended on back, arms at the sides. Orientation East and West, head East. Bones of the feet extending beyond the tiled cover (West), contents none. There was no trace of nails or of finely-pounded brick on the floor.

*Position* : A few feet north of grave No. 30 (see plan, Pt. I).

No. 32. GRAVE : Completely disorganised. Portions of the long bones, and five fragments belonging to two coarse, red-ware ollae, only were found.

*Position* : A little south of grave No. 30 (see plan, Pt. I).

No. 33. GRAVE : Almost completely disorganised by an intersecting drain. This, so far as one could judge, was of a similar type to that of No. 12, in having the floor of the grave covered with Roman roofing tiles. Orientation East and West.

*Position* : About 20 feet south of No. 24 (see plan, Pt. I).

No. 34. GRAVE : (Pl. VI, fig. 1; Pl. VII, fig. 2). Formed by three series of Roman roofing tiles, arranged in the form of an  $\bar{\Lambda}$ ; three of these, on either side, placed end to end with the flanges pointing inwards, those on the north side overlapping the flanges on the opposite side. Over these were three more tiles, placed subcentrally in a horizontal

position end to end with the flanges downwards. Foot of grave closed with two pieces of tile which projected considerably above the upper horizontal layer. Two of the tiles bore the impress of the Legionary stamp (LEG XX VV), one perfect, the other not so. Seven of the tiles were very badly fractured by pressure, and the majority of those forming the sides of the grave were displaced from the same cause. There was a cavity at the apex varying from 2 in. at the foot to 5 in. at the head. Length of upper series, 6 ft., width (average) 16 in. Height from the base line of the lower tiles to the upper series, 17 in. (average). At a height of 9 in. above the tiles and over the central portion of the grave was a layer of roughly hewn blocks of sandstone. Depth from existing land surface to horizontal layer of tiles, 3 ft. (average). No evidence of nails, and the floor of the grave had no trace of finely-pounded tiles.

*Burial*: ? Male (young adult). Extended on back; arms at side. Upper portion of skull and lower jaw uncovered. Orientation East and West, head East.

*Contents*: 34:1. Coin of *Antonius Pius* in a very bad state of preservation. Mr. George F. Hill, British Museum, to whom the piece was sent for determination states that 'This is a "Second Brass"—probably an as—of *Antonius Pius*. This much is certain, but I cannot be sure of the reverse, except that it is a standing figure.' Found lying immediately beneath the centre of the lower jaw of the skeleton.

34:2. Small fragments of a figured *Terra Sigillata* bowl form 37, with right fore leg of horse (galloping to right) above a beaded line, near the foot-ring. This was lying immediately below the right femur.

*Position*: A little south of No. 24 (see plan, Pt. I).

No. 35. GRAVE: A small cist formed of two complete Roman roofing tiles placed on their long axis, with the flanges outwards, and arranged in the form of an inverted  $\Lambda$ ; both ends closed with portions of similar tiles. One of the perfect tiles with the Legionary stamp (LEG XX VV) in very good preservation. Depth from the existing land surface to apex of tiles, 17 in.; width of splay at foot, 11 in. Lowest flanges of tiles resting on virgin clay loam. Space between the tiles (inside) filled completely with made earth. Orientation East and West.

*Burial*: None—no trace of bones of any kind, and no evidence that the tiles had ever been disturbed. (See also description of empty cist No. 17 Rep. I, p. 138).

*Contents*: One iron nail lying near the centre of the cist and just

above the level of the clay loam, i.e., the approximate level of the floor of the grave. No trace of timber attached to this, but one relatively large piece of red tile, several bits of charcoal (one of oak) and a small nodule of waste bronze. In the earth used in covering *over the tiles* (exterior) on the north side was a small piece of the early *Terra Sigillata* cup; form 27 (Dragendorff).

*Position*: A little east of grave No. 31 (see plan, Rep. I).

No. 36. GRAVE: Protected immediately above the skeleton with eight rough sandstone blocks placed roughly in line over the centre of the burial.

*Burial*: Extended on back, arms at side; skull on right side (facing West). Orientation North and South; head North. Depth below surface 2 ft. 11 in. Floor at head and foot only with slight trace of finely-pounded tiles and marked traces of charcoal under the skull.

*Position*: East of grave No. 29 (see plan, Rep. I).

*Contents*: Seven iron nails all head downwards, one of them lying under the right femur with the spike in an oblique position; and one small piece of window glass found on floor of grave below right femur.

No. 37. GRAVE: Completely disorganised. Radius and ulna of right arm only, together with a few pieces of Roman roofing tiles.

*Position*: South-East of grave No. 30 (see plan, Rep. I).

No. 38. GRAVE: Protected immediately above the skeleton with blocks of sandstone, placed roughly in line over the centre of the burial; but they did not completely cover the skeleton. Floor with marked traces of fine charcoal.

*Position*: A little east of grave No. 36 and at the same depth from the surface.

*Burial*: A youth (? Female); extended on back. Orientation North and South, head South. Bones almost completely decayed.

*Contents*: 38:1. Olla (Pl. VII, fig. 1) of fumed grey ware ('Upchurch'); body with a relatively narrow latticed band, rim broad and recurved; distorted on one side; texture soft and brittle; the workmanship poor. Found near foot of skeleton, badly broken, apparently by earth pressure, as all the fragments (99) were found lying packed together and mixed with fine charcoal and the small bones of the foot of the skeleton. Height 7.4 in.; diameter of rim 6.2 in.; base 3.2 in.; bulge 5.9—6.2 in.



38:2. Portion of skull of ox lying a few inches in advance of the bones of the feet of the skeleton.

*Position*: A few feet east of grave No. 35; and 25 feet due east of the retaining wall of the new isolation ward.

No. 39. GRAVE (Pl. VI, fig. 2): Formed entirely of Roman roofing tiles from all of which the flanges had been intentionally cut away; one whole tile and some pieces, carefully cut to a width of 4 in., formed the floor of the cist, and all round these were other tiles placed on their edges vertically, forming a box-like cist. The upper edges of all the tiles forming the sides badly fractured, lower edges intact. Covering consisted entirely of broken tegulae (roofers) to a depth of approximately 14 in. Inside dimensions: Length 26 in., greatest width 21 in.

*Contents*: None. Not a vestige of anything inside the cist, but near the south end the proximal portion of the jaw of a pig.

*Position*: Close up to grave No. 40 but at a higher level (see plan, Rep. I).

No. 40. GRAVE: Tiled. The tiles arranged like an inverted A but in the region of the sternum a single tile (Roman roofer) was placed horizontally over the apex of the tiles forming the grave proper, as in the case of grave No. 30 (q.v.). No Legionary stamps on any of the tiles; but one bore the impress of the foot of a dog and another the impress of the foot of a young goat or sheep. At a height of 10 in. above the tiles was a layer of rough sandstone burrs, but these only protected the anterior half of the grave proper, and were continuous in a northern direction to a distance of 5 ft., the whole mass of sandstone blocks covering an area of 7 ft. x 5 ft.

*Burial*: ?Male; extended on back; left arm at side, right radius over chest (sternum); both feet turned to right (i.e., pointing North). Skull on side facing towards North. Orientation East and West, head East.

*Contents*: None.

*Position*: About 10 ft. east of grave No. 25 (see plan, Rep. I).

A small bronze fibula was found at the extreme edge of the covering of sandstone burrs and also a fragment of the *Terra Sigillata* dish, form 18, which was manufactured in such abundance during the latter half of the first century. It was not associated with the burial.



## SITE X (BEDWARD ROW).

A description of this site is given in these *Annals* (Rep. I, p. 156). Since the publication of my paper I have personally excavated the western face of the bank of earth which was left exposed by the removal of the adjacent earth, for the purposes which have already been stated. The object was to secure, if possible, some further evidence regarding the burials, and also to fix the approximate date of the sublying and undisturbed 'burnt layer,' a section of which is given in Rep. I, p. 157, fig. 14. Isolated human remains were found in the 'stratum with disturbed burials': none at the level of the 'lower (undisturbed) burials' or in the 'burnt layer.' The archaeological relics found in association with the human remains consisted of numerous pieces of Roman roofing tiles; a few small potsherds (chiefly ollae), and one Roman bronze coin to which no date is assignable owing to its bad state of preservation.

The 'burnt layer' yielded a rich and varied assortment of relics, including 25 pieces of *Terra Sigillata*; 147 fragments of various types of ollae, including 17 rims; 25 pieces of lids (Rep. I, p. 162, fig. 17); 10 of amphorae; 10 of flagons; 27 of shallow dishes (Rep. I, p. 163, fig. 18, 64: X); 38 of carinated bowls (Rep. I, p. 162, fig. 17, 54: X); side fragments of a large thin-walled strainer; and 46 pieces of various other vessels. Of this total of coarse pottery, 85.25 per cent. is in brick-red ware, the rest in fumed grey ware; the former includes four fragments of mica-dusted vessels. Of glass there were 31 pieces, all, with one exception, belonging apparently to square-sided bottles. Of metal there were: 9 pieces of bronze; of lead, 9; and of iron, 4. Remains of mammals were common; these included the following species: Ox, of the *Bos longifrons* type (numerous); pig or wild boar (4); goat or sheep (2); horse (1 molar). A microscopical examination of the charcoal which was so abundant throughout the stratum proves that it consists almost exclusively of the oak (*Quercus robur*). It may be important also to note that large irregular nodules of vesicular iron occurred freely throughout the stratum; and that a very thin layer of disintegrated mussel shells (*Mytilus edulis*) was traceable over a large portion of the earth immediately below it.

It has not been thought necessary to deal with all the pottery found in this well-defined and undisturbed stratum (burnt layer), as numerous parallels of the common types have been described from various Roman

sites found elsewhere in Great Britain ; descriptions of the more interesting examples only are given below.

The chronological evidence afforded by the *Terra Sigillata* fixes the period of this deposit at the close of the first and the early years of the second century (Domitian-Hadrian, 81—138, A.D.).

#### DECORATED TERRA SIGILLATA.

Nine small fragments of one bowl, form 37 (Pl. VIII, fig. 1). Hard dark glaze. Above, the design 'egg and tongue' and faintly wavy line. Two friezes divided by wavy line. In the upper frieze, group of leaves spreading like a fan (Déch.\* 1151), to the left of which is a dog running to right, with indications of grass beneath ; on opposite side of leaves hind portion of rabbit or hare running to right. Lower frieze, with demi-medallions formed of pointed leaves, within each a bird looking back to left and right respectively (Déch. 1036). This motive appears to have been repeated all round the vessel. These fragments are clearly representative of Déchelette's transitional type of decoration. The small tuft of grass beneath the animals in the upper frieze and the alternating fan-like plant ornament are, so far as one can judge, characteristic of the Flavian period, and the vessel is probably the work of South Gaulish Potters.

#### PLAIN TERRA SIGILLATA.

Of Dragendorff's forms of these vessels there were : one piece of form 18 ; one of form 18-31 (small) ; one of form 33 ; and two of 35, with the rims decorated *en barbotine*.

#### COARSE POTTERY.

Bowl near form 37 (Pl. VIII, fig. 2), but with shallow foot-ring. Rim a simple bead of the same thickness as the walls of the vessel ; a shallow bead below the lip and two girth grooves near the foot. Foot-ring shallow. In fine, hard, pale orange-red ware, liberally dusted with golden coloured mica. Inside with a faint coating of pinkish 'slip.' Diameter of rim 6·7 in. (=17 cm.) ; height 3·2 in. (=8 cm.). Side fragments of two similar bowls, one of which is mica coated.

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\* Déchelette, *Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine*, 1914.

Bowl. Side fragment (Pl. VIII, fig. 3). Same form as the preceding, but much stouter; exterior faintly but evenly ribbed. Dull orange-red ware.

Side fragment and base of carinated Bowl. (Pl. VIII, fig. 4). Dark fumed grey ware, with thick outcurved rim. Diameter of rim, 8.7 (= 22 cm.) approximately.

Fragment of carinated Bowl (Pl. VIII, fig. 5). Rim same thickness as sides, below it two rather widely separated girth-grooves; two similar girth-grooves above the angle. Fine hard brick-red ware; slip coated with haematite, but paler inside than out. Diameter 7 in. (= 18 cm.) approximately.

Shallow dish (Pl. VIII, fig. 6). Portions of rim, side and base. In fine hard, pale brick-red clay; sparingly mica-dusted. Sides strongly outcurved, a well-defined groove below the lip. Foot-ring very shallow, with a broad groove immediately inside it. Diameter 7 in. (= 18 cm.) approximately.

Miniature olla. (Pl. VIII, fig. 7) Rim and side fragment. Fine, hard, buff-white ware. Rim oblique; two relatively broad girth-grooves at shoulder. Diameter of rim, 42 mm. (approximately); width of rim 3.5 mm.; thickness of wall below girth-grooves, 1.5 mm. Mr. Arthur Acton informs me that ware of this kind has been found by him in fair quantities at the Roman kilns at Holt.

Rim of Flagon (Pl. VIII, fig. 8). Fine hard, pale brick-red ware.

Rim of Flagon (Pl. VIII, fig. 9). Coarse bright brick-red ware.

Rim of Flagon (Pl. VIII, fig. 10). Deeply fluted; with handle attachment just below rim. Clay hard, brick-red with creamy-buff wash.

Rim of Flagon (Pl. VIII, fig. 11). Deeply fluted above, grooved and ridged beneath.

Rim of Flagon (Pl. VIII, fig. 12). With handle attachment, immediately below the rim. Hard greyish-red ware.

Rim of Flagon (Pl. VIII, fig. 13). Fine hard brick-red clay. Rim outcurved, with a sub-central prominent bead.

Cup, imitation of form 27. Reddish-buff sandy clay, mica dusted on both surfaces. Rim and side fragment only.

Strainer. One-third of side, including portion of perforated base. Form somewhat hemispherical. In fumed grey ware. Sides very thin-walled for so large a vessel. Rim wanting. Greatest diameter 10 in. (= 25 cm.) approximately. Thickness of walls, 4.5 mm.



Two small sections of a large, flat dish in lignite or 'Kimmeridge Shale,' lathe-turned. Foot-ring shallow, and in the form of a half-rounded moulding; rim vertical, half-round, and 5 mm. in height from the inside. Thickness of base through the foot-ring, 10 mm. Width between foot-ring and periphery, 90 mm.

#### OBJECTS IN METAL AND BONE.

Rectangular bronze plate, edge moulded; two spikes at back for attachment. Length 2.9 cm.; width 1.3 cm.

Calliper-shaped object in thin sheet bronze; one arm incomplete. Length 3.9 cm.

Bronze nail or stud with thin flat head; the latter with a central dot.

Bronze nail or stud, part of spike wanting. Head similar to last, but more perfect and with a central dot and two relatively large concentric rings. Diameter of head, 15 mm.

Small plain bronze ring. Diameter 17 mm.

Bronze nail or stud. Head on the under surface with four equidistant studs and between each of them a single sharply defined ridge extending from the middle line to the margin.

Clippings from a sheet of bronze.

Section of lead pipe; one end partly sealed; seam fused in places only. Length 8 in. (= 20 cm.); diameter 0.7 in. (= 17 mm.) approximately.

Various pieces of lead, chiefly trimmings from sheets varying in thickness from over 1 mm. to 4 mm.

Knife handle. One of two convex plates of bone, with two iron rivets; ornamented with three bands of latticed lines and two bands of simple oblique lines. Similar to No. 55. *Cat. Antiquities, Guildhall Mus.*, p. 37, Pl. XVII, 6. Length 2.9 in. (= 7.5 cm.); width 0.9 in. (= 2.3 cm.).

#### PAVED FOOTWAYS.

Three long trenches were cut in parts of the field outside the focus of the principal burials (see plan, Rep. I, Pl. XXIX). These revealed the presence of three widely separated structures of which details are here appended. Their use is difficult of interpretation, but judging by their evenly finished surface they appear to have been used as paved footways leading in various directions across the burial ground. The positions of



these structures were carefully noted at the time, but, unfortunately, the plans are lost, so that it is now impossible to give more than the approximate geographical position.

1. A roughly paved area, measuring 8 ft.  $\times$  2 ft. 11 in., and giving an average thickness of 7 in. ; its position in relation to the burials, about 15 ft. east of grave No. 30. This rough paving consisted of blocks of sandstone, the individual blocks with from one to four roughly-dressed surfaces, the interstices between the blocks filled in with small fragments of rock, a piece of Roman roofing tile, a fragment of a mortarium (rim wanting) in coal-measure clay. The side fragment of fumed-grey olla and the fluted rim of a carinated bowl in coarse red ware. This structure rested on the virgin clay, 2 ft. 10 in. to 3 ft. from the existing surface of the land.

2. Paved foot-way near the eastern limits of the Infirmary field, and about six paces east of the present tennis lawn (not on plan, Rep. I). This consisted of two well-defined courses of large roughly-dressed sandstone blocks, with the interstices carefully filled with stiff clay. Width 23 in. ; average depth 33 in. Axis due North and South and continuous for a distance of 15 ft. The largest block of sandstone measured 24 in.  $\times$  23 in.  $\times$  18 in.

3. Paved foot-way. Running approximately East and West in a continuous line for a distance of 28 feet and about 20 feet from the northernmost retaining wall of the new wing. This structure consisted of three courses of roughly-hewn sandstone. Width 33 in. to 21 in. Greatest depth 11 in. Depth below existing surface of land, 2 ft. to 2 ft. 3 in. No mortar used in its construction. Associated finds : (1) Base of the cup, form 27 (small) with the potter's stamp OF APRO., ? South Gaul, and dated : 90-105, A.D. (Corbridge, 1912, p. 43). (2) Portion of column base (small) in red sandstone ; (3) many fragments of Roman roofing tiles.



FIG. 1. No. 34. TILED GRAVE LOOKING EAST. Page 52.



FIG. 2. Nos. 39, 40. FLOOR OF TILED CIST (39) ON LEFT. SUPERSTRUCTURE OF SANDSTONE 'BURRS' OVER TILED GRAVE (No. 40) ON RIGHT LOOKING N.E. Page 55.



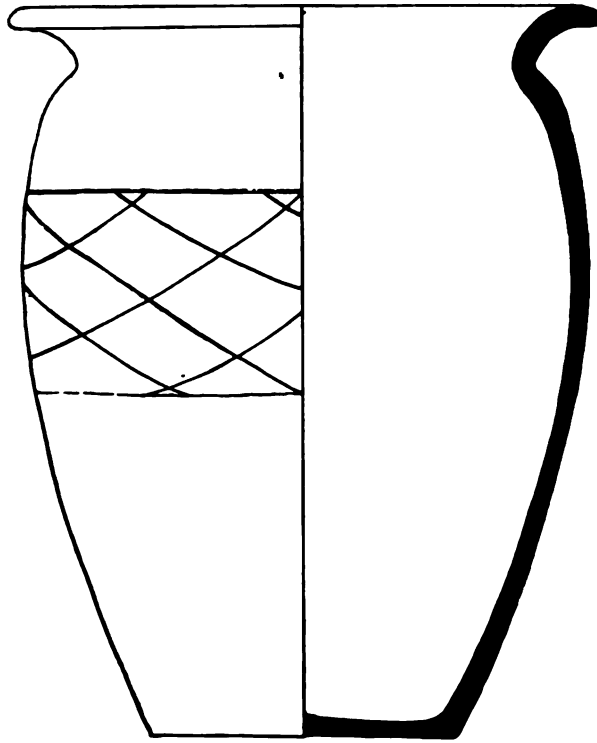


FIG. 1. VESSEL (No. 39: 1), FROM GRAVE No. 39. Page 54. Scale 1/2.

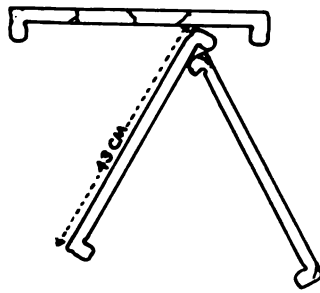


FIG. 2. SECTION OF GRAVE No. 34, SHOWING THE RELATIVE POSITION OF THE ROMAN ROOFING TILES. Page 52.

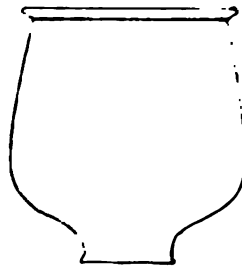
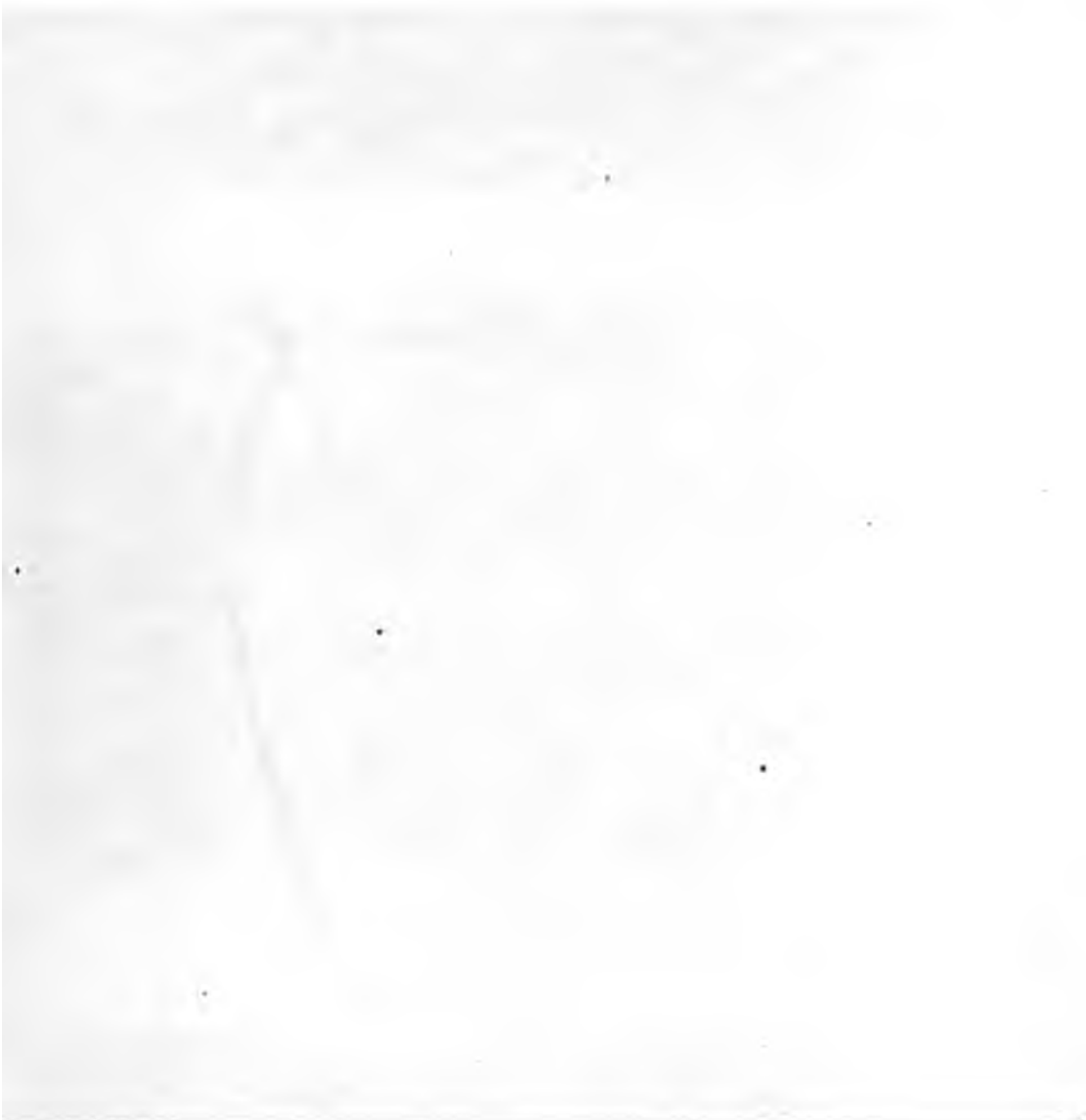


FIG. 3. VESSEL (No. 39: 4), FROM GRAVE No. 39. Page 51. Scale 1/2.





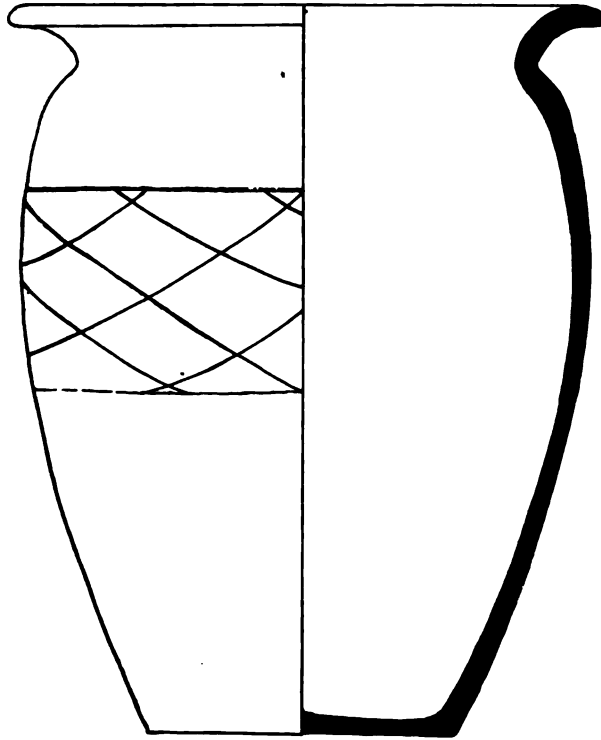


FIG. 1. VESSEL (No. 38: 1), FROM GRAVE No. 38. Page 54. Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

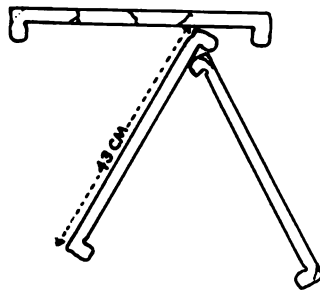


FIG. 2. SECTION OF GRAVE No. 84, SHOWING THE RELATIVE POSITION OF THE ROMAN ROOFING TILES. Page 52.

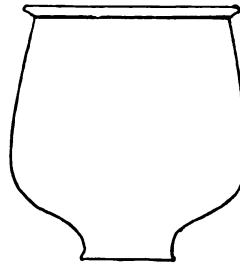


FIG. 3. VESSEL (No. 30: 4) FROM GRAVE No. 30. Page 51. Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$ .



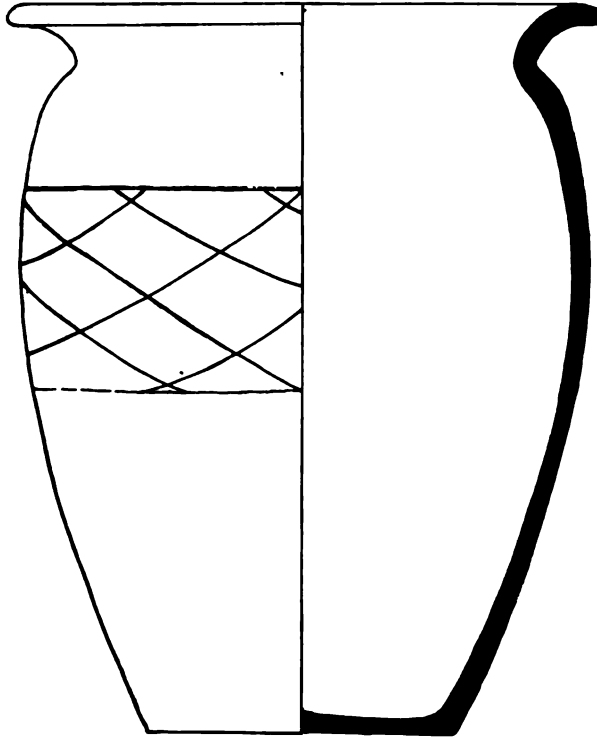


FIG. 1. VESSEL (No. 38: 1), FROM GRAVE No. 38. Page 54. Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

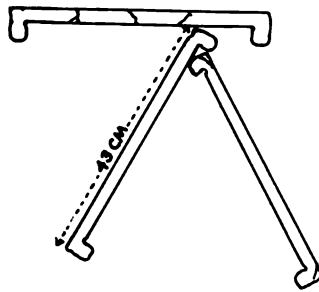


FIG. 2. SECTION OF GRAVE No. 34, SHOWING THE RELATIVE POSITION OF THE ROMAN ROOFING TILES. Page 52.

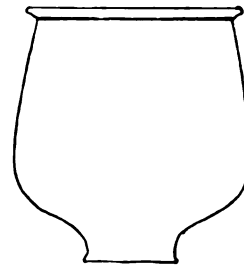
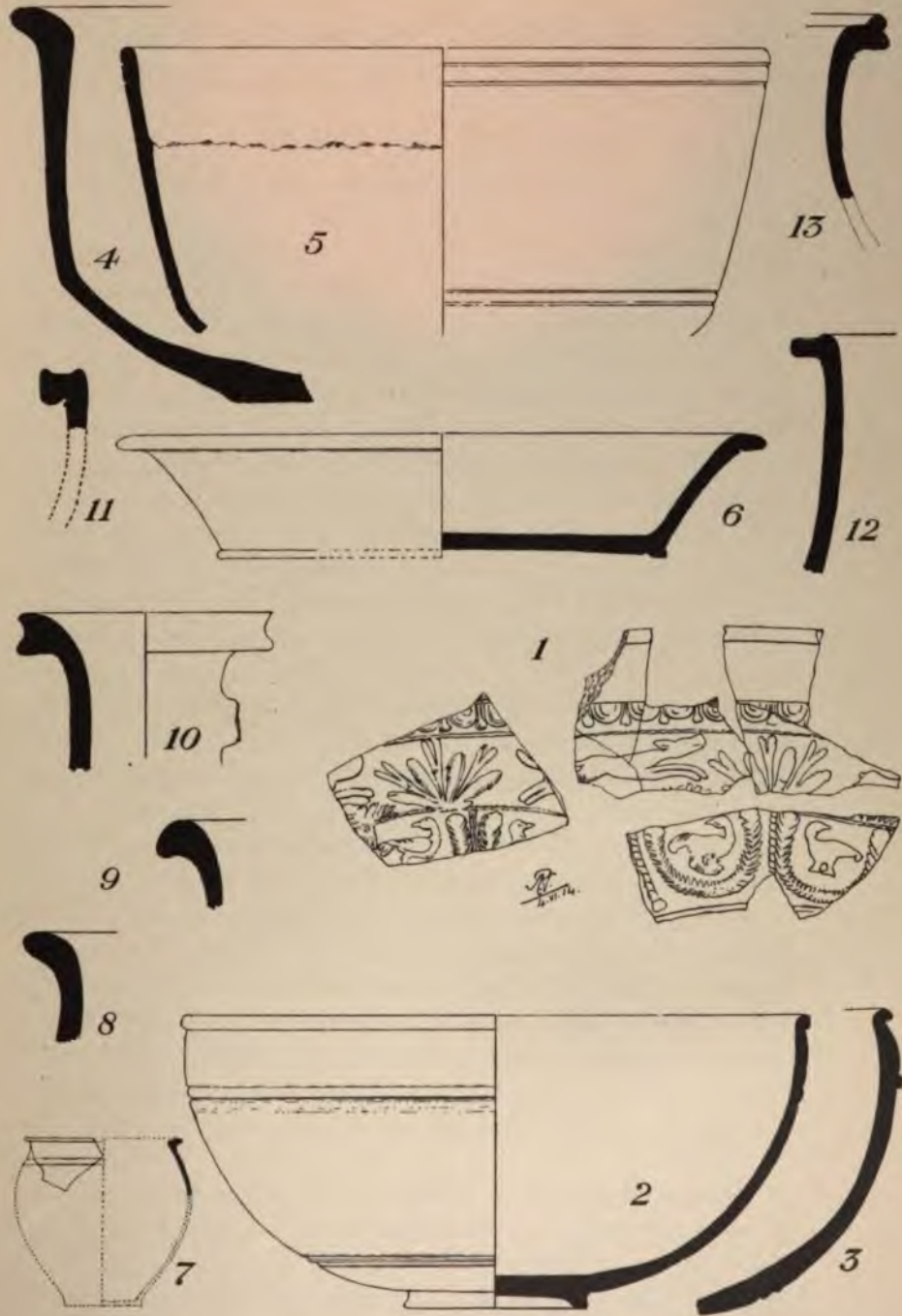


FIG. 3. VESSEL (No. 30: 4) FROM GRAVE No. 30. Page 51. Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$ .







POTTERY FROM 'SITE X.' INFIRMARY FIELD, CHESTER, Page 56, Scale  $\frac{1}{2}$ .



## THE ORGANISATION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN PALESTINE

By J. GARSTANG, M.A., D.Sc., F.S.A.

(Director of the British School at Jerusalem).

With the establishment of British Administration in Palestine noteworthy encouragement is offered to archaeological research. In the first place, a Department of Antiquities has been created to centralise all official matters relating to this subject in Jerusalem and with the special function of protecting the monuments and antiquities of the country. A new Antiquities Ordinance has been promulgated in which there are special clauses dealing with the authorisation, encouragement and control of archaeological excavations. An international Board has been appointed on which there are representatives of the interested communities and the foreign schools engaged in archaeological research in the country. The chief function of this Board is to insure the impartial administration of the Law, and equal facilities to the scholars of all nations which are members of the League of Nations.

A Palestine Museum is being organised in Jerusalem. It has already acquired all the antiquities left behind by the Turks, and it will be nourished in the future by the right of pre-emption from dealers' stocks, by loans and by selected objects from excavations. In regard to the last named, the Government proposes, uniformly with French administration in Syria, to exercise the right of selecting from the results of excavations such objects as are necessary for the completion of the Museum. Excavators will receive a complete selection of all other objects found, and will be further recompensed in consideration of what is claimed by the Government, by receiving duplicate specimens or series of the finds from other Palestinian sites, whenever the resources of the Department permit. In this way scientific expeditions will be assured not only of the scientific fruits of their own work, but of important selections of comparative material.

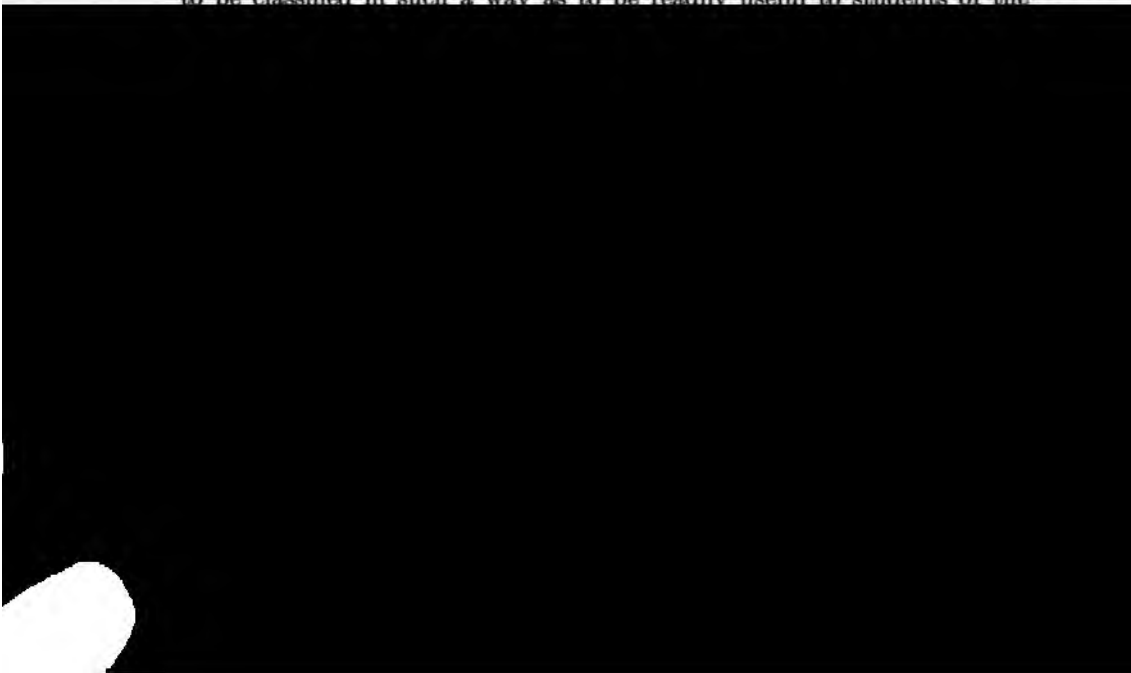
The established schools of archaeology in Jerusalem, namely, the British School of Archaeology, the French École Biblique and the American School of Oriental Research have arranged to collaborate in their work in so far as the courses of instruction and the use of libraries are concerned.



A central building has been secured near the Cathedral, and in this the Government Department, the British School and the American School's library, with a common lecture and working rooms are all accommodated in addition to the young museum. The French School is only two minutes' walk away. Admitted students of either school are thus assured of much more efficient material, guidance and facilities than either school singly could afford. The climate throughout the year is very suitable for continuous study. It is, therefore, possible for students working in Egypt or in Syria during the winter to make use of this opportunity to continue their work during the summer. The organisation thus completed is a happy augury for the future.

The British School, which was founded in 1919 and commenced work in 1920, has made a gratifying start. In addition to the material organisation already outlined courses of lectures have been given, and, in collaboration with the Palestine Exploration Fund, a promising start has been made in the excavation of Askalon. Laboratory accommodation is provided for working over the results of excavation in a room adjoining the hall in which the Palestine Museum is being arranged.

The active work of the School is conceived under three main heads : Studies, Expeditions and Records. The first comprises facilities and guidance for workers, particularly as regards the Library. The second, while taking advantage of current excavations, will tend rather to systematic exploration of special areas or groups of monuments, including caves and tombs. The third involves the development and upkeep of an organised register of all archaeological material of or relating to Palestine, to be classified in such a way as to be readily useful to students of the



## REVIEWS

[*The Editor would be glad to receive Books and Periodicals for review.*]

DAVID PATON. *Early Egyptian Records of Travel*. Princetown University Press, Vols. I and II, 1915 and 1916.

The object of this series of volumes is to 'furnish materials for the geography of Western Asia as they are found in the early Egyptian records.' The books are marvels of the typist's art, but it is a little difficult to see for what kind of student they are intended. If for the philologist, they should have been accompanied by hieroglyphic texts (the unwieldy method of transcription adopted cannot, despite its references to Erman's list, take the place of these); if for the non-philologist, there is no point in reproducing the Egyptian at all. With regard to the method of transcription it may be said that no considerations of convenience or invoking of authority can justify the representation of Egyptian consonants by English vowels, and that such spellings as *Škmm*, where the second *k* is merely a phonetic complement of the sign for *šk*, are not merely pedantic but also misleading. The translations given vary enormously in accuracy. Thus in the story of Sinuhe the author has followed Gardiner's rendering fairly closely, though, when he leaves it, it is almost always for the worse. On the other hand it is only right that the reader who is not acquainted with Egyptian should be told that such a translation as that of the stela of Herurre (here wrongly transcribed Hor-hor-Ra) violates practically every known canon of Egyptian grammar and syntax, and shows a complete ignorance of the elements of Egyptian phraseology. It is true that the author had not the latest copy of the original at his disposal, but Weill's copy, which he had, was by no means a bad one, and can for the most part be translated by anyone possessed of a tolerable knowledge of Egyptian grammar and vocabulary. We do not know where Mr. Paton, who does not lay claim to originality in the translations, found this hopelessly inaccurate rendering, but we hope that out of respect for the value of his own work he will refrain from filling his pitcher again at the same well.

For the bibliographies and the general finish of the work we have nothing but praise, and if the author will only exercise more caution in selecting his translator we feel certain that the work, even as a collection of English renderings alone, will have a considerable value to students of the Nearer East.

T. ERIC PEET

FREDERIK POULSEN. *Delphi*. Translated by G. C. RICHARDS, with a preface by PERCY GARDNER. pp. xi + 338, with 164 illustrations in the text. London: Gyldendal, 1920, 21s.

Dr. Poulsen is to be much congratulated on his 'Delphi,' for it is an example of what such a work, the succinct description of the main results of a great excavation, ought to be.

Prefaced by an account of the shrine and the oracle, which is learned without being oppressive, the author's appreciations of the chief treasures that have been recovered, while free from dogmatism and nowhere overloaded with detail, show a thorough assimilation of Greek art. Moreover, they are lucid and intelligible to the reader with little previous knowledge.

An added charm is given to the book by certain descriptions of scenery, which even in a translation shine out, and display Dr. Poulsen as possessing in a degree rare among archaeologists the power to fix in words the appeal of the Greek country-side.

But the book is melancholy to read, and that not only because the little that has been found makes a sad contrast with all the beauty that has been lost. From between the lines we gather that somehow the excavation of this shrine has shed no fresh light on the 'Greek Middle Ages,' though it was revered continuously from the earliest times, and that again a chance of exploring the dark period that followed the Dorian immigration has failed.

The illustrations are profuse, but it seems perhaps a pity that the photographs of the archaic reliefs could not have been reproduced by some process that would have allowed a better appreciation of their very interesting details.

J. P. DROOP.

NORMAN AULT. *Life in Ancient Britain*. pp. xiv + 260, with 50 illustrations in the text. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1920, 6s.

A survey of the social and economic development of the people of England from the earliest times to the Roman Conquest was well worth writing and it has been well done. The narrative is vivid, interesting, and easily intelligible; its generalisations are authoritative without being dogmatic, and where the opinions of experts are not agreed, the fact is sufficiently indicated. The illustrations have been well selected and really illustrate the theme: some of them have the additional interest that they depict objects not hitherto published. The only improvement that suggests itself is the addition of a map indicating the position of the various sites.

It is to be hoped that this little book will be widely circulated among those who learn and teach British History. They will get from it a clear connected account of the origins of civilisation in these islands; they may also profit by an object lesson of how archaeological evidence is made to yield up its story and learn, it is to be hoped, something of the fascination of archaeological investigation.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

## OXFORD EXCAVATIONS IN NUBIA

BY F. LL. GRIFFITH, M.A.

WITH PLATES IX-XXIX

(Continued from p. 18.)

### III. NUBIA FROM THE OLD TO THE NEW KINGDOM

The present instalment describes the results of our work in chronological sequence down to the end of the Egyptian New Kingdom in the Twentieth Dynasty; the description needs to be accompanied by a brief historical sketch in order to place before the reader a framework into which the individual finds may be fitted.

When the Egyptian colonies<sup>1</sup> above the First Cataract which produced the Protodynastic cemeteries perished or withdrew, apparently about the middle of the First Dynasty, civilisation seems to have almost abandoned the country for a thousand years or more, so that a great gap ensues in the archaeological record of Nubia which is hardly diminished by the scanty B-group finds,<sup>2</sup> Egypt, on the other hand, was making great advances in organisation and power as well as in arts and crafts, culminating in the glories of the Old Kingdom with its pyramids and elaborately-decorated tombs and temples.

The Old Kingdom has left few traces in Nubia. The fort of Ikkur, near Dakkeh, however, may date back to its very beginning,<sup>3</sup> and even beyond the Third Cataract the fort of the Western Defûfa at Kerma has yielded relics of the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>4</sup> Thus the Egyptians dominated the country by military posts. Notwithstanding this, graffiti of the Old Kingdom are seldom found above the First Cataract, and are almost confined to an important group dating from the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties on the rocks at Tomâs, where a land-route avoiding the great Korosko

1. It may be mentioned that Professor Junker doubts Reisner's Egyptian colony theory, looking upon the settlements as of a distinguishable race of Nubians as far back as the Middle Pre-historic Period (*Kubanieh-Süd*, pp. 2-6).

2. Above, p. 12.

3. Firth, *A. S. N. Report*, 1908-1909, p. 22.

4. Reisner in *Zeitschrift f. ägyptische Sprache*, LII, 35, 48, and in *Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Bulletin* XII, 11, 23.



bend of the Nile reached the river again.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, no cemetery nor even a single burial of the Old Kingdom has as yet been recognised in Nubia.

Egyptian inscriptions of this time occasionally mention Nubia.<sup>2</sup> In a certain year of the reign of Seneferu (who immediately preceded Cheops, probably about 3000 B.C.), the great event was a raid up the Nile, the booty amounting to seven thousand Nubian men and women and two hundred thousand beasts (oxen and goats). More than one Nubian (*nḥsī*), dark-coloured or negroid,<sup>3</sup> can be traced as holding a high position in Egypt or even in the royal court at Memphis, during the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties. It is not till the advent of the Sixth Dynasty that we learn to distinguish the Nubian tribes or districts by name. Biographical inscriptions of this age tell of exploring, trading or punitive expeditions to Wawat, near the frontier, Arerthet, Meja and Yam. These Nubian tribes were also drawn upon for contingents of troops in the Pharaonic armies. Many 'pacified' (or 'friendly'?) Nubians thus visited Egypt or settled therein, and apparently might be awarded rights and privileges in Egypt which were a burden on the native population.<sup>4</sup>

The decentralising tendency of the Sixth Dynasty perhaps began to restore a certain measure of prosperity to Nubia, though Phiops II at some period in his prodigiously long reign sent an expedition to punish Wawat. However that may be, the complete break-up of the Old Kingdom at the end of the Sixth Dynasty, after Phiops II had been king for nearly a century, gave Lower Nubia an opportunity of independent development, stimulated no doubt by the example of Egypt. Thereafter we find Nubia between the First and Second Cataracts occupied by flourishing communities belonging to the so-called C-group of Professor Reisner. They may have comprised such native inhabitants as had survived in the same region under the Old Kingdom, but these must have been mixed with or dominated by some fresh Hamitic strain (from the desert east or west, or from the Nile-lands further south), arriving with a certain amount of independent culture. Their skeletons show them

1. Weigall, *Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, Pl. LVIII.

2. Professor Reisner has collected the evidence from portraits and inscriptions in his *Outline of the Ancient History of the Sudan* (*Sudan Notes and Records* I, pp. 6, et seqq.). See also Breasted, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, pp. 142-168.

3. Junker shows that *nḥsī* should not be translated 'negro' in the strict sense of the word, true negroes as yet having scarcely come into touch with Egypt (*Kubanieh-Nord*, pp. 12, et seqq.).

4. Decree of Phiops I regarding the temple of Seneferu at Dahshūr, ll. 14, 15, 20, 21 (Borchardt in *Zeitschrift f. ägyptische Sprache*, XLII, 1, Moret, *Chartes d'immunité in Journal Asiatique*, XI Sér., tome XI, p. 387).



to have been negroid, in many instances differing considerably from the 'Protodynastic' people.<sup>1</sup>

These people are traceable by their cemeteries, of which the northernmost yet found is in Egypt itself, about ten miles below the First Cataract,<sup>2</sup> and the southernmost ours at Faras, twenty-five miles below the Second Cataract. Between these limits they have been recorded at many points, not only in the complete examination of the north half of the district by Reisner and Firth, but also further south by Steindorff,<sup>3</sup> Junker and Weigall.<sup>4</sup> It seems probable that the C-group inhabitants of this now arid region were in origin a pastoral people like the Baqqâra 'cow-herd tribe,'<sup>5</sup> who now wander over the grass-lands of Kordofân, or the Ma"âza 'goat-herd tribe' of the eastern desert of Egypt. Leather is a conspicuous material with the bodies, skeletons of goats occur in the graves, cattle alone are figured on the peculiar cemetery-stelae, and bucrania are frequently laid at the sides of the superstructure.<sup>6</sup> But, although it would seem that pasture must have been much more abundant than now to support the large population and their herds, the position of the cemeteries on both sides of the Nile appears to show that the C-group people were tied to the Nile valley in the main. The graves were marked by circular sandheaps retained by dry stone walling, and were often protected by a casing of slabs over the top; graves of the ancient nomad Bega and the modern Bisharîn offer close analogies.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, no certain

1. Elliot Smith and Derry, *Anatomical Report, in Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Bulletin No. 6*, pp. 11-19. Toldt, examining Junker's material from Kubanieh, has not been able to detect in it any considerable negro admixture. (*Anthropologische Untersuchung der menschlichen Überreste . . . von el-Kubanieh*, p. 45).

2. At Kubanieh, see Junker's memoir, *Bericht über die Grabungen . . . auf den Friedhöfen von El-Kubanieh-Nord*, *Denkschriften of the Vienna Academy*, Vol. LXIV (1920). The graves in this interesting cemetery are well preserved; they begin with advanced C-group at the southern end and, going northward, pass by gradual stages into purely Egyptian burials. The C-group graves altogether number one hundred.

3. At Anbeh. For this excavation, see p. 4, note 3, above, and *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* I, p. 218.

4. Junker, *Kubanieh-Nord*, p. 4, enumerates cemeteries as far south as Toshke Ermenne and Farig, all lying north of Abu Simbel. Weigall's collections of pottery in the plates of *A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia* show some very fine specimens from Toshke, and fragments from opposite Abu Simbel.

5. It is noteworthy that among the ancient tribal names Arerthet is almost identical with the word for 'milk' in Egyptian, perhaps a dialectal form, and Yam looks like 'palm'; dates are still the most important product of many parts of the Nubian valley.

6. The last three features, strange to say, are absent from the tombs which are considered to be the most ancient.

7. Junker, *Kubanieh-Nord*, p. 10, who refers to a valuable paper by Schweinfurth on Bega tombs at El Kab and their affinities, *Gräber der Bega in Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie*, XXXI (1899), pp. 538 et seqq.



remains of their habitations have yet been found.<sup>1</sup> They may have been flimsy huts or tents, but one would imagine that individual sites were occupied for a long period so that relics in the shape of pottery, stone, bronze and charcoal would have survived to mark them as in the case of the Protodynastic villages. Whatever may have been the origin of the C-group people, their possessions as revealed in the graves, their peculiar and abundant fictile wares, black topped haematitic and black incised, and their large and frequent cemeteries preclude the idea that they could have been really of nomadic habits at this period. As to their colour they adorned their faces with black stibium, which seems to prove, as Mr. Firth has remarked,<sup>2</sup> that their skins were not very dark.

Dr. Reisner, in his first excavation for the Archaeological Survey recognised that the C-group belonged approximately to the Middle Kingdom;<sup>3</sup> and, subsequently, numerous finds in less completely plundered cemeteries have pushed back its early connexions, so that it is now considered to extend both before and after Dyn. XII. This is true enough for certain developments, but to the present writer it has seemed probable, and this impression has been confirmed by Junker's instructive excavation at Kubanieh, that the typical C-group civilisation of Lower Nubia, after long existence and having risen to great prosperity in its later stages, was entirely put an end to by the Egyptian conquerors of the Twelfth Dynasty. Few, if any, of the Egyptian objects found in the C-group cemeteries of Lower Nubia bear the impress of the Twelfth Dynasty.

In his very able summary of the C-group as illustrated in the great cemeteries at Dakkeh, Mr. Firth endeavoured to distinguish sub-periods.<sup>4</sup> According to his classification, (a) the use of brick vaulting for graves and chapels, orientation of graves to the north instead of to the west, and the deposit of black incised pottery with polychrome filling were distinguishing marks of a later age, and (b) the latest of all the C-group burials were in shallow, poverty-stricken 'pan-graves' in the sand overlying the alluvium. Graves of class (b), though not numerous, were scattered widely through

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1. Two sections (A and B) of a stronghold discovered by MacIver and Woolley near Amada, and published in their *Areika*, chaps. II-IV, where it is attributed to Dyn. XVIII, abounded in potsherds and figurines of the C-group people; this may, however, be due only to the breaking-up of a C-group cemetery by an invader or later settlers in order to erect a fortress on the spot with the stones; the Egyptian 'foundation sealings' (*ib.* p. 9 and Pl. IX) might be of Dyn. VI-XVIII by the style.

2. Firth, *Report 1909-1910*, p. 17.

3. Bulletin No. 1 (1908), p. 19, more fully, *Report, 1907-1908*, pp. 335, et seqq.

4. *Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Report for 1909-1910*, pp. 10, et seqq.



the cemetery No. 101, while those of type (a) were all at the north end. The front row here consisted of very large discoidal superstructures with their bricked graves oriented to the north, and with brick chapels on the east side, and it was these large tombs that contained the fine polychrome-filled ware. Without assuming that they were later, one could explain their special features as due to the high rank or wealth of the deceased, who set the orientation for their poorer brethren around. But at Kubanieh too, there seems to have been a movement northward in the cemetery from earlier graves to later. Here, however, though Junker found brickwork in most of the graves, there were no large tombs with chapels attached, no polychrome pottery and no orientation to the north. The influence of Egypt and the comparative poverty of the Nubians settled north of the Cataract would sufficiently explain all these points. More material is required to decide whether the distinctions proposed by Firth will hold good. Our Faras results are indecisive, but unfavourable as regards the orientation test. Furthermore, the 'pan-graves' might be simply shallow burials of poor contemporaries of the stone-ring graves. If, however, the stone-ring C-group cemeteries of Nubia were begun at the end of the Sixth Dynasty and ended in the reign of Sesostri III—these would seem to be the extreme limits possible—they would have covered a period of not less than 400 years, or much more than that by some recent computations, and their actual extent would indicate long growth.

In the obscure period of Egyptian history that followed the Sixth Dynasty, the names of the divisions of Nubia, except Wawat, vanish from the inscriptions, though Meja reappears in the revival of the Twelfth Dynasty and onwards as an ethnic term applied frequently to Nubians serving in Egypt as allies, mercenaries, police, etc. The great Menthotp of the Eleventh Dynasty smote Wawat. In the Twelfth Dynasty appears a new and famous geographical term, Cush, probably designating the country beyond Wawat, which latter may have ended about the Second Cataract. Sesostri I overran Cush, but a century later Sesostri III fixed the frontier of Egypt (beyond which the Ethiopians, their boats and their herds of cattle might not pass except for service) at Semneh beyond the Second Cataract. A chain of his great fortresses blocked the difficult passages by land and by river from Buhon to Semneh,<sup>1</sup> while others held Lower Nubia in subjection. Far beyond these, too, the Egyptians still

1. For plans and descriptions of many of these fortresses see Somers Clarke, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, III, 155, and for names and identifications, Gardiner, *ib.*, p. 184.



held the ancient outpost at Kerma just south of the Third Cataract; here in the temple and fort Reisner found a tablet of Amenemmes III (recording the number of bricks used in rebuilding),<sup>1</sup> and other relics of the Twelfth Dynasty; and Egyptian monuments of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties at the quarries of Tombos and the Island of Argo show how firm and extensive was their hold in this distant region.

Apart from the fortresses, monuments of the Twelfth Dynasty and the succeeding period down to the New Kingdom are few. Temples, however, did exist at great centres like Kûbân,<sup>2</sup> opposite Dakkeh, Buhon just north of the Second Cataract, the fort of Matûka in the Cataract itself, in the eastern Defûfa at Kerma, and on the island of Argo, and it is probable that the names of the chief Egyptian settlements in Lower Nubia, Baki-Kûbân and Mi'am-Anibeh with their Horus gods were already established no less than Buhon (Βοών) which is actually found with the Mont-like Horus of that city on a stela of the reign of Sesostris I.<sup>3</sup> At such places there are also Egyptian cemeteries of the Middle Kingdom<sup>4</sup> though generally very scanty. Graffiti from Dyn. XI and onwards are found throughout Lower Nubia.

Thus, by the time of Sesostris III the C-group civilisation of Wawat or Lower Nubia had been utterly obliterated in Wawat itself, though its representatives transported northwards perhaps lived on in the 'pan-grave' settlements in Upper Egypt;<sup>5</sup> and a barrier had been set to all Nubian encroachment by the fortifications of the Second Cataract. Behind these fortifications, however, around the Egyptian outpost above the Third Cataract, a different tribe developed its culture under Egyptian influence, rendered more benign by remoteness. This is the culture which was

1. Figured in *Boston Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin XII*, 15. Junker in *El Kubanich-Nord*, pp. 17-18, 21, etc., appears not to have known of this decisive piece of evidence of Middle Kingdom occupation beyond Semneh, and argues that the Middle Kingdom monuments had merely been captured from the north or imported later.

2. A stela found here of the reign of Amenemmes III, L.D. II, 138 g., cf. Textband V, p. 60, was evidently dedicated in a temple.

3. Crum, *Stelae from Wady Halfa* in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* XVI, 16.

4. At Dakkeh, cemetery 110, (Firth, *A. S. N. Bulletin*, No. 7, p. 9); at Buhon, however, (see MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen*, chaps. IX-XV and Plan G) the three chief cemeteries H, J, and K contain tombs of the Middle Kingdom, which must have been exceptionally numerous there. Probably a large proportion of the tombs in H and J were cut in that period, though they were re-used later. H 1, 6, 31 are shown to be of the Middle Kingdom by the stela, J 14 by the stela, J 38 too, probably, by a cylinder of Amenemmes. Cemetery K is early throughout, but is not confined to Dyn. XII, since K 8 contained a plaque of Neferhotp of Dyn. XIII (ib. Pl. 74). The dating in *Buhen* needs careful revision in the light of new discovery.

5. For these see Wainwright, *Balabish*, especially p. 5.

revealed by Reisner's marvellous discoveries in the necropolis of Kerma.<sup>1</sup> It lived on and flourished until it in its turn succumbed to the wider ambitions of the New Kingdom conquerors.

Of the Kerma civilisation we found no trace at Faras. Graves containing the beautiful and characteristic pottery of Kerma are rarely found elsewhere, and they are hardly more numerous in Lower Nubia than in Upper Egypt.<sup>2</sup> These outliers belong to the troubled Hyksos period immediately preceding the Eighteenth Dynasty and must represent groups of Cushite (Majoi ?) mercenaries introduced by the Egyptians to aid them in war and garrison important points.<sup>3</sup>

The rise of the Theban power of the New Kingdom put an end both to the Hyksos domination northward and to the Cushite Kingdom in the south. The conquerors of the Eighteenth Dynasty began the reoccupation of Nubia in a thorough manner, and thenceforth for a very long period not a shadow remained of independent native culture. Their temples were built or rebuilt at first on a modest scale of brick and sandstone,<sup>4</sup> but one by one temples constructed entirely of stone rose in many places at the command of Hatshepsut, Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, Amenhotep III, Amenhotep IV and Ramesses II. All Nubia was governed by a viceroy or 'king's son' who, in the time of Amenhotep III began to be known by the distinctive title, 'King's Son of Cush';<sup>5</sup> the tribute of Wawat, however, was counted separately from that of Cush proper. The temples—Abu Simbel and Soleb were doubtless the greatest of all—made a wondrous show, and there must have been a good deal of government-traffic up and down the river; but the ruling class of residents (which to judge from the proper names was in part recruited from the natives), was probably a mere handful, and the rest count archaeologically for nothing. Cemeteries are small except at Buhon and Mí'am (Aníbeh); but graffiti are common throughout the region to the Third Cataract, and Napata at the Fourth Cataract was now perhaps the furthest outpost.

1. Reisner, *Excavations at Kerma* I, II in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* LII, 34; id. *New Acquisitions of the Egyptian Department in Boston Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* XII, 9.

2. A few at Buhon (*Buhen* cem. H 1, 8, 16, 31, 45, cem. J 11, 33, and cem. K 35?), several at Kúbán, and one at Shellál, against several at Abydos (cf. Hall, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* I, p. 219) and single examples at Abadiyeh, Hû and Qurneh, see Wainwright, *Balabish*, p. 43 and cf. *ib.* p. 7.

3. For the kingdom of Cush and the employment of or alliance with the Majoi, see the Carnarvon tablet, Gardiner, *Journal of Egyptian Arch.* III, pp. 99, 105.

4. Cf. MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen*, chap. IV.

5. Reisner, *The Viceroys of Ethiopia* in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* VI, 32.



No temples have been found of the New Kingdom after Ramesses II,<sup>1</sup> but the later Nineteenth Dynasty and the Twentieth Dynasty are traceable in graffiti and in important tombs at Anibeh and elsewhere.

#### IV—THE C-GROUP CEMETERY AT FARAS.

About two miles to the south-west of the Diffi or Citadel of Faras, the gravel plateau that stretches to the Nile valley from the sandstone hills of the higher desert is broken by a shallow khor. On its northern bank the mixed gravel and sand rise to form a low rounded knoll, and this knoll was strewn with rough blocks and slabs of sandstone which, when looked at more closely, resolved themselves into numerous circles set close to one another and fairly regular in form, though largely hidden by the drift sand. Here and there fragments of pottery were seen, and on our first visit to the spot we were surprised to find black-topped bowls lying intact and obviously in their original position, mouth downwards in the sand, and so near its surface that their bases showed above it. This fact induced us to hope that we had found an un plundered though much denuded cemetery; but we soon discovered that the graves had been systematically rifled in antiquity, and the circumstance of the pottery remaining in position was due to its having stood originally outside the tombs and not inside them. It was a C-group cemetery of the type that has since become familiar through the publications of Reisner, Firth and Junker.<sup>2</sup>

The cemetery occupied a space of about sixty by one hundred metres. We excavated nearly half of it, beginning at the S.W. end (south by the river), and assigned to it the number 2, the excavated graves running from 1 to 244 (see Pl. IX). Perhaps if we had carried our work on to the northern end we should have come upon bricked graves and chapels; but where we excavated not a single brick was found. With few exceptions the superstructures were much ruined. They were of the usual type, from two to five metres in diameter, dry built of rough unshaped sandstone

1. See however below, p. 100, for remnants of a shrine of Dyn. XX (Pl. XXII, a, b).

2. The best of the published material for the Nubian C-group is in *Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Report for 1907-1908*, Pl. 61b, pottery, Pl. 69, necklaces, Pl. 70b, small objects; *id.* 1908-1909, Pls. 37-41, 46-48 (from cemetery 87 at Koshtamna); *id.* *Report for 1909-1910* Pls. 12-19 (superstructures), Pl. 20, pottery from cemetery 97 at Dakkeh, Pls. 29-35, pottery, etc., from cemetery 101 at Dakkeh, Pls. 36-37, various objects, Pls. 39, 40, polychrome-filled ware; Junker, *Kubanieh-Nord*, Pls. 1-14. The objects figured here (Pls. X-XIV) are selected to fill gaps with new or interesting varieties.

rubble. They appeared to have stood originally 50 to 80 cms. high, and were filled up inside with sand to the level of the top of the enclosing wall; many of them had also been paved above with flat slabs, and over graves 70, 71 a large part of this paving remained intact, but since the early robbers had descended to the graves through the middle of the superstructure, the covering slabs had generally disappeared and only the ring wall was left.<sup>1</sup>

The graves within the circles were oval pits in the sand, averaging in size 140 × 70 cms., and having a depth of from 60 to 150. The sand was so light and ill-compact that the ancient plundering had generally resulted in collapse of the sides of the pit; its measurements, therefore, were often difficult and sometimes impossible to determine. The orientation of the pits was not uniform, being anything from compass-north to south-east, but generally, the compass direction was either due north by south (2, 7, 17, 19, 26, 27, 43, 47, 150, 197, 199, 204, mostly indeed without traceable superstructures), due east by west (e.g., 35, 52, 65, 101) or roughly south-east by north-west at about 110°; the directions are shown on the plan. Those with N-S axis, scattered along the S. and W. edges, were not visibly later than the others.<sup>2</sup> Of graves without superstructures, some were oval, a few triangular (15, 36, 62), and some of 'pan-grave' form, shallow and circular (e.g., 9, 10, 29, 63, 64). They may well have been only poorer graves contemporary with the others.

In this cemetery we found five tall stelae of white sandstone some three metres high, neatly shaped and smoothed, with flat oval section about 50 × 15 cm. increasing in width at the top to about 70, and rounded off above. In one case, grave 151, the stela had stood apparently within the superstructure of a tomb, though not at its centre, and must have projected about two metres above it (Pl. X, *a*); in grave 117, the indications pointed to a similar arrangement; in another case, no. 212, the stela did not seem to stand in relation with any particular tomb; at grave 36 it had stood recessed in the side of a grave which, as lacking the regular superstructure, would otherwise have been regarded as of the poorest class. Again, it seemed possible that the wall of the superstructure of grave 128 stood on a stela, thrown down and left as it lay broken in two (Pl. X, *b*). All were quite plain. The lower ends of four of the above

1. Junker *Kubanich-Nord*, p. 43, doubts whether every ring in his cemetery (the south end of which was remarkably well-preserved by deep sand) had enclosed a paving.

2. See above, pp. 68, 69. The only identified example of an animal buried with the corpse was in gr. 2.



were found in position, showing that the broad faces had looked N.E. and S.W. by the compass in 36, 151, 212, N. and S. in 117. Whether these stelae really marked tombs and belonged to such, or whether they stood there before the tombs were dug, and were the pillars of some sacred 'high place,' it was difficult to say; they did not seem directly connected with the building of the stone superstructures or necessarily with the period to which these belong. But Mr. Firth, in the previous year, found four plain (?) stelae, perhaps in pairs, among graves in the southern half of the great C-group cemetery at Dakkeh,<sup>1</sup> and at the northern end where the later or more luxurious tombs were placed, one with a group of cow and calf rudely engraved in outline and filled with colour;<sup>2</sup> and he figures another similarly decorated from cemetery 118 at Qurta on the east bank which he found re-used (?) in the offering chamber of a C-group tomb.<sup>3</sup> Thus certainly stelae were set up in C-group cemeteries, but apparently were not commemorative; among the early or average graves they are quite plain, among the later (or superior?) tombs they are decorated with figures of cattle. Mr. Firth has already suggested that the latter may have been to ensure a supply of milk to the dead,<sup>4</sup> and whether plain or with figures they may have been for the performance of religious ceremonies to that end.

In most of the graves only a few scattered bones remained; in very few were the bodies found undisturbed. However, there was plenty of evidence to show that the general habit was to place one body only in each grave, contracted upon its right side (contrasting with the Protodynastic custom) except in graves 62 and 214. The head pointed in any direction from compass-north to south-east, and the face accordingly looked between west and north-east; the axis of the body did not always follow that of the grave. In grave 180 the body was found with its head west, but it had been disturbed. In grave 45 there was every appearance of the body having been dismembered and the bones broken before interment; the grave was in fact too small for an ordinary contracted burial. In grave 2 a goat lay buried with a male skeleton.

In many instances, remains of clothes or wrappings were found. The most common material was leather, e.g., in graves 85, 89, 188 and 193,

1. *Report 1909-1910*, Plan 3, nos. 435, 436, and nos. 415, 508a. Is not also no. 214 'sandstone slab' a stela on which the circle has been built, as perhaps in our grave 218?

2. *Ib.* Pl. 35a, near nos. 55, 58, see Pl. 16b.

3. *Ib.* Pl. 35b.

4. *Ib.* p. 17.

in graves 162 and 229 showing traces of having been dyed red. In grave 184, quantities of leather (in a very rotten condition) were found reaching from the waist to the feet, and covering the arms also; perhaps a leather skirt was worn either by itself or with a kind of jacket or cloak. On the other hand, the remains in grave 219 seemed rather to suggest that the whole body had been buried in a leather sack. This must have been spread open in the grave, the body laid in position on it, and the mouth of the sack then drawn up together by thongs that passed round through the upper pleats. The circle of the sack's mouth lay almost intact over the body about the waist, and the leather could be detected over all the limbs and beneath the body, which lay on a reed mat; a coarse loosely-woven linen of very string-like texture may have been in the nature of a shroud, for it was found outside the leather. A finer linen also loosely-woven and resembling rather a coarse muslin seemed to have been worn next to the skin (grave 189). Several of the bodies (graves 66, 74, 184) had been wrapped up in reed or straw mats, the remains of which were found both above and below the bones.

Beads were very seldom found with male bodies, but in the graves of women and children they frequently occurred. Beadwork in various colours formed the ornamentation of a child's leather belt in grave 54 (Pls. XI c; XII, 1; XIV). Strings of beads were commonly worn round the ankles, wrists or neck, see graves 74, 99, 118, 124, 184, 192, 219. The beads were of gold (8, 121, 165), granite or diorite (195, 219, 238?) steatite (? graves 34, 41) and shell. Besides the usual turquoise glaze in abundance, dark and light glaze were found together in 217 and 229, and black glaze was used in the belt of 54. Two flattened barrel beads of bone were in 118 (Pl. XII, 3), brown glaze barrel beads in 121, blue glaze melon beads in 211 (Pl. XII, 2). Carnelian was plentiful. Some dull whitish quartz beads in 211, 219, 238, had been coloured to resemble pale carnelian, the paint washing off unexpectedly in the cleaning. A barrel bead of glazed stone was in 42, a blue glazed pendant of rock crystal in 211. Of shells, cowries were found in 22 and 106, and *Marginella* in 121. Of shell, also, petal-shaped pendants were in 160, a lunette ornament in 113, and a rectangular pendant occurred in the rubbish of the cemetery. Finger rings were of ivory, graves 34, 74, 176, 192; horn (?), 41; of shell, 162, 219, 226, as many as four occurring on one finger (Pl. XII, 4). Armllets were of ivory, graves 42, 85, 165, 187; marble and alabaster, 91, 173, or of thin shell cut obliquely, 178, 179, 192, 215, 223 (Pl. XII, 5).



The amulets found were a rude hawk<sup>1</sup> of turquoise in grave 8, a foot of carnelian<sup>2</sup> in grave 31, an 'ankh of silver in grave 54 (Pl. XII, 8), a pierced natural pebble shaped like an animal in grave 130 (*ib.* 7) and a tiny green glaze pendant perhaps intended for the Horus-child<sup>3</sup> in grave 211. There were also in grave 160 a hemi-cylindrical seal<sup>4</sup> with human figure engraved in a series of straight lines (Pl. XIV), and in grave 125 a small scarab with obscure floral design (*ib.*). Shells containing kohl were found in graves 34, 47, 54, 126. The only copper objects were three circular mirrors,<sup>5</sup> one of them with a rough human head on the handle (Pl. XIV), but green stains on the bones in gr. 115 showed whence metal had been stolen. Rough bone needles were in 97, 132, 142, 147, 215, 235, 240. A mushroom-shaped ear(?)-stud was in 157 (Pl. XII, 6), a frit boss in 118 where also were found a terra-cotta doll<sup>6</sup> and a fragment of a worked ostrich-shell (Pl. XII, 9), a disc, cut out of a grey-green 'Egyptian' potsherd and grooved round the circumference, in 71, and the horn of an ox in 117.

Two alabaster vessels (Pl. XII, 14, 15) occurred in graves 54, 78,<sup>7</sup> and a fragment of another on the surface.

Most of the pottery lay not inside the graves, where generally only fragments remained, but on the old ground surface in connection with the superstructures. The vessels lay usually against the north or north-west face of the stone ring, or, where there was no superstructure, on the north-east of the tomb pit; occasionally they were deposited on the west, and in two or three cases some were on the south, with others on the north-east side. The bowls, black-topped or incised, which formed the great majority of these offerings, were inverted in the sand; the jars stood

1. Cf. Petrie *Amulets* No. 245 *j-g*, Dyns. VI-XII.

2. Cf. Firth, *A. S. N. Report*, 1909-1910, Pl. 36e. Well known in Egyptian graves of about the Sixth Dynasty, Garstang, *Mahásna*, Pl. XXXIX; Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, Pl. XXVIII.

3. Cf. Petrie, *Amulets*, No. 145, both arms down sides.

4. Cf. Firth, *A. S. N. Report*, 1909-1910, Pl. 36e, 16, Pl. 41, fig. 26. In Egypt, *Mahásna*, *ib.*; *Diospolis Parva*. Pls. XXV, XXVIII, XLI, 1, 2, 3. Newberry, *Scarabs*, pp. 56-61, Dyns. VI-XI.

5. The circular form is characteristic of early mirrors between Dyns. VI and XI. *Mahásna*, Pl. XXXIX, *Diospolis Parva*, Pl. XXXI.

6. The only specimen that we found, though such figures are common among C-group remains, see for instance, *Areika*, Pl. 8.

7. The latter (cf. Firth *op. cit.*, Pl. 36a 5) resembles specimens of Dyns. V-X from Egypt, Garstang, *Mahásna*, Pls. XXXVII-XXXVIII, Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, Pl. XXVIII. Professor Petrie notes its resemblance to bad shapes of Dyns. IX-XI, and considers that it cannot be as late as Dyn. XII, and that the larger vase (fig. 14) cannot be earlier than Dyn. XI.

upright or lay upon their sides. Thin discs of sandstone or pottery D. 8, served as stoppers to jars inside the graves (104, 122, 225).

By a few of the largest tombs, 78, 79, 151 (165 ?), 162, 223, were also placed one or more bucrania (five with 162), arranged in a straight line, sometimes overlapping or separated from each other by a lump of sandstone (Pl. XI, 1, 2). They were typical bucrania, not entire skulls; but if they had ever been painted, like the examples from the allied 'pan-graves' at Hu in Egypt,<sup>1</sup> all traces of colour would have disappeared, as the bucrania had lain on the surface exposed to the weather. A rough granite palette or lower grindstone (Pl. XII, 12) lay with the pottery against the superstructure of grave 102; a remarkable granite mace-head of plain ring form (Pl. XII, 10, 11), probably the only weapon yet found in connexion with C-group graves, lay near 227; and a pierced disc of pottery, apparently a spindle whorl, was near 42.

The pottery (see the type-sheet, Pl. XV) may be divided into Egyptian (?) wheel-made (classes I-V), and Nubian hand-made (classes VI-XII).

The former include:—

(1) A series of pale greenish grey or drab *ballâs*-ware vessels. Large jars I a-c<sup>2</sup> of which the lower half in many cases is shaped by hand, and smaller ones I d-j.

(2) Pots with white facing, II a-c, sometimes suggesting that a substitute for alabaster was attempted; the ware is red or pink, but the best example II b is of *ballâs*-ware.

(3) Red ware pots, II d-g.

Of the smaller vessels some were undoubtedly brought from Egypt, being identical in ware and shapes with Egyptian specimens between Dyns. VI and XII.<sup>3</sup> Most of those from Faras are pierced with a hole, perhaps to render them valueless or kill them. The same has been done to the exceptional examples III a-d. Of these, c and d must be of Proto-dynastic age<sup>4</sup> (hand-made) and doubtless were stolen from the neighbouring cemetery to place at the graves. On the other hand, III a and b, especially

1. Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, p. 46 (see also *Gizeh and Rifeh*, p. 20) and from Steindorff's C-group finds at Anibeh (*Leipzig Ausstellung, Sieglin-Expedition in Nubien*, 1912, p. 8).

2. The ware is illustrated from Egypt under Dyns. XI-XII in Petrie, *Denderah*, Pl. XVIII, but the characteristic jars (except Ib—*ib.* fig. 195) are not to be found in publications of Egyptian material.

3. I f, g, *Mahâsna*, Pl. XLI; I i, II b, c, *Diospolis Parva*, Pl. XXXIII, 17, 6, 12; I j, II c, *Denderah*, Pl. XVIII, 187, 190; II d, *Mahâsna*, Pl. XLII, all Dyns. VI-XI. I i, II a, c, are attributed verbally by Professor Petrie to Dyn. XII.

4. Types 7 and 10-12 (approximately) of the Proto-dynastic cemetery, above, Pl. III.



the latter, are known as types of Dyn. XVIII.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, the precise find-spot of a is not recorded; but Mr. Woolley (who found and recorded this cemetery) attached particular importance to the discovery of b, which he considered to confirm his provisional attribution of the C-group remains to the period of Dyn. XVIII.<sup>2</sup> This specimen was high up in the filling of grave 208, associated with the usual C-group pottery, but the grave had been plundered, and it is possible that the vessel was brought thither by the plunderers. Moreover, there seems to be evidence that both types occur in the Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>3</sup>

Wheel-made bowls IV are rare, of the ring-stands V only two specimens were found.

Designs of animals, etc., are found scratched on the large 'Egyptian' jars, types I a-c, after firing (see Pl. XIV).

(b) The Nubian hand-made ware includes:—

(1) Black incised bowls VI a-k, rather soft through insufficient burning, rough inside, the outside sometimes polished before incising. The decoration which was often filled with white consists of dog-tooth impressions below the rim, the body covered with rows of hatched triangles and lozenges, strap bands crossing each other in various directions, sharply angulated bands, etc., often clearly in imitation of wickerwork and plaiting. They appear to have been made specially for the grave furniture, perhaps as substitutes for the baskets, etc., of perishable materials used in the house. New and interesting varieties are shown in Pl. XII, 16-19, and Pl. XIII. The loops on Pl. XIII, 9-10, and the scroll-band on the fragment, Pl. XII, 19, are unique, curved lines (cf. also Pl. XII, 17), except those due to the form of the vessel, being hitherto unknown.

(2) Black-mouthed incised bowls, VII a-c, of similar ware, rough inside with red outer surface and slight black top; the decorations are similar, but are sometimes confined to an edging below the rim. Scarce. See Pl. XII, 16, XIII, 13.

(3) Black top bowl with pimples appliqué VIII a. Dog-tooth is

1. III a Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, Pl. XXVII K 351, etc. III b MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen*, Pl. 38, S XXI; Quibell, *El Kab*, Pl. XIII, fig. 30; Petrie, *Kahun*, Pl. XX, fig. 21; *Labyrinth*, Pl. XVIII, figs. 72, 73.

2. MacIver and Woolley, *Areika*, chs. II-IV.

3. III a Petrie, *Naqada*, Pl. XLVI, fig. 53; *Gizeh and Rifeh*, Pl. XIIIe, fig. 120; Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos III*, Pl. V 2 (Dyn. XII). III b Peet, *ib.* fig. 3; Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, Pl. XIII c, 142, XIII D, 179 (Dy. X-XII ?); *Denderah*, Pl. XVII, fig. 66 (these early specimens of b, however, seem all to be of smaller size).

stamped on the horizontal surface of the lip in the only specimen found (Pl. XIII, 1).

(4) Plain black-topped bowls, polished inside and out, IX a-h. Abundant.

(5) Plain red haematitic bowls, black core like the last, polished inside and out and of the same forms as the black-topped, but red over the whole surface both internal and external. Scarce.

(6) Black-mouthed pots, X; b and c may be decorated with incised patterns round the rim (Pl. XIII, 5)

(7) Plain pots, generally black core but often red inside and out, XI; b is polished black.

(8) Jars of reddish (yellow) clay with coarse surface, XII a-c, a with comb impressions, b, c with incised hatched diamonds and triangles. Along with these conventional designs occur special figures of a different character though likewise impressed before burning (Pl. XIV). The ox on XII a from grave 232 is well outlined; on XII c from grave 78 there are three indefinite figures.

Two of these hand-made pots, X e from grave 162 and XI c from grave 160, have been pierced with a hole like so many of the 'Egyptian' specimens.

The fragment (Pl. XII, 20) of ribbed ware is doubtless an example of domestic ware used for cooking, which has strayed into the cemetery and may be later.

Mr. Wainwright, discussing the pottery types, concludes that in this cemetery the type IX g (which is a 'pan-grave' type in Egypt and should therefore be late) is especially associated with bucrania, and that black incised ware becomes scarce with the increase of IX g and bucrania.<sup>1</sup>

As can be seen from the references to Egyptian parallels, the bulk of the datable material from this cemetery takes us back before the Twelfth Dynasty. To make it contemporary with Dyn. XVIII is impossible, but some of it may extend into Dyn. XII.

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1. His discussion is preserved with the records of the expedition. For the Egyptian 'pan-graves' see Wainwright's recent memoir, *Balabish*, pp. 42, et seq.



## V. THE MIDDLE KINGDOM FORT AT FARAS

There can be little doubt that the Egyptian Twelfth Dynasty in some way or other paid attention to Faras: in fact, a written indication of its activity here is preserved in a fragmentary inscription from the Temple of Hathor of Abeshek, probably dating from the end of the Middle Kingdom, which recorded a prayer to the Horus of a place associated with the name of the great King Sesostris III of the Twelfth Dynasty (see below, p. 85, No. 6); probably, therefore, we may attribute a small fort which we found at Faras to the activities of that great fortress builder.

It is remarkable that all the earliest remains of Faras are on the edge of the western desert (see Pl. I). This fact appears to lend special force to a tradition among the inhabitants that a second arm of the Nile once ran here under the western desert, branching from opposite Geziret Faras and re-entering the main stream at El-Wizz. The bed seems still traceable in the low ground behind the sandhills with the landing-stage of the fort projecting into it. Indeed, in the absence of visible early remains on the eastern side Mr. Woolley was of opinion that in all probability this western branch had been the main channel as late as the Middle Kingdom.

At a point not far northward from the Proto-dynastic Village the supposed old river course runs immediately along the lower sandstone plateau which breaks away in a little cliff face ('Edge of Rock,' on the map, Pl. I) about a metre and a half high. A line of large stones running out almost at right angles from the rock face first attracted attention to where, on the flat surface above, fragments of sand-worn pottery lay amongst traces of mud brick walls. This, on excavation, proved to be the site of an Egyptian fortress. It was a small one, measuring internally only 70 metres by 80 metres, built throughout of mud bricks (except for one or two internal walls in which rough rubble is used) and surrounded by a solid wall having a thickness of 3.3 metres. Unfortunately, the building had been so utterly destroyed and denuded that there was hardly anywhere more than one course of brickwork left; but the ground plan of the excavated part was sufficiently complete to give a fairly good idea of the character of the place (see Pl. XVI). The quay is now simply a double row of sandstone blocks of various shapes in one layer nearly 1.50 metres wide, lying on the surface and much sand-worn; perhaps it was never more than this. It begins at about 15 metres from the terrace,



and continues for about 18 metres down the slope in the usual way of such primitive landing-places on the Nile. The eastern wall was about 25 metres behind the edge of the rock face, and, doubtless, the entrance for which the quay was made had been on this side. On the west, outside the main wall, was a narrow wall only fifty-five centimetres in thickness, provided like the stout rampart behind it with square salients and joined to it at the north end (the other end was ruined away) by a serpentine wall of a single brick's thickness that recalled the similar wall at Buhon.<sup>1</sup>

If this serpentine wall be merely a containing wall intended to hold up a platform of sand, as seems to have been the case at Bohon, then there must have been against the west wall of the fortress a lower platform from which the defenders could repulse an attack with hand-to-hand weapons, while at the same time it would protect the mud brick wall against sapping or battering by an enemy. There was no rock-cut trench like that at Serra.<sup>2</sup> The other walls to north and south are not similarly protected by outworks. Inside, the buildings are arranged in blocks more or less self-contained; hearths are the only signs of domestic life that have survived, but bins and circular granaries are common as might be expected in a military outpost.

The objects found in it were singularly few. Fragments were plentiful of drab Egyptian pottery such as are commonly found on sites dating from the Twelfth Dynasty to the Eighteenth and of red pottery that might have been of any age. In the chamber D, outside the circular granaries, were found jar sealings and numbers of broken specimens of the rough little pots about 25 cm. high, and tapering downwards, which are so plentifully found in the forts of Ikkur and Kûbân.<sup>3</sup> More of these latter were to the north and east of D, jar sealings to the west and solid cones of mud baked and unbaked between D and A. There were also several batches of small mud sealings, in all about a hundred, impressed with one and the same design of Middle Kingdom type, from a scarab or scaraboid, with three or four rather larger, impressed from another scarab with a closely similar design (on Pl. XVI). If they had been attached to letters they would have shown more variety; probably, therefore, they had marked stores, etc. in the fort. A plain burial of an adult extended

1. Randall-MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen*, pp. 122-123, and plans E, G.

2. Mileham, *Churches in Lower Nubia*, Pl. 30.

3. See Firth, *A.S.N. Report*, 1908-1909, p. 24 and Pl. 49b. None were found whole and many were pierced at the lower end.

on the back with head to W. was found in the N.W. corner, and inside, near the middle of the N. wall, a similar burial of a child: these may have been Christian, as were some rough dwellings against the rock-face near by—outposts, perhaps, of the great cemeteries further north. Scanty as they are, the remains at least prove a date earlier than the Eighteenth Dynasty for the fort.

The tapering pots just mentioned make it appropriate to notice here a find made at the south-east end of the Meroitic cemetery. Grave no. 19 was built against the N.W. side of a circular pit about 300 cm. in diameter and 70 cm. deep, which had evidently been a kiln: it was filled with ashes, among which lay a great number of little conical pots. We contented ourselves, unfortunately, with taking one perfect specimen, and made no observations as to how closely the others agreed with it in capacity. The spot is not far from the temple of Tutankhamun, and I am inclined to connect the kiln with the temple settlement. The specimen taken (on Pl. XXVI), now in the Ashmolean, is 13 cm. high and 5 cm. wide, tapering to about 2 cm. below where it is roughly rounded: the mouth is quite irregular like the outside generally, but the inside is smooth with a fairly regular taper to the rounded end, so that with care a cast of the interior can be extracted without injury. The cast is about 10 cm. in length, 4 cm. broad near the mouth, and tapering to 2 cm. near the end. Some of Mr. Firth's specimens, which vary in size, may have given a cast of twice the bulk of ours, and many of them were pierced axially. This example is not pierced below: possibly the holes were made after filling to facilitate extraction of the contents. It has been suggested that these pots were nozzles of bellows, crucibles or moulds for ingots. That they were at least sometimes used to hold papyri is shown by an example, 21 cm. long, found by Professor Petrie at Kahun,<sup>1</sup> which contained three small legal documents of the reign of Amenhotp III. That each should have been intended to contain a soldier's ration of beer or other liquid seems improbable from their small size and porousness. It might be found that their tapering form was intended to facilitate their moulding on a block, giving a fixed content, rather than that they should be used for matrices themselves. The matter requires further study of examples. The evidence of the monuments, curiously enough, may

1. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, p. 92, figured Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, Pl. XIII, 30. Another of the same size is shown in *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, Pl. XII, 34, amongst pottery types of Dyn. XII, and a much larger one, L.38 cm. in the foundation deposit of Sesostri II, *ib.* Pl. XIV, 14 and p. 22.



point to their use in bread and beer making: they are similar to certain strange-looking tapering hollow vessels named *bj*: that are figured in scenes of bread making and brewing in Egyptian tombs of the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1</sup> The bread is probably moulded and baked in them, malt for beer being the result in some cases and, perhaps, choice 'white loaves,' *ta-hej*, in others. Incense was also made up in 'white loaves,' i.e., in the shape of a slender sugar loaf. One might further conjecture that the conical pots, being sometimes found in graves, are connected with the puzzling 'funerary cones' of the Theban necropolis.

## VI. THE NEW KINGDOM AT FARAS

If the main channel of the river at Faras had in earlier times run along the edge of the western desert, there can be no doubt that by the beginning of the New Kingdom the eastern channel already held the chief place. The Egyptian temples of the time were all built on or near its bank. The temple at the Hathor rock must have existed at least as early as the very beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty and was rebuilt or added to by the celebrated Queen Hatshepsut. Its axis lay from north to south with the approach from the north, perhaps towards the chief settlement of the city, but not to the river quay. It seems probable that this temple was the principal fane of the Hathor of Abeshek, and in consequence Abeshek may be the ancient name of Faras.

At the central site (on the river bank within the Enclosure built later by the Meroites), the earliest visible remains are loose blocks from a temple of Thutmose III, built in honour of Horus of Buhon. Half a mile to the north of this, Huy, Viceroy of Nubia under Tutankhamun, built a considerable temple and fortified settlement fronting towards the river. As Tutankhamun was the first to revive the old religion after Akhenaton's heresy, he appropriately named the place *Sehtep-entér*, 'Conciliation of the gods,' and a variety of deities, Ammon, Hathor, and Isis, were worshipped in the temple, but the principal god seems to have been Tutankhamun himself. Haremhab also put his name upon his predecessor's temple. Setau, Viceroy of Ramesses II, is commemorated

1. In *El Bersheh* I, Pl. XXV, the pots are made on a tiny wheel (?), in *Beni-Hasan* I, Pl. XII and II, Pl. VI, they are being burnt or taken from the kiln and filled with dough: cf. the tomb of Dega in Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, Pl. XXXVIII, and a better preserved scene in his *Tomb of Antefoker*, Pls. XI-XII, with XIb, XIIa. In the Old Kingdom the *bj*:pot was much wider mouthed, Steindorff, *Grab des Ti*, Pls. 85, 86.



by a small grotto cut in the rock of Hathor; and Ramesses II must either have added to the Temple of Hathor or have built another temple in this direction, for the nearest corner tower of the great Enclosure wall contains several inscribed blocks of his work. The three temples, that of Hathor, and those built by Thutmosis III and Tutankhamun may have continued in some sort of religious use until the end of the Twentieth Dynasty (when all traces of Egyptian civilisation in Nubia ceased), but there is practically nothing left in any of them to bear witness of it.

Four rock-cut tombs in the terraces of the western desert, though uninscribed, evidently date from the New Kingdom, but we found no other burial places of this period.

Lower Nubia contained three large districts of which the capitals were Bak (Dakkeh), Mi'am (Anibeh), and Buhon (near Halfa); it is evident that Faras belonged to the third of these, for its chief temple was dedicated to the Horus of Buhon and his cotemplar goddesses.

*The Hathor Temple and Grotto.*

Behind Kolasūča, south of the Meroitic Enclosure, an isolated rock, known with the ruins upon it as Nabindiffi 'Tower of Gold,' rises out of the sand and alluvium (Pl. XVII b, c). It very naturally attracted attention at an early period. In the south-east face towards the river is a small grotto (marked 'Tomb' in the map on Pl. I) with sculptures of Setau the Viceroy of Ramesses II; its inscription mentions Hathor of Abeshek, and on the north side of the rock we discovered and cleared the foundations of the temple of this goddess.

Mr. Woolley's plan (Pl. XXIII) shows the disposition of the walls and foundations, distinguishing the two main periods of construction so far as he could ascertain them. The axis of the temple was to the N.E., parallel to the present river course. Two parallel walls, A, must have been for an ascending approach or ramp.<sup>1</sup> It passed several cross walls, where there may have been doorways and courts in the original construction, and finally reaches the N.E. wall of the main temple building G, which nearly coincides with the face of the rock on this side. The rock behind is almost all bare, but has been cut about in a remarkable way: several flights of steps are cut in it, and the top may perhaps have been used for sacrifice. On the right of the ramp is a small chamber F,

1. Compare the ramps of the great temples built by Menthotp and Hatshepsut at Dêr el Bahri.

in which stands a rectangular base like those for sacred barks, 80 cm. high, 80 cm. long, and 65 cm. broad, with the usual beading and cavetto cornice at the top, but uninscribed. Hereabouts were found several blocks sculptured and inscribed (See Pl. XXIV.) :—

(1) Limestone door-lintel with remains of two lines of inscription of goodwill of a goddess (i.e., Hathor of Abeshek) to a queen (i.e., Hatshepsut). 'She maketh for her life, stability and longevity (?) that her heart be joyful with her *ka* like Re' every day.'

Hatshepsut is not otherwise traceable amongst the scanty remains, but no other identification seems possible. She built the southern temple at Halfa, and her activity was great in many centres.

(2) Sandstone block showing in relief part of the reeded head-dress of Khnum (?) with disk, horizontal horns and side feathers.

(3) Sandstone fragment inscribed with large characters from a vertical column of writing. They strongly suggest the word for 'restoration' of a building, but might refer to the 'slaying' of enemies in the titles or glorification of a king.

(4) Sandstone door-jamb; the inscription faint, having perhaps been cut through plaster—'Beloved of Hathor, Lady of Abeshek.'

In this upper part and on the west practically nothing else was found. The N.E. slope, on the other hand, was composed chiefly of temple rubbish: only the space between the ramp walls was filled with clean sand; the rest, especially about the chamber B at a slight depth, abounded in potsherds and remains of bowls of glazed ware, beads, scarabs, etc. etc. Unfortunately the figures and other larger objects were broken up into small fragments, and it was seldom that any two pieces could be fitted together. The finds included the following inscriptions (Pl. XXIV).

(5) Piece of a limestone stela naming one of the Amenhotp kings whose distinctive pre-nomen is lost. The absence of additions to the name is in favour of an attribution to Amenhotp I, and this is confirmed by the general age of the finds in the rubbish; it is dedicated by some high official, who is described as 'a watchful overseer' whom the king 'had promoted' and who 'satisfied the heart' of his master; unhappily his name, too, is broken away. This is well engraved, and the hieroglyphs, though small, have been filled with different colours.

(6) Piece of another limestone stela with a prayer to 'Hathor, Lady of Abeshek and Horus ? [of] Khakere'-beloved-of-Mont ?' on behalf of a person named [P?]-ko 'the bull,' whose titles, unfortunately, are lost

as well as the continuation of the inscription in which he seems to have given some biographical information ' . . . I live possessing cattle . . . '

'Khakere' is an erratic form of the name of Sesostris III, not likely to be used in contemporary inscriptions. The stela cannot be later than the very beginning of Dyn. XVIII, and may be considerably earlier. Mont is the god figured on the great stela of the eighth year of Sesostris I from Buhon, and 'Horus of Khakere' beloved of Mont' is, no doubt, the god presiding over a fortress of Sesostris III.

(7) Fragment of the rectangular base for a statuette, of glazed ware, inscribed in two lines.

(8) Piece of a bowl of limestone with a large lotus flower sculptured outside; inside, two female figures, one of them named Tai, and a stand of wine-jars.

(9) (10) Pieces of the rim of a large sandstone bowl, the inscription below the rim naming the 'chief lady of the harim? of Khepru-neb-re' (i.e., Tutankhamun) in Sehtep-entêr, Ta [-m-wajsi?]. See below, p. 93.

About two hundred engraved scarabs and scaraboids were found. The most interesting, including all those with royal names, are shown in Pl. XVIII. The names range from Swajenre' (in fayence), and Kamosi of the Seventeenth Dynasty to Men-kheper-re' Thutmosis III (a few only), together with one of 'Ankhes-(en)-amun the queen of Tutankhamun.

Of uninscribed objects there was a great variety (See Pls. XIX, XX, a, for a selection) :—

*Stone.* Serpentine head from a statuette, another of limestone, kohlpot of alabaster, kohlpot cover of steatite, etc., and many beads of different materials.

*Glazed pottery.* Small and slender-moulded female figures (Hathor?) wearing a wig; a few human ears, ape, imitations of sewn-leather balls; fragments of decorated bowls in great abundance; beads, plain scarabs, pendants, etc., in profusion.

*Blue paste.* Fragment of vase, fragment of figure, etc.

*Plain pottery.* Abundant fragments of nude female figures or dolls with curious head-dresses, etc. (perhaps intended for Hathor), rude figures of cows and numerous vessels.

*Gold.* Pieces of thick foil, some stamped with a cow or a female figure in outline.

The chamber D produced in quick succession three of the earliest-looking scarabs (including Nos. 1 and 3 of Pl. 23), and it is probable that



it was the source of most of the earliest pieces ; but this point was not observed till too late, when the digging had to be stopped. We could not bring ourselves to sacrifice the large and imposing block of brickwork, still remaining from the apse of the church (see Pl. XVII), when it threatened to fall on the men working at its base in chamber D.

All the New Kingdom objects found at this temple were purely Egyptian ; unless the barbaric dolls are really Nubian, and when found in Egypt had been dedicated by the Nubian soldiers or their women-folk.<sup>1</sup>

From all the remains we drew the conclusion that a temple, going back at least to the beginning of the New Kingdom, existed here ; that probably the indefatigable Hatshepsut rebuilt it, using limestone brought from Egypt, and that Ramesses II probably added to it in sandstone. There is no trace of later occupation of the Hathor rock until Christian times.

On the east side of the rock facing towards the river is the small grotto cut in the reign of Ramesses II. (The entrance is visible in Pl. XVII, c ; plan and all the inscriptions are on Pl. XXIV, 11-13.) The grotto resembles a small tomb, but we failed to find any pit. The floor has been cut away ; the door was originally about 120 cm. high. In a niche about 80 cm. high in the back wall are the remains of a seated statue, utterly defaced. Inside the low chamber is a scene on the north wall which was copied by Bonomi and Lepsius in the first half of the last century.<sup>2</sup> Setau, with both hands raised in adoration, faces inwards ; behind him stands a woman holding a papyrus stem and a sistrum in her right hand, her left raised in adoration. Before Setau is the royal name 'Son of the Sun Maiamun-Ramesses, beloved of Hathor Lady of Abeshek,' and his own dedication 'made by the royal son (of Cush), superintendent of the countries of the south, Setau, justified' ; and behind the woman is 'His sister, lady of the house, musician of Ammon, Nefert-mut.' The last group *Mwt* is now almost all broken away, but it is clear in the copies of Bonomi and Lepsius. Setau is the best known of the numerous viceroys

1. Precisely the same Hathor dolls occur at Dêr el Bahri, see *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari* III, Pl. XXIV, 3 ; XXXII, 8, 9. There is also a general resemblance between the smaller finds at these two Hathor shrines, as is pointed out by Hall, *ib.* p. 14 ; but so far as Professor Petrie recollects the Hathor temple at Serâbiṭ el Khâdim in the Sinai peninsula did not produce any of the peculiar terra cotta dolls nor the ears of glazed ware which are common to her temples at Faras and Dêr el Bahri. The dolls occur also in graves of Dyn. XVIII or the Intermediate Period at Hu (*Diospolis Parva*, Pl. XXVI, pp. 50-53) and Abydos (Peet, *Abydos Cemeteries* II, Pl. XIV, 1-3, and p. 63).

2. Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, 2nd Series, Pl. 39, lines 22-24, L, D. Textb. V, p. 182.

of Nubia in the reign of Ramesses II;<sup>1</sup> the lady is called 'his sister' again on other monuments, but on one statue she is called 'his wife.'<sup>2</sup>

The rest is plain, except that on the south wall at the outer end, rather low down, is written 'the scribe of [divine offerings of all the gods of Wa]wa Mer-ap, son of the superintendent of the granary Pleehe.'<sup>3</sup> If the grotto was, indeed, a tomb, this must have been the man to whom it belonged, although he took care mainly to celebrate in it his patrons who, in their turn, do homage to their king's cartouche; but it seems best to view it as a shrine with a statue of Hathor or of Ramesses II, executed by the order of the prince of Cush.

The temple at the Hathor rock is the only one known to have been dedicated to Hathor of Abeshek, and it may have been her chief shrine; if so, Abeshek must have been the early name of Faras or of the settlement on what is now the river bank. Hathor of Abeshek generally finds a place in Egyptian shrines and temples in this part of Lower Nubia. Thutmosis IV figured her as far north as Amada, Thutmosis III at Ellesiyeh and Ibrim.<sup>4</sup> Though the shrines of Ay and Horemhab at Shatâwi and Gebel Adda apparently do not include her figure, Ramesses II admitted her to the great temple of Abusimbel, where the queen offers her a necklace, and she appears more conspicuously in the second or queen's temple. The Aksha temple of Ramesses II and the Buhon temples are so much wrecked that her absence from the fragments counts for little. South of the Second Cataract, e.g., in Soleb and Semneh, she is not found. The sculptures in the northern temples of Ramesses II at Bêt el-Welî, Gerf Husên, Wadi Sebu' and Dirr pass over Hathor of Abeshek; in the last two, however, a Hathor is figured as 'Mistress of Antet (the valleys).'

After this it is not surprising to find that the Ptolemaic and Roman temples of the Dodecaschoenus do not mention Hathor of Abeshek. The name Abeshek is not found in any other connection, unless in the name of a priest Si-Abeshek (S:-:bšk) at Dôsheh,<sup>5</sup> and is not traceable

1. No. 14 in Dr. Reisner's catalogue of the viceroys, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* VI, p. 41.

2. *Rec. de Trav.* XXII, 113.

3. A scrap of this copied by Lepsius, *L. D. Textb.* V, p. 182. Two graffiti of the same person are engraved on the rocks just north of the grotto of Horemhab (Harmais), near Gebel Adda, Weigall, *Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, p. 139; in one, he is entitled as above, in the other he is 'Superintendent of the granaries in the land ? of Horus Lord of Buhon.'

4. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, *Textb.* V, pp. 100, 111, 113, 129.

5. *L. D. Textb.* V, p. 230.



in Meroitic or other late texts, unless Brugsch's old suggestion that Pliny's Aboccis<sup>1</sup> represents the name can be upheld.

Sesostris III, the organiser of Cush, as a deity has much the same history as Hathor of Abeshek, but with a wider range, being found in several temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Amada, Ellesiyeh, Shatâwi, Buhon, and above the Second Cataract at Dôsheh. He is notably absent from the shrines of Thutmosis III at Ibrîm, and of Horemhab at Adda, but on the other hand occurs in Ay's shrine at Shatâwi. After Dynasty XVIII he seems to have been entirely neglected.

#### *A Temple of Ramesses II.*

At the S.W. angle of the great Faras Enclosure, the nearest point to the Hathor temple, are a number of small sculptured and inscribed blocks of sandstones; some of them (of which Pl. XXV, Nos. 1-3, are the most intelligible) are built into the base of the ruined corner tower, while others (Nos. 4-6) were placed near it by Mr. Mileham. They are all evidently of Ramesses II, whose cartouches occur on four of them. Mr. Mileham assures me that the fragments that he found were amongst the blocks of Thutmosis III, and Dr. Gardiner seems to have copied No. 47 in the neighbourhood of the Thutmosis blocks, though this is not specifically stated. On the other hand we found no trace of Ramesses II at the Thutmosis temple, although we picked up a Ramessid flake inside the Enclosure between the S.W. corner and the south gateway. As there is no mixture of Thutmosid blocks with the Ramessid in the S.W. tower of the Enclosure, I, at any rate, think there must have been a separate Ramessid temple near here; unfortunately, nothing can be said as to its dedication, the only possible light being furnished by the block 1 upon which the small mummy figures represent the 'Spirits of Nekhen' evidently as part of some series of deities conferring blessings on the king. The alternating cartouches in 4, 5, show the simplest form of the royal prenomen, while 47 gave the full form.

#### *The Temple of Thutmosis III.*

At the west side of the citadel of Faras lie a number of blocks of sandstone, larger than are seen in non-Egyptian buildings in Nubia. We cleared a considerable space of blown sand down to the floor on to

1. *Nat. Hist.* VI. 181, perhaps to be corrected to Abocis? for Aboshk; but there is no MS. support for either reading, see Mayhoff's Edition; the forms *Bocchin*, *Bônchis*, *Abonchis*, are the authoritative types in Pliny, Steph. Byz. and Ptolemy. The place referred to, moreover, probably lay far south of Faras.



which the blocks had been tumbled by the sebakh-diggers of a past generation when digging away the nitrous earth from underneath them. We thus disclosed some rubble foundation walls as well as a considerable number of the blocks themselves, which we turned over one by one. Meroitic and Christian remains were found alongside the Egyptian ones, but the last (see Pl. XXV, 7-46) were nearly uniformly of Thuthmosis III.<sup>1</sup> Our finds are supplemented by Dr. Gardiner's copies of nine blocks made the year before, which he has most kindly placed at our disposal; of these no less than three, nos. 38, 45 and 47 had disappeared in the interval. Amongst the remains are fragments of temple scenes, 7, the ceremonial dance, 8, the gift of milk to the hawk god, and several occurrences of the name of Horus of Buhon with or without the king's name 9-14; there are also many fragments of architraves, etc., with enormous hieroglyphs (Dr. Gardiner notes that the disk in 23 is 13 cm. = 5 inches, in diameter; no. 11 is on a much smaller scale). The architrave inscriptions running from left to right comprise a dedication to Horus of Buhon of a 'temple of [excellent] workmanship,' that from right to left a dedication to 'Anukis' (39). The name of the goddess Satis seems recognisable in 34 and 35, and 'the mistress of Southern Yeb' is in 37-38.<sup>2</sup> The cartouches and other names of Thutmosis III occur frequently; only one cartouche (36) ending with *nb* must have been of a different king, possibly Tutankhamun. There are also fragments of cornice and of ceiling painted with yellow stars on blue ground. Such are the sorry remnants of what must have once been a fine temple.

Yeb was the Egyptian name of Elephantine at the First Cataract where Chnum of Yeb had for his associates Satis (of Senemt, etc.), and Anukis (of Setet, etc.); at Buhon, which corresponded to Yeb at the Second Cataract, the Thutmosids worshipped the triad of Horus of Buhon with Satis and Anukis of 'Southern Yeb' in the temple built by Hatshepsut.<sup>3</sup> This then was evidently the triad of the temple of Thutmosis III at Faras, which lay in the Buhon province.

1. These remains were seen by the early travellers, e.g., Irby and Mangles, *Travels*, p. 16, Wilkinson and Howard Vyse. Lepsius states that in 1843 he saw three cartouches of Thutmosis III and one of Amenhotp II, *L. D. Textb.* V, p. 181.

2. Lepsius, p. 181, copied a block of which our 37 is a fragment: it shows the *t* below *nb* and the town sign between the tails of *ab* and *w*; the two blocks were of equal size, 38 superposed on the completed 37, but placed a little to the right to break the joint as usual. Another block in Lepsius' shows the hawk of the King exchanging wine for life with the hawk of Horus of Buhon.

3. *Buhen*, pp. 54-73.

*The temple of Tutankhamun.*

In excavating the great Meroitic cemetery to the north of the walled town, we found numerous blocks of sandstone with Egyptian sculpture, some being inscribed with the name of Tutankhamun, together with drums of columns, etc. These stones had been used for blocking the entrances to cave graves, for making rude altars, and for other like purposes in the cemetery. At length we began to find rows of stones in line and composite bases of columns still in place, and we realised that we were on the site of a considerable temple which had been utterly destroyed for its material. At the end of the first season Mr. Drummond kindly made a plan of as much as was visible, and at the beginning of the next season Mr. Woolley completed the clearance, recognised the former existence of brick buildings parallel to the temple in a large enclosure that could be traced against its N. side, and made important additions to the plan. (See the view Pl. XVII a and plan Pl. XXVI).

The temple itself covered an area 56 metres long from back to front and 25 metres broad, and consisted of a colonnaded court, a hypostyle hall, and a sanctuary. It faced towards the river, and may have been approached through pylons, etc.; but of such there is no visible trace, and it is only here and there that even the foundation of the temple itself can be definitely seen, while the only scrap of sculpture in position is the reeding of the extreme lower end of one papyrus column in the hypostyle hall standing upon its circular base (Pl. XX b). The site of the temple is riddled with graves of the Meroitic period, besides one or two belonging to the Christian time.

The sculptured blocks from the temple scattered in the Meroitic cemetery show repeatedly the two cartouches of Tutankhamun. They form two series. The one series consists of thick blocks of moderate size with the figures and inscriptions in relief, and no doubt are from the interior walls; the decoration is on one face only. Examples are shown in Pl. XXVII, 1-13, including Tutankhamun's cartouches and fragmentary remains of his other names (1-7).<sup>1</sup> No complete portrait of Tutankhamun was found.

There is one example (11) of the cartouche of Haremhab, one very doubtful fragment (10) of the same roughly engraved, perhaps over an erasure, and one fragmentary and doubtful remnant (12) which has a

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1. See Gauthier, *Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte* X, p. 202; cf. Daressy, *ib.* XI, 273, Gauthier *Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte* II, 367.



strange resemblance to an Ethiopian or a Meroitic cartouche in the orthography, though it must be admitted that the accompanying sculpture is not unlike that of Tutankhamun. Ceremonial scenes were represented in this series, 13 belonging to a royal procession and 15 to the founding of the temple.

The second series consisted in the main of much larger but rather thin slabs with sculptures in sunk relief and engraved inscriptions. Immediately above the sculpture projected a plain rectangular cornice. This cornice is well preserved in the slab shown on XXI b, but is there so much foreshortened as to hide the projection; in Pl. XXVII, 1, and Pl. XXVIII, 17, it has been irregularly broken away. These slabs would seem to be from an exterior wall, and probably belonged to a low screen such as may have run along the front of the colonnade. The subject of the sculptures is the adoration of Tutankhamun's cartouches by the viceroy of Nubia. It is best seen in the unfinished sculpture (Pl. XXVIII, 1), where 'the king's son of Cush the superintendent of the southern lands, Huy',<sup>1</sup> stands holding a fan in his right hand and a crook and scarf in his left before the two cartouches of the king, each of which is placed on the sign of gold and crowned with disc and feathers. The fragments 16 and 18 also preserve the name of the viceroy, but in XXI b and XXVII, 17, the name and the figure have been cruelly erased, though sufficient traces remain in the latter to prove that it had also been Huy. We may here draw attention to the peculiar arrangement of the inscriptions in XXVII, 19, which must have once enclosed figures drawn ready for the sculptor but left by him to perish. It is another sign of unfinished work to add to XXVIII, 1. The narrow slab XXVII, 18 probably formed the jamb of a door in the same screen wall. On XXI b the viceroy is 'the royal son of Cush, superintendent of the southern lands, bearer of the fan on the king's right hand, great favourite of the good god, superintendent of the gold-land of Ammon'; on Pl. XXVII, 17, in addition to this he is 'superintendent of the cattle of [Ammon] in this land of Cush, champion of his Majesty in chariotry, the royal scribe,' and in one instance (*ib.* 18) he is called 'superintendent of the gold lands of the Lord of the two lands.'

In XXVIII, 1, is the rather remarkable statement accompanying the figure of Huy that 'his sister whom he loves is the perpetuator of his

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1. Huy is No. 8 of the viceroys in Reisner's valuable article in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* VI, p. 35.



name, the chief of the harim(?) of Khepru-neb-re', Ta-m(?)-wajsi.' It would seem, therefore, that it was due to her that the viceroy was so prominently commemorated in the sculptures on this temple wall. Her figure evidently followed Huy's on the slab XXI b. From the bowl which she dedicated in the temple of Hathor (Pl. XXIV, 9, 10) we learn that Ta-m(?)-wajsi was 'chief of the harim(?) of Khepru-neb-re' (i.e. Tutankhamun) in Sehtep-entêr,' which, as we shall see directly, was the designation of this settlement at Faras. Unfortunately her name is not quite clear; it appears not to occur in the celebrated but much injured tomb of Huy at Thebes,<sup>1</sup> and whether she was Huy's wife as well as his sister cannot at present be ascertained. Why it was that Huy's figure was erased in some cases and not in others it is difficult to say; but perhaps some of the slabs were hidden by further building or thrown down before disaster came to him. There is no sign that Tutankhamun's name was attacked and the occurrence of Horemhab's name proves that the temple was continued in use after his death.

As to the dedication of the temple, in Pl. XXVII, 4, Tutankhamun is 'beloved of Amenra-so[nther]' (the Theban 'Amenre' king of the gods') but in 8 he is 'beloved of Khepru-neb-re' in Sehtep-[entêr]. Khepru-neb-re' is the king's own prenomen, and this shows that Huy made the king himself a deity in the temple and fortress which he built for him in Nubia. Sehtep-entêr, 'Pacification of the gods,' is an appropriate name which Tutankhamun sometimes adopted into his own titles as the restorer of the old worship after he had abandoned the monotheistic heresy of his father-in-law Akhenaton. As a place name it can be recognised also on the blocks 9 and 11. Several officials of this locality are recorded in the tomb of Huy, namely: 'Pane, the wakil of the fortress of Khepru-neb-re' called Sehtep-entêr'; 'Huy, the *hat-'e* (or "Mayor") of Sehtep-entêr and his brother Mer-mosi, prophet(?) of Khepru-neb-re' of the fortress Sehtep-entêr,' with a 'priest of Khepru-neb-re' in the fortress Sehtep-entêr.'<sup>2</sup> It is clear then that the king was the principal divinity of the temple, and when we have Huy's sister entitled 'the chief of the harim(?) of Khepru-neb-re' in Sehtep-entêr,' the divine 'harim' (if that is the correct translation of the word) must be understood.

Other gods, too, were worshipped in this temple; there is a prayer for

1. No. 40 in Gardiner and Weigall's *Catalogue of Private Tombs in the Theban Necropolis*; Lepsius, *Denkmäler* III, 115-118.

2. See Professor Erman's copies in Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, pp. 1137-1138.

Huy to 'Isis the great, the mother of a god,' Pl. XXVII, 16, and another to 'Hathor in Sehtep-entêr' (19); and a small limestone stela (Pl. XXI a, Pl. XXVIII, 2) was found in the area of the temple itself, with an adoration of 'Ptah Lord of heaven, of beautiful countenance,' of Hathor as 'Great Sorceress?' and of Anukis, apparently by a man named Hat-ay (the inscriptions are obscure and probably blundered).

The mutilated torso of a sandstone statue (Pl. XXII c), preserving some distinct traces of the Akhenaton style, which was found with fragments from the temple blocking the entrance of the Meroitic cave grave No. 153, evidently represented the viceroy somewhat below life size, standing holding the crook (?) in the right hand and the fan (?) upright in the left.

The brick buildings or 'priests' houses' on the north side of the temple may have been contained in a rather thick rectangular brick wall, which on the south side was backed against the stone wall of the temple and immediately overlay the chips left by the stonemasons; it was therefore built directly after the temple. This wall, indistinguishable on the W. side, appeared to have been 400 cm. thick on the N. side. In one part it may have been faced with rough slabs of sandstone, the interstices filled with mud; some small chambers were recognisable, but everything was much cut to pieces by Meroitic graves and confused by their brickwork; in no place did the walls remain above 50 cm. high. A pottery vessel of characteristic shape, a ring stand and two stone rubbers were found in the chambers, which appeared to be a mixture of store-chambers and living rooms.<sup>1</sup> A moderate number of fragments of green glaze, alabaster, carnelian, etc., of the period lay scattered among the rubbish of the Meroitic graves for some distance around the temple. Among them was a conical clay sealing of 'Nibma're' (Amenhotp III) owner of a *sed*-festival' (Pl. XXVIII, 3). For the conical pot shown in Pl. XXVI see above, p. 82.

*Other finds relating to the New Kingdom :—*

New Empire graves at Faras are represented only by the small group of grottoes at the outer corner of a ravine in the western desert (see Pl. I) which has been known to travellers for nearly a century. One of them is interesting for its occupation by a Christian anchorite, but none of the

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1. Mr. Woolley recognised in this brick annex to the temple a parallel with the buildings north of the Temple of Hatshepsut at Buhen, *Buhen*, p. 105.



others are inscribed. We discovered and cleared a new one round the corner of the wadi, containing both New Kingdom and Meroitic remains. From north to south they are as follows:—

1. Cleared by us, a small chamber with very rough approach, looking N.E. into the wadi, axis about 60°; it contained one pottery *ushabti* painted red with blue wig, name illegible, wooden kohl stick and red bowl of the New Kingdom, and at the entrance various pottery vessels and glass beads of Meroitic age.

The others are close together looking towards the Nile.

2. With levelled approach and façade looking to E. (100°), two successive chambers and pit in inner chamber; off the inner chamber at the side is another chamber with pit. The walls of the outer chamber are covered with Coptic inscriptions, etc.

3. A small horizontal shaft filled with blown sand, not cleared.

4. Tomb with levelled approach and façade, two chambers, and pit in inner chamber; over the entrance

VIDUA	H.P
ΛΙΘΙΑ	1826 <sup>1</sup> 1824.

This faces S.E., axis about 120°.

One isolated find of the New Kingdom remains to be described. Hidden under a heap of stones and blown sand, at the edge of the western desert, on the north side of the 'Southern Church' and near the north-eastern corner of the 'Meroitic House,' lay the mutilated remnant of a granite group representing a king of the Eighteenth Dynasty seated between Ammon and some other deity (Pl. XXII d), the figures considerably less than life-size. On the back were the remains of sixteen lines of inscription (Pl. XXVIII, 4). Beginning and end of the inscription are entirely lost, and about a third seems to be missing from the right hand edge of the lines that are best preserved.

- 1, 2. . . . . we rejoice] greatly seeing thy beauties. We have caused [the foreign nations] to come [unto thee],
3. . . . . dread of thee is in their bellies, and they present unto thee of their own accord of [their] children.
4. [He the king, the image ?] of the Universal Lord, the Horus of gold who uplifts the crowns of his father Re, the king of Upper and of Lower Egypt, Ruler of Joy of Heart,
5. . . . . beloved of Ammon Lord of the Thrones of the two lands in Karnak, and of Mut the great, lady of Ashru,

1. For Count Vidua see the description of the Christian antiquities. Plans of 2 and 4, perhaps more correct than the above description, are given in Weston, *Journal of a Tour in the East* (1894), III, pp. 77, 78, made in February, 1846.



6. [of . . . . . , and of] all [gods and] goddesses of Egypt, even as they grant to him might of victory over every land, the good ruler . . . . .
7. . . . . Ammon, creating his beauties, protector of the Bull of his Mother, the *mestiu*<sup>1</sup>
8. . . . . the gods, he is born entire each month ; the good God, who brings
9. . . . . who slays the Syrians, hacks up Cush, organises Egypt, builds
10. [the temples of the gods and restores] their offerings which had been neglected ; an object of praise is he to them
11. [and they have established him upon the throne of] Horus of the living ; the Black land and the Red land are in his charge for ever, he is
12. . . . . Lord of the *uret* ? crown, possessor of valour, greatly feared in all lands, his beauties are upon the *serekh* ? his figure ? is the hawk, he is . . . . .
13. . . . . his . . . is Re<sup>c</sup>, his body, even as his father Re<sup>c</sup> ordained hundreds of thousands of years, millions
14. [of *sed*-festivals . . . . . , and that all lands should be beneath] his sandals and that his hand should not be hindered in all the lands : the king of Upper and of Lower Egypt, son of the sun, who conciliates the gods in [their] places
15. . . . . all . . . [are glad] who see his beauties, they rejoice when they hear [his words]
16. [He hath built to the gods a temple] provided with serfs in the goodly method [of aforetime ?]
17. [He hath . . . . . and renewed] their offerings . . . . .

Of the distinctive titles of the king only one is preserved 'The Horus of Gold who uplifts the crowns of his father Re<sup>c</sup>'; it recalls the corresponding title of Amenhotp IV before his heresy broke forth 'who uplifts the crowns in Upper-Egyptian On'; and it resembles that of Tutankhamun 'who uplifts crowns, who conciliates the gods' in a stela published by Legrain.<sup>2</sup> Evidently it belongs to one of

1. Translated Sprössling ('scion') by Sethe, *Urkunden (deutsch)*, IV, 84, in the Tombos Stela.

2. *Rec. de Trav.* XXIX, 162. See Daressy, *Annales du Service* XI, 274 for the correct reading.

the Akhenaton group of kings, and since the features in the sculpture so far as they are preserved retain no reminiscence of the Akhenaton style, it is practically certain that we have here none other than Tutankhamun, the second king after Akhenaton ; if so we may suppose that Tutankhamun dropped the designation 'Conciliator of the gods' in his official title at Faras, which itself was known as 'Conciliation of the gods' and substituted the words 'of his father Re' in order to balance the deficiency.

The inscription speaks of the foreigners being caused to come in fear to the king, giving up their children to him as slaves, agreeing with a scene in the tomb of Huy.<sup>1</sup> The king is 'beloved of Ammon and Mut of Karnak and . . . . and all the gods and goddesses of Egypt.' We may probably take it that this granite group represented Tutankhamun between Ammon and Mut (though Hathor would have been more appropriate at Faras) and that it was sent by the king from the Elephantine quarries or from the workshop at Thebes to be the central object in his Nubian temple. Afterwards it may have been carried off to the west side of Faras to adorn the Meroitic House or Palace, and in the end buried by the Christians or Muslims under stones as an object of execration.

#### VII. NOTES ON NEW KINGDOM REMAINS AT SERRA.

The district next to Faras southward on either bank is called Serra. On the west bank, about ten miles from the Faras citadel, is the hamlet of Aksheh, where there is a temple of Ramesses II dedicated to his own royal self, on a small site of rubbish in the midst of sand dunes. Gau gives a figure and plan of this as it was in 1819,<sup>2</sup> when the ruined sandstone walls formed the lower courses of a brick church. Lepsius, visiting it in December, 1843, copied inscriptions here.<sup>3</sup> Captain Lyons cleared the temple, and in 1895, Professor Sayce copied the inscriptions and published some of them.<sup>4</sup> In 1906, Professor Breasted, of Chicago, who photographed and copied the sculptures and inscriptions completely,<sup>5</sup> found a fragment of one of the brick church walls still standing. Since then the temple

1. *L. D.* III 117, cf. Breasted, *Records*, II § 1035.

2. *Antiquités de la Nubie*, Pl. 63.

3. *L. D.* III, 191, Textb. V, 186.

4. *Rec. de Trav.* XVII, 163-164.

5. *Temples of Lower Nubia*, p. 16.



has suffered severely from *sebbâkhîn* and *saqyeh*-builders; the last trace of brickwork has gone, and many inscribed stones have been taken away, and this process of destruction seems still to continue at times, although, in 1908, Randall MacIver obtained the deposition of the 'omdeh for such misdeeds. There are some signs of burials in the desert behind the temple.

On the east bank, a little up stream from Aksheh, where a rocky slope reaches the river, is an early fortress-enclosure of crude brick with rock-cut ditch, whose ruined walls were repaired and occupied by the Christians;<sup>1</sup> the site with its churches is known by the Nubian name Serrên-kissê, 'church of Serra.'

Mr. Mileham, in describing the fortress, accepted the suggestion of Dr. A. H. Gardiner that it dated from the Twelfth Dynasty, and we have no evidence to confirm or to oppose to this view. Inside it we found no remains earlier than Christian. A modern Shêkh's tomb, that of Shêkh Nûr (who produces light at night and is locally counted as a Friend of the Prophet) has been built on a large mound of rubbish thrown out from a tomb-pit, about 100 yards east of the S.E. corner of the ditch. Eight Middle to New Kingdom pits cut in the rock were noted at this spot, and most of them were cleared. They are oblong, 3·50 to 4·50 metres deep, with chambers at the bottom. All had been robbed.

Tomb 8 contained a clumsily-engraved stela of limestone,<sup>2</sup> with figures and inscriptions, the latter a prayer to Osiris of Busiris, with half legible names such as Ka-her-bau, Waj-mosi, Wesert, Nub-er-hat, dating from about Dynasty XVII; also a small plaster mask, 7 × 6 in., small black topped bowls (without the grey Kerma line), etc. Another contained a similar mask, green stone lid of a kohl-pot, etc. Twenty-three characteristic pieces of Eighteenth Dynasty pottery came from tomb 5; also a steatite kohl-pot, and the solid cover, with plain knob-like head, of a 'canopic' jar and two jar bodies, all of pottery; grave 7 yielded three pieces of Meroitic and two of New Kingdom pottery; grave 2 some late Meroitic pottery and beads; grave 6 a Christian lamp with some beads.

1. The fortress and its churches are described by Mileham, *Churches in Lower Nubia*, chap. VIII, with plan and good photographic views, Pls. 29-35. The Christian buildings overflow the fortress well and ditch at a point about the middle of the east side where there was perhaps a gate. See also Somers Clarke, *Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley*, p. 64.

2. Pl. XXIX. 1.



In a small ravine to the south of the fortress are one or two grotto tombs.

Guided by the reports of our boatman, Mr. Woolley came upon some late graves which he thought to be of Christian age at the village of East Serra. They were partly cave and recess graves, partly trenches with sloped roofs of stone slabs. Several of these slabs, still in place or lying in the village, bore sculptures or inscriptions of New Empire date and were secured by him; they are as follows:—

Pl. XXIX, 2. Portion of a stela, the upper part and right half ? lost. [May . . . . . give . . . . . all good things that heaven gives] earth [produces] and [Nile] brings, [and the drinking of water at the swirl] of the river, to the *ka* of the unique [favourite of the king ?] as his true servant, for he knew the excellence of his heart . . . . . I planted it with many plantations . . . . . life, the scribe of the south, beloved of his father, P-atsi. [He saith] 'Oh every prophet, every priest, everyone skilled in speech (lit. 'knowing his mouth' or 'his spell') every server in the temple, as your gods praise you, as ye love the king's *ka* and long life, so say ye 'An offering which the king gives, Chnum, Lord of the Cataract, may he give [funerary offerings], all things good and pure, to the *ka* of the feast giver, lover of frankincense, partaker of . . . . . [excellent] of tongue, successful in counsel, the scribe of the south Thuthotp, [begotten of the chief of Tehekht] Riu, born of the Lady of the House Rena, true of voice.'

Patsi in line 5 seems to be the native name of Thuthotp. He was evidently full brother of the scribe Amenemhe whose statues were found at Buhon,<sup>1</sup> and must have lived about the middle of Dyn. XVIII, probably in the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. For Tehekht see fig. 4.

3. Sandstone door jamb. 'An offering which the king gives consisting of fat things for his *ka*, unto the *ka* of the king's son of Cush, superintendent of the southern countries.'

This might well be of Huy (above, p. 92) by the style.

4. Fragment found lying in the village. A figure in the costume of a sem-priest bending forward as offering or in reverence. '. . . . the [chief ? of Te-]hekhti, Thoout. Come thou ? forth into the presence of Thoth and praise the gods, by his name of Men-kheper-re' the great god in

1. *Buhon*, p. 110. *i* not *s* is clear in the father's name on the Serra stela. His title I have restored from the statue.

Tehekhti, the garland ? of Harakht, that he may favour thee, that he may love thee, that he may prolong thy life, that he may grant thee valour and victory over all the nations.'

For Thoout it is tempting to read Thuthotp, and to identify the person with that commemorated in No. 2. The next line suggests, though obscurely, that the deified Men-kheper-re', Thutmosis III, is here quaintly viewed as a form of the god Thoth, who is so conspicuous in the king's personal name. Anyhow, the fragment affords another striking instance of the common deification of the contemporary Pharaohs as great gods in the Nubian temples. Tehekhti is evidently the ancient name of Serra, and we may now assume that Thutmosis III was worshipped in its temple, perhaps in association with Thoth. His cartouche has been maliciously defaced, perhaps by the followers of Akhenaton, but is still quite recognisable. The context of the fragment being lost, it may be conjectured that Thuthotp (?) is addressing either the Nubian viceroy or perhaps even a Pharaoh, bidding him worship Thutmosis III with a view to success in war.

5, 6. On the two ends of a sandstone lintel (?) from a shrine or a tomb, see Pl. XXII a, b. At the top is a painted cavetto cornice, and below it a scene symmetrically arranged, showing two pairs of kneeling figures, a viceroy and a priest, facing towards the centre, the object of their adoration having been probably a pair of royal cartouches. The figure of the viceroy is preserved only on the left side. He wears wig, collar and sandals, and an exceedingly voluminous garment, and holds in his advanced hand the emblems of his office, the fan, ruler's crook and a sash. Before him was a columnar inscription of which only a minute fragment remains; it must have contained his titles, his name 'Wantewoi, triumphant,' being written over his head. The priest wears a garment only slightly less voluminous than the viceroy's, with sandals and collar, but his head is shaved; over him is written 'for the *ka* of the chief (?) prophet of Usima're' (i.e. Ramesses II ?) Har-nakht (?) triumphant, son of the notable (?) Pat-em-heb, triumphant. The style points to a period as late as Dynasty XX.

Wantewoi (Un-ta-uat) is a very rare name, and there can be no doubt that our fan-bearer is the 'first prophet of Ammon of Ramesses (?), king's son of Cush, Wantewoi,' who is commemorated on a stela in the British Museum together with 'his brother the first prophet of Ammon of Ramesses (?)' named Amenwahsu, and his sisters Isis and Sat-kheper(?) -ka



each of whom is entitled 'Musician of Ophois';<sup>1</sup> he is also 'king's son of Cush, chief controller of the stable of the palace (?) of His Majesty, Wantewoi' on a stela in the Cairo Museum from Semneh.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Reisner, in his valuable article on the viceroys of Ethiopia, places him conjecturally under Ramesses VI, VII, and VIII, as No. 19 in the list.<sup>3</sup> I have nothing to add to what is said there as to his rare monuments, except that a copy of the hieratic graffito in the Abusimbel grotto is given by Miss Edwards in the first edition of her *Thousand Miles*, opposite p. 506. It reads 'the groom (*kjn*), superintendent of the stable (?) of the Court, the king's son of Cush, Wantewoi.' The evidence for his being son of Hori II thus becomes very slender, but Reisner seems right in placing him late in the Twentieth Dynasty. The priesthood of Usima're' held by Har-nakht, perhaps also that of Ammon of Ramesses (?) on the Cairo stela, must have been in connection with the temple at Aksheh.

1. Lieblein, *Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques*, 1002, Maspero, *Momies royales*, p. 747; Wreszinski, *Die Hohenpriester des Amon*, § 70.

2. Lieblein, l.c., 2114. Should we read Serreh (Serra) for Semneh?

3. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, VI, p. 50.

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Pl. IX. Plan of the excavated portion of the C-group cemetery. The bases of stelae are marked in solid black.

Plate X. C-group cemetery. *a*, broken stela in position, L. 300, W. 86 at top tapering to 50, thickness 15, the base in position apparently on line of the destroyed superstructure of grave 151 and cutting into the grave itself on N.W. Also from l. to r., superstructure of grave 132, pot and ring-stand from near 167, superstructure of 182 just appearing. The view is about N.E. by compass, showing the height of Wizz in the centre of the horizon, cut by the measuring pole. *b*, fallen stela complete, beneath stones, which remain only on the S.W., of ruined superstructure of 128 (see p. 73). The view shows Wizz on the extreme left and the range of distant hills on the east bank; it also gives an idea of the tamarisk mounds and bushes still living (see p. 2), in the old cultivation, seen from about 1500-2000 metres.

Pl. XI. Graves in C-group cemetery. 1, grave 162, D. 280, H. 60. Against superstructure from N.E. to S.E. four black topped bowls, IX a, b; black incised bowl (Pl. XII, 18); greenish wheel-made jar, type for I d, H. 26; Protodynastic jar, type for III c with pierced hole; and line of five bucrania. On S.W. side black topped pot, type for X e, and wheel-made greenish pot I f, engraved mark (Pl. XIV), H. 27, both pierced. The grave contained beads of carnelian and glaze and four shell rings on one finger bone, but the body was mostly destroyed. 2, grave 79, D. 300. Against N.E. side two black-



topped bowls, IX g and type for IX h; reddish hand-made pot, type for XI g; greenish wheel-made pot (as II c?) ill-shaped, H. 13; fragments of black incised bowl; and two bucrania laid overlapping with a piece of stone between. Grave 78 beyond, D. 260, with four bucrania overlapping and various pottery on N.E.; small alabaster pot (Pl. XII, 14) on N.W. 3, grave 54 (its stone circle D. 200 was rather ruinous). The pit is oval, axis due N.E.-S.W., 140 × 90, depth 140, containing the skeleton of a child contracted on the right side, head N. The photograph shows a silver *'ankh* (Pl. XII, 8, Pl. XIV) hanging at the neck, remains of a leather and beadwork belt with a cross of diamonds (cf. Pl. XII, 1) round the waist and an alabaster jar (Pl. XII, 15). A small Nile-oyster shell (*Aetheria*) containing kohl also lay by the elbows.

Pl. XII. Objects from C-group cemetery. 1, beadwork on leather belt,<sup>1</sup> W. 6, blue ground-work, one piece showing a continuous double row of diamonds in six pairs (see Pl. XIII) two of which are seen here; another shows two similar pairs, connected together as here, forming a kind of isolated cross surrounded by the blue ground (shown in Pl. XI, 3). 2, blue glaze melon beads, half size, 211, 3. 3, flattened barrel bead of bone showing cellular structure inside, full size, grave 118, 7. 4, four shell rings on first finger, D. 2.4-2.7, grave 219, 7; similarly grave 162, 18. 5, shell armet narrowing to one side, half size, 178, 4. 6, mushroom-shaped stud of whitish frit, L. 1.2, grave 157, 4. 7, pierced slaty pebble, L. 4, grave 130, 4. 8, *Ankh*-amulet, the stem and loop cut out of plate in one piece, the cross-piece riveted on from back (see Pl. XIV), L. 6.6, grave 54, 3. 9, fragment of ostrich egg-shell with equidistant holes along a rounded edge (probably the holes are for the attachment of a spout or bottle neck), L. 5.1, grave 118, 5. 10, 11, granite mace head, D. 5.5, in sand by superstructure of grave 227. 12, shoe-shaped palette of hard schist, 33 × 16, with pottery against N.E. side of 102. 13, thin oval armet of ivory, half size, grave 187. 14, alabaster pot, H. 7.5, grave 78, 4 (see Pl. XI, 2). 15, alabaster pot, H. 13.5, rim chipped, inside child's grave 54. 16, fragment of black mouthed bowl with punctured ornament, grave 46, sc.  $\frac{3}{4}$ . 17, fragment of black incised bowl, chain ornament below rim (see Pl. XIV); sides lightly marked out in squares of about 2 cm. by two series of thin lines at right angles following the curve of the vessel; in each square is a figure with two opposite sides curved (alternately the upright and the horizontal), the figure filled with irregular hatching; from gr. 23, sc.  $\frac{3}{4}$ . 18, black incised cup, network of two sets of parallel lines at right angles starting vertically from the edge and following the curve of the vessel; some or all of the intervening spaces lightly hatched, surface worn and polished by sand, dog-tooth on rim, H. 5.5, grave 162, 6. 19, fragment of dark brown incised cup, showing a kind of chain ornament (cf. 17) at the rim, and on the side part of a scroll outlined with incised lines on a hatched ground, much sand worn, grave 46, sc.  $\frac{3}{4}$ . 20, fragment of deeply ribbed hand-made vessel of coarse reddish clay containing pebbles and mica, pierced with small round hole for mending?, sc.  $\frac{3}{4}$ , grave 241, 2.

Pl. XIII. Pottery from C-group cemetery. 1, black mouthed, exterior not polished, slight dog-tooth impressions on mouth, seven groups of eight to twelve pimples laid on in double lines below mouth, H. 10, grave 1, 12. 2, black incised, H. 6, with remains of white filling, grave 160, 2. 3, black incised, network filled with hatched diamonds, H. 9, grave 216, 2. 4, black incised, original white filling, D. 8.5, grave 185, 4. 5, black-topped pot, slightly

1. A similar belt, Firth, *A.S.N. Report*, 1908-1909 II, Pl. 39d and Pl. 56.



polished, five groups of diamonds, H. 25, grave 5, 1. 6, black incised, bands of gashed triangles, H. 9, grave 113, 2. 7, black incised, vertical bands with wedge-shaped punctures, H. 8, grave 199, 2. 8, black incised, H. 8, grave 8, 3. 9, 10, black incised, rectilinear plaiting divided by the curved figure of a strap arranged in four loops crosswise, original (?) white filling,<sup>1</sup> H. 10, grave 68, 3. 11, black incised, type VI 1, H. 7.5, grave 151, 2. 12, black incised, cross of diamonds on base, H. 7. 13, black-mouthed red cup, parallel vertical hatched bands, H.6.

Pl. XIV. C-group cemetery. Figures scratched after firing, all from jars of type I. Figures impressed before firing, on decorated hand-made pots of type XII. Design below rim of cup, grave 23, 2 (see Pl. XI, 19). Back of silver amulet, grave 54 (see Pl. XI, 8). Tang of mirror with human head, grave 219. Design on base of scarab, grave 125. Hemicylindrical seal, grave 160, 6. Design of girdle, grave 54 (see Pl. XI, 1).

Pl. XV. Types of pottery from the C-group cemetery, see pp. 77-79.

Pl. XVI. Faras, plan of Middle Kingdom fort; types of seal impressions (full size).

Pl. XVII. New Kingdom Temples, Faras. a, View of the site of the temple of Tutankhamun after excavation, looking riverwards diagonally across the hypostyle and colonnaded court from the S.W.; showing bases of columns and remains of Meroitic graves re-filled with blown sand after excavation, and on the right the base of the wall dividing the two courts. The Meroitic mastaba-field stretches westward from in front of the high black-topped tamarisk-hill in the centre. Between two tall date palms on the river bank is an old branching dôm-palm; on the opposite bank are the cultivated fields of Adendân. On the extreme left, below the smooth sand ridge and over the excavation heaps, are seen the dotted stones of the modern cemetery. b, Excavation of the temple of Hathor from N.N.E., showing fragment of church standing on the foundation of the temple; tamarisk bushes, low lying cultivable land behind the rock and sand dunes beyond with distant hills on extreme right. c, Nabindiffi, the Hathor rock from E.N.E. before excavation, showing remnant of brick church on the rubbish mounds over the site of the temple; and the entrance to the grotto of Setau.

Pl. XVIII. Scarabs and scaraboids, chiefly with royal names, from the Hathor temple, full size. a, obverse; b, reverse. 1, Hyksos period (?), the characters including the group 'am 'Asiatic' belonging to a series now being studied by Professor Petrie. 2, Suajenre, glazed pottery. The name occurs on the table of Karnak and on several scarabs, including two found by Reisner at Gennari near Kalabsha. (See *A.S.N. Bulletin*, No. 3, p. 13, and *Report*, 1908-1909, p. 60, Pl. 42 b, 38). 3, obverse engraved to represent a frog, base inscribed Waj-kheper-re. This is the prenomen of King Kamosi, the opponent of the Hyksos on the Carnarvon tablet; he appears to have associated Ahmosi I with himself on the throne, according to a graffito at Toshkeh about 30 miles north of Faras, discovered by Weigall (*Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, Pl. LXV). 4-14, series chiefly of Amenhotp, probably Amenhotp I, the backs in the form of a fish (5 and 14), sacred eye, (8) duck with head over its back (12). 6-12 show the name of Amenhotp, 13 that of his mother Ahmosi-Nefeteri so much associated with him. 15-21, Beads and scarabs of 'Aa-kheper-ka-re', Thutmosis I, the last giving his personal name only. 22-24, Name Men-kheper-re', Thutmosis III. On the first he is

1. Before photographing in Nubia we generally filled the patterns with white flour, and in some cases the flour may still cling to the incisions.

'beloved of Ammon.' The second has a corrupt and involved legend which may perhaps be corrected to 'Men-kheper-ré, pious in monuments, beloved of the gods.' 25, Ankhs-(en)-amun, the queen of Tutankhamun and daughter of Akhenaton. 26, Nefer (t)-eri, probably the queen of Ahmosi I (cf. 13) rather than Ramesses II's queen, who, however, is especially associated with Hathor of Abeshek in the second temple at Abusimbel.

Plate XIX. a, Figurines, etc., from the Hathor temple, scale,  $\frac{1}{2}$ , 1, 2, 9, 10, 11, 17, female figures, glazed ware; 3, 4, 6, 7, votive ears, glazed ware; 5, head, glazed ware; 8, 12-16, dolls, reddish pottery; 18, ape, glazed ware; 19, 21, cows, reddish pottery; 20, fragment of vessel, pale pottery; 22, glazed ware imitation of leathern ball. b, Amulets, etc., from the Hathor temple, nearly full size. Objects in the shape of animals (23, 24, are frogs, 38, 39, 41 ducks, 40 gazelle, 57 lion, 58 hedgehog), sacred eyes, deities, etc., in faience, limestone, etc., (35, steatite); 43-44, blue paste beads; 45, 47, plates of gold foil, Hathor standing and nude female (others occurred with a cow, much crumpled); 46, limestone; 56, blue paste pomegranate; 60, 67, glazed studs; 64, blue paste Hathor head.

Plate XX. a, Selected fragments of glazed bowls, the ground whitish, design brownish, probably the effect of time and soil on original blue ground-colour. b, The best preserved of the columns in the temple of Tutankhamun, second from north in easternmost row of hypostyle hall, showing composite circular base, and beginning of papyrus stems.

Plate XXI. Above, limestone stela found on the site of the temple of Tutankhamun, showing a man worshipping Ptah, Hathor and Anukis. Below, two fragments fitting together from the Meroitic cemetery, forming part of an intercolumnar (?) slab with rectangular projecting cornice. The erased figure was of the viceroy [Huy] holding a fan (cf. Pl. XXVIII, 1) and adoring the cartouches of Tutankhamun; over his head were his name and titles and a broken legend in three columns is in front. Behind Huy is seen the raised hand of his wife, above which is the beginning of an inscription 'Giving praise to the Lord of the Two Lands, obeisance to the victorious king; I make unto thee praises . . . .'

Pl. XXII. a, b, Fragments of a lintel used to cover a Christian (?) grave at East Serra, with figures of a viceroy and a priest, Dynasty XX. c, Torso of sandstone statue of a viceroy used to block the entrance of a cave grave in the Meroitic cemetery, Faras. d, Fragment of small group in grey granite of a king between Ammon and another divinity, from near the Meroitic House on the desert at Faras.

Pl. XXVI, for the pot see p. 82.

*Erratum.*—Pl. XV, in type XII a read 232 for 252.



## ANCIENT PIRACY IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN\*

By H. A. ORMEROD, M.A.

A complete history of piracy in the Mediterranean has still to be written. The task would be a fascinating one, and its completion of no small service to the historian. In the time at our disposal we can deal only with a comparatively short period of the pirates' activities within a limited area. But for a correct understanding of piracy in antiquity, and of the conditions under which the pirates worked, it is necessary to take into consideration the fundamentally unchanging character of Mediterranean life. The fuller accounts which we possess of mediaeval pirates enable us to realise much of the character of the workings of the ancients. '*La Méditerranée ne change pas.*' Bérard, applying this to the Odyssey, was able to illuminate the whole practice of the primitive Homeric mariner. In his two chapters, '*La Course,*' the best part perhaps of his book,<sup>1</sup> he is able to find an exact parallel to almost every detail of Odysseus' raids and cruises in the memoirs of the Frankish corsairs of the seventeenth century.

It is worth while, at the outset, trying to give a general answer to the question why it is that piracy has always flourished in these parts. Except when there has been a strong naval power, whose interest it was to suppress it, piracy has been endemic in the Mediterranean, particularly in the eastern basin, well into the nineteenth century. In the West, the

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\* A lecture delivered before the Classics Branch of the Arts Students Association in the University of Liverpool. My excuse for publishing it in this form is that there is no general account in English of ancient piracy. Mommsen's pages on the pirates of the first century B.C. have made a detailed account of that period unnecessary, and the short account which I have given has been included only to complete the picture as a whole. Of other works on the subject the article *Pirata* in Daremberg and Saglio has proved most useful. Sestier, *La Piraterie dans l'Antiquité* (Paris 1880) is uncritical and contains much that is irrelevant. Stein, *Ueber Piraterie im Altertum*, has hitherto been unobtainable.

I take this opportunity of expressing my indebtedness to the Rev. E. M. Walker, Queen's College, Oxford, not only for arousing my first interest in this, among many other problems of ancient history, but for permission to incorporate portions of his own notes on the subject, particularly on the part played by Athens in suppressing piracy in the fifth century B.C. I have also to thank Professor W. R. Halliday for various references and suggestions, and Professor F. Raleigh Batt for advice on certain legal points.

In a short sketch of this character it has not been possible to do more than touch on many aspects of the subject. Much of the history of early Greek navigation and commercial ventures are bound up with it. A history of piracy would contain much of the history of the migrations in the Mediterranean area. To these and kindred subjects I hope to return at a later date.

Algerian pirates were not finally suppressed, in spite of two British bombardments in 1816 and 1824, until the French conquest in 1830. Symonds, writing in the seventies, says that until a few years before there were men at Mentone who had been carried off in their boyhood. In the East, in 1833, we hear of 150 pirates, captured by the French and British, being brought to Nauplia for judgment. At the time of the Crimean War, British ships were cruising in the Cyclades on the look-out for pirates, and we hear of a ship being robbed at this time in sight of the harbour of Syra.<sup>2</sup>

It is primarily to the geographical features of the Mediterranean lands and coastline that we must look, in order to explain the success of piracy at sea and brigandage on land. The latter has an independent history of its own, and still flourishes.<sup>3</sup> The difficulties of communication by land, owing to mountain barriers, have necessitated that the bulk of merchandise should be carried by sea, and therefore be easily raided from convenient lurking-places along the main trade routes; the difficulties of mutual assistance between districts make quick descents on the coast an easy, and in days when the slave-trade flourished, an exceedingly profitable business.<sup>4</sup>

The coastline itself affords abundant refuges; rocky islands and peninsulas, easily put into a state of defence, whose reduction would require time and expense; hidden bays and creeks within creeks, where discovery is almost impossible, except by simultaneous searching of all likely localities, or by the treachery of local inhabitants, against whom the pirate would protect himself by terrorism, or better still, by giving them a portion of his spoil<sup>5</sup>—these have always been the safeguards of the pirate, if for any reason his activities should rouse the law to unwonted energy.

We must, I think, define what we mean by a pirate. The word, of course, is Greek, although it is not used in this sense by writers of the classical period, but first appears in the third century B.C. as one who makes attempts or attacks, *par excellence* on ships. Piracy, as understood in English law, is the commission of those acts of robbery and violence upon the sea, which, if committed upon land, would amount to felony. The pirate holds no commission or delegated authority from any Sovereign or State empowering him to attack others.<sup>6</sup>

If we accept this definition, it is obvious that in a discussion of ancient piracy we must draw certain distinctions between the pure pirate of the accepted type and the privateer. Some amount of difficulty will arise



when we come to the ancient equivalent of the buccaneer and to what may be called the piratical community.

The name buccaneer, in its wider usage,<sup>7</sup> may rightly be applied to certain of the early Greek adventurers in the western Mediterranean. The idea of the neutrality of the seas is of modern growth and entirely foreign to antiquity. The combined Carthaginian and Etruscan navies endeavoured to close the western seas to foreign commercial enterprise. Thus, the earliest treaty between Carthage and Rome, as recorded by Polybius,<sup>8</sup> stipulated that no Roman should, except under stress, sail beyond the Fair Promontory; and the Carthaginian claim to regard these seas as a portion of their own territory is paralleled by that of the Athenians who, instigated by the Argives for purposes of their own, complained that Athenian neutrality had been violated when, in 419 B.C., the Spartans had conveyed 300 troops by sea to Epidaurus.<sup>9</sup> Just as the Spanish West Indian policy in the seventeenth century gave rise to the buccaneers, properly so called, so the Carthaginian endeavour to close the western seas created a similar buccaneering enterprise on the part of the Greeks, in particular the Phocaeans. Phocaeon voyages in the West were undertaken not in merchantmen but warships;<sup>10</sup> their settlers in Corsica who, according to Herodotus, robbed and pillaged all their neighbours, were finally driven out by combined Carthaginian and Etruscan efforts.<sup>11</sup> The refugee, Dionysius of Phocaea, who, after the battle of Lade, took refuge in Sicily, abstained from pillaging the Greeks, but devoted his attentions entirely to Carthaginians and Etruscans.<sup>12</sup>

We hear of a curious settlement of Cnidians and Rhodians in the Lipari Islands,<sup>13</sup> whose existence was partly agricultural, partly piratical, the whole enterprise being organised on a communistic basis, as Livy calls it, *publicum latrocinium*. On one occasion a Roman embassy to Delphi was attacked by them, but such was their reverence for the gods that the ambassadors were set free and their offerings restored. It is quite true, as Bérard has shown,<sup>14</sup> that superstition plays an important part in the pirate's life, but the good-will shown towards the Romans on this occasion is far more likely to have arisen from a mutual hostility to the masters of the Tyrrhenian sea, and if there is any foundation for the story at all, it is to be regarded as another of the somewhat shadowy connections between the western Greeks and early Romans in their common opposition to the Carthaginians and Etruscans.

With regard to privateering—that is, plundering by virtue of an



authorisation given by the State to owners of private vessels to carry out acts of war—owing to the fact that privateering in antiquity was sanctioned wholesale and not limited by the granting of letters of marque to individuals, it is often difficult to distinguish privateering on the part of a belligerent State from the continuous piracy of a more backward community. Polybius describes the naval operations of the Aetolian league as piracy, *ἐξέπεμπον πειρατάς*.<sup>15</sup> In point of fact, these were privateers definitely sent out by the State to carry out acts of war, pillaging and commerce-destroying, the only form of maritime warfare possible to States possessing no organised navy, when engaged in war with a naval power.<sup>16</sup> Regarding the matter from the character of their operations and from the point of view of their victims (we find them, for example, holding to ransom 280 persons captured in Naxos<sup>17</sup> in true pirate style, and working in conjunction with the genuine pirates of Illyria under Scerdilaïdas),<sup>18</sup> Polybius fails to draw the finer distinction between pirate and privateer. The Aetolians are, however, entitled to the distinction, their operations being for the most part controlled by the State,<sup>19</sup> and limited to war-time,<sup>20</sup> and if on occasion they failed to distinguish between enemy and neutral, so also, according to Demosthenes, did the trierarchs of Athens, a State where the distinction between pirate and privateer was more sharply defined. ‘Whenever anyone contracts for a trierarchy and sails out, he kidnaps and pillages everywhere, so that you are unable to go anywhere without a flag of truce.’<sup>21</sup>

Privateering was, in fact, a recognised part of ancient warfare, and, as we have seen, the resort of States that were weaker at sea. A declaration of privateering (*ρύσια καταγγέλλειν, λάφυρον ἐπικηρύττειν*)<sup>22</sup> often preceded a formal declaration of war, just as the Lacedaemonians in the winter of 416-5, without yet declaring war, issued general letters of marque, as it might be called, to all who wished to plunder Athenian commerce.<sup>23</sup> We hear a good deal of privateering in the Peloponnesian war, on both sides. Demosthenes at Pylos was able to arm his sailors with weapons provided by Messenian privateers that happened to be on the spot.<sup>24</sup> But the Athenians, having the greater interests at sea, were probably the greatest sufferers. An expedition was necessary to Lycia and Caria in 429, to put down *τὸ ληστικὸν τῶν Πελοποννησίων*, the Peloponnesian privateers that were using that coast as a base from which to plunder the merchantmen coming from Phaselis and Phoenicia.<sup>25</sup> At a later stage of the war, though these are commerce-destroyers rather than privateers, we find a mixed Pelo-



ponnesian force lying off the Triopian promontory to catch the merchantmen from Egypt.<sup>26</sup> The Athenian coasting trade round the Peloponnese must have suffered, for the Athenians, putting to death Aristeus and the ambassadors to Persia, justified their action by the treatment accorded to the traders caught sailing round the Peloponnese. For, according to Thucydides, at the beginning of the war, the Lacedaemonians treated all whom they caught alike, whether enemy or neutral.<sup>27</sup> (This Peloponnesian privateering was probably done for the most part in small boats at night; the Megarian traitors contrived to get the gates opened at night by posing as privateers. 'For according to their custom they put a sculling boat, like pirates, at nightfall on to a wagon and take it down to the sea, returning before daybreak.')<sup>28</sup> The Lacedaemonian treatment of the neutral was followed by the inevitable protest. When the commander sent to the relief of Mytilene proceeded to treat Ionia in the same fashion, he was curtly informed that 'this was not the way to free Greece, by killing men who were not their enemies and had not raised a hand against them, but were subject to Athens by force.'<sup>29</sup>

Athens, as we have seen, recognised the practice and followed it herself. An Athenian merchant, who had lent money to two Phaselites and was unable to recover it, complains that he had been robbed, as though the Phaselites had been granted letters of marque against Athens.<sup>30</sup> But the privateering system, in the fourth century at any rate, was carefully regulated by law. This comes out clearly in Demosthenes' speech against Timocrates,<sup>31</sup> the object of which is the recovery of certain moneys owed to the State for the following reason: Androtion, Glaucetes and Melanopus, being sent on a mission to Mausolus, travelled on board an Athenian warship, and on the voyage fell in with an Egyptian merchantman from Naucratis. This they captured and brought to Peiraeus. Now Athens, at the time, was anxious to secure the good-will of the Great King, and Egypt being in revolt from him, the ship was condemned by the prize court, and it is now sought to recover the prize money, which by law belonged to the State.

We, I think, should call this sheer piracy, sanctioned by the State,<sup>32</sup> as no doubt the Egyptian owners did, who may have called to mind the earlier conduct of Polycrates of Samos, who, with his fleet of 100 penteconters, plundered friend and foe alike, thinking to obtain greater gratitude from friends if he restored their property after capture than if it had never been captured at all.<sup>33</sup> But the story in Demosthenes does at least show



that privateering was strictly supervised at Athens, that there was some sort of prize court which decided the legality of a capture, and that, in any case, the prize money was not the property of the individual.

I must apologise for this somewhat lengthy digression on the subject of privateering ; but it has served to clear away some of the misapprehensions which are liable to be caused by the indiscriminate application of the Greek word *λήστης* to pirate and privateer alike.

In dealing with early conditions in the Mediterranean, it is not always easy to differentiate between the pirate of English law and the piratical community. Piracy and wrecking<sup>34</sup> have always been one of the means of life of the smaller maritime communities, and, in so far as the State takes cognisance of it, can be said to have its sanction. To the Roman representations regarding attacks on Italian merchants, Queen Teuta replied that it was unusual for their kings to prevent the Illyrians from following their normal occupations by sea.<sup>35</sup> To the primitive community peace or alliance is an abnormal condition ; war, the object of which is pillage and plunder, the normal.<sup>36</sup> The richest and therefore the most honoured members of the community are those who have been most successful in war with, that is, in raiding their neighbours. The Greek word *ληΐζεσθαι* is applicable both to captures in war, as understood at a later date, and in freebooting expeditions.<sup>37</sup> Reprisals for such raids naturally followed, like the cattle-driving and reprisals in which Nestor boasts that he showed such prowess in his youth.<sup>38</sup> The endless kidnappings of women that went on between Europe and Asia, as described by Herodotus, correspond exactly with the picture in the *Odyssey*. We have already seen the nurse of Eumæus carried off from Phoenicia by Taphians ; the corresponding picture is the abduction of Eumæus himself by her countrymen, with the lady's assistance.

Exploits of the last kind belong to an age when the primitive sailor is beginning to go further afield, when Odysseus can say : ' I loved not work or house-keeping, but I sailed with nine ships to Egypt, and attacked the fields of the Egyptians, and carried off the women and children and slew the men.'<sup>39</sup> By this time, too, it is found to be more profitable to raid distant countries rather than one's neighbours. If a raid does take place near home, it can be settled by agreement instead of by reprisals, just as Odysseus, on the occasion that he received the bow from Iphitus in the house of Orsilochus in Messene, had gone there for a debt, which all the people owed ; for Messenian men came in their ships and took 300 sheep



from Ithaca and the shepherds. For this reason, Odysseus came in his youth a far journey on a commission, for his father and the other elders sent him.<sup>40</sup> The matter presumably was settled by agreement, and the Messenians became, like the Thesprotians,<sup>41</sup> friends (*ἄρθμοιοι*) of the Ithacans, and no more raiding took place, just as in the fifth century the peoples of Oeantheia and Chaleion agreed to suspend piracy against each other:<sup>42</sup> 'No Oeantheian if he make a seizure shall carry off a foreigner from Chaleian soil, nor shall a Chaleian carry off a foreigner from Oeantheian soil, nor shall either Oeantheian or Chaleian carry off a cargo within the territory of either State. If anyone breaks this law, he may be seized with impunity. The property of a foreigner may be seized on the sea, without incurring penalty, except in the actual harbour of the city. If anyone makes unlawful seizure, four drachmae be the penalty; if he retain the goods beyond ten days, let him be fined half as much again as the amount of the seizure.'

The backward conditions that prevailed in this portion of the Greek world, as revealed in the inscription, attracted the notice of the Greeks themselves in the fifth century, and are used by Thucydides to illustrate the picture which he draws of an earlier age. You will pardon me if we examine that passage in detail.<sup>43</sup> I give a rough paraphrase:

'Minos was the earliest that we hear of to possess a fleet; and he put down piracy so far as he was able, in order that his revenues might come in.'

Thucydides assumes, rightly enough, an age of universal piracy at sea, with every man's hand against all men. With the first institution of the 'established civilised State,' having commercial interests, comes the first direct repression and a police of the seas.

'For in ancient days Greeks and all the coastal and island barbarians turned to piracy, as soon as maritime communications started, attacking cities still unwallled and consisting of village settlements. Their leaders were not the most unimportant among them, and there was no disgrace attached to piracy, but the matter brought renown, as is proved by the attitude of certain of the mainlanders to the present day and especially by the older poets, who make their characters enquire of visitors if they are pirates.'

Thucydides has, of course, in mind such passages in Homer as that in which the Cyclops enquires of Odysseus: 'Do ye wander for trade or at random like pirates over the sea?'<sup>44</sup> Similarly Nestor asks the same

question of Telemachus at Pylos, after he has received him to the sacrificial feast.<sup>45</sup>

‘They also plundered one another on land; these habits still reign among the Ozolian Locrians, the Aetolians, and Acarnanians, and on this part of the mainland.<sup>46</sup> For among these mainlanders the habit of carrying arms still survives from their ancient piracy. Once all Greece carried arms owing to the general insecurity.’

It is rather remarkable that a century and a half later, when, as we shall see, the restraining hand had been removed, the practice of carrying arms had once more, according to Plutarch,<sup>47</sup> become universal by the time of Aratus’ attack on Sicyon.

‘Cities more recently founded, as navigation became more possible, and possessing greater wealth were built with walls on the shores themselves or on an isthmus for the purposes of trade, but the older foundations, owing to the prevalence of piracy, were planted some distance from the sea, both those on islands and on the mainland.’

The last has always been the case in the Mediterranean. Among ancient sites one need think only of the acropolis of Athens, four miles inland, and the lofty Acrocorinthos. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the dwellers on the coast were once more driven back to the hill-tops all round the Mediterranean. In the Cornice and the coast of Calabria, villages and ruined castles may be seen built high up on the peaks to give protection against the raids of the Algerian pirates. In the Aegean the same is the case, as most travellers will have observed. Thus in Telos, Nisyros, and Leros, the principal villages are hidden from the sea and about half a mile from it.<sup>48</sup> In Cos, as Professor Halliday tells me, the village of Antimachia was situated inside the circuit of the old castle of the knights of Rhodes, on a hill some forty minutes from the sea. It was inhabited till the Crimean War, but the inhabitants have now dispersed to form villages round. Fortified villages of this type would provide a rallying-point for the inhabitants of the island, as soon as the warning of the corsairs approach was given by the sentinels on the hills. Thus in Calymnos the two highest hills are known as *Vigli*, ‘watch,’ and *Merovigli*, ‘day-watch.’<sup>49</sup>

The sudden descent on the almost deserted coast, and the rallying of the natives from their central strongholds receives its best illustration from the *Odyssey*:<sup>50</sup> ‘From Ilion the wind brought me to the Cicones, to Ismaros; there I sacked the city (doubtless a *πόλις ἀτείχιστος*, as described



by Thucydides) and slew the men, and taking from the city the women and many possessions, we divided them, that no man might go deprived of an equal share.<sup>51</sup> Then I bade my comrades fly with nimble foot, but they, fools that they were, obeyed not. But much wine was drunk, and many sheep they slew by the shore, and shambling-gaited, crook-horned oxen. Meantime the Cicones going called to other Cicones, who were their neighbours, far more numerous and warlike, dwelling inland, knowing well to fight with men from chariots and on foot, when need be. They came then in number like the leaves and flowers in their season. Then did an evil doom from Zeus come upon us ill-fated.'

To the post-Minoan age, the age of migration and disturbance, when the early merchant is both trader and pirate, when the Phoenician merchant trades where he can and supplements his lawful gains by kidnapping, succeeds a period when, for the serious trader, the irregular side of his business becomes less profitable. With the more powerful communities it is more advantageous to maintain good relations, and purchase, for example, the captives made by them in wars than to kidnap on one's own account.<sup>52</sup> Although *force majeure* might still be employed against weaker competitors,<sup>53</sup> we have, by this time, reached the stage of development represented in the Thucydidean account, when, speaking of the early Corinthian commerce and navy, he goes on to say that as the Greeks took more to the sea and acquired ships, they began to put down piracy.

It is only at this time, when the trading States attempt to protect themselves against the depredations of the more backward, by direct repression,<sup>54</sup> whether single-handed or in conjunction with others,<sup>55</sup> that we can attempt to make any distinction between the 'established civilised State' and the piratical community.<sup>56</sup> How thin was the dividing line between the two may be realised from a reputed law of Solon,<sup>57</sup> by which associations of men who 'went out for plunder' were legally on the same footing as trading associations. It is possible, however, to trace the growth of a higher morality in this respect,<sup>58</sup> and the Delphic oracle and similar religious institutions seem to have set their faces against piracy and brigandage at this time,<sup>59</sup> although even Apollo may have been influenced by a not unworldly motive, when the oracle advised the extermination of the lawless races of the Cirrhaean plain, who in the time of Solon intercepted the offerings of the faithful.<sup>60</sup>

But it is not until the firm establishment of the naval empire of Athens



that anything like an effective police of the Aegean was organised. We hear little of the actual measures taken, only isolated accounts of operations such as those of Cimon in Scyros.<sup>61</sup> Pericles is said by Plutarch to have endeavoured to get all the Greek world to co-operate with Athens,<sup>62</sup> but we do not hear that he aroused much enthusiasm. It is certain, however, that the seas were effectively cleared during this period. We have only to contrast the evidence in the periods preceding and succeeding the Athenian empire with the absolute silence as to the occurrence of piracy during the time of Athenian rule. Thus soon after the Persian wars, before the power of Athens was fully established, we find in the laws of Teos imprecations against magistrates who practise piracy or act in collusion with pirates.<sup>63</sup> Such an ordinance implies the normality of piracy at this time in the Aegean. When the Chian refugees, after the battle of Lade, landed in the territory of Ephesus, they were mistaken for pirates come to kidnap women and at once attacked in force.<sup>64</sup> But when Alcidas, in 427 B.C., made his expedition to Asia Minor, he found Ionia unfortified.<sup>65</sup> When the firm hand of Athens is removed, we have a very different picture. Isocrates, writing within twenty-five years of the fall of Athens, says that pirates command the seas;<sup>66</sup> Aeschines tells us that the pirate-ships were the refuge of broken men;<sup>67</sup> the barbarian communities that Athens had kept down were once more putting to sea and pillaging.<sup>68</sup> An Athenian citizen, going in pursuit of a runaway slave, was himself captured and sold in Aegina—this, perhaps, was done by a privateer,<sup>69</sup> but Lycon of Heraclea, soon after leaving Athens, was caught by genuine pirates in the Argolic gulf.<sup>70</sup>

From this time the forces of the pirates gathered strength until they became the formidable power that the Romans had to face in the early years of the first century B.C. That this was the case the Powers of eastern Mediterranean had themselves to thank. In an age when armies were largely composed of mercenaries, it was all the same to adventurers or refugees whether they adopted the life of a pirate or a mercenary.<sup>71</sup> Either career could be followed according to the opportunities of the moment. When a call for troops went round, pirates would not infrequently offer their services as mercenaries. Thus, in 302 B.C., pirates from all quarters joined the army of Demetrius for the sake of plunder, not less than 8,000 in number.<sup>72</sup> Aratus, for his attack on Sicyon, hired a few men from the robber chieftains, *ἀρχικλωπες*, (arch-thieves, as Plutarch<sup>73</sup> calls them). For dangerous operations, where heavy sacrifices of men were required,



no doubt it was convenient to have men of this character available, about whose loss no one was likely to be concerned and who could easily be replaced. At sea, particularly, the services of the pirates were enlisted. The 'arch-pirate' Timocles was employed by Demetrius against Rhodes, and was captured by the Rhodians.<sup>74</sup> Ptolemy II, in his war with Antiochus I, encouraged piracy in so far as it crippled his adversary.<sup>75</sup> Antiochus III also employed the pirate Nicander against Rhodes.<sup>76</sup> Ameinias, the arch-pirate, captured Cassandreia for Antigonus.<sup>77</sup> Glaucetas, the so-called admiral of Antigonus, was nothing but a pirate, and when he was expelled from Cythnos by Thymochares in 315-4, the latter's exploit was thankfully remembered by the Athenians as having rendered the sea safe for sailors.<sup>78</sup> But it is not until the first century that the pirates rose to the height of their political power, when they formed the greater part of the fleet of Mithradates, and in his scheme of campaign were to be the connecting link between himself and Sertorius in the West.<sup>79</sup>

It will be asked if nothing was done during the whole period of the Diadochi to keep the evil in check; on the whole, the measures taken for repression, especially by the mercantile States, were just sufficient to prevent piracy from becoming the intolerable pest that we find in the first century. To return to the fourth century, we find Athens sending out cruisers to protect her commerce against pirates,<sup>80</sup> and, according to a speech that has come down with those of Demosthenes, making agreements, as Rhodes did later, for mutual assistance in repression. The Melians, who had been parties to the agreement, were fined ten talents for harbouring pirates.<sup>81</sup> So Philip, also, when his maritime interests began to be important, appears to have made a proposal of the kind to Athens for common action.<sup>82</sup> To guard her corn-ships coming from the Adriatic, Athens, in the latter part of the fourth century, is reported to have sent a colony as a protection against the Etruscan pirates,<sup>83</sup> just as earlier in the century the younger Dionysius of Syracuse had occupied posts on the Apulian coast for a similar reason.<sup>84</sup> The Italian pirates were at this time extending their activities beyond their own seas;<sup>85</sup> we find in 298 an inscription recording the borrowing of a sum of money by Delos in order to put herself in a state of defence against Tyrrhenian pirates,<sup>86</sup> and Demetrius is reported to have complained to Rome about the depredations of the men of Antium in the Aegean.<sup>87</sup>

The earlier policy of Athens was revived towards the end of the third



century by the great commercial State of the Rhodians, who endeavoured to check the evil so far as they were able,<sup>88</sup> and, as Athens had done before, entered into engagements with other maritime States. One of these treaties has been preserved, with Hierapytna in Crete, by which both sides agree to give each other support against the pirates, and to join in attacking any State assisting in or conniving at piracy.<sup>89</sup>

Although the Diadochi were ready enough to make use of the pirates' services against their enemies, there was little likelihood of their tolerating them off their own coasts. While the Ptolemies held the southern coast of Asia Minor, the pirates never established themselves in Cilicia. A descent on Thera, the headquarters of the Egyptians in the Aegean was driven off by the Egyptian *nauarchus*,<sup>90</sup> just as in the North Lysimachus drove off a party of freebooters who endeavoured to pillage the offerings of the temple in Samothrace.<sup>91</sup>

On the whole the larger mercantile communities were able to protect themselves, and the Kings looked after their own shore-line. The condition of the smaller islands, however, at this time, was grievous.<sup>92</sup> Naturally we hear little of their sufferings, which are recorded only in occasional inscriptions. We have already seen the 280 Naxians carried off by Aetolian privateers. An inscription of Amorgos<sup>93</sup> (c. 200 B.C.) tells of a sudden descent upon the harbour, when the boat of a certain Dorieus was carried off with some 30 persons, men, women, and girls. Two of the captives prevailed on Socleides, the captain of the gang, to hold his prisoners to ransom and themselves remained as hostages. An inscription of Tenos about 100 years later portrays the island as reduced to extreme poverty owing to the endless descents of the pirates.<sup>94</sup>

The picture drawn by Finlay<sup>95</sup> of the state of Greece in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, harried and depopulated by the Christian corsairs, while the actual rulers, the Turks, did nothing to protect their subjects, but prevented them almost without exception from fitting out armed ships to carry their commerce, so that they were reduced to creeping round the coasts in small boats by night, could very nearly be applied to the coastal districts and islands of the Aegean at this time. The attitude of the Diadochi is also paralleled by that of the European Powers towards the Algerian pirates. They were encouraged by France against Spain, and later by Great Britain and Holland against France. In the eighteenth century, it was not infrequently stated that their existence was a useful check on weaker competitors for the carrying trade of the



Mediterranean. This was exactly the attitude of some of the commercial States in the time of the Diadochi.<sup>96</sup>

We come now to the remarkable conditions which prevailed in the first half of the last century before Christ, when the great pirate communities of Cilicia and Crete were at the height of their power. For this development the apathy and negligence of Rome were responsible. Roman jealousy had destroyed or weakened every maritime power in the East, and she herself put nothing in their place to maintain the police of the seas. The naval power of Egypt had been in decay since the time of Energetes, and had become negligible. Rhodes, indeed, still endeavoured to protect her maritime interests,<sup>97</sup> but single-handed she was unable to accomplish much. By the terms of the peace dictated to Antiochus in 189 B.C., the latter was compelled to surrender all but ten ships, and no vessel might be sent by him to the west of the river Calycadnus. Such an ordinance at once threw open the rocky coasts of S.W. Asia Minor to the pirates. The beginnings of their settlements in this region are dated by Strabo<sup>98</sup> to the occupation of Coracesium by the Syrian usurper Diodotus Tryphon, who gathered round him the off-scourings of the East. Though he himself was overthrown, his followers were never expelled. Henceforward the numbers of the pirates, both in Cilicia and Crete, were continually augmented by the refugees of all nations. Many causes contributed to increase their numbers. The continual wars, the destruction of towns, punishments, the lack of personal security, the appalling miseries entailed by the long duration of the Mithradatic wars, the Roman oppression of provincials, the disbanding of the large mercenary armies, all combined to recruit the ever-growing pirate States. Though Rome, where her own immediate interests were concerned, never long tolerated anything of the kind in the West, yet in the early first century, owing partly to internal troubles in Italy, little was done, and what little energy was shown was misapplied.<sup>99</sup> Consequently the subject States were compelled to protect themselves in a way that only increased the evil. Convenient bases were united by the pirates to themselves; the only way to protect oneself against the pirates was to be on their side.<sup>100</sup>

Moreover, the pirate had his place in the economic scheme. The enormous demand for slaves was met by the pirate and the tax-farmer.<sup>101</sup> The clearing-house for this traffic was, of course, the island of Delos, and so great was the demand and supply that, according to Strabo, as many slaves as 10,000 changed masters there in a day. Hence arose the saying



'Merchant put in, unload, all sold.'<sup>102</sup> Delos was an open port to the pirates, and though truce was maintained in the harbour, it was well for the peaceful merchant to beware of the crew of the ship lying next him, or the Corycian trick would be played on him.<sup>103</sup>

The half-measures adopted by the Romans bore little fruit. The occupation of Cilicia as a province in 102 merely drove the pirates to the hill fortresses of the West; the vigorous campaigns of Isauricus in 78 cleared Lycia and Cilicia for a time, but the pirates temporarily removed themselves to Cretan waters, to the 'golden-gulf'<sup>104</sup> between Africa and Greece, across which the merchantmen from Egypt and the Levant must pass. The expedition under Antonius to Crete in 74 was an utter failure.

The partial measures adopted by the Romans, combined with the closing of all ports to the pirates, a measure which is probably to be assigned to the Marian regime,<sup>105</sup> drove the pirates altogether into the arms of Mithradates, and gave him that command of the sea which so greatly hampered Sulla. As the war continued, their strength grew and they began to lay the foundations of a permanent naval power.

It is unfortunate that no ancient writer has given us a detailed description of their organisation at this time. Much of what we read has a distinctly rhetorical appearance, and it is difficult to form a clear picture of the pirate State.<sup>106</sup> We hear that during the Mithradatic wars the pirates were beginning to give up their smaller craft, *hemioliai* and *myoparones*,<sup>107</sup> and were building biremes and triremes. Their vessels are richly adorned with gold, silver, and purple. They no longer sail in packs, but in organised squadrons. The 'arch-pirates' have now become admirals (*στρατηγοί*). The closest connection is maintained between groups, money and reinforcements being sent as required.<sup>108</sup> We cannot guess their numbers, which are given by Appian as many tens of thousands. Pompeius is reported to have taken 20,000 prisoners, and destroyed more than 1,400 boats; skilled fitters were kept in captivity at their arsenals, and vast quantities of naval stores and munitions were captured after the final battle at Coracesium.<sup>109</sup>

Their daring was so feared by the Romans that Cicero tells us that the Roman fleets scarcely dared venture from Brundisium in winter.<sup>110</sup> A portion of the fleet of Flaccus was burnt by them;<sup>111</sup> Lucullus could only make his way from Cyrene to Alexandria by changing from ship to ship,<sup>112</sup> and again, during the negotiations with Archelaus and Mithradates

was more than once in danger of capture.<sup>113</sup> Finally, a Roman fleet was burnt at Ostia.<sup>114</sup>

The extent of their depredations must have been enormous. Making all allowance for the influence of rhetoric in the 400 cities, which they are said to have sacked, there yet remains a long list of towns whose names are recorded both in Italy and the East. Some were taken by assault, others even by siege.<sup>115</sup> Noble Roman ladies, among them the daughter of the Antonius who commanded the unfortunate expedition to Crete, and two praetors, were carried off from Italy.<sup>116</sup> When a captured Roman citizen threatened vengeance, they would fall upon their knees and ask his pardon, then would dress him in his toga and make him walk the plank.<sup>117</sup> Others were treated with a rough courtesy of the Robin Hood type, as, for example, Julius Caesar,<sup>118</sup> in gratitude for which, after his release, when he had pursued and caught his captors, he cut their throats before nailing them to the cross.

It is hardly surprising that the people insisted on an extraordinary command being conferred on Pompeius. The corn-supply was failing, and Rome was threatened with a famine.<sup>119</sup> Pompeius adopted a plan of campaign which should have been followed many years before. By simultaneous attacks on all the pirates' lurking places, he cleared the West in forty days, then going to the East himself, he attacked the centre of the pirates' power in Cilicia. No small part of his success was due to his moderation. Those who surrendered were spared, and settled in the depopulated districts. The earlier Roman practice had been threats and crucifixion.

Little further trouble was experienced. Sporadic outbreaks provided a pretext for the occupation of Cyprus and Egypt. An outbreak in the Adriatic was put down by Octavian, and the island of Corcyra depopulated for the part it had taken.<sup>120</sup> In the civil wars, piracy once more acquired a temporary importance.<sup>121</sup> The alliance between Sextus Pompeius and the remnants of the pirates was dangerous for a time, and provided a fruitful theme to the rhetorician. But henceforward, until the beginnings of the barbarian movements, the Mediterranean enjoyed a freedom from piracy which it was not to know again until the present time.

1. Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odysée*.

2. Finlay, *History of Greece*, VII, p. 151; Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, I, p. 262.



3. War conditions in Greece were responsible for outbreaks of brigandage in 1918. Local papers contained many references to the depredations of *insoumis* who had taken to the hills.

4. Cf. Polybius, II, 5, on the Illyrian descents. So Odysseus to the slave Eumaeus: 'Was your native town sacked, or when you were alone with the sheep did hostile men carry you off?' (*Od.*, XIV, 384). The Phoenician nurse: 'I am from Sidon, rich in bronze, the daughter of Arybas, exceeding wealthy; but Taphian men, pirates, snatched me away, as I was returning from the field, and brought me to the house of this man, and he gave a goodly price.' (*Od.*, XIV, 452).

5. Cf. Cicero, *Verrines*, IV, 9-10. There is a good description of such conditions by Strabo in his account of the pirates of the Caucasian coasts (XI, p. 495).

6. Professor Batt gives me this definition from Wharton's *Law Lexicon*, referring also to Murray, *New Eng. Dict.*, s.v. *Piracy*: 'The practice or crime of robbery and depredation on the sea or navigable rivers, etc., or by descent from the sea upon the coast, by persons not holding a commission from an established civilised State.' In applying this definition to antiquity it is not always easy to answer the question what constituted an 'established civilised State.' Queen Teuta, for example, definitely granted permission to all Illyrian sailors to plunder those whom they met (Polybius, II, 4). As we shall see, the decline of universal piracy coincides with the advance of civilisation. See below, pp. 109 seqq.

7. Murray, *op. cit.*, s.v. *Buccaneer*: para. 2. 'A name given to piratical rovers who formerly infested the Spanish coasts in America.'

8. Polyb., III, 22.

9. Thucyd., V, 56.

10. Hdt., I, 163.

11. *Id.*, I, 166.

12. *Id.*, VI, 17.

13. Diod. Sic., V, 9; XIV, 93; Livy, V, 28.

14. *Op. cit.*, I, p. 184.

15. Polyb., IV, 6, 1.

16. For this view of Aetolian operations see Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, p. 87, n. 76.

17. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 244.

18. Polybius, IV, 6, 1; on Scerdilaïdas see also V, 95; Strabo, X, 669.

19. Cf. C.I.G. 2350; immunity from its privateers guaranteed by the Aetolian league to the people of Ceos. Similar agreements with Eumenes II regarding the temple of Athene Nikephoros at Pergamum (Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 295); with Mytilene (Michel, *Recueil*, 25).

20. For the very liberal interpretation of 'war-time' by the Aetolians see Polybius, XVII, 5. For purposes of plunder it was held to include wars in which friends and allies were engaged.

21. Demosthenes, LI, 13. Cf. VIII, 25, on blackmail levied by Athenian *στρατηγολ*.

22. Polyb., IV, 53; IV, 26; IV, 36.

23. Thuc., V, 115.

24. *Id.*, IV, 9.

25. *Id.*, II, 69.

26. *Id.*, VIII, 35.

27. *Id.*, II, 67.

28. *Id.*, IV, 69.

29. *Id.*, III, 30.

30. Demosthenes, XXXV, 26. This is not the place for a discussion of the phrase *σῦλα δίδουαι* which I must reserve for another occasion.

31. *Id.*, XXIV, Arg. I, §2; arg. II, §1; XXIV, §12.

32. The Athenian action in this matter is curiously akin to the normal Aetolian attitude mentioned in note 20.

33. Hdt., III, 29. The Samians appear, as a community, to have enjoyed an evil reputation in this respect, see Plutarch, *Qu. Graec.*, 55.

34. On the Black Sea wreckers see Xenophon, *Anab.*, V, 73; Hdt., IV, 103; Strabo, VI, p. 308. Zimmern, *Gk. Commonwealth*, p. 29, n. 1, has an ingenious note on the rock Myrmex (near Scyros). Cf. Hdt., VII, 183.

For the penalties in Roman law against wreckers see Sestier, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

35. Polyb., II, 8; cf. Aristotle, *Politics*, I, 8, in discussing the various modes of life: 'Some live from hunting, and there are different forms of this, for example, fishing, in ponds, marshes, rivers and lakes, or piracy, or the hunting of birds or beasts.' Cf. Justin, XLIII, 3, Phocæenses exiguitate ac macie terrae coacti, studiosius mare quam terras exercere; piscando, mercando, plerumque etiam latrocinio maris, quod illis temporibus gloriae habebatur, vitam tolerabant.

36. This point of view is well put by Zimmern, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

37. Of the slave girls whom Odysseus carried off as booty (*ληίσσαρο*), *Od.*, I, 298; the marauding expeditions undertaken by the Greeks under Achilles' leadership before Troy (*παραζόμενοι κατὰ ληΐδα*), *Od.*, III, 106; oxen and mighty sheep are to be had for the harrying (*λήϊστοι*), *Il.*, IX, 106; Odysseus to the shade of Agamemnon: 'Were you slain on the beach marauding cattle, or fighting for a city and women? i.e., in a freebooting expedition or in regular warfare. *Od.*, XI, 400.

38. *Il.*, XI, 670.

39. *Od.*, XIV, 222, 247, 263. It must be borne in mind that many of the raiding stories told in the *Odyssey* belong to an age of migration.

40. *Od.*, XXI, 15.

41. *Od.*, XVI, 427.

42. *I. G. Sept.*, III, 333, Hicks and Hill, no. 44, whose version I have followed, with slight changes. An agreement of similar character between Lyttos and Malla (Collitz-Bechtel, *G. D. I.*, 5100). See note 30 (above).

43. Thuc., I, 4 *seqq.*

44. *Od.*, IX, 252.

45. *Od.*, III, 71; cf. *Hymn. Apoll.*, 452.

46. There is an interesting confirmation of Thucydides in a passage from Xenophon's *Anabasis* (VI, 1, 7). It is the occasion on which the Ten Thousand are entertaining the Paphlagonians by an exhibition of the various armed dances of Greece. A dance called the *Carpata* was performed by the Aenianes and Magnetes: A man lays down his arms beside him, then ploughs and sows, but keeps looking about him. The robber approaches. When the ploughman sees him, he snatches his arms and fights for his oxen. Finally the robber binds the man and carries off both him and the oxen, but sometimes the ploughman is successful. This was done in rhythm to the music of the flute.

47. Plutarch, *Aratus*, 6.

48. Wace and Dawkins, B.S.A., XII, p. 159. Symonds, *Italian Sketches*.

49. Newton, *op. cit.*, I, p. 296. For the name *Merovigli*, cf. Strabo, III, p. 159, 'Ἡμεροσκοπεῖον ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκρᾷ τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν σφόδρα τιμώμενον, ᾧ ἐχρήσατο Σερτύριος ὀρηγητῆρὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐρυμνον γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ληστρικόν, κάτοπτον δὲ ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῖς πλέουσι.

Here *Merovigli* is in the hands of the pirate, who from it looks out for passing merchantmen.

50. *Od.*, IX, 39. On the whole passage see Bérard, *op. cit.*, II, p. 3, who has a Frankish parallel for almost every incident. For the defenceless coast, cf. Polybius, II, 5.

51. This equal division of the spoil, which is the regular practice of the Homeric corsair (cf. *Od.*, IX, 547; XIV, 230) is, according to Bérard, the one great point of difference between him and his Frankish follower. The Greek then, as ever, was democratic, and in this respect he was followed by the British pirates. See the 'articles' given by Chas. Johnson, *General History of the Pyrates*, pp. 230, 352.

52. The second of Polybius' treaties between Rome and Carthage (III, 24, §5) belongs to this stage of development: 'If the Carthaginians take any city in Latium which is not subject to the Romans, let them keep the money and captives but restore the city. If any of the Carthaginians capture any who belong to a State allied with but not subject to Rome, let them not bring him into a Roman port.' The treaty implies that Roman subjects are to be let alone. (Cf. the earlier treaty, III, 22, §11).

53. Cf. the treatment of the Phocaeans by the people of Caere (Agylla) in Hdt., I, 166, with Strabo, V, p. 220, where it is stated that Caere, unlike most Tyrrhenian towns, refrained from piracy in spite of its excellent opportunities—doubtless on account of its close commercial relations with the Greeks.

54. Cf. the one recorded expedition of the Spartans overseas (Hdt., III, 47), when, according to their own account, the piracies of Polycrates became unbearable.

55. I cannot here enter into the question how far the later commercial leagues in Greece had their origin in mutual assistance against pirates, and the police of the trade-routes.

56. Piratical Communities: Pelasgians of Lemnos (Hdt., VI, 138), Islanders, Carians, Phoenicians (Thuc., I, 8), Lycians (Heracl. Pont., fr. 15), Cretans (Hdt., I, 2), Dolopes of Scyros (Plutarch, *Cimon*, 8), the Thracian Chersonese (Plutarch, *Pericles*, 19).

After the fifth century: Alopecconesos in the Thracian Chersonese (Demosth., XXXIII, 166), Halonnesos (Demosth., VII, 1), Illyrians (Polyb., II, 4, etc.; Appian, *Illyr.*, 7, 8, 9). In succession, Tyrrhenians, Cretans, Cilicians (Strabo, X, p. 477).

57. The two associations are classed together, ἡ ἐπὶ λειῶν οἰχόμενοι ἢ εἰς ἐμφορίας. (Gaius, *Digest*, 47, 22).

58. Cf. Hesiod, *Erg.*, 356, Δῶς ἀγαθῆ, Ἄρπαξ δὲ κακῆ, Θανάτου δόσειρα—a curious mixture of good principles and worldly wisdom.

59. Hdt., I, 166; VI, 138; Plutarch, *Cimon*, 8.

60. Aeschines, III, 1.

61. Plutarch, *Cimon*, 8, *seqq.*

62. *Id.*, *Pericles*, 17.

63. *C. I. G.*, 3044; Hicks and Hill, 23.

64. Hdt., VI, 16.

65. Thuc., III, 33.

66. Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 45.

67. Aesch., I, 191.

68. Demosthenes, XXXIII, 166; VII, 1.

69. *Id.*, LIII, 5.

70. *Id.*, LII, 5.

71. 'Broken men,' Strabo, VIII, pp. 387-8. On the developments of piracy during the period of the *Diadochi* see, in particular, Tarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-87; Holm, *Hist. Greece*, vol. IV (E.T.), p. 86.

72. Diod. Sic., XX, 110.

73. *Aratus*, 6.

74. Diod. Sic., XX, 97.

75. Paus., I, 7, 3. Cf. Ditt. *Syll.*, 220.

76. Livy, XXXVII, 11.

77. Polyaeus, IV, 6, 18.

78. Ditt. *Syll.*, 213; Hicks, 167, §3. See Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 86, n. 63.

79. Duruy, *Hist. Rome*, II, 766.

80. C.I.A., II, 804, l. 32; Ditt. *Syll.*, 530 (335-4 B.C.).

81. Pseudo-Dem., LVIII, 53, 56.

82. *Id.*, VII, *arg.* 1; VII, 14.

83. Ditt. *Syll.*, 153. Cf. Dinarchus, fr. XII, no. 46; Hyperides, LVI, 205.

84. Diod. XVI, 5. Cf. the fortification of the peninsula Scyllaeum at an earlier date by Anaxilas of Rhegium against the Tyrrhenians, to guard the Straits against pirates (Strabo, VI, 257). Aristides (XXVII, 3) speaks of trophies at Rhodes consisting of prows of the ships of Tyrrhenian pirates. Torr, *Rhodes*, p. 48, would, however, assign the captures to early Rhodian voyages in the West.

85. Strabo, X, 477.

86. *I. G.*, XI, 148, l. 73.



87. Strabo, V, 232.
88. Diod. Sic., XX, 81; Strabo, XIV, 652; see also below, note 97.
89. Cauer, *Del.*, 181. Possibly the earlier Rhodian alliance (*temp.* Demetrius) with Cnossos was of similar character (Diod. Sic., XX, 88).
90. *I. G.*, XII, 3, 129; but see Ditt. *Syll.*, 921.
91. Ditt. *Syll.*, 190. Cf. *Syll.*, 221, similar action by Ptolemy's στρατηγός ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου.
92. Probably to this time are to be assigned the small round or square towers (built of Hellenic masonry, often with an adjacent courtyard) which are common in the islands. They are found for the most part in the more fertile portions of the islands, at some distance from the towns, and would serve as temporary refuges in case of raids. There are as many as 12 in both Siphnos and Amorgos. (See *B.S.A.*, XII, 155, where further references are given).
93. Ditt. *Syll.*, 244.
94. *Ib.*, 255. Pompeius later did much to remedy the depopulation of certain districts by planting settlements of reformed pirates after their reduction (Strabo, XIV, 665).
95. *Op. cit.*, V, 90.
96. Cf. Strabo, XIV, 668, on the growth of piracy in the Levant. The kings of Cyprus and of Egypt were largely responsible, owing to their enmity to Syria. Even the Rhodians were willing enough to let piracy flourish in the Levant so long as only Syrian commerce was affected.
97. Later Rhodian efforts: Rhodian ships employed by J. Caesar (Suetonius, *Caesar*, 4, 74), and serving under Pompeius (Florus, III, 6).
98. Strabo, XIV, 668.
99. The Roman attitude in imperial times with regard to the outer seas is curiously parallel, Strabo, XI, 495. The native rulers ransom captives from the pirates of the Caucasian coast, and sometimes catch the pirates, but the districts under the Roman suffer most owing to the neglect of the officials.
100. Cic., *Ferr.*, 4, 9-10; Dio Cass., XXXVI, 20.
101. On the latter see Diod. Sic., XXXVI, 3. Nicomedes of Bithynia, when asked for a contingent, replied that the majority of the Bithynians had been kidnapped by the tax-farmers and were now slaves.
102. Strabo, XIV, 669. ἐμπορε καταπλεύσον, ἐξελοῦ, πάντα πέπραται.
103. Corycus was a harbour near Erythrae, much frequented by pirates, who would fraternise with visiting merchants, find out their cargo and destination, and cut their throats on the high seas (Strabo, XIV, p. 644).
104. 'Sinus aureus' (Florus, III, 1).
105. See Fergusson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 431. Fergusson ascribes to this cause the sack of Delos in 69 B.C.
106. One curious point is made by Plutarch (*Pompeius*, 24) who states that the pirates had much to do with the dissemination of Mithraism.
107. The *hemiolia* was a long, light galley, with one complete tier of rowers, and one half tier, leaving space for fighters; the *myoparo*, a small undecked brigantine with high curving prow, mast, sails, and oars. (See Daremberg and Saglio, *svv.*)
- Polybius (II, 9 *seqq.*) has an interesting account of the Illyrian tactics: against the heavy (Achaean) quinqueremes they yoke four light boats abreast, offering an exposed flank to the enemy, who rams. The pirates then board, while the prow of the quinquereme is encumbered with the wreckage of the damaged boat, which is kept afloat by the other three.
108. Dio Cass., XXXVI, 20 *seqq.*; Appian, *Bell. Mithr.*, 92, *seqq.*
109. Appian, *loc. cit.*; Plutarch, *Pomp.*, 25; Strabo, XIV, p. 665.
110. Cicero, *Pro Leg. Man.*, 11.
111. Appian, *op. cit.*, 51.
112. *Ib.*, 33; a variant in Plutarch, *Lucullus*, 2.

113. Appian, *op. cit.*, 56.
114. Cic., *op. cit.*, 13; Dio Cass., XXXVI, 20.
115. Appian, *op. cit.*, 92.
116. Plutarch, *Pomp.*, 24.
117. Plutarch, *ib.*
118. *Id.*, *Julius*, 1.
119. Livy, *Ep.*, 99.
120. Appian, *Illyr.*, 16; Florus, IV, 12.
121. Appian, *B.C.*, IV, 65, Cassius and the Cilicians. For Sextus Pompeius see Plutarch, *Antonius*.

## REVIEWS

[*The Editor would be glad to receive Books and Periodicals for review.*]

- H. G. SPEARING, M.A. *The Childhood of Art, or The Ascent of Man, a Sketch of the Vicissitudes of his upward Struggle, based chiefly on the Relics of his artistic Work in prehistoric Times.* New York : G. P. Putman's Sons. pp. XXX + 548, 16 plates in colour and 482 illustrations.

The present work is an attempt to give a comprehensive survey of the early art of Europe and Western Asia. Successive sections are devoted to the artistic remains of palaeolithic Europe (perhaps the best section of the book), Egypt, Chaldea, Crete and classical Greece, the writer being careful to keep in view the interdependence of the various phases of man's artistic activities. The book is profusely and beautifully illustrated, the subjects being well chosen in accordance with the development of the author's theme. The collection of illustrations by itself makes the book a valuable one to the student and teacher.

At the same time, it must be admitted that many may find the book difficult to read. Much of it is written in the style of the popular lecture, and certain digressions, not out of place in a lecture, might well have been omitted. It would be unfortunate if, as might happen, persons who would otherwise derive much profit and pleasure from a perusal of the whole, should be deterred from reading to the end. Apart from this there can be nothing but praise for the work. The writer has a wide knowledge and has assimilated and set forth the results of the most recent explorations and research, up to the time of issue, while his treatment is distinguished throughout by a love of his subject.

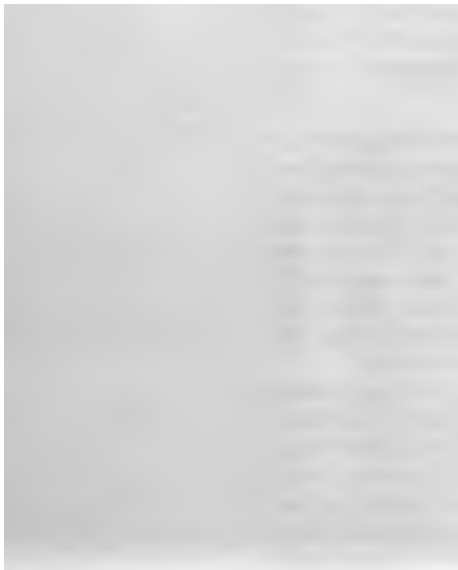
H.A.O.

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 NOTICE

Students of Mesopotamian archaeology will be interested to hear that the Assyriological library of the late Canon C. H. W. Johns, Litt.D., D.D., has been presented, by his express wish, to Queens' College, Cambridge, where it is available for use by students. The library comprises a mass of MSS., notes, etc., in addition to the large number of books, which include many of the earlier works on the subject, now out of print and often unobtainable.





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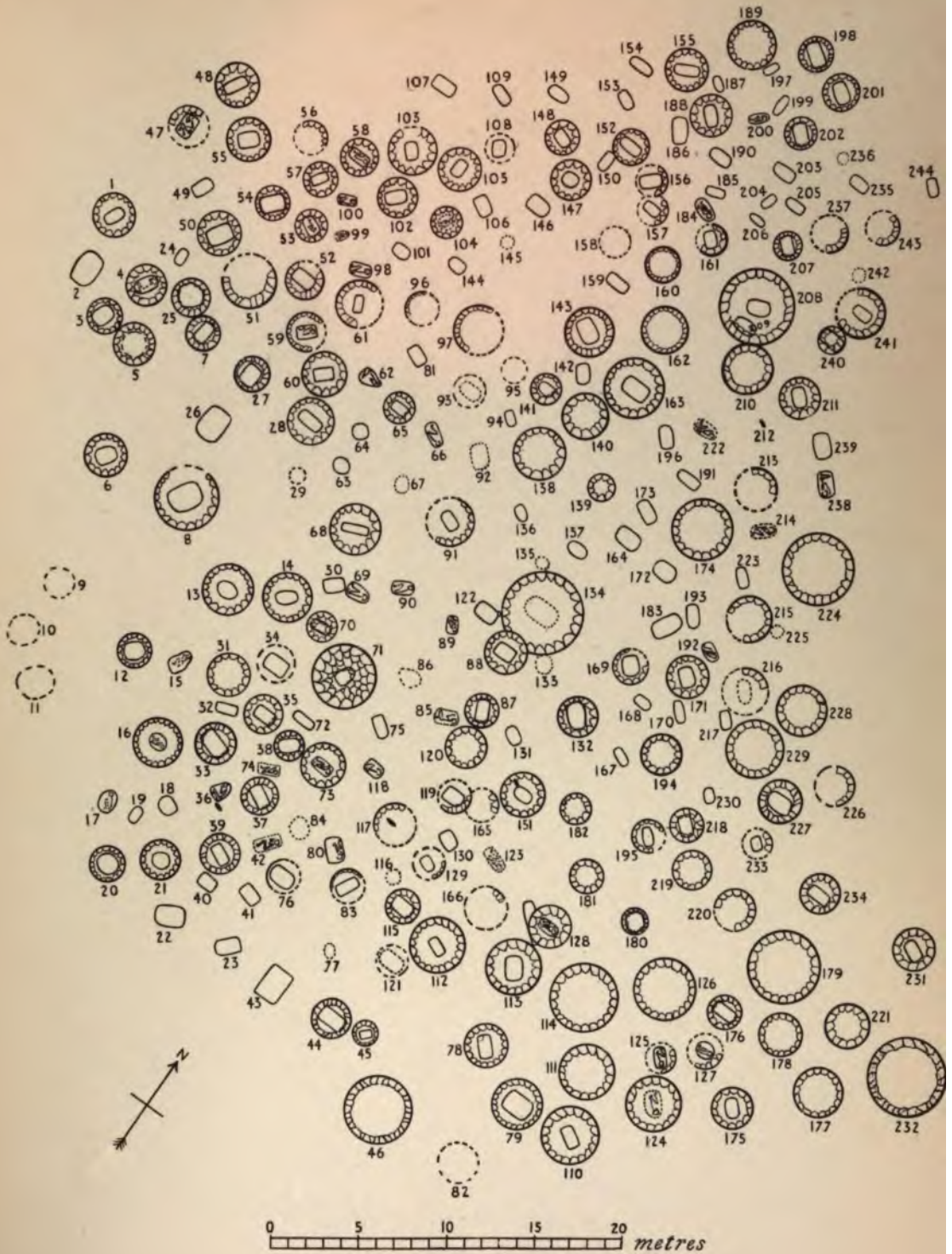
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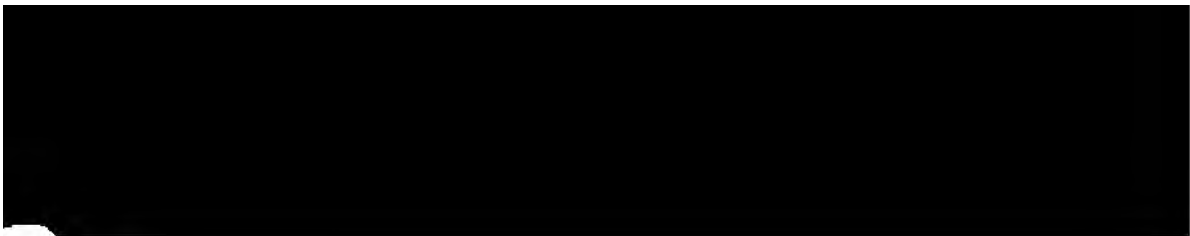
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THE C-GROUP CEMETERY, FARAS.  
PLAN OF EXCAVATED PORTION.





a



b

STELAE IN THE C-GROUP CEMETERY, FARAS







a



b



c

THE C-GROUP CEMETERY, FARAS

SUPERSTRUCTURES WITH BUCRANIA ; GRAVE OF CHILD, No. 54.







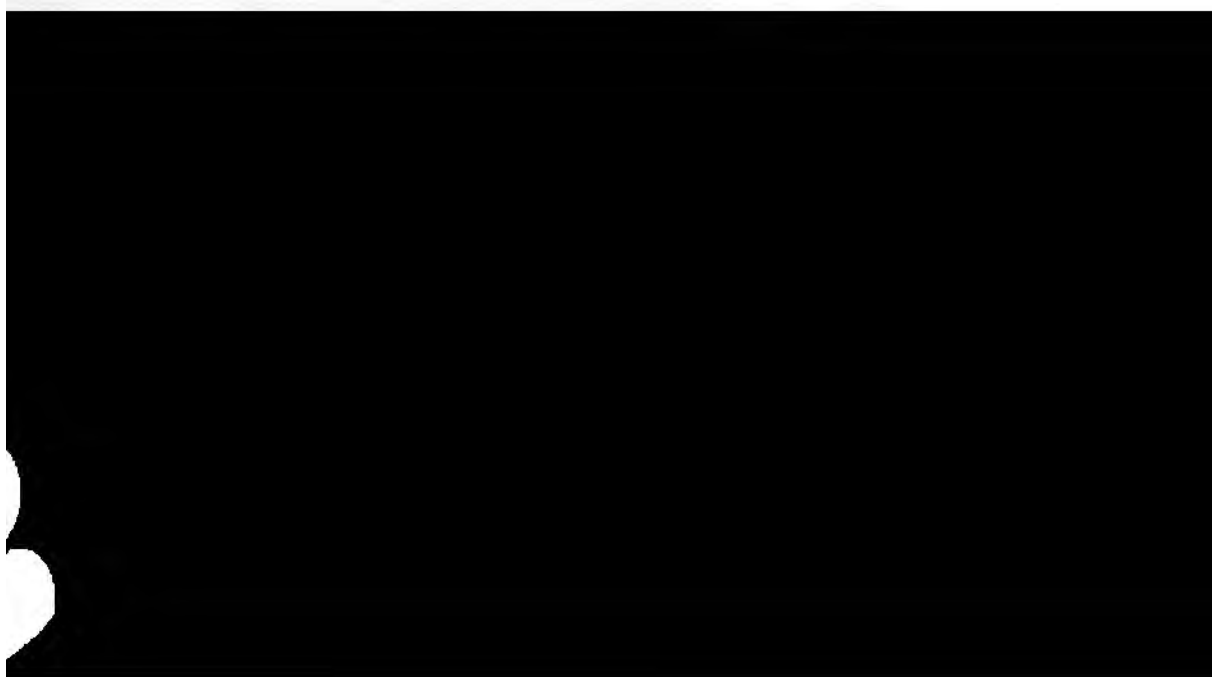
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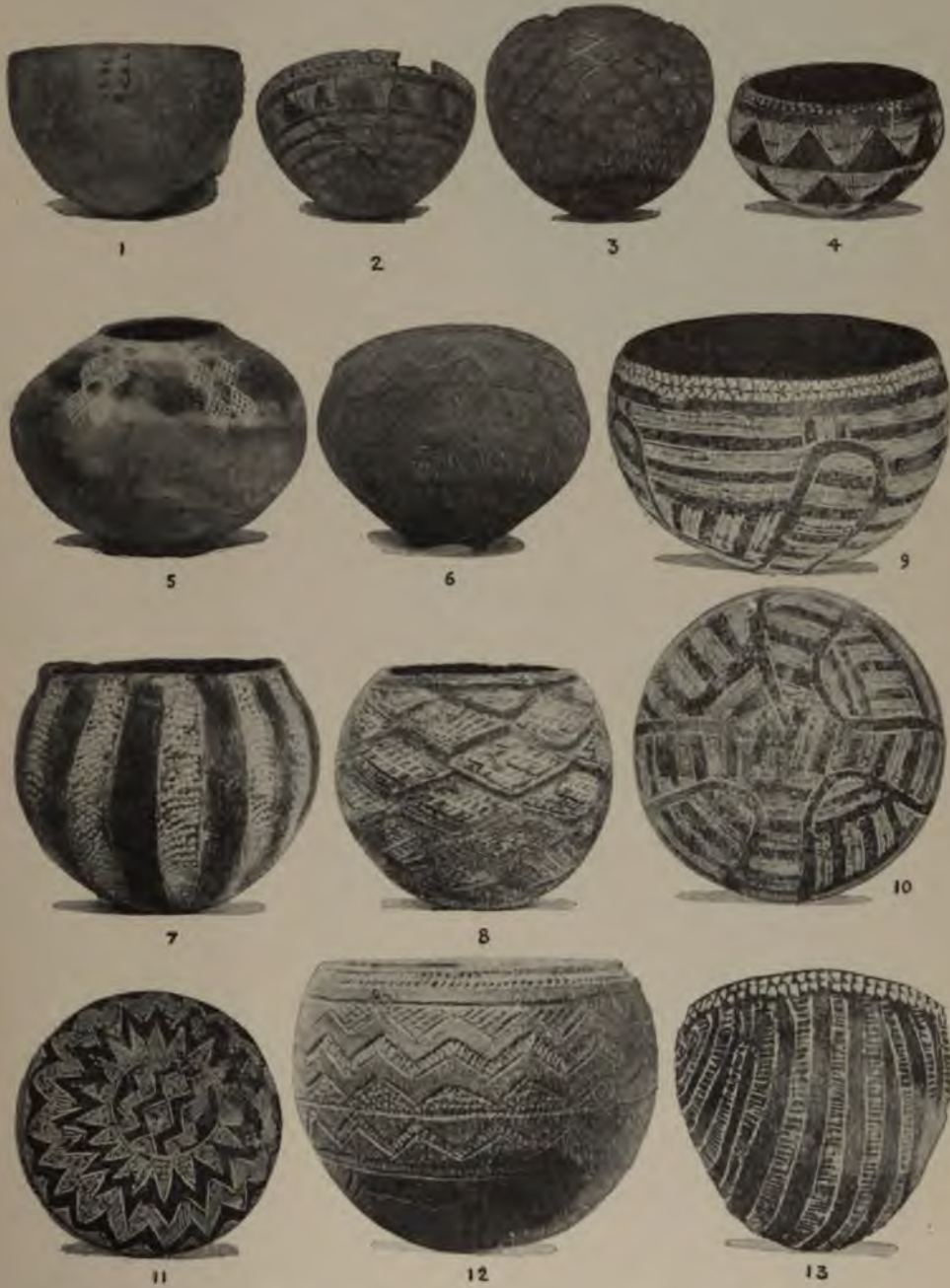




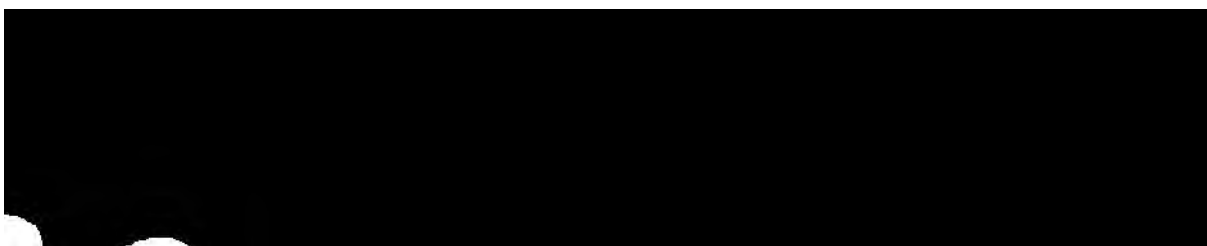
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POTTERY FROM THE C-GROUP CEMETERY, FARAS. Various Scales.

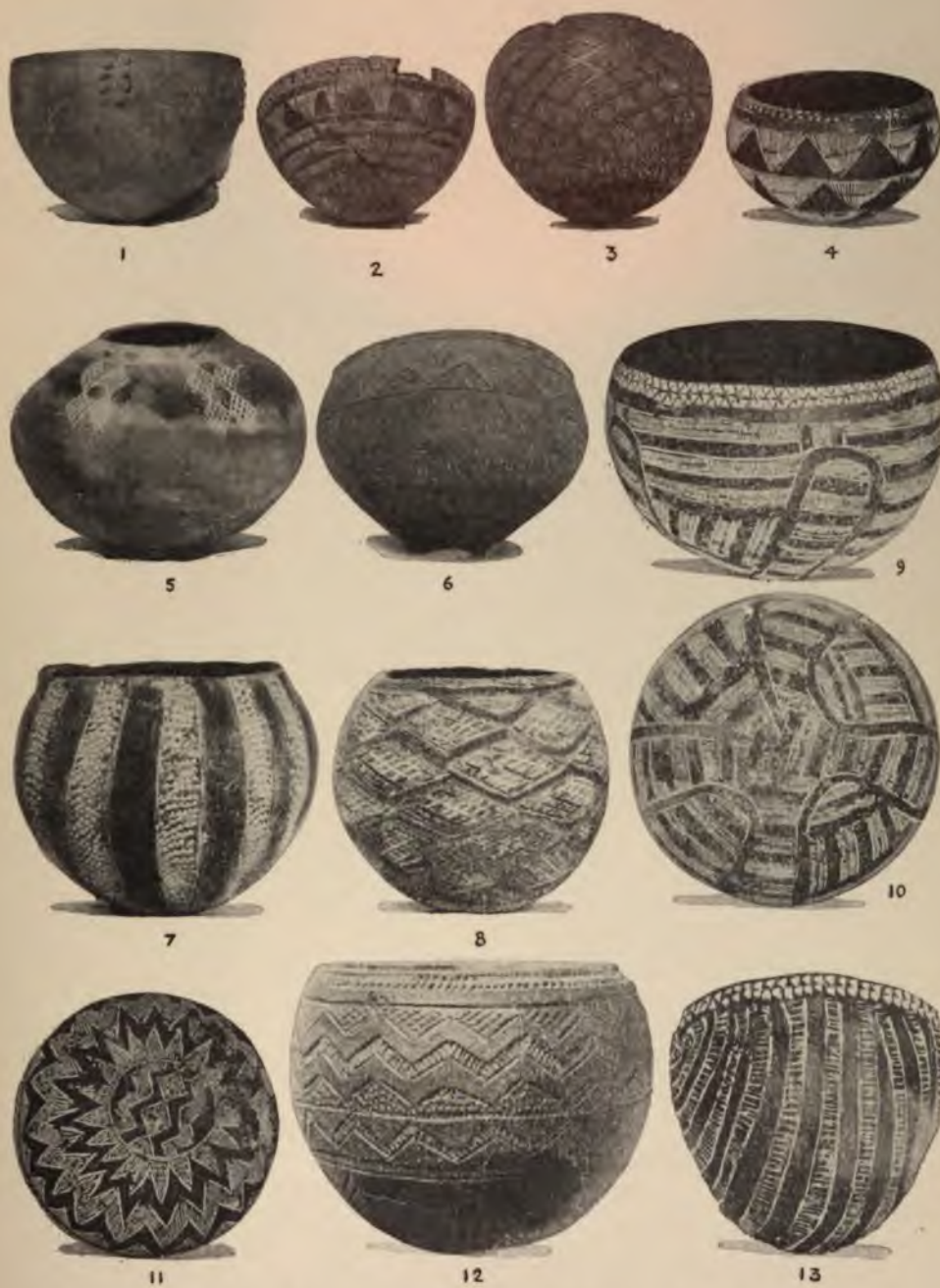






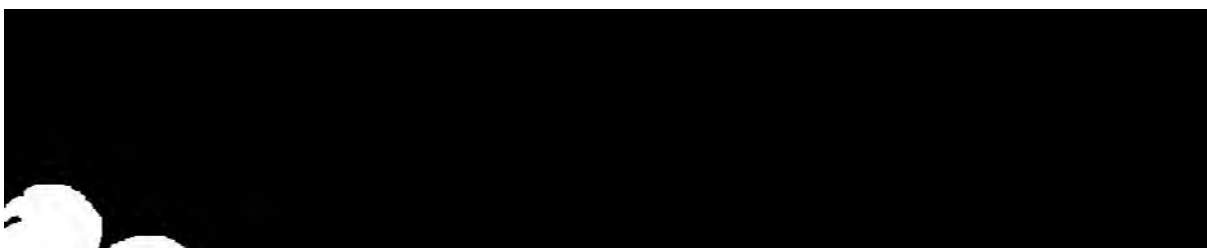
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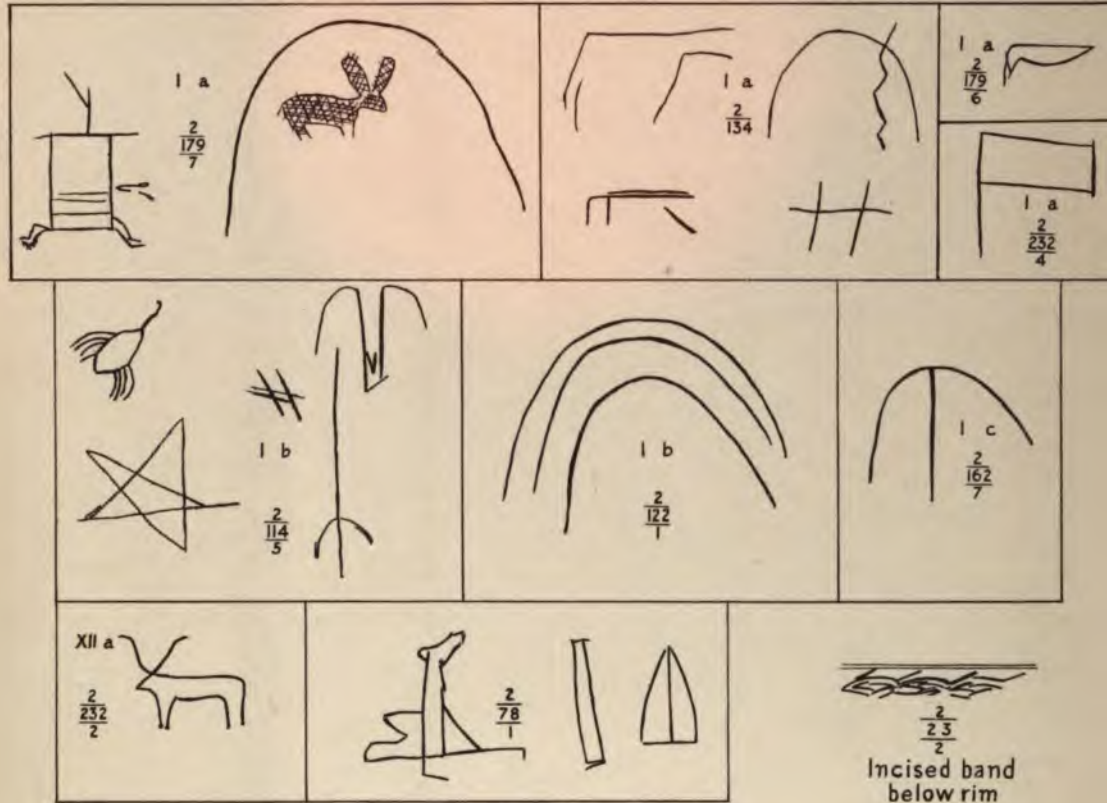




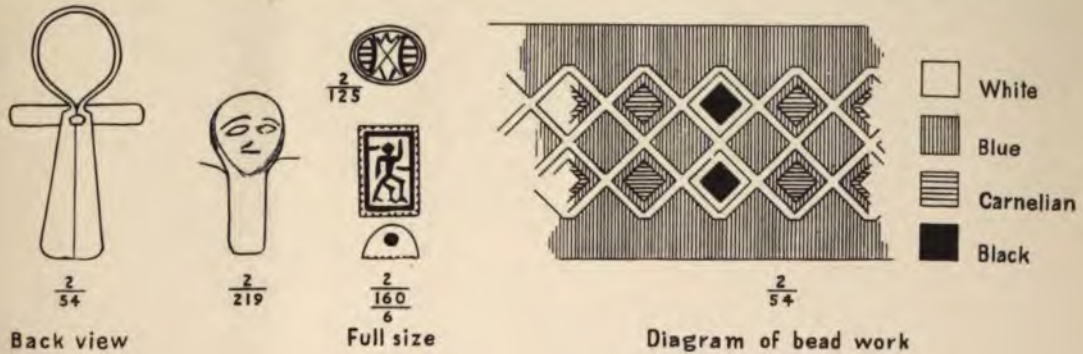
POTTERY FROM THE C-GROUP CEMETERY, FARAS. Various Scales.







Incised band below rim

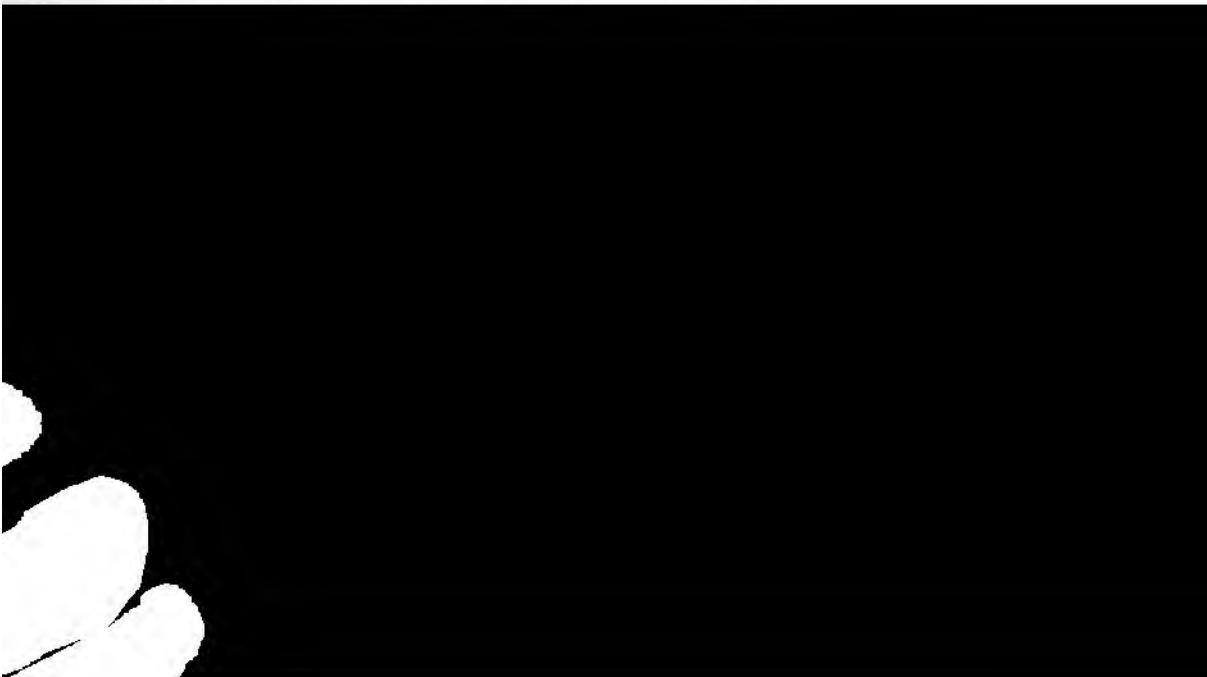
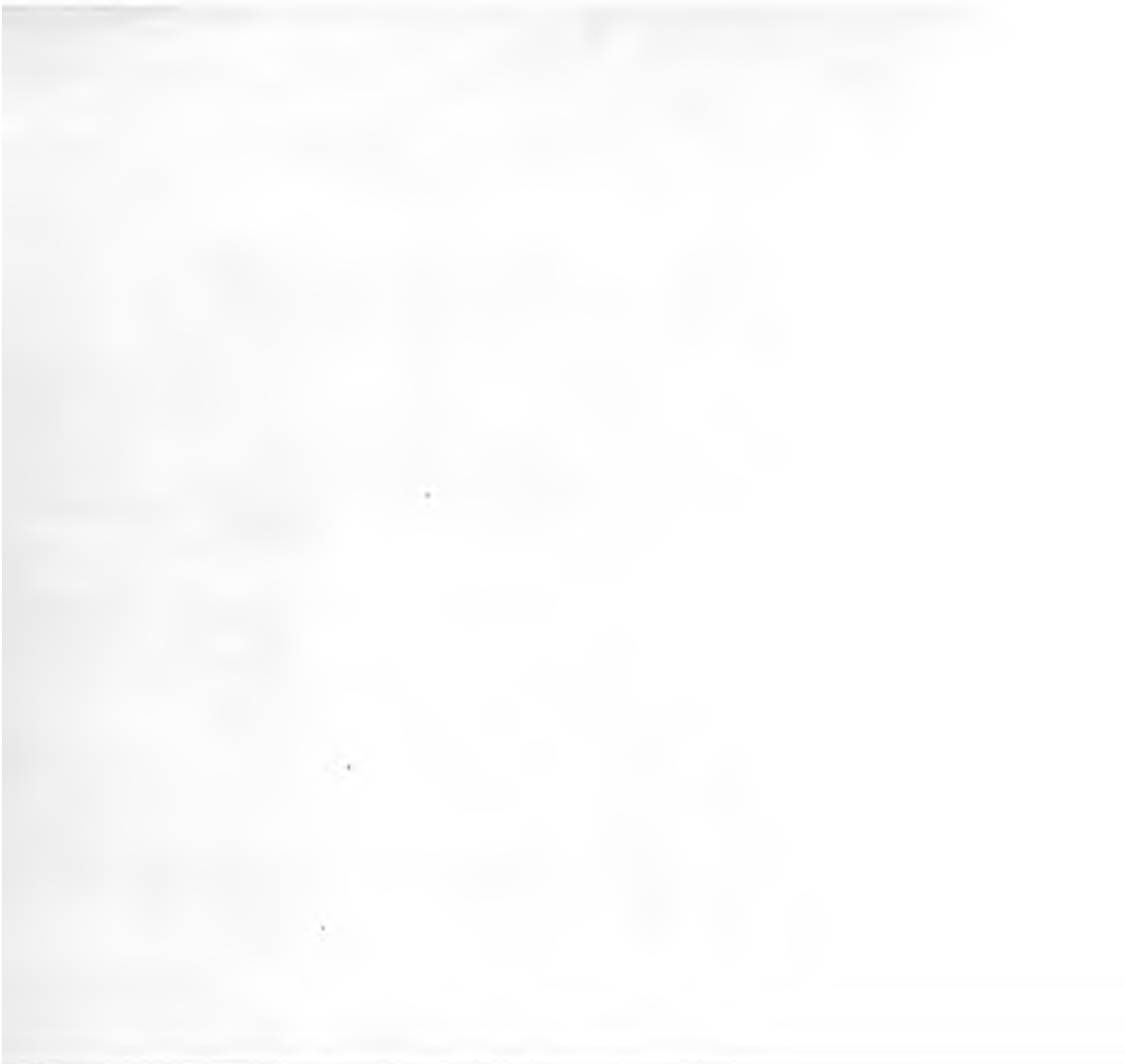


Back view

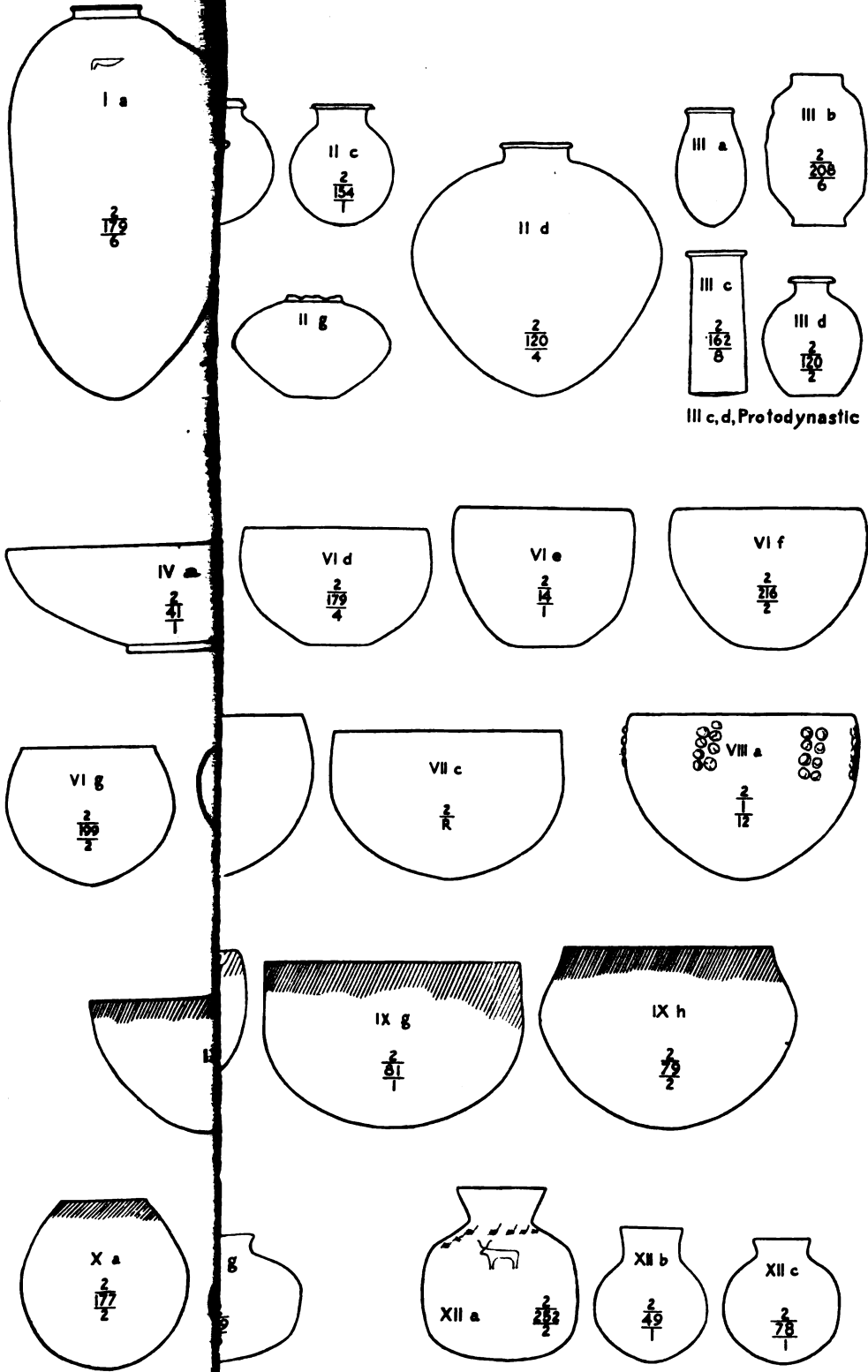
Full size

Diagram of bead work

THE C-GROUP CEMETERY, FARAS.  
SCRATCHED AND IMPRESSED DESIGNS, SCARAB, SEAL AND VARIOUS DETAILS.

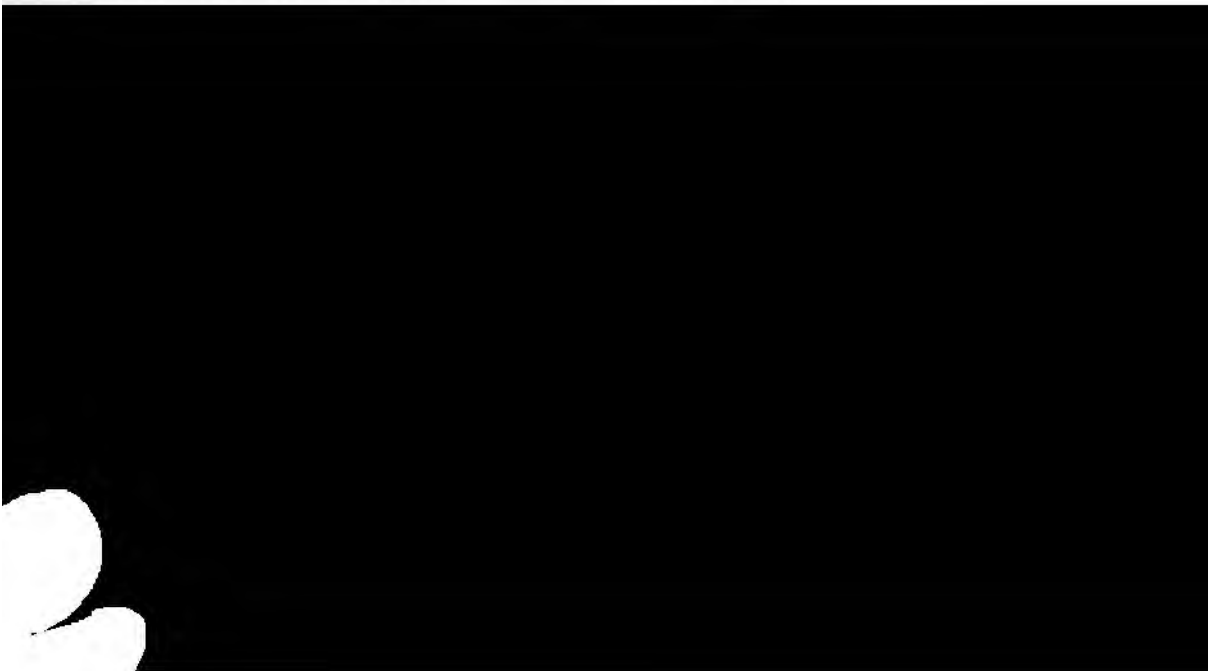


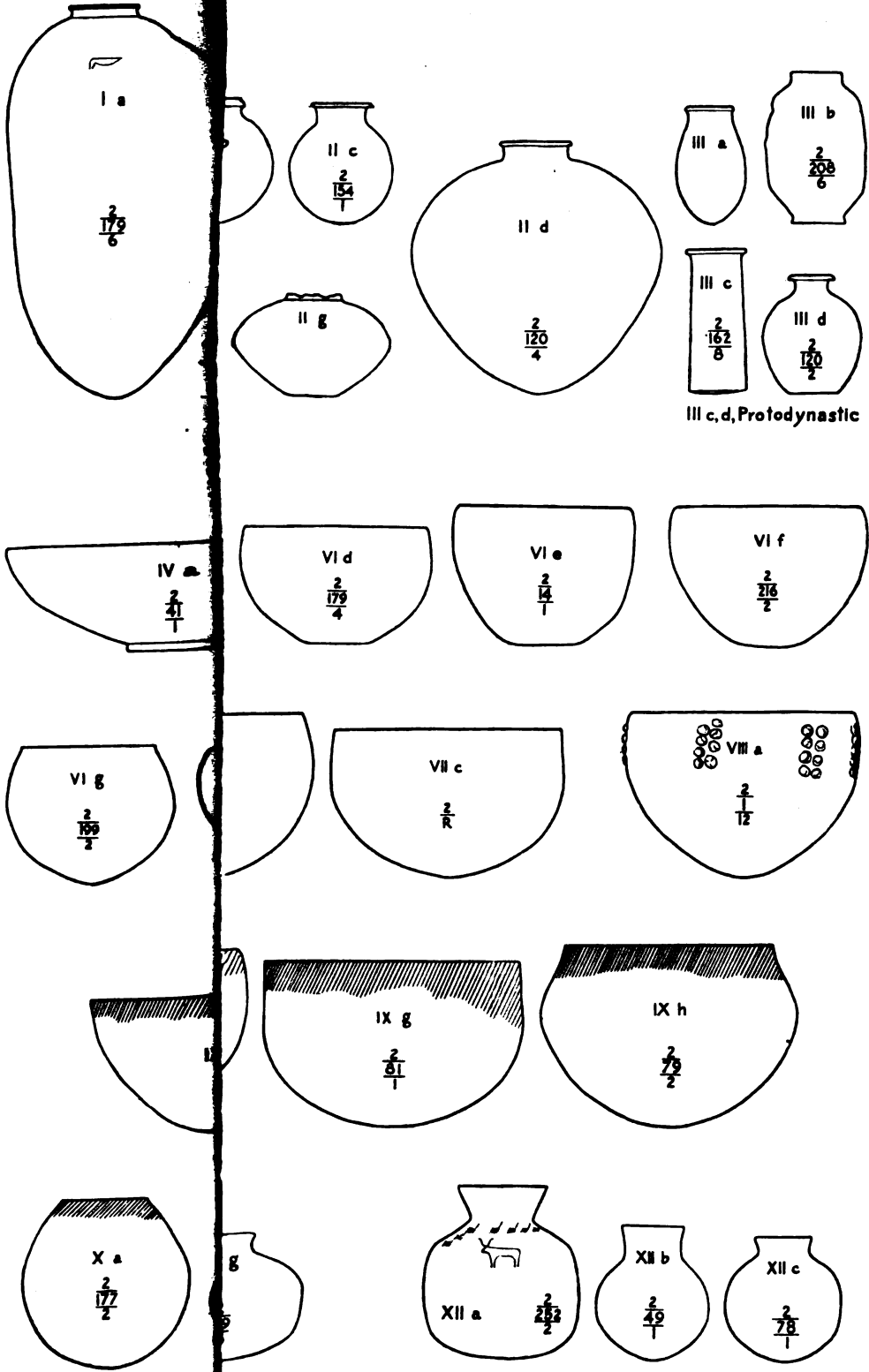




III c, d, Protodynastic

BOWLS IV, AND VI-X SCALE 1:4  
THE REST SCALE 1:10



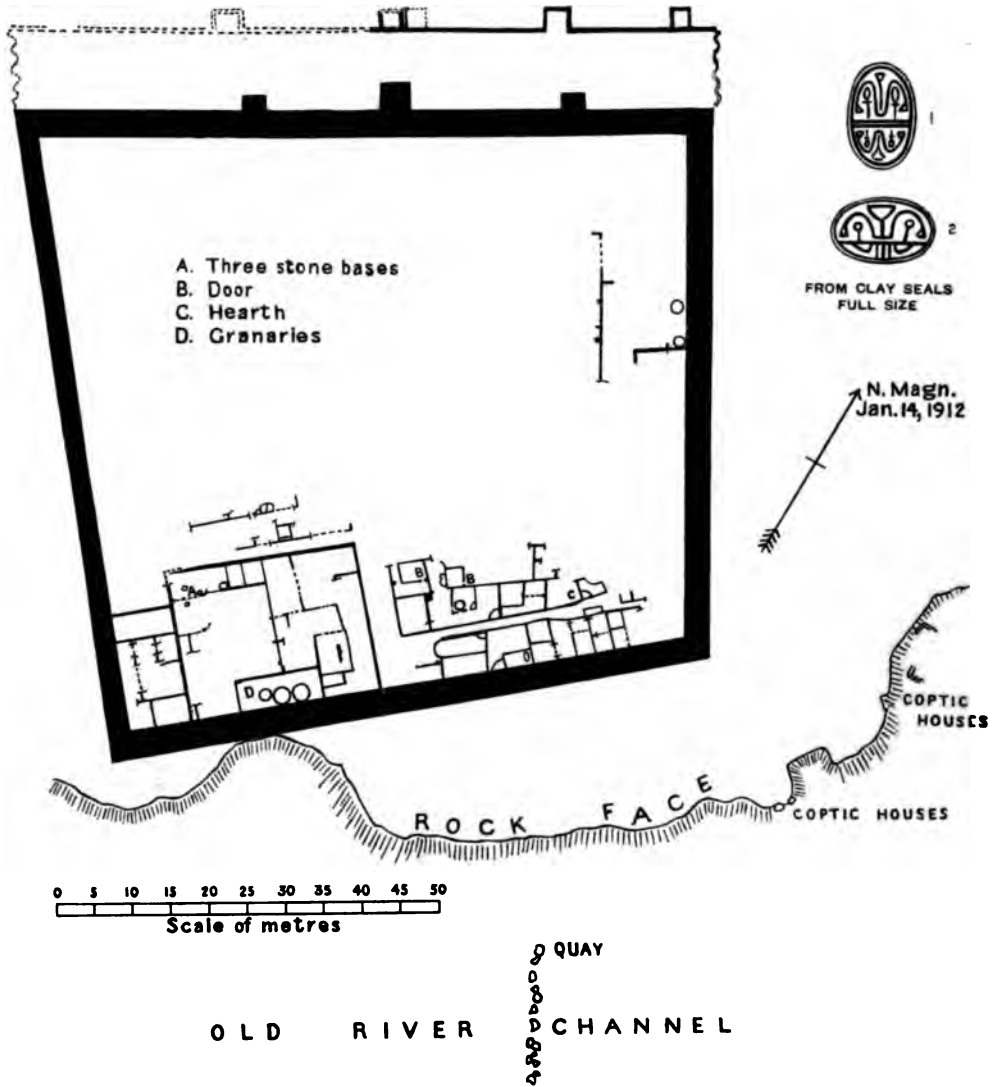


111 c, d, Protodynastic

BOWLS IV, AND VI-IX SCALE 1:4  
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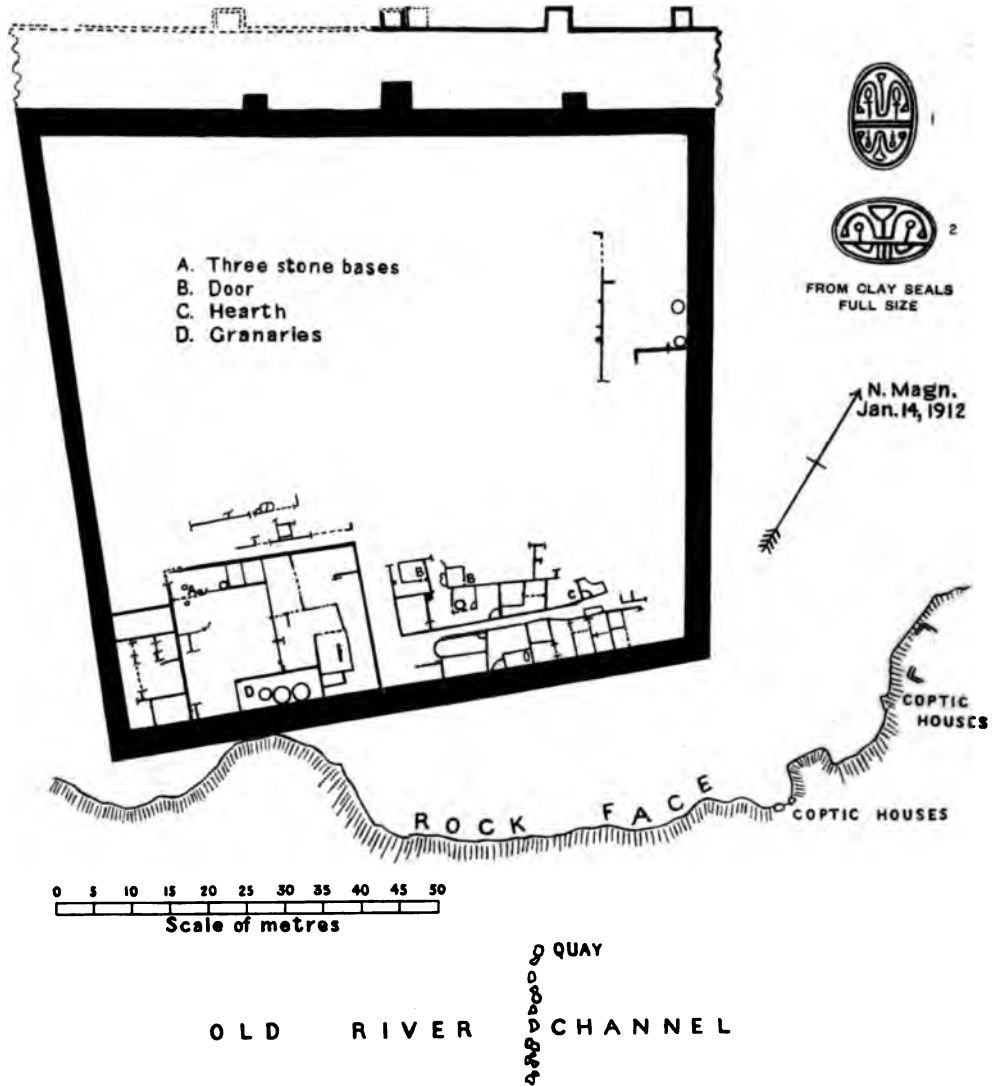




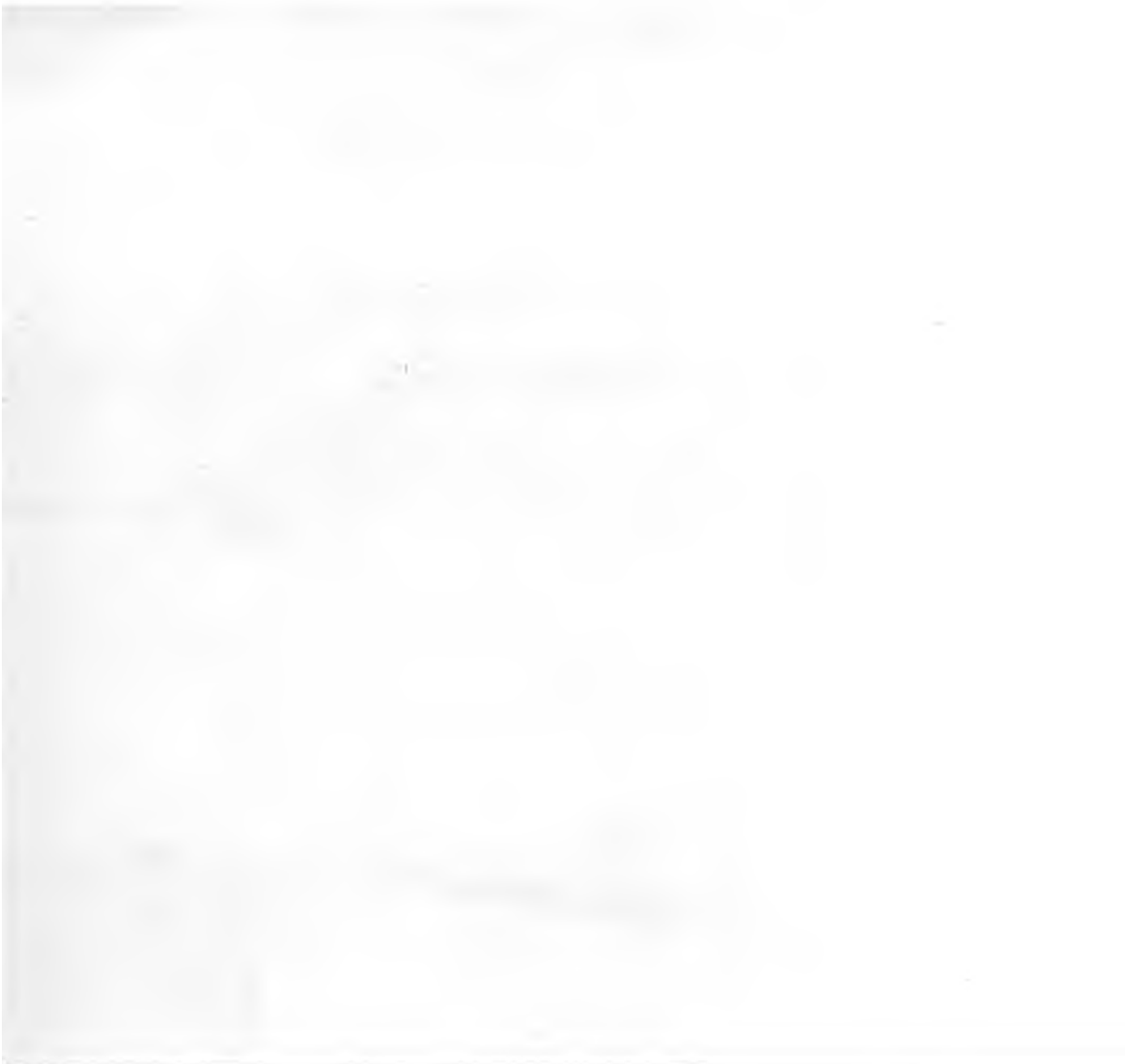
THE MIDDLE KINGDOM FORT, FARAS.







THE MIDDLE KINGDOM FORT, FARAS.

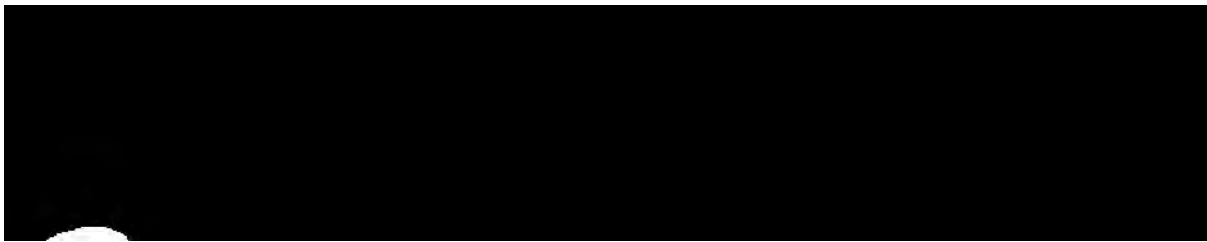


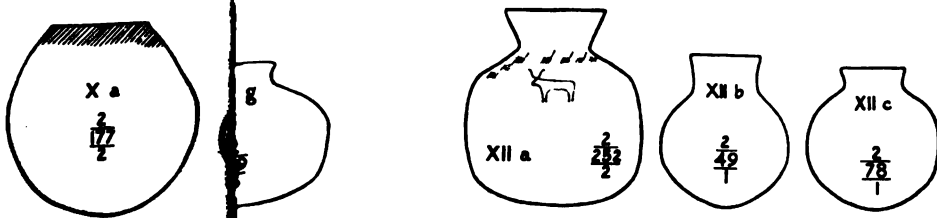
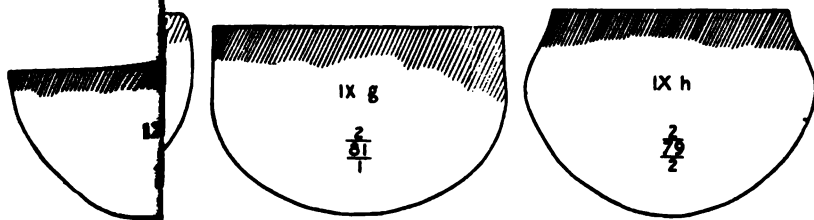
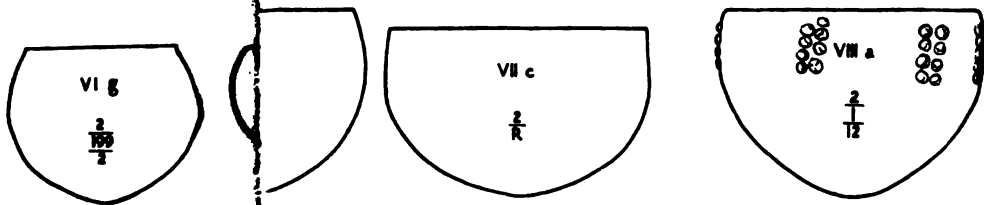
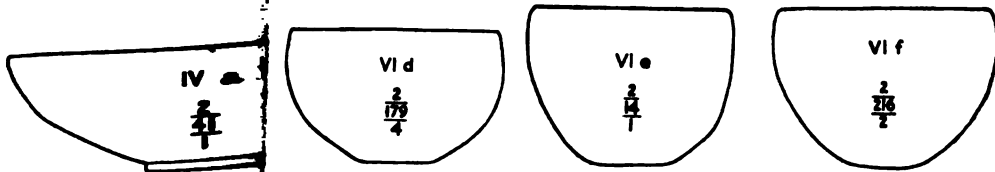
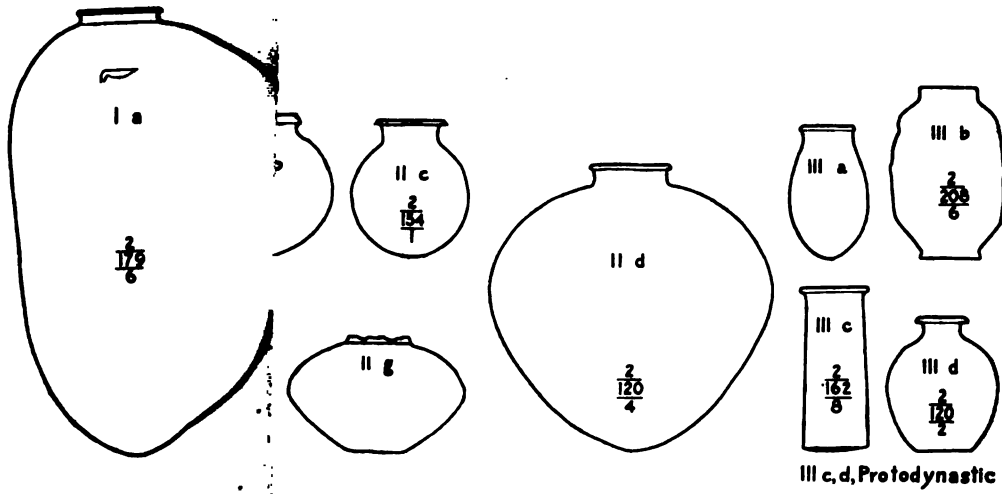


FARAS: TEMPLE OF TUTANKHAMUN; HATHOR ROCK.

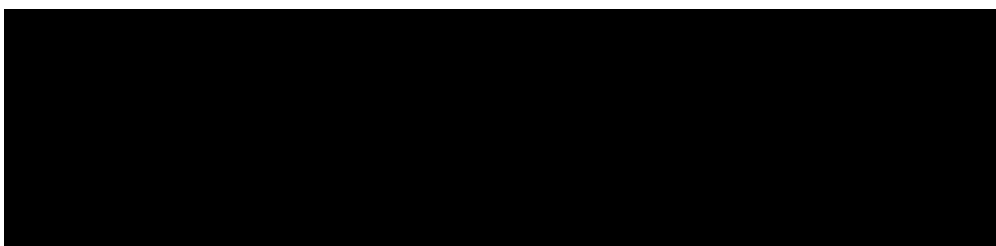


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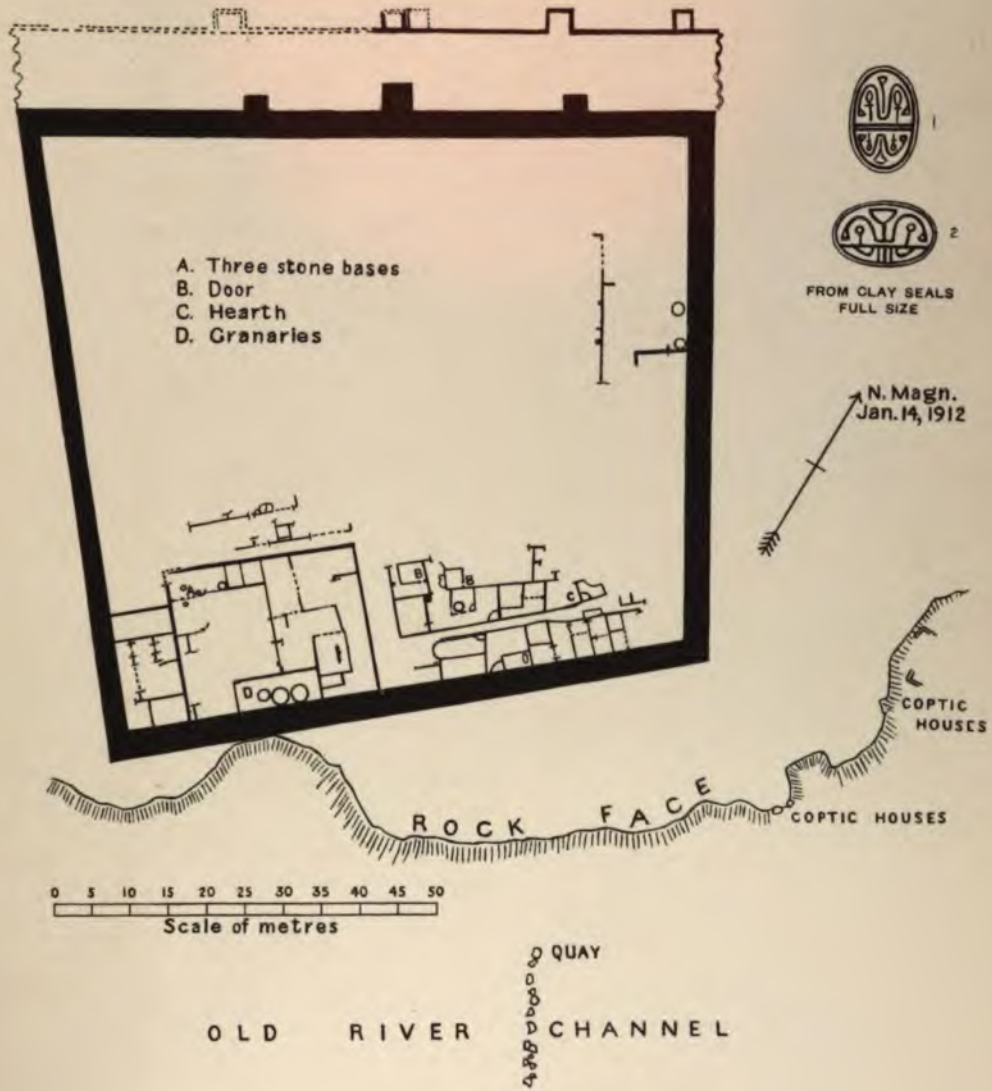




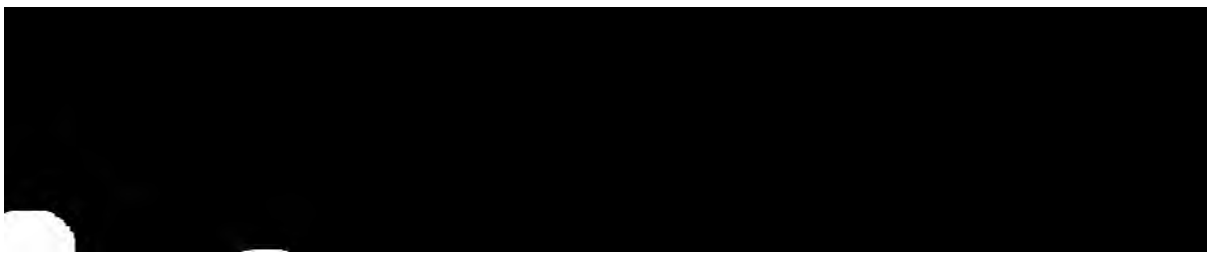
BOWLS IV, AND VI-IX SCALE 1:4  
THE REST SCALE 1:10







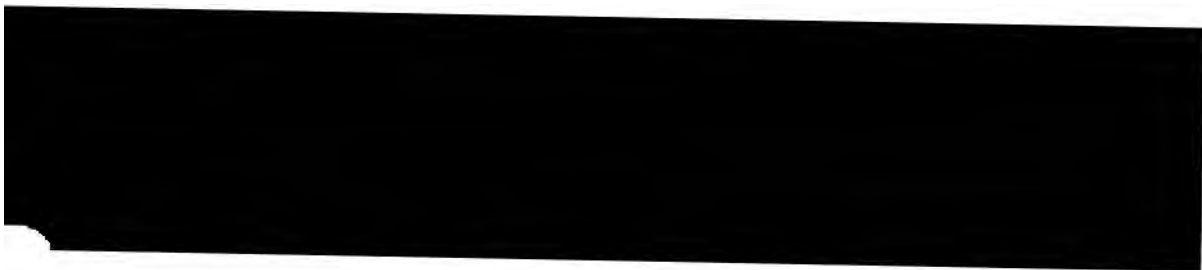
THE MIDDLE KINGDOM FORT, FARAS.

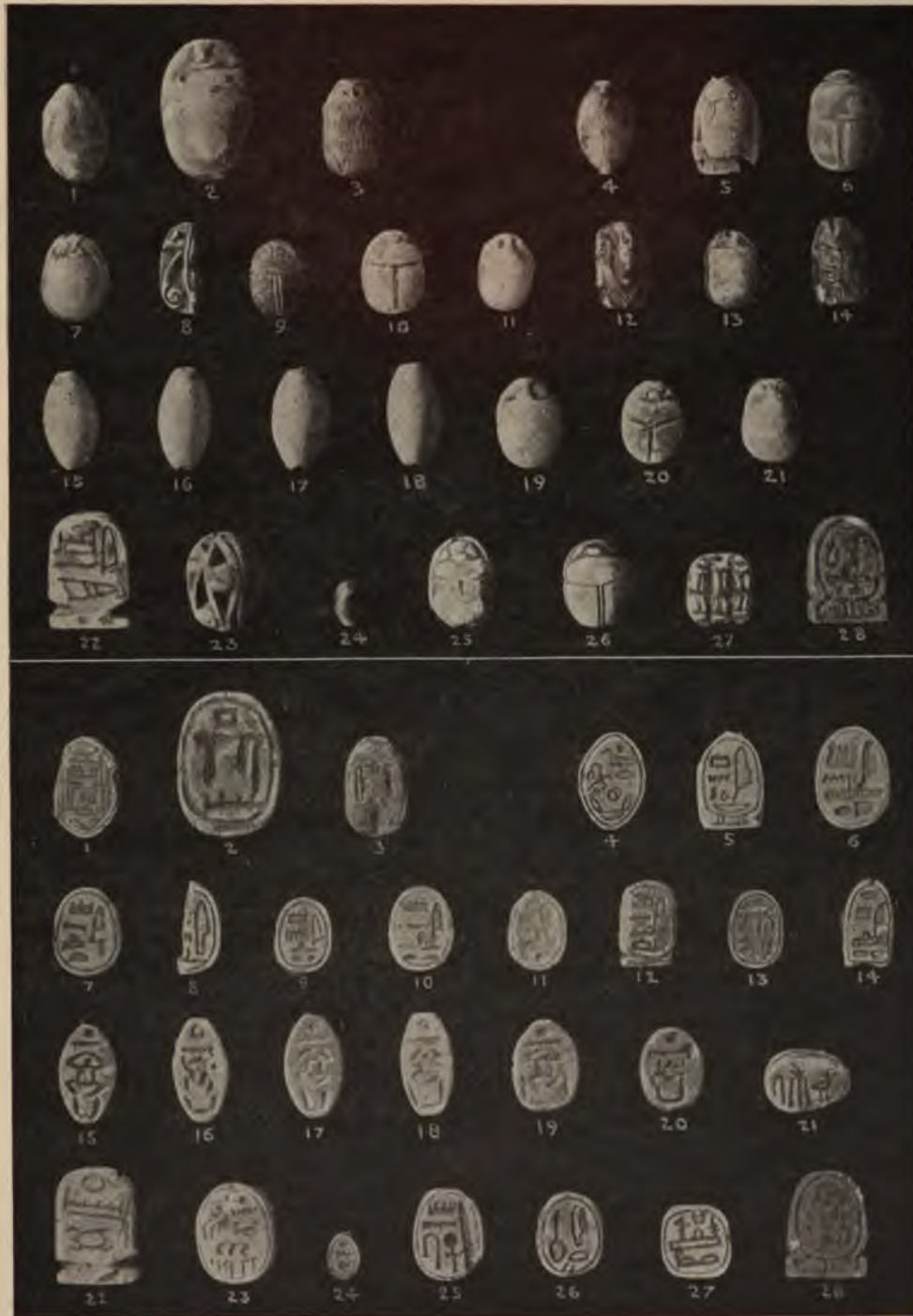




FARAS: TEMPLE OF TUTANKHAMUN; HATHOR ROCK.







SCARABS, Etc., FROM THE HATHOR TEMPLE, FARAS.







OBJECTS FROM THE HATHOR TEMPLE, FARAS.





GLAZE FRAGMENTS FROM THE HATHOR TEMPLE.  
BASE OF COLUMN, TEMPLE OF TUTANKHAMUN.







SCULPTURES FROM THE TEMPLE OF TUTANKHAMUN, FARAS.







*a*



*b*

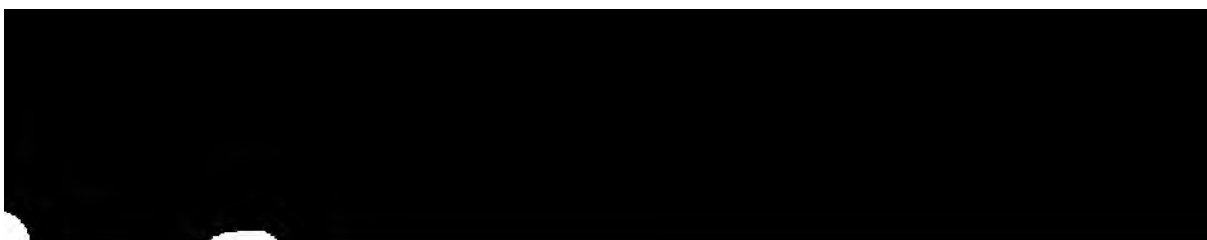


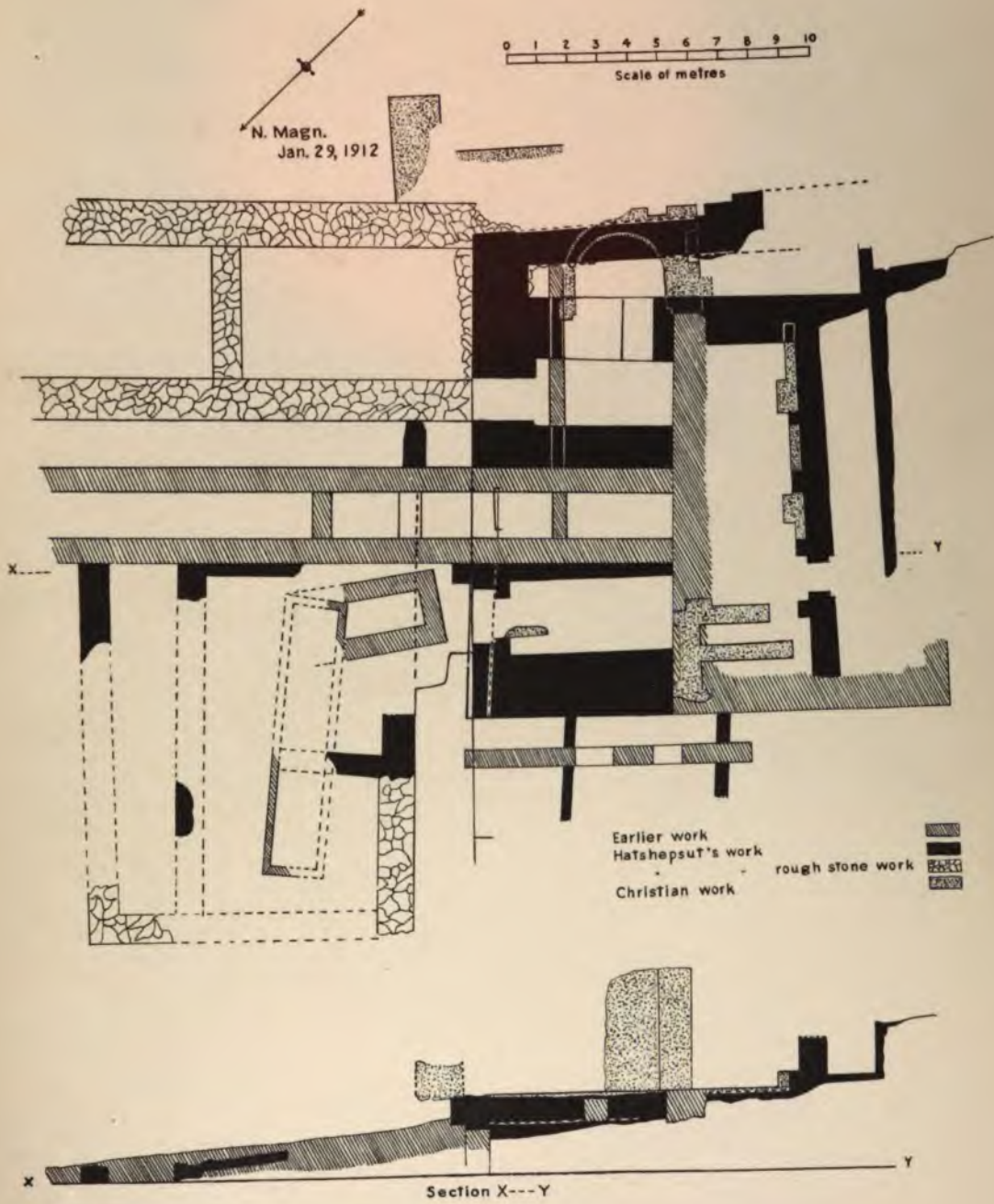
*c*



*d*

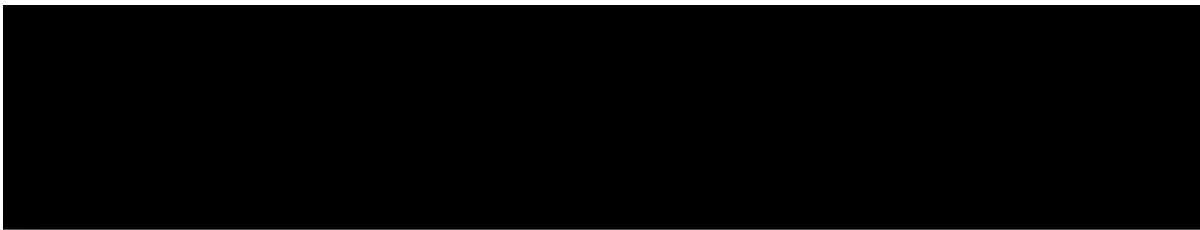
SCULPTURES FROM EAST SERRA AND FARAS.

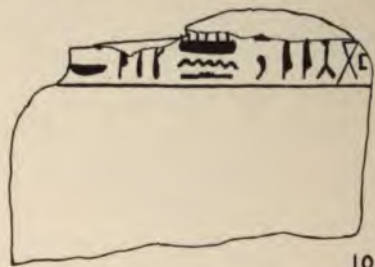
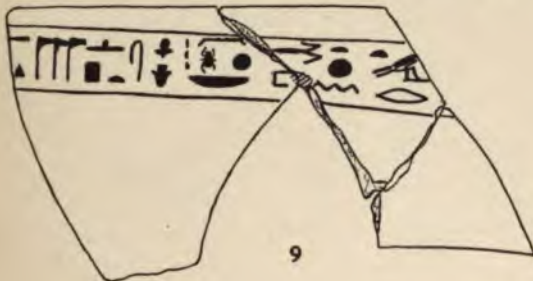
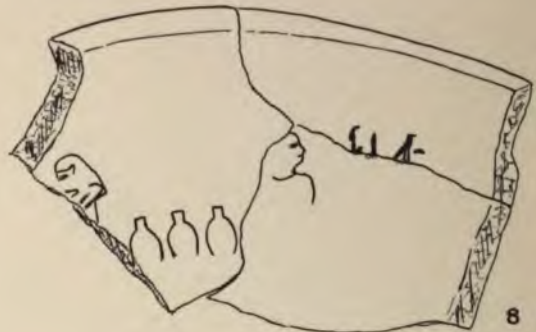
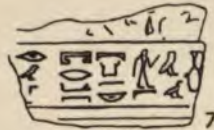
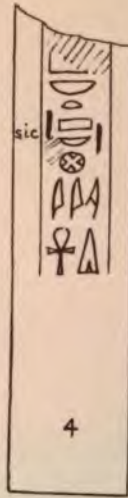
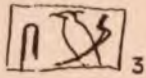
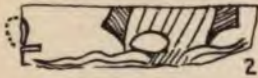




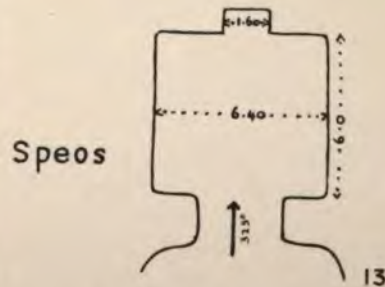
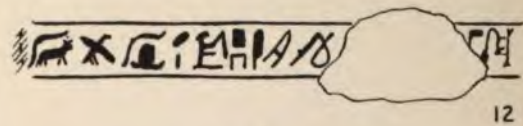
PLAN OF THE HATHOR TEMPLE, FARAS.

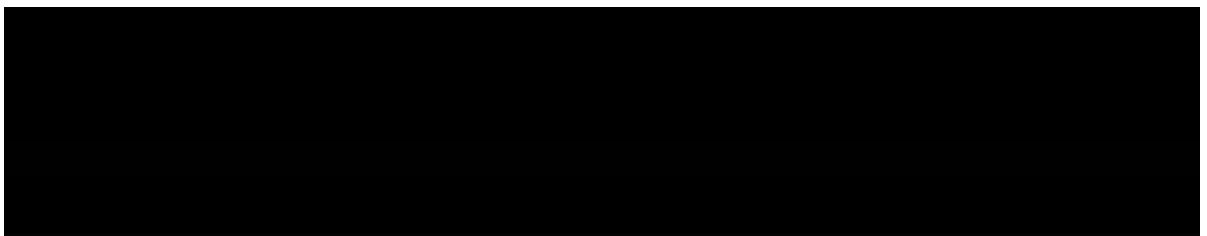




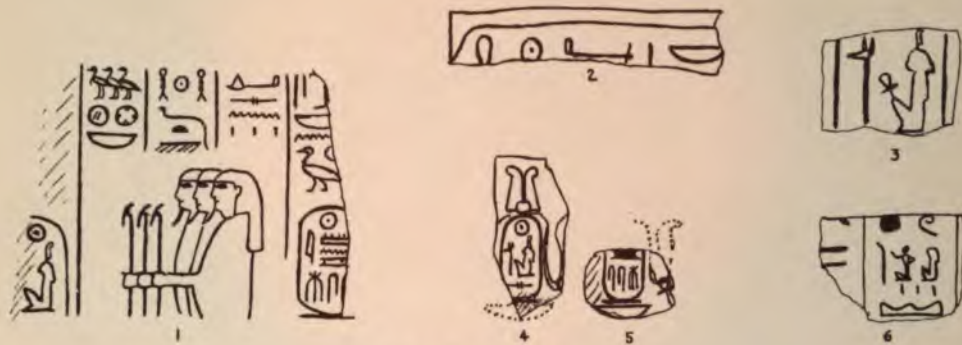


Temple

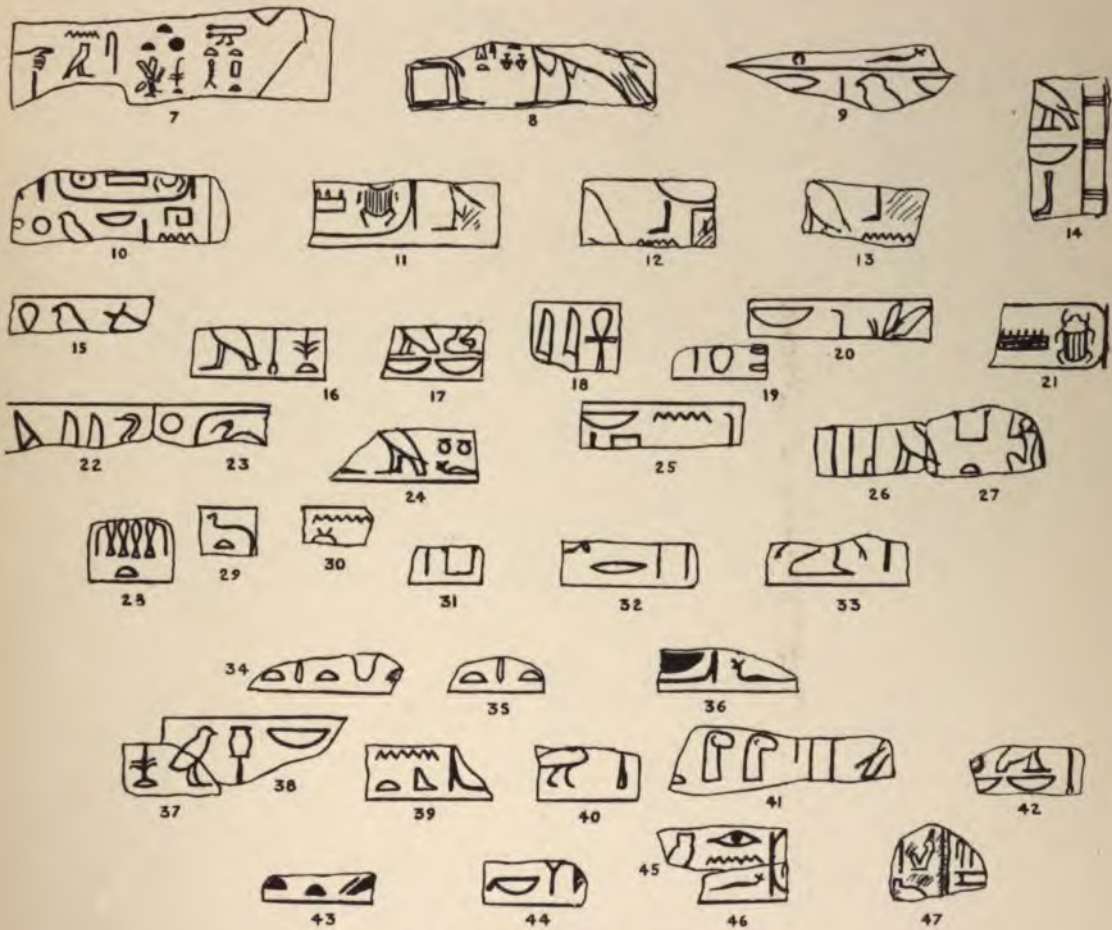






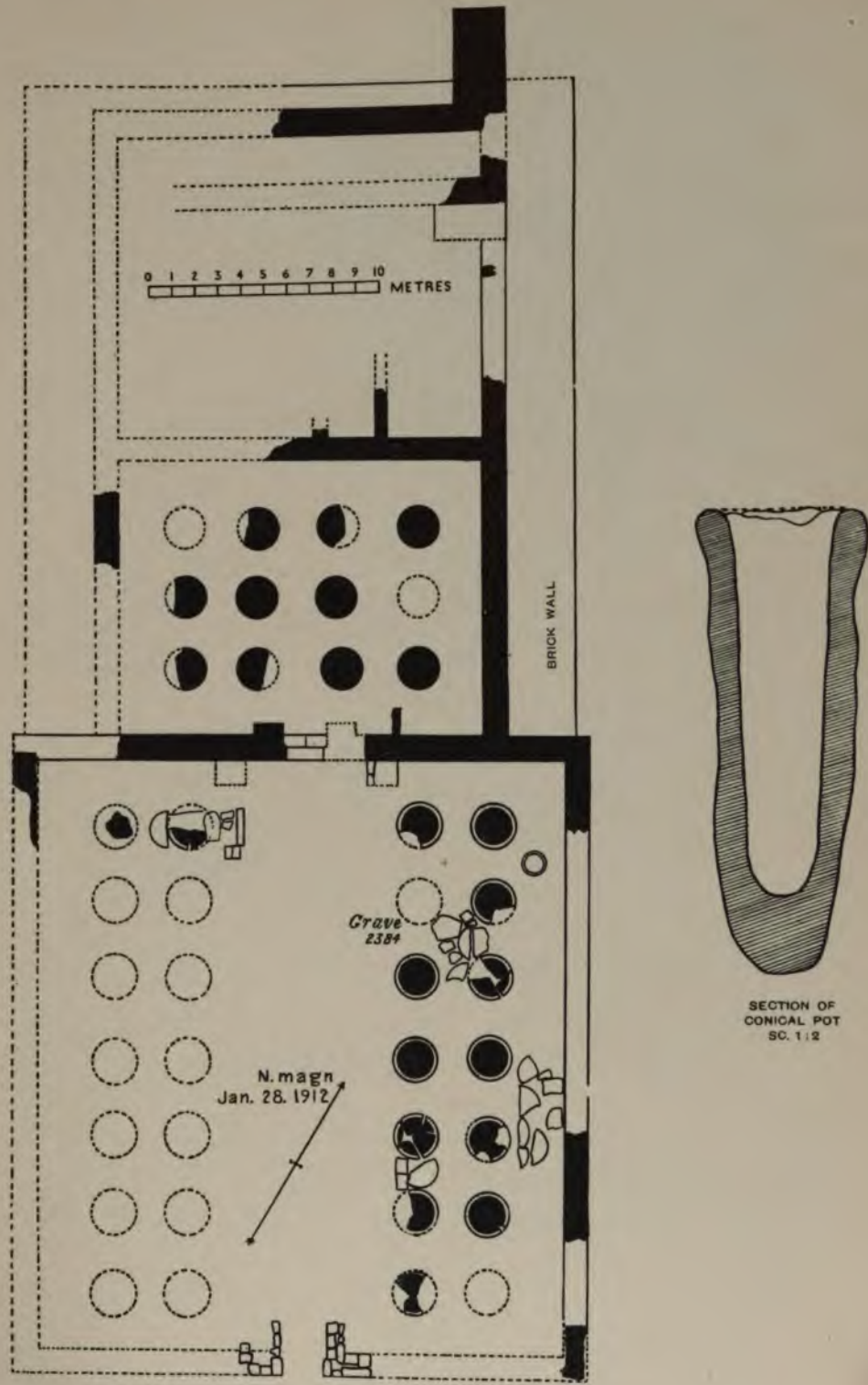


Ramesses II



Thutmoseid Temple

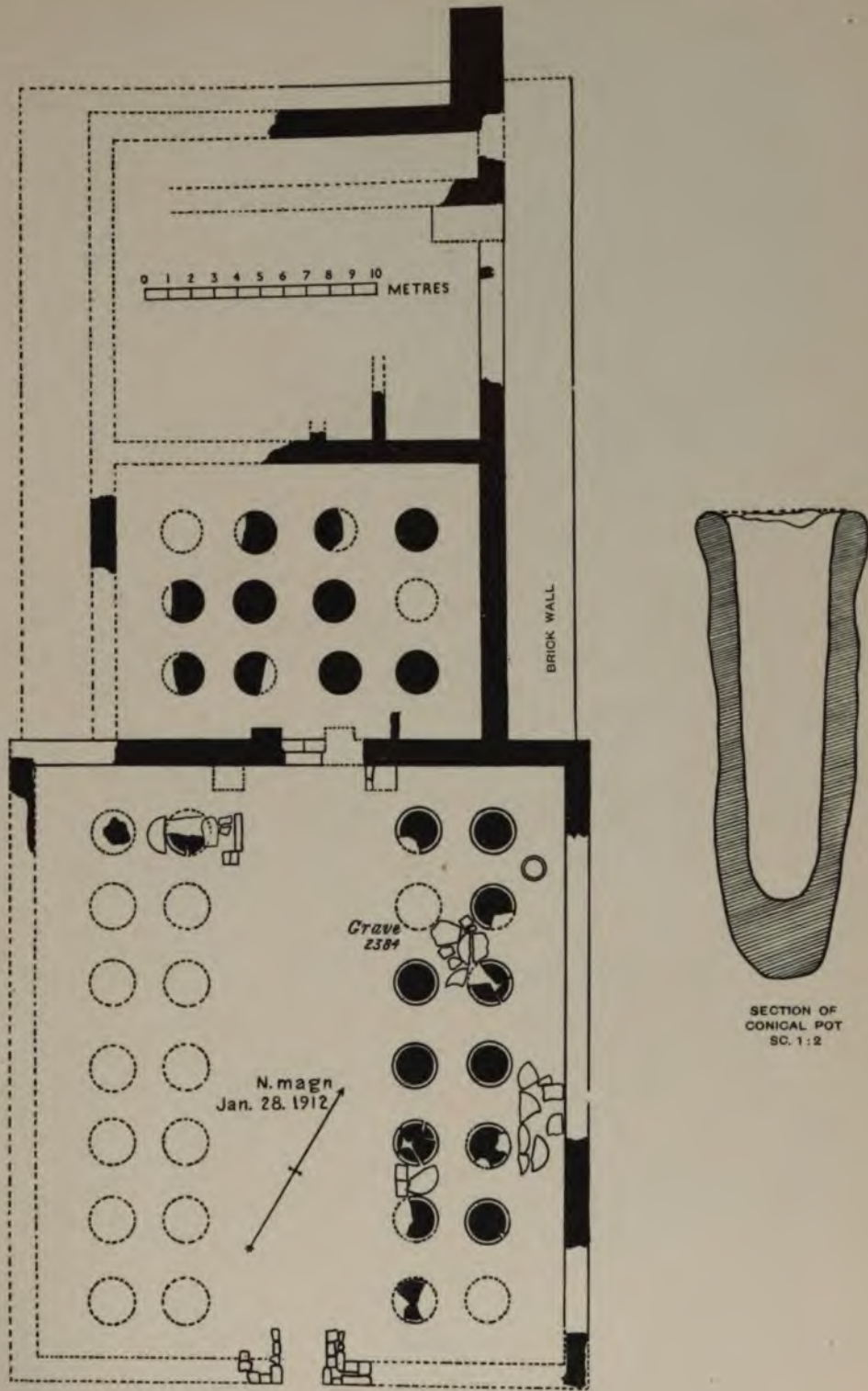




PLAN OF TEMPLE OF TUTANKHAMUN, FARAS.



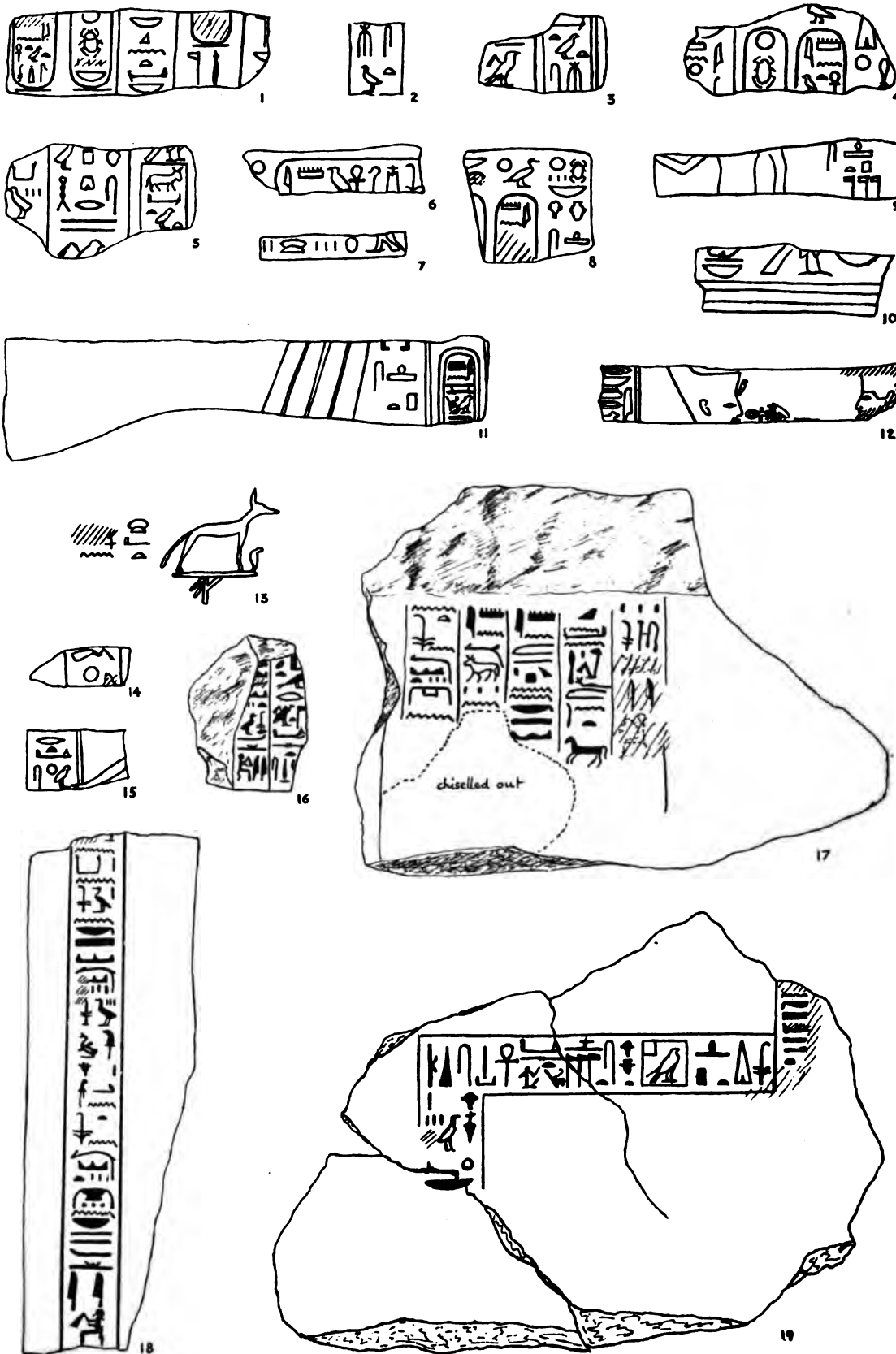




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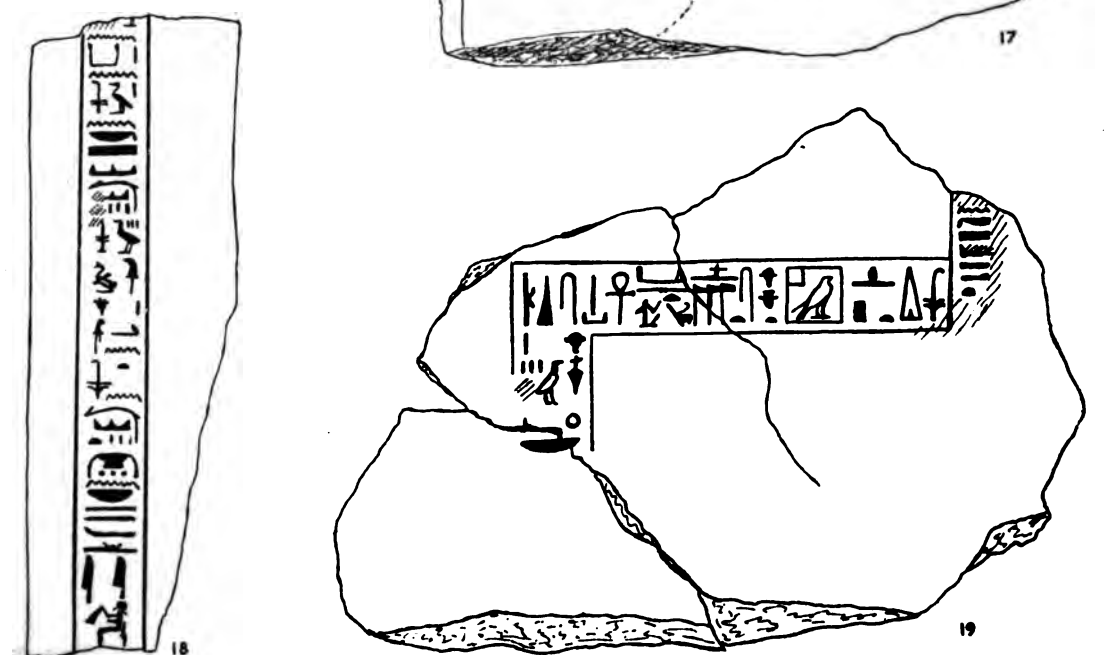
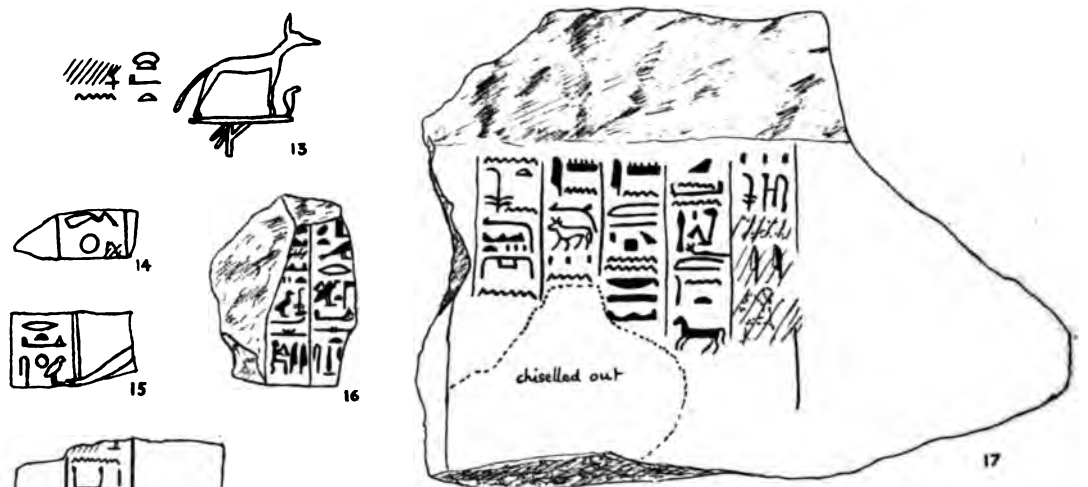
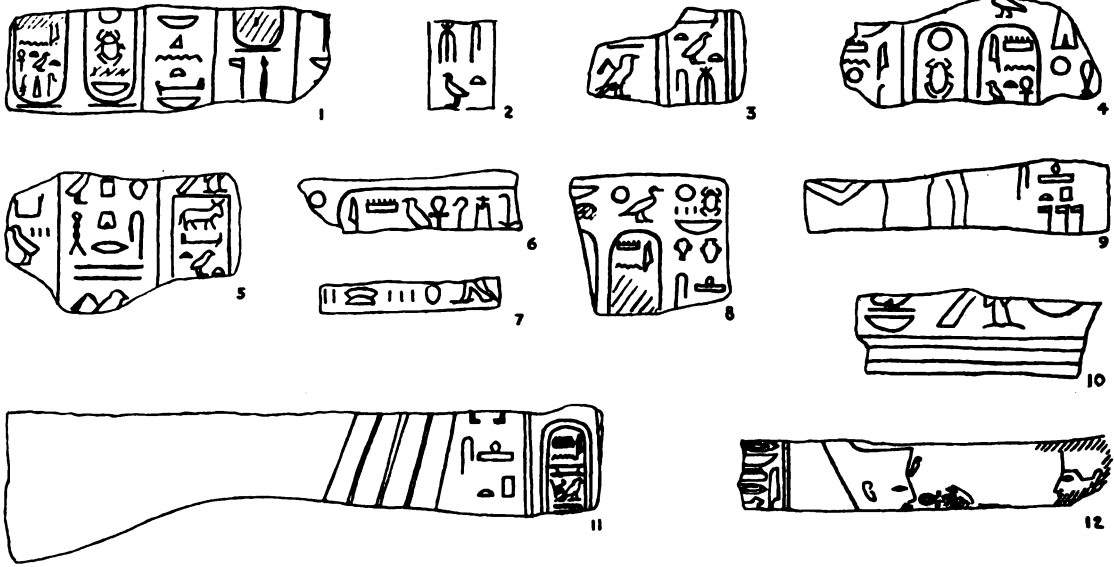






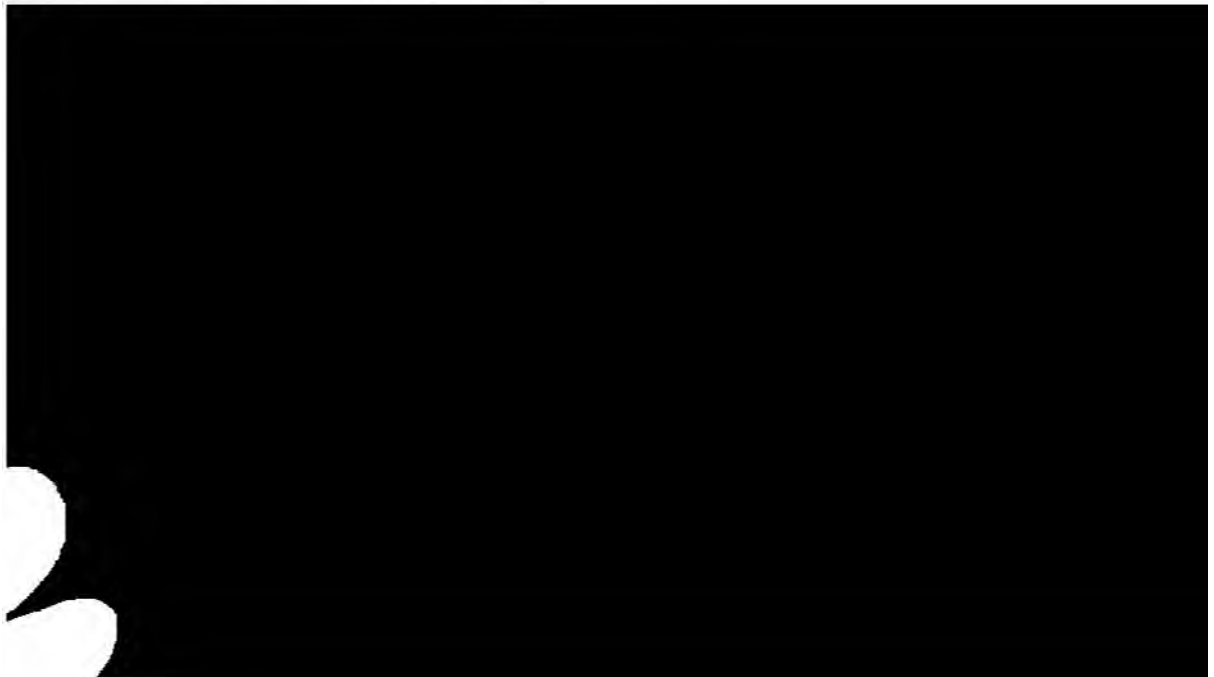
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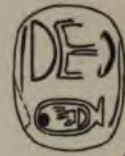




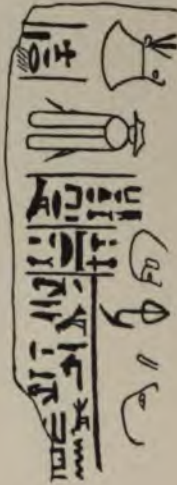


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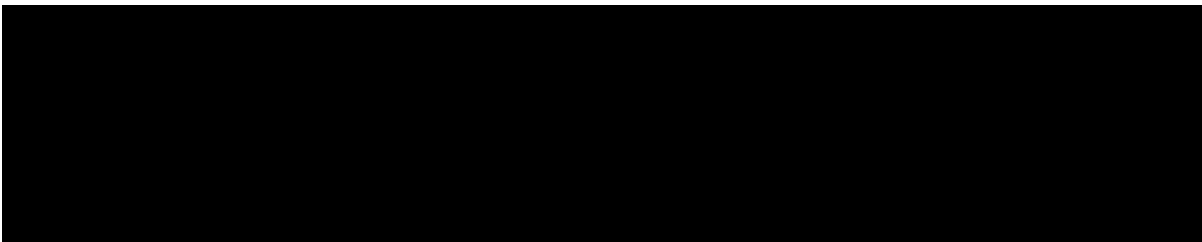
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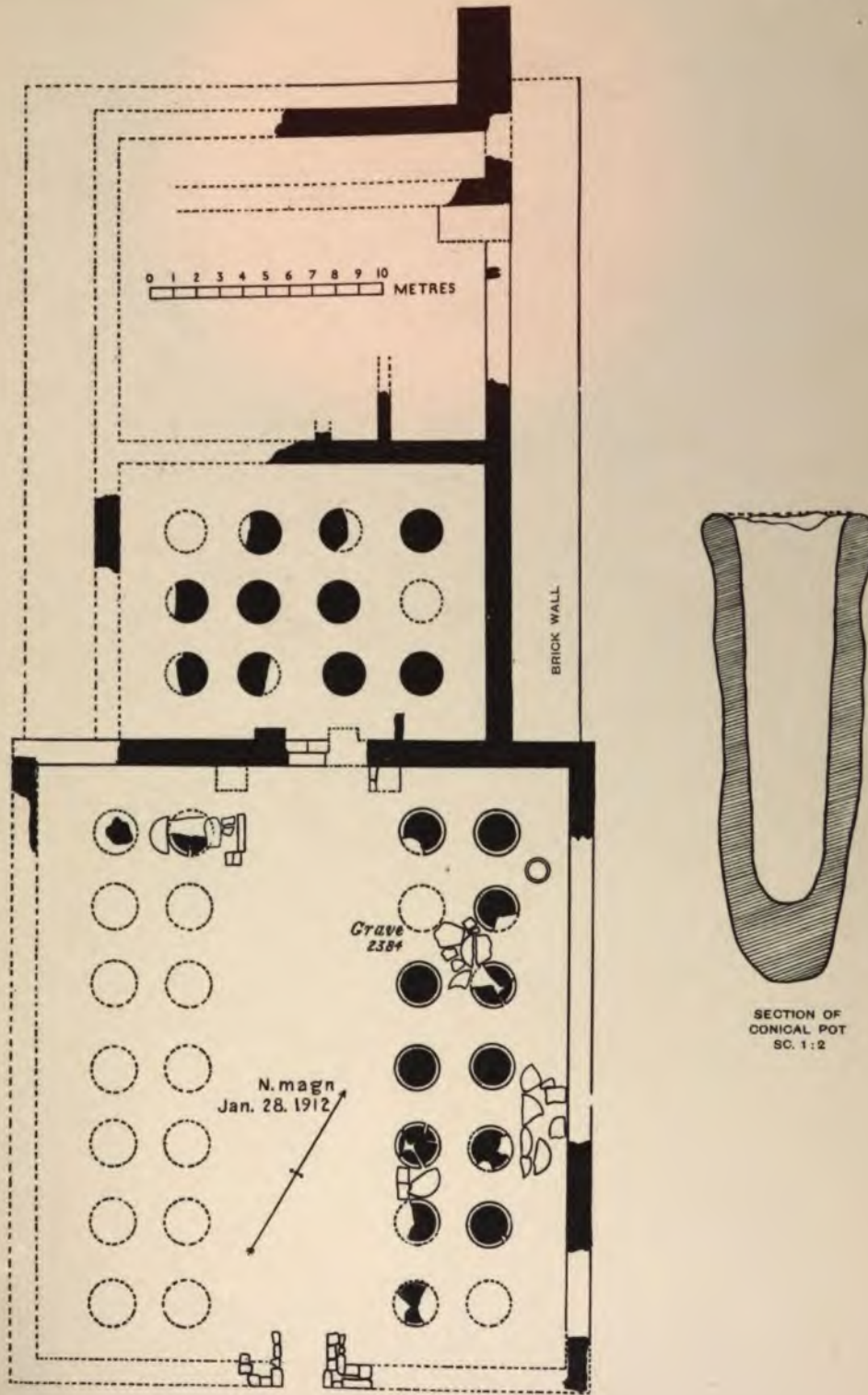
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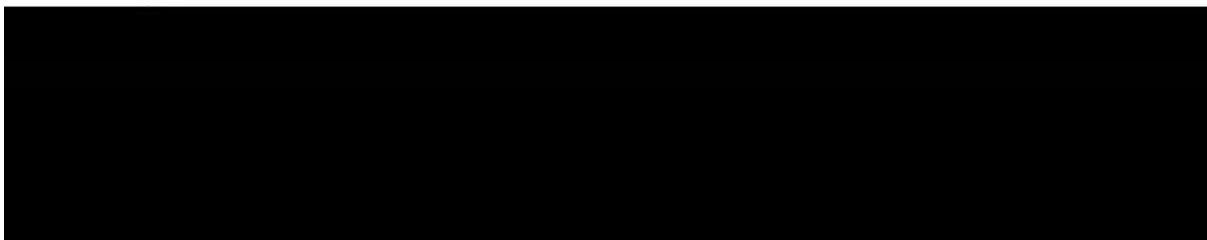
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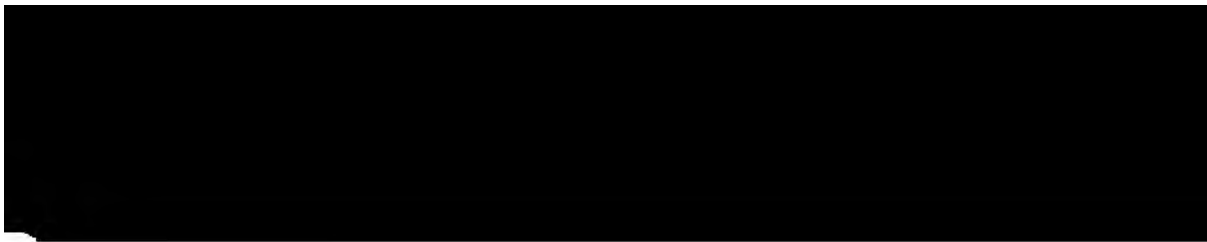
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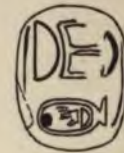




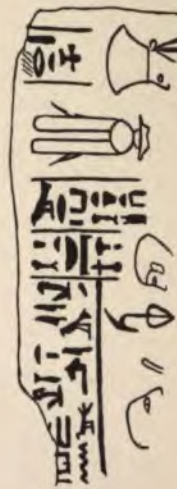


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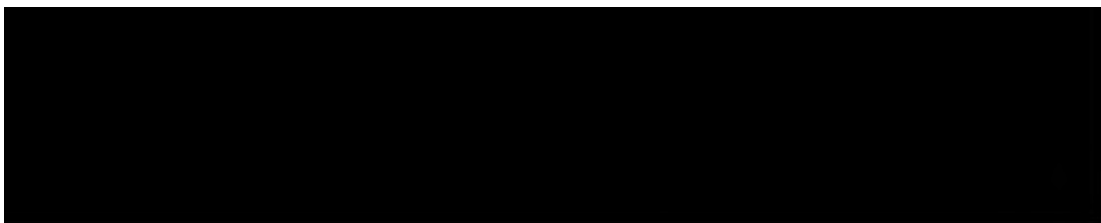
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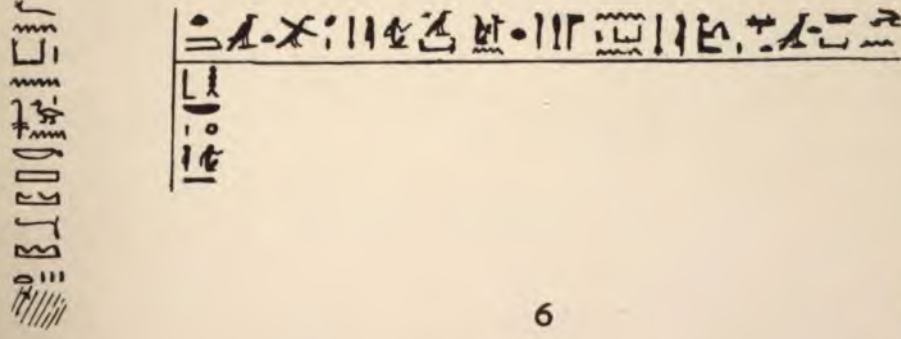
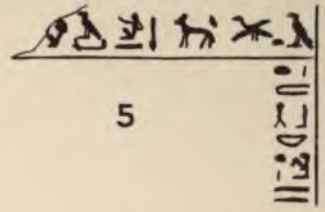
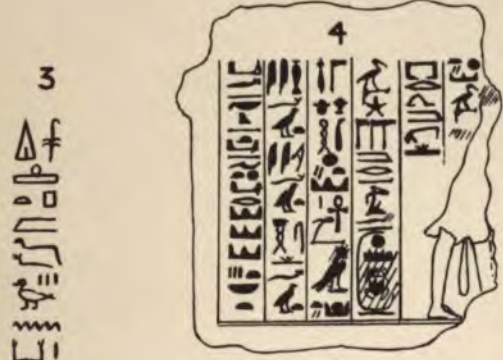
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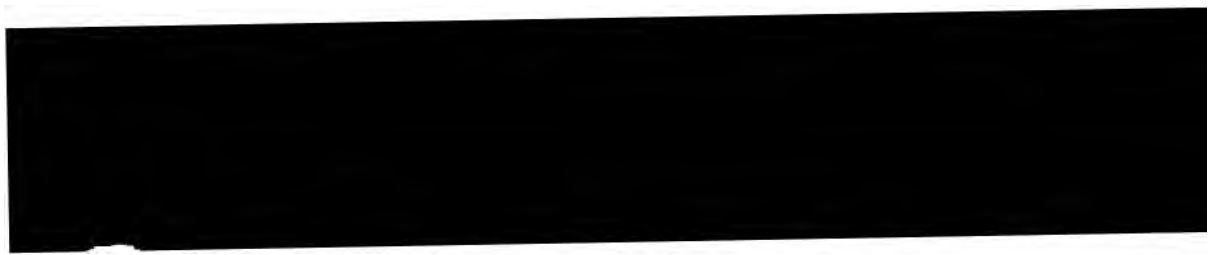








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UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

ANNALS  
OF  
ARCHAEOLOGY  
AND  
ANTHROPOLOGY

ISSUED BY THE  
INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY

EDITED BY  
T. E. PEET

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## THE INFLUENCE OF EGYPT ON HEBREW LITERATURE

By A. B. MACE

MUCH has been written in recent years about the parallels that exist between Old Testament and Babylonian records—such for example as are shown by the stories of the Creation and of the Flood, and by the respective Law Codes of Hammurabi and of Moses—and many and acrimonious are the controversies to which they have given rise.<sup>1</sup> In view of this flood of literature, and the close scrutiny to which Old Testament writings have been subjected for evidence on which to base the theory of Babylonian influence, it is surprising that so little real attention has been directed towards another possible source of influence, and the question whether Egypt too might not have left her mark on Hebrew literature and thought. Somewhat sweeping statements have been made, it is true, with regard to the supposed Messianic character of a group of Egyptian documents; certain resemblances have been quoted, notably that between Ikhnaton's Hymn to the Sun and the 104th Psalm; and an incident in the story of Joseph has been cited as having been borrowed from the Tale of the Two Brothers: but, so far as we know, there has been no serious attempt to search Old Testament literature—more particularly the Didactic Books—for signs of Egyptian influence. It is remarkable that the subject should have attracted so little attention, for, as we believe, the literature and thought of Egypt did exercise a very real influence on that of the Hebrews, an influence quite as marked as that of Babylonia, and very much more important in its effects. This is a statement that will probably be challenged, by the Egyptologist no less than by the Bible critic, on the grounds that compositions of a purely literary character

---

1. The points of resemblance are certainly much too close to be accidental, but the theory that seems now to meet with fairly general acceptance is that they are due, in these particular instances, not to borrowing or direct influence, but to the fact that the traditions of the two nations were derived from a common source (see, for example, Jastrow, *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions*, p. 24).



were rare in Egypt, that Egyptian manuscripts were unlikely ever to have reached Palestine, and that even if they did, they were totally lacking in the qualities that would make them a source of inspiration to another people. Now how far are these claims borne out by the facts? That in comparison with funerary texts purely literary works are rare is true enough, but a similar statement might be made with regard to all other classes of Egyptian remains. For every Egyptian object in a museum that belongs primarily to the present life there are a hundred that were made expressly for the tomb, and this is due, not to the temperament of the Egyptian, as so many people have thought,<sup>1</sup> but to the nature of the country itself. The narrow strip of cultivated land on either side of the river was much too valuable to be wasted on cemetery ground. Graves were placed on the desert, out of reach of any possible inundation level, and therefore their contents have been preserved. Town sites, on the other hand, were for the most part situated in the cultivated area, and have, with few exceptions, entirely disappeared. Nine-tenths of our knowledge of Egyptian daily life we owe to tomb scenes and tomb deposits, whereas the town remains, and the classes of objects which they alone would supply, are almost entirely lacking.

It is then by no means safe to assume that the Egyptians paid little attention to literary composition from the fact that so few examples are found; nor is it fair to assert that, because certain compositions are known to have been freely copied, the Egyptians had but few models from which to select. As regards the compositions themselves, we are well aware that it is the fashion, with many Egyptologists, to deny that they possess any real merit as literature at all. 'Prosaic,' 'hackneyed,' 'uninspired,' 'a barren desert' are some of the terms that they use in speaking of Egyptian literature; but is it not possible that the fault lies, in part at any rate, in their own translations, and that certain of the epithets in question might occasionally with some show of justice be applied to their rendering of the texts? The philologist, in his enthusiasm over root derivatives and nice grammatical points, is liable at times to concentrate on words and let the general sense go by. Then, too, manu-

---

1. Writers on Egypt, from Herodotus downwards, have been much too ready to envelop the Egyptian in an atmosphere of gloom and funereal anticipation. The very fact that he furnished his tomb so lavishly with objects of daily life is sufficient to show what a strong hold life had on him, and how bitterly he resented the thought of a possible extinction. In his own words he 'loved life' and 'hated death.'

scripts are generally mutilated ; our knowledge of the language is still far from perfect ; and the loss of a word or two, the mistranslation of a phrase, the failure to grasp the exact shade of meaning of an idiom—any one of these is quite sufficient to destroy the literary quality of a passage, even if it does not succeed in annihilating its sense altogether. Here, for example, is Shakespeare's most beautiful sonnet, as it might appear translated from a mutilated text by a future archaeologist—

(1) Should I liken thee to a day in summer, (2) thou (who) art more beautiful and more restrained (?) (than other men). (3) Violent winds 'strip off' beloved blossoms in (the month of) May,<sup>1</sup> (4) and in summer the 'sunshine' has too short a time for dates (?).<sup>2</sup> (5) Sometimes exceeding hot glistens the eye of heaven,<sup>3</sup> (6) and frequently the golden appearance (?) is diminished, (7) and every beautiful thing (?) from beauty (?) sometimes turns away. (8) By chance or (by) nature the course changes (and we take no heed ?). (9) Nevertheless to thee summer (is) everlasting, and will never diminish, (10) nor wilt thou be deprived of the beauty (?) for which thou art in debt ;<sup>4</sup> (11) nor (in) death shalt 'thou' boast (when) thou passest into the place of darkness,<sup>5</sup> (12) (the place) where the endless procession (?) (of the dead) becomes greater for all eternity(?) (13) While men are able to breathe (?), or to see with their eyes, (14) while they live . . . imparts life. . . .

The meaning of the individual words is but slightly altered, yet the general sense has undergone a complete change, while the poetry has disappeared altogether. It is true that there is a certain amount of tedious repetition in Egyptian writing, and a forced juggling with words that is painful to our ears, but there are passages, especially in the compositions of the Heracleopolitan school,<sup>1</sup> that reach a very high level, and are fairly entitled to be classed as real literature.

That the Hebrews had at least the opportunity of borrowing from Egyptian literature there can surely be little doubt. It was as a result

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1. It is curious that several of the works that rank as Egypt's classics should have been produced in a period which has so little to show in the way of material remains. In art as well as in literature these little-known Heracleopolitans seem to have been working along original lines, and it is quite possible that if they had emerged victorious from their long struggle with the Thebans the whole course of Egyptian art might have been changed. The Middle Kingdom materialists who succeeded them united Egypt, and made it prosperous, but stifled its artistic development by a deliberate reversion to archaism.



of their residence in Egypt that they grew from a family of wandering Arabs to become a nation. After their settlement in Palestine there was constant, and frequently close, connection between the two countries. The royal houses intermarried. At the time of the Captivity, which it must be remembered marked the golden age of Hebrew literature, large Jewish colonies were founded in Egypt, even as far south as Assuan; while the prophet Jeremiah himself migrated to Egypt, and is supposed to have ended his days there. That eastern peoples borrowed freely from one another in the matter of literature there is plenty of evidence. There are distinct legacies of Egyptian tales in the *Arabian Nights*—and even in European folk-tales—but the classic example is of course the Story of Ahikar, which occurs in more or less complete form in Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Greek and Slavonic, and is referred to by the writer of Tobit, by Clement of Alexandria, by Strabo, and by Diogenes Laertius.<sup>1</sup> The earliest version that we know is the Aramaic copy of 500 B.C. found in the library of the Jewish colony at Elephantine. The story is really an amalgam of two compositions, somewhat loosely strung together—the Proverbs of Ahikar, and the Exploits of Ahikar—in the first of which Ahikar delivers himself of a series of moral maxims for the guidance of his adopted son, and in the second, as envoy from one king to another, he solves riddles and performs a number of feats of magic. These were themes that were extremely popular in oriental literature generally, but it is significant that it is from Egypt that the earliest examples come, and the Elephantine writer of 500 B.C. might well have drawn from Egyptian models for this companion picture to the book of Tobit. As a matter of fact, the introduction to the Proverbs of Ahikar bears a very strong resemblance in form to that of the best-known Egyptian model of the same class—the Proverbs of Ptahhotep:—

*Ptahhotep*

The governor of the city and vizier Ptahhotep says, 'O king, my lord, infirmity comes on, old age advances, the limbs weaken, feebleness is renewed, strength perishes because of the languor of the heart. The

*Story of Ahikar* (Syriac Version)

. . . and when the king came from the place to which he had gone, he called me and said to me, 'O Ahikar, the wise scribe and master of my thoughts, when thou shalt wax old and die, who is there to come after

1. The literature on the subject is enormous. See, *e.g.*, Coneybeare, Rendel Harris, and Lewis, *The Story of Ahikar*, London, 1898, where several of the versions are quoted.



mouth is silent and speaks not; the eyes wax small, the ears are dulled. The languid heart sleeps every day. The heart forgets, it remembers not yesterday. . . . Let thy servant be commanded to furnish a successor. Let my son stand in my place, and let me instruct him according to the word of those who have heard the manner of the ancestors. . . .

Said his majesty 'Instruct him after the manner of old. May he do marvels among the children of the princes. . . .' <sup>1</sup>

(Follow the proverbs.)

thee and to serve me like thyself?' And I answered and said to him, 'O my lord the king, live for ever! I have a son wise like myself, and book-learned like myself, and educated.' And the king said to me, 'Bring him and let me see him. If he is able to stand before me, I will release thee in peace, and thou shalt spend thy old age in honour, until thou shalt end thy days.' Then I took my son Nadan, and set him before the king, and when my lord the king saw him, he said, 'This day shall be a blessed day before God, so that like as Ahikar walked before my father Sarhadum, and before me also, he shall be rewarded and I will set his son in my gate in his lifetime and he shall depart his life in peace. . . .

Nor did I cease from the instruction of my son until I had filled him with instruction as with bread and water. And on this wise was I discoursing to him: <sup>2</sup>

(Follow the proverbs.)

The parallel is almost too close to be accidental, especially as many of the proverbs that follow bear striking resemblances, *e.g.*, out of a number that might be quoted—

*Ptahhotep*

12, 6. 'Approach' not a prince in his time, and burden not the heart of a man already occupied.

14, 6. If thou searchest the character of a friend . . . transact the matter with him when he is alone.

*Ahikar*

65. My son, strive not with a man in his day, and stand not against a river in its flood.

(Syriac version.)

51. My son, prove thy friend first with bread and wine, then may he be admitted to something better.

(Slavonic.)

1. Breasted's translation, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, p. 228.

2. Coneybeare, Rendel Harris, and Lewis, *The Story of Ahikar*, London, 1898, pp. 59-60.

*Ptahhotep* (continued).

- 11, 5-7. Repeat not extravagant speech, neither listen thereto; for it is the utterance of a body heated by wrath. When such speech is repeated to thee, hearken not thereto, look to the ground.
- 10, 8-12. Love thy wife in husbandly embrace. . . . She is a profitable field for her lord.
- 14, 12—15, 2. Let thy face be bright what time thou livest. That which goeth into the storehouse must come out therefrom: and bread is to be shared.

*Ahikar* (continued).

6. My son, let thine eyes look on the ground, and thy voice be soft. (Slavonic.)
56. My son, love thy wife with all thy heart, for she is the mother of thy children. (Slavonic.)
66. My son, when thou hast bidden a friend to a feast, welcome him with a cheerful countenance, that he too may return to his home in a cheerful mood. (Slavonic.)

For the second part of the *Ahikar* composition there is no obvious source in Egypt that is definitely earlier than 500 B.C., though in the *Seqenenre* tale we find one king making use of a riddle as a means of picking a quarrel with another king; but in the second of the *Setna* tales the Ethiopian envoy provides a fairly close parallel.

This digression may seem to have led us rather far away from our immediate subject, but its object is to show that the Hebrews could, if they so desired, have had ready access to Egyptian models. That they actually made use of these models would be a very difficult thing to prove, but we believe that the parallel passages quoted below make out a strong presumptive case.

In the first place it is at least possible that the Hebrews borrowed from Egypt the form of their poetry. This is a statement that we should hesitate to make, even in its present non-committal form, were it not for the much more decided evidence of literary influence that we have on other sides. A mental comparison between the glorious poetry of the Old Testament and the somewhat meagre remains that have been recovered from Egypt makes such a claim seem a little fantastic, but let us look at the facts. What are the main characteristics of Hebrew poetry? The two chief elements of poetry as we know it, rhyme and metre, do not occur. It depends to a certain extent on rhythm, but more particularly on a parallelism of words or thought between the different parts of the verse. It is a peculiar form of poetry, such as is not likely to have originated in two countries independently, yet we find it



fully developed in Egypt in 2000 B.C., and distinct traces of it a thousand years before that. It occurs, though in less marked a form, in Babylonian poetry, and, in more modern times, in the poetry of several of the Hamidic peoples, but its use in Egypt long antedates that in any other country.

The parallelism of members, on which this style of poetry is based, takes several forms. We give examples of the simpler forms, both from Hebrew and Egyptian.

1. *Synonymous Parallelism*, in which the second part of the verse carries on or develops the thought of the first part.

O Lord, how manifold are thy works !	How manifold are thy works !
In wisdom hast thou made them all.	They are hidden from before us.
<i>Psalm 104, 24.</i>	<i>Hymn to Aton.</i>

2. *Antithetic Parallelism*, in which the second part of the verse contains a thought directly contrasting with that of the first part.

In the lips of him that hath discernment wisdom is found :	The wise man rises early to establish himself :
But a rod is for the back of him that is void of understanding.	But the fool is scourged.
<i>Proverbs 10, 13.</i>	<i>Ptahhotep 17, 4.</i>

3. *Synthetic Parallelism*, in which the original idea is developed by accessory ideas.

I have been young, but now am old ;	Death is before me to-day
Yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken,	Like the odour of myrrh,
Nor his seed begging their bread.	Like sitting under the sail on a windy day.
<i>Psalm 37, 25.</i>	<i>Misanthrope.</i>

4. *Climactic Parallelism* or *Ascending Rhythm*, in which the thought in the first line is incomplete, while the second line repeats words from the first and completes the thought.

Give unto the Lord, O ye sons of the mighty,	Ho ! King Neferkere ! How beautiful is this,
Give unto the Lord glory and strength.	How beautiful is this, which thy father Osiris has done for thee !
<i>Psalm 29, 1.</i>	<i>Pyr. Texts, 2022.</i>

There are of course other features that enter into Hebrew poetry, such, for example, as the division of the poem into stanzas, sometimes



with recurring refrains, the use of antiphony, and of such devices as acrostic arrangements and plays upon words. These can all be paralleled readily enough in Egyptian poetry, but, though they have a certain cumulative value, they are individually hardly distinctive enough to be admitted as evidence of borrowing. The use of recurring refrains for instance is common in Babylonian, as indeed in most other examples of primitive poetry.

So much for the form of the poetry. Now let us turn to the general character of the literature. Omitting the purely historical books, for which we have no counterpart in Egypt, we find in the Old Testament—

- (1) Purely lyrical poetry, such as the Psalms, the Song of Solomon, and the songs scattered through the earlier books.
- (2) The Didactic Books—Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes.
- (3) The Prophetic Books.

Lyrical poetry is of course common to every age and every country, and need not detain us here. It will suffice to quote a few parallels between the Hebrew Psalms and Egyptian Hymns to the Sun!<sup>1</sup>

*Hymn to the Sun's Disk*

When thou settest in the western  
horizon of the sky,  
The earth is in darkness like the dead.  
. . . . .  
Every lion cometh forth from his den,  
All serpents, they sting.  
. . . . .  
Bright is the earth when thou risest  
in the horizon.  
When thou shinest as Aton by day  
Thou drivest away the darkness.  
. . . . .  
Their limbs bathed, they take their  
clothing,  
Their arms uplifted in adoration to  
thy dawning.  
(Then) in all the world they do their  
work.

*Psalms*

104, 20-23.

Thou makest darkness and it is  
night,  
Wherein all the beasts of the forest  
do creep forth.  
The young lions roar after their  
prey,  
And seek their meat from God.  
The sun ariseth, they get them away  
And lay them down in their dens.  
Man goeth forth unto his work  
And to his labour until the evening.

1. The translations from Egyptian in this paper are for the most part taken from Breasted's *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*. In this stimulating book the author notes analogies between Egyptian and Hebrew literature, but hesitates to assume direct influence.

The barques sail up-stream and down-  
stream alike :  
Every highway is open because thou  
dawnest.  
The fish in the river leap up before  
thee :  
Thy rays are in the midst of the great  
green sea.

Creator of the germ in woman,  
Maker of seed in man,  
Giving life to the son in the body of  
his mother,  
Soothing him that he may not weep,  
Nurse (even) in the womb,  
Giver of breath to animate every one  
that he maketh !

When he cometh forth from the  
body . . . on the day of his birth,  
Thou openest his mouth in speech,  
Thou suppliest his necessities.

How manifold are thy works !  
They are hidden from before (us),  
O Sole God, whose powers no other  
possesseth.

The world is in thy hand,  
Even as thou hast made them.  
When thou hast risen they live,  
When thou settest they die ;  
For thou art length of life of thyself.  
Men live through thee,  
While (their) eyes are upon thy beauty  
Until thou settest.

104, 25-26.

Yonder is the sea, great and wide,  
Wherein are things creeping in  
numerable,  
Both small and great beasts.  
There go the ships,  
There is leviathan, whom thou hast  
formed to take his pastime  
therein.

22, 9-10.

But thou art he that took me out of  
the womb :  
Thou didst make me trust, when I  
was upon my mother's breasts.  
I was cast upon thee from the womb :  
Thou art my god from my mother's  
belly.

145, 16.

Thou openest thine hand,  
And satisfiest the desire of every  
living thing.

104, 24.

O Lord ! How manifold are thy  
works !  
In wisdom hast thou made them all.  
The earth is full of thy riches.

104, 28-30.

That thou givest unto them they  
gather ;  
Thou openest thine hand, they are  
satisfied with good.  
Thou hidest thy face, they are  
troubled ;  
Thou takest away their breath, they  
die,  
And return to their dust.  
Thou sendest forth thy spirit, they  
are created ;  
And thou renewest the face of the  
ground.

*Great Hymn to Amon*

Maker of herbs for the cattle,  
 And the tree of life for mankind,  
 Who maketh the sustenance of the  
 fish (in) the stream,  
 And the birds that 'traverse' the sky.  
 Who giveth breath to that which is  
 in the egg,  
 And maketh to live the son of the  
 worm,  
 Who maketh that on which the gnats  
 live,  
 The worms and the insects likewise,  
 Who supplieth the needs of the mice  
 in their holes,  
 Who sustaineth alive the 'birds' in  
 every tree.

Praise to thee in all that they say,  
 Jubilation to thee, 'for thy tarrying  
 with us',  
 Obeisance to thee, who didst create  
 us,  
 Hail to thee, say all cattle ;  
 Jubilation to thee, says every country,  
 To the height of heaven, to the  
 breadth of earth,  
 To the depths of the sea.

*Psalms*

104, 14-18.

He causeth the grass to grow for  
 the cattle,  
 And herb for the service of man :  
 That he may bring forth food out  
 of the earth ;  
 And wine that maketh glad the  
 heart of man,  
 And oil to make his face to shine,  
 And bread which strengtheneth  
 man's heart.  
 The trees of the Lord are full of sap,  
 The cedars of Lebanon, which he  
 hath planted ;  
 Where the birds make their nests :  
 As for the stork, the fir trees are  
 her house.  
 The high hills are a refuge for the  
 goats,  
 And the rocks for the conies.

148, 7-13.

Praise the Lord from the earth ;  
 Ye dragons and all deeps.  
 Fire and hail, snow and vapours,  
 Stormy wind, fulfilling his word.  
 Mountains and all hills ;  
 Fruitful trees and all cedars.  
 Beasts and all cattle ;  
 Creeping things and flying fowl.  
 Kings of the earth and all people ;  
 Princes and all judges of the earth.  
 Both young men and maidens ; old  
 men and children ;  
 Let them praise the name of the  
 Lord ;  
 For his name alone is excellent ;  
 His glory is above the earth and  
 heaven.

The second group—consisting of the Didactic Books—belongs to that curious class of literature, so popular later among the Greek philosophers, in which the sage tempers his philosophy, or the social reformer



disguises his tract, to render them more palatable to the popular taste, by casting them in dramatic form, commonly in dialogue. In recent years Old Testament critics have been revising their ideas as to the date at which this group of books was written, on the ground that both in form and in much of their contents they show distinct signs of Greek influence.<sup>1</sup> We have, however, in Middle Kingdom Egypt, a most remarkable group of tractates, at least fifteen hundred years earlier in date, which show much closer analogies than are to be found in Greek writings. They include the Proverbs of Ptahhotep, the Treatise of Khekheperesonbu, the Dialogue of a Misanthrope with his Soul, the Tale of the Eloquent Peasant, and others. We may also include in this group the Song of the Harper.

In these Egyptian documents there are to be found, quite apart from the character of the documents themselves, extraordinarily close parallels to the Old Testament writings; so close indeed that it is hard to escape from the conclusion that the Hebrews deliberately modelled their Wisdom Books on Egyptian patterns of similar works, and even appropriated much of their contents.

The most remarkable resemblance perhaps is that between Proverbs and Ptahhotep. We give below some of the parallels.<sup>2</sup> Both tractates are cast in the form of a series of moral maxims delivered by a father to a son, and it will be noticed that if we translate the 'sayings of the good word' of Ptahhotep into 'Proverbs,' the opening sentences of the two books are almost identical.

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1. See for example the recent *Commentary on the Holy Bible*, edited by the Rev. J. R. Dummelow. Here the later date is given for Ecclesiastes on the ground that the book 'bears distinct traces of the Greek culture established throughout the civilised world after the break up of the Empire of Alexander the Great.' Such traces, *e.g.*, appear in—

- (a) the writer's advice to enjoy the present life (2<sup>24</sup>, 3<sup>22</sup>, 5<sup>18</sup>, 9<sup>7</sup>)
- (b) his comments on human weakness and disorder (5<sup>3</sup>, 7<sup>7</sup>, 8<sup>9,14</sup>, 9<sup>14</sup>, 10<sup>16f</sup>)  
on the vanity and brevity of life (*e.g.* 1<sup>2-17</sup>)  
on the common destiny of human and brute creation (3<sup>18f</sup>)
- (c) his references to man's inventive capacity (7<sup>29</sup>)
- (d) his remarks on the phenomena of nature (1<sup>4,6</sup>).

Now with the exception of (c) these, as the quotations in this paper clearly show, can all be traced directly to Egyptian sources, dating for the most part to 2000 B.C., or even earlier. If we are to accept the traces of influence given above as evidence, they merely go to prove that the Greek philosophers' debt to Egypt was greater than has been supposed.

2. Unfortunately we still await an exhaustive treatment of this most difficult text. Some of our quotations are merely the rubrics to the paragraphs.

*Ptahhotep*

Beginning of the sayings of the good word which the prince . . . the vizier, Ptahhotep said, as instruction of the ignorant to knowledge, according to the correctness of the good word. . . .

6, 11. If thou art a man of those who sit by the seat of a man greater than thou, take what (food) he gives.

9, 7-13. If thou desirest to establish friendship in a house . . . beware of approaching the women . . . a thousand men are undone for the enjoyment of a brief moment like a dream. Men gain only death for knowing them.

10, 8-12. If thou art successful, establish thy house. Love thy wife in husbandly embrace, fill her body, clothe her back. The recipe for her limbs is ointment. Gladden her heart as long as thou livest. She is a profitable field for her lord.

11, 1-4. Satisfy those who enter to thee with that which thou hast.

11, 5-7. Repeat not a word of [hearsay].

*Proverbs*

1, 1-2. The Proverbs of Solomon the son of David, King of Israel : To know wisdom and instruction : to discern the words of understanding. . . .

23, 1. When thou sittest to eat with a ruler, consider diligently what is before thee.

7, 25-27. Let not thine heart decline to her ways : go not astray in her paths. For she hath cast down many wounded : yea all her slain are a mighty host. Her house is the way to the grave, going down to the chambers of death.

5, 18-19. Let thy fountain be blessed ; and rejoice in the wife of thy youth. As a loving hind and a pleasant doe, let her breasts satisfy thee at all times ; and be thou ravished always with her love.

3, 27. Withhold not good from them to whom it is due, when it is in the power of thine hand to do it.

11, 13. He that goeth about as a tale-bearer revealeth secrets : but he that is of a faithful spirit concealeth

- 13, 4-9. If thou art gentle in a matter that occurs. . . . If thou becomest great after thou wert little, and gettest possessions after thou wert formerly poor in the city . . . be not proud-hearted because of thy wealth. It has come to thee as a gift of the god.
- 14, 12. Let thy face be bright as long as thou livest.
- 15, 8—16, 2. If thou hearkenest to these things which I have said to thee, all thy plans will progress. As for the matter of the righteousness thereof, it is their worth(?). The memory thereof shall [circulate] in the mouths of men, because of the beauty of their utterances. Every word will be carried on and not perish in this land forever. . . . He who understands discretion is profitable in establishing that through which he succeeds on earth. A wise man is 'satisfied' by reason of that which he knows. As for a prince of good qualities [they are in] (?) his heart and his tongue. His lips are right when he speaks, his eyes see, and his ears together hear what is profitable for his son. Do right (righteousness, truth, justice), free from lying.
- 16, 3-12. Profitable is hearkening for a son that hearkens. How good it is when a son receives that which his father says. He shall reach advanced age thereby. A hearkener is one whom the god loves. Who hearkens not is one whom the god hates. It is the heart which makes its possessor a
- 16, 32-33. He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty ; and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city. The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord.
- 15, 13. A merry heart maketh a cheerful countenance.
- 8, 32-35. Now therefore, my sons, hearken unto me ; for blessed are they that keep my ways. Hear instruction and be wise, and refuse it not. Blessed is the man that heareth me, watching daily at my gates, waiting at the posts of my doors. For whoso findeth me findeth life, and shall obtain favour of the Lord.
- 8, 6-8. Hear, for I will speak excellent things ; and the opening of my lips shall be right things. For my mouth shall utter truth, and wickedness is an abomination to my lips. All the words of my mouth are in righteousness ; there is nothing crooked or perverse in them.
- 3, 1-4. My son, forget not my teaching ; but let thine heart keep my commandments. For length of days and years of life, and peace shall they add to thee. Let not mercy and truth forsake thee : bind them about thy neck ; write them upon the table of thine heart. So shalt thou find favour and good



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11, 8-11. If thou art an able man who sits in the council of his lord, summon thy understanding to excellent things(?). Be silent.

11, 12—12, 6. If thou art a strong man, establish the respect of thee by wisdom and by quietness of speech.

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11, 13. He that goeth about as a tale-bearer revealeth secrets : but he that is of a faithful spirit concealeth the matter.

11, 12. He that despiseth his neighbour is void of wisdom : but a man of understanding holdeth his peace.

17, 27-28. He that spareth his words hath knowledge : and he that is of a cool spirit is a man of understanding. Even a fool, when he holdeth his peace, is counted wise ; when he shutteth his lips, he is esteemed as prudent.

- 13, 4-9. If thou art gentle in a matter that occurs. . . . If thou becomest great after thou wert little, and gettest possessions after thou wert formerly poor in the city . . . be not proud-hearted because of thy wealth. It has come to thee as a gift of the god.
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*Ptahhotep* (continued)

hearkener or one not hearkening. The life, prosperity and health of a man is his heart. The hearkener is one who hears and speaks. He who does what is said is one who loves to hearken. How good it is when a son hearkens to his father. How happy is he to whom these things are said: His memory is in the mouth of the living who are on earth, and those who shall be.

17, 4. The wise man rises early to establish himself, while the fool is scourged.

17, 4-9. As for the fool who hearkens not, he accomplishes nothing. He regards wisdom as ignorance, and what is profitable as diseased. . . . His life is like death thereby, . . . he dies, living every day. Men pass by his qualities, because of the multitude of evils upon him every day.

17, 10—18, 12. A son who hearkens is a follower of Horus. He prospers after he hearkens. He reaches old age, he attains reverence. He speaks likewise to his own children, renewing the instruction of his father. Every man who instructs is like his sire. He speaks with his children; then they speak with their children. Attain character . . . make righteousness to flourish and thy children shall live.

*Proverbs* (continued)

repute in the sight of God and man.

10, 13. In the lips of him that hath discernment wisdom is found: but a rod is for the back of him that is void of understanding.

1, 29-32. For that they hated knowledge, and did not choose the fear of the Lord: they would none of my counsel; they despised all my reproof: Therefore shall they eat of the fruit of their own way, and be filled with their own devices. For the backsliding of the simple shall slay them, and the prosperity of fools shall destroy them.

4, 10-11. Hear, O my son, and receive my sayings; and the years of thy life shall be many. I have taught thee in the way of wisdom; I have led thee in paths of righteousness.

4, 3-6. For I was a son unto my father, tender and only beloved in the sight of my mother. And he taught me and said unto me, Let thine heart retain my words: Keep my commandments and live. Get wisdom, get understanding; forget it not, neither decline from the words of my mouth. Forsake her not, and she shall preserve thee: love her and she shall keep thee.



We have also in Proverbs a very close parallel from the Maxims of Ani.

*Maxims of Ani 2, 13-17.*

Guard thee from the woman from abroad, who is not known in her city; look not on her, . . . know her not in the flesh; (for she is) a flood great and deep, whose whirling no man knows.\* The woman whose husband is far away,\*\* I am beautiful, says she to thee every day. When she has no witnesses, she stands and ensnares thee. O great crime worthy of death when one hearkens, even when it be not known abroad. (For) a man takes up every sin 'after' this one.

*Proverbs*

6, 24-33. To keep thee from the evil woman, from the flattery of the tongue of a strange woman. Lust not after her beauty in thine heart; neither let her take thee with her eyelids; for by means of a whorish woman a man is brought to a piece of bread; and the adulteress will hunt for the precious life. Can a man take fire in his bosom, and his clothes not be burned? Can one go upon hot coals, and his feet not be burned? So he that goeth in to his neighbour's wife; whosoever toucheth her shall not be innocent. Men do not despise a thief, if he steal to satisfy his soul when he is hungry; but if he be found he shall restore sevenfold; he shall give all the substance of his house. But whoso committeth adultery with a woman lacketh understanding: he that doeth it destroyeth his own soul. A wound and dishonour shall he get, and his reproach shall not be wiped away.

\* Whose whirling no man knows.

5, 6. Her ways are moveable, that thou canst not know them.

\*\* Whose husband is far away.

7, 19. For the goodman is not at home, he is gone a long journey.

Again compare the papyrus of Khekheperresonbu with Ecclesiastes. Here in each case the tractate is in the form of a dialogue between a man and his heart, or, more strictly perhaps, a monologue addressed by a man to his heart.

*Khekheperresonbu*

The collection of words, the gathering of sayings, the pursuit of utterances with searching of heart, made by the priest of Heliopolis . . . Khekheperresonbu, called Onkhu.

He says: 'Would that I had unknown utterances, sayings that are unfamiliar, even new speech that has not occurred (before), free from repetitions, not the utterance of what has [long] passed, which the ancestors spake. I squeeze out my mind for what is in it, in dislodging all that I say; for it is but to repeat what has been said when what has (already) been said has been said. There is no 'support' for the speech of the ancestors when the descendants find it. . . .'

'I have spoken this in accordance with what I have seen, beginning with the first men down to those that shall come after. Would that I might know what others have not known, even what has not been repeated, that I might speak them and that my heart might answer me; that I might make clear to it (my heart) concerning my ill, that I might throw off the burden that is on my back. . . .'

I am meditating on the things that have happened, the events that have occurred in the land. Transformations go on, it is not like last year, one year is more burdensome than the next. . . . Righteousness is cast out, iniquity is in the midst of the council-hall. The plans of the gods are violated, their dispositions are disregarded.

*Ecclesiastes*

The words of the Preacher, the son of David, king in Jerusalem:

Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher. . . .

One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh, but the earth abideth for ever. . . .

All things are full of labour: man cannot utter it: the eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear filled with hearing. The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done is that which shall be done; and there is no new thing under the sun. Is there anything whereof it may be said, See, this is new? It hath been already of old time, which was before us. There is no remembrance of former things; neither shall there be any remembrance of things that are to come with those that shall come after.

I, the Preacher, was King over Israel in Jerusalem: and I gave my heart to seek and search out by wisdom concerning all things that are done under heaven: this sore travail hath God given to the sons of man, to be exercised therewith.

I have seen all the works that are done under the sun; and behold all is vanity and vexation of spirit. That which is crooked cannot be made straight: and that which is wanting cannot be numbered. . . .

That which hath been is now, and that which is to be hath already been: and God requireth that which is past. And moreover I saw under the sun the place of judgement, that wicked-



ness was there ; and the place of  
righteousness, that iniquity was there.

He said to his heart : ' Come then,  
my heart, that I may speak to thee.  
. . .

I speak to thee, my heart ; answer  
thou me. . . . ' Then said I in my heart. . . . ' I said in mine heart, ' Go to now, I will prove thee. . . . '

We get in Ecclesiastes also a clear echo of the Song of the Harper—

*Song of the Harper*

How prosperous is this good prince !  
It is a goodly destiny, that the bodies  
diminish.

Passing away while others remain,  
Since the time of the ancestors,  
The gods who were aforetime,  
Who rest in their pyramids,  
Nobles and the glorious departed  
likewise,  
Entombed in their pyramids.  
Those who built their (tomb)-temples,  
Their place is no more.  
Behold what is done therein. . . .

None cometh from thence  
That he may tell (us) how they fare ;  
That he may tell (us) of their fortunes,  
That he may content our heart,  
Until we (too) depart  
To the place whither they have gone.

Encourage thy heart to forget it,  
Making it pleasant for thee to follow  
thy desire,  
While thou livest,  
Put myrrh upon thy head,  
And garments on thee of fine linen,  
Imbued with marvellous luxuries,  
The genuine things of the gods,  
Thy sister who dwells in thy heart,  
She sits at thy side.

*Ecclesiastes*

1, 4. One generation goeth and another generation cometh ; and the earth abideth for ever.

3, 20. All go unto one place ; all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again.

3, 22. Wherefore I saw that there is nothing better, than that a man should rejoice in his works ; for that is his portion : for who shall bring him back to see what shall be after him ?

9, 7-9. Go thy way, eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with a merry heart ; for God hath already accepted thy works. Let thy garments be always white ; and let not thy head lack ointment. Live joyfully with the wife whom thou lovest all the days of the life of thy vanity : for that is thy portion in life, and in thy labour wherein thou labourest under the sun.



*Song of the Harper (continued)*

Increase yet more thy delights,  
 And let not thy heart languish.  
 Follow thy desire and thy good.  
 Fashion thine affairs on earth  
 After the mandates of thine (own)  
 heart.

(Till) that day of lamentation cometh  
 to thee,

When the silent-hearted hears not  
 their lamentation,

Nor he that is in the tomb attends  
 the mourning.

Celebrate the glad day.

Be not weary therein.

Lo, no man taketh his goods with  
 him.

Yea, none returneth again that is  
 gone thither.

*Ecclesiastes (continued)*

9, 10. Whatsoever thy hand findeth  
 to do, do it with thy might;  
 for there is no work, nor device,  
 nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the  
 grave, whither thou goest.

5, 15. As he came forth of his  
 mother's womb, naked shall he go  
 again as he came, and shall take  
 nothing for his labour, which he  
 may carry away in his hand.

In Babylonian literature we find another version of the same song in  
 the Epic of Gilgamesh—

Sabitu speaks to him, to Gilgamesh,  
 'O Gilgamesh, why dost thou run in all directions?  
 The life that thou seekest thou wilt not find.  
 When the gods created mankind,  
 They determined death for mankind;  
 Life they kept in their hands.  
 Thou, O Gilgamesh, fill thy belly,  
 Day and night be thou merry.  
 Daily arrange a merry-making,  
 Day and night be joyous and content!  
 Let thy garments be pure,  
 Thy head be washed, wash thyself with water.  
 Regard the little one who takes hold of thy hand.  
 Enjoy the wife (lying) in thy bosom.'<sup>1</sup>

Not so striking, but still clearly marked, is the parallelism between  
 Job and the Dialogue of a Misanthrope. In the Misanthrope we get  
 the picture of a man once prosperous brought to ruin, deserted by friends

1. Jastrow, *Civilisation of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 462.

and relatives, and stricken with disease. His name has become 'a stench in the nostrils' of man. In this plight he holds an argument with his soul as to whether it is not better to die than to live. The conclusion he comes to is that life under present conditions is impossible, that death will be a happy release, and that after death there will at least be justice done, and that the innocent will not suffer with the guilty.

In Job the framework is the same. We get the prosperous man ruined, deserted, and diseased. He has become 'a byword of the people.' He then has an argument with three of his former friends, as to the justice or injustice of his misfortunes. He longs for death, and looks forward to justification after death. So far the stories are very similar, though there is naturally a different handling owing to difference in date, and to the wide divergence between the Egyptian and the Hebrew point of view. In Job, however, we get a sequel. God intervenes in the argument, and finally Job is restored to more than his former prosperity, this last being a thoroughly typical Hebrew piece of embroidery.<sup>1</sup>

The book of Job provides other evidence of acquaintanceship with Egypt in its descriptive pictures of such objects as the papyrus plant, the crocodile, and the hippopotamus. There are, moreover, several instances in it of the use of Egyptian words and idioms.<sup>2</sup>

There remains the third group of books—the Prophetic. Curiously enough, though the analogies between Egyptian and Hebrew literature are less clearly defined in this group than in either of the other two, it is the only one to which any particular attention has been paid. Indeed quite a lively controversy has arisen, dealing chiefly with the Admonitions of Ipuwer. Lange<sup>3</sup> first discovered the nature of the contents of the papyrus, and claimed a Messianic character for it. Meyer<sup>4</sup> went further and made the bold statement that the main source of all prophecy came out of Egypt. Gardiner, in his magnificent edition of the papyrus, criticises Lange's conclusions, and states<sup>5</sup> 'that there is no certain or even likely trace of prophecies in any part of the book,' and again<sup>6</sup>

1. Cf. also Jastrow, 'A Babylonian Parallel to Story of Job' (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, XXV, pp. 135-91; and *Civilisation of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 474). Here the parallel is not so close, and the Babylonian story is almost certainly later in date than the Egyptian.

2. See Hertz, *O.L.Z.*, XVI, p. 343.

3. 'Prophezeiungen eines ägyptischen Weisen,' in *Sitzungsber. der Kgl. Preuss. Akad.*, 1903, 601 ff.

4. *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, p. 454.

5. *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, p. 17.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 15.



that 'there is too much uncertainty about the matter for it to be made the basis of any far-reaching conclusions as to the influence of Egyptian upon Hebrew literature.' Finally Breasted,<sup>1</sup> though he agrees with Gardiner that Lange is wrong in interpreting a certain passage in the papyrus as definitely predicting the coming of a Messianic king, admits the possibility that 'the pamphlets of Ipuwer and the men of his class entered Palestine and suggested to the idealists of Israel the conception of the righteous king and redeemer.' The passage in question is of course the well-known one—

'He bringeth(?) coolness upon that which is hot. It is said: he is the herdsman of mankind. No evil is in his heart. When his herds are few, he passes the day to gather them together, their hearts being on fire(?). Would that he had perceived their nature in the first generation (of men): then he would have repressed evils, he would have stretched forth (his) arm against it, he would have destroyed their seed (?) and their inheritance . . . a fighter(?) goes forth, that 'he ?' may destroy the wrongs that (?) they have brought about. There is no pilot(?) in their moment. Where is he(?) to-day? Is he sleeping? Behold his might is not seen.'<sup>2</sup>

Striking though the passage is, it is certainly not safe to assume that Ipuwer was predicting the coming of a righteous king, and the establishment of an ideal kingdom. In another papyrus, however, more recently published by Gardiner,<sup>3</sup> there is a passage which is most definitely predictive—

'There is a king shall come from the South, whose name is Ameny, son of a Nubian woman, a child of Chen-khon. He shall receive the White Crown; he shall assume the Red Crown; he shall unite the Two Powerful Ones; he shall propitiate Horus and Seth with what they love, the "Surrounder of fields" in his grasp, the oar . . . The people of his time shall rejoice, (this) man of noble birth shall make his name for ever and ever . . . and Right shall come into its place, and Iniquity be cast(?) forth.'

Here the prophet, Neferrohu, not only predicts the coming of the righteous king, but actually mentions him by name. Probably, as Gardiner points out, the prophecy was composed during the reign of the king whose coming was supposed to be predicted, and we thus get a very

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1. *Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 212-14.
  2. Gardiner's translation (11, 11-12, 6).
  3. *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, I, p. 100 (Papyrus Petersburg 1116 B).



close parallel to the latter portion of Isaiah, that referring to Cyrus, which most critics now agree was written during the exile.

In structure there is the very closest analogy between the Hebrew Prophetic Books and the writings of Ipuwer and Neferrohu. In both we get the same passionate zeal for reform finding expression in alternating outbursts against the existing order of society and prophetic visions of an ideal state to come, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the one was influenced by the other. It may well be that these fragmentary documents that have come down to us from 2000 B.C., together with others of a similar nature which have perished, were the means of suggesting to the Prophets a mode of expression which their inspired genius was to put to such wonderful use.

So far we have spoken only of Egyptian influence on the literature. We believe that contact with Egypt left its mark on the religion also. Help for the poor, justice for the oppressed, belief in righteousness for its own sake, personal relationship with God—all these were known and practised in Egypt before they were thought of in any other country. We give below a series of quotations from Egyptian documents which seem to breathe the very spirit of the later Hebrew religion<sup>1</sup>—

‘ Who hears the prayer of him who is in captivity,  
Who is kindly of heart when one calls upon him,  
Who saves the timid from the haughty,  
Who separates the weak from the strong.’

‘ Hymn to Amon.’ *Cairo Papyrus*, No. 17.

‘ Thou, O Amon, art the lord of the silent,  
Who cometh at the cry of the poor,  
When I cry to thee in my affliction,  
Then thou comest and savest me.  
That thou mayest give breath to him who is bowed down,  
And mayest save me lying in bondage.

. . . . .

1. Gunn, in a recent *Journ. Eg. Arch.* (III, p. 81), quotes a number of inscriptions of this type, and argues that they are peculiar to a period, and quite foreign to the Egyptian character as we know it from other evidence. It is quite true that the ‘miserable sinner’ mental attitude does not occur elsewhere. It is essentially a Babylonian characteristic, and the Hebrew penitential psalms are certainly largely due to a legacy of Babylonian tradition. But surely the striking part about the Egyptian inscriptions we are quoting is not so much the humbleness of the attitude of the writer, as his genuine love for God and belief in his justice. This is a feeling that is quite foreign to Babylonian ideas, whereas in Egypt it is supported by passages in many other writings—compare *e.g.* the Hymns, Ipuwer, and the two Petersburg papyri.

‘Nebre, painter of Amon in the necropolis . . . made this in the name of his lord, Amon, lord of Thebes, who cometh at the cry of the poor ; making for him praises in his name, because of the greatness of his might, and making for him prayers before him and before the whole land, on behalf of the painter Nakht-Amon, when he lay sick unto death, being in the power of Amon, because of his sin. . . . He saith, “ Though the servant be wont to commit sin, yet is the lord wont to be gracious. The lord of Thebes spends not the whole day wroth. If he be wroth for the space of a moment it remaineth not . . . turns to us in graciousness. Amon turns his breath.” ’

*Berlin Stela, No. 20,377.*

‘ O Amon, thou herdman bringing forth the herds in the morning, leading the suffering to pasture ; as the herdman leads the herds to pasture, so dost thou, O Amon, lead the suffering to food, for Amon is a herdman, herding him that leans upon him. . . . O Amon-Re, I love thee, and I have filled my heart with thee. . . . Thou wilt rescue me out of the mouth of men in the day when they speak lies : for the lord of truth, he liveth in truth. . . . ’

*B. M. Ostrakon, No. 5656a.*

Is it not possible then that the original Hebrew God of the earlier part of the Old Testament, implacable and unforgiving, far removed from man, and Babylonian in origin, should have changed some of his attributes through connection with Egypt, and the absorption by the Hebrews of the Egyptian code of ethics, with its truer conception of justice, and more kindly and more tolerant view of life.<sup>1</sup> There can be no doubt that the Babylonian and Hebrew nations were derived from the same ethnic stock, and received the same inheritance of tradition ; but whereas under the Babylonians these traditions remained practically unchanged, in the hands of the Hebrews they underwent the most remarkable transformation. The spirit of this transformation is shown clearly by Jastrow, in his *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions*. He states (p. 252)—

‘ Among the Hebrews the introduction of the ethical element leads to the doctrine of individual retribution which steadily gathers strength through the experiences of the Hebrew nation and is further reinforced through the speculation of leaders imbued with the ethical monotheism of the Prophets. It reaches its culmination in Jewish and Christian teachings of rewards and punishments in a future existence, accompanied by such concomitant beliefs as the distinction between Paradise and Hell, the resurrection of the body, the final day of judgement, and, as the flower of the spiritual faith, the

1. One of the most striking differences between the Babylonian and Egyptian moral codes was that in the former punishment for crime varied with the social class of the criminal (*Laws of Hammurabi*), whereas in Egypt such social distinctions were expressly prohibited (*Installation of Vizier, Eloquent Peasant, Ipuwer, Grave Stelae, etc.*).



impressive doctrine of the immortality of the soul as the imperishable divine element in man.'

Again (p. 122)—

'The wide departure from Babylonian traditions is, however, particularly apparent in the spirit of the transformed Hebrew tradition which changes the Creator from a vanquisher of hostile forces, and from an artificer after the fashion of a human workman, into a spiritual Power, acting by his "Word" alone.'

And again (p. 128)—

'A greater contrast between the statement in the impressive Hebrew narrative of the creation of man in the image of God, as against the Babylonian view of man's being created for the sake of the gods, to provide temples and worshippers for them, can hardly be imagined.'

A study of the literary evidence would surely seem to show that this transformation was due, in part at least, to contact with Egypt. There are many other quotations from Egyptian writings that might be given in support of this conclusion. We will content ourselves with two very striking passages from one of the most recently deciphered documents<sup>1</sup>—

' . . . men, for they are the flocks of God,  
 And for their pleasure did he create the heavens and the earth.  
 He stayed the greed of the waters :  
 He created the air to give life to their nostrils.  
 They are his own images proceeding from his flesh :  
 And for their pleasure he arises in the heavens.  
 He made for them grass and cattle,  
 Fowl and fish wherewith to nourish them.  
 He hath slain his enemies,  
 And hath destroyed his own children,  
 When they made rebellion against him.  
 He maketh the dawn for their pleasure,  
 And traverseth the sky that he may see them.  
 He hath raised for them a shrine to protect them ;  
 When they weep he heareth them.  
 From the beginning hath he made rulers for them,  
 That they might sustain and protect the weak.  
 Magic hath he given them, wherewith to avert the evil,  
 Dreams also by day and by night.  
 How hath he slain the froward of heart ?  
 Even as a man for his brother's sake smiteth his own son ;  
 For God knows every name.'

1. For Gardiner's translations, on which these renderings are based, see *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, I, pp. 34 and 27.



'For the Assessors who sit in judgement over the wicked, be very sure that they will not be lenient in that day, when those miserable ones are brought before them, and they fulfil their office. Woe unto that man who shall be accused, and whose conscience shall convict him of sin. Think not to gain oblivion by length of years, for a whole lifetime is in their sight but as a single hour. When a man reaches the haven of death it is not for him the end, for his deeds must still be brought up against him. Eternal is the existence hereafter; a fool is he who shall take no account of it. But for him who shall attain the death of the righteous, he shall live hereafter as a God, stepping forth boldly even as one of the Lords of Eternity.'

## A SIDELIGHT UPON TACITUS

By W. R. HALLIDAY

THE Younger Pliny was a humane and upright gentleman but hardly a sportsman. He is a little too consciously addicted to the virtues of self-improvement and self-help; his blood flows a trifle thinly. His contention that race meetings exist merely to supply the machinery for betting does not of itself condemn him, though one may doubt whether he was capable of feeling that generous excitement to be obtained from the spectacle of a contest of speed and skill which he grudgingly admits as an abstract possibility (ix. 6).<sup>1</sup> If he rightly appreciates silence at the covert side it is for reasons lamentably wrong-headed (*iam undique silvae et solitudo ipsumque illud silentium quod venationi datur magna cogitationis incitamenta sunt*—i. 6), and the man who is proud of taking his notebooks out hunting (i. 6, ix. 36) had better stay at home. No one, however, more generously than Pliny conceded that it takes all sorts to make a world. *Demus igitur alienis oblectationibus veniam, ut nostris impetremus* (ix. 17). There are indications too, that he was not insensitive to the delights of angling, though one would imagine it a bottom fishing of the most somnolent kind, most agreeable when pursued, not in a boat, but from his bedroom window on Lake Como (ix. 7).

Tacitus, whose writings are of a more generous vintage and fuller of body than the thin gracefulnesses of his friend, may well have had wider sympathies as a man. He at any rate was not above attending the races (ix. 23), and it seems a legitimate inference from *Letters* i. 6 and ix. 10 that he was a keen hunter of the boar. For these, the only specific references to boar-hunting known to me in the *Letters*, are both addressed to the historian. The first suggests that Pliny's deficiencies as a sportsman

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1. With Pliny's comments upon racing it is interesting to compare the similar sentiments of a yet greater man of letters who had no natural inclination towards field sports, Edward Gibbon. 'I could not refuse attending my father in the summer of 1759 to the races at Stockbridge, Reading and Odiam, where he had entered a horse for the hunter's plate: and I was not displeased with the sight of our Olympic games, the beauty of the spot, the fleetness of the horses, and the gay tumult of the numerous spectators.' Gibbon, *Memoirs of My Life and Times, Miscellaneous Works* (London 1814), p. 118.

were a well-worn topic of raillery with his keener friend. Ridebis, et licet rideas. Ego ille quem nosti apros tres et quidem pulcherrimos cepi. Ipse ? inquis. Ipse ; non tamen ut omnino ab inertia mea et quiete discederem. The second is surely in answer to a letter upon some such excellent theme as ' why waste all your time upon reading and writing when you are in the country and can get some hunting as well ? ' Cupio praeceptis tuis parere ; sed aprorum tanta penuria est ut Minervae et Dianae, quas ais pariter colendas, convenire non possit.

Any sidelight upon Tacitus the man is to be welcomed, and I do not think that the implication of these letters has been noticed. It seems to me in character and a pleasant trait to contemplate in the greater of the two friends. For I do not think that Tacitus ever followed the bad advice to put up notebooks with his flask and sandwiches upon a hunting morning, and I hope that he was too good a sportsman to make scarcity of game an excuse for indifference or, like Mamilianus (ix. 16), to measure the quality of his sport by the size of the bag.



**PROBLEMS OF MEGALITHIC ARCHITECTURE IN THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN**

BY E. THURLOW LEEDS

WITH PLATES I AND II

MEGALITHIC tomb-construction in the western Mediterranean area presents so many strongly marked local differences that at first sight it would appear an impossible task to establish any constant sequence of evolution applicable to all the regions composing that area. Close examination, however, suggests that, while no two regions present the same sequence, it is possible to detect the diffusion of influences from one region to another at different stages of that evolution. The effect of this is that a given region may be influenced from one area at one stage and from another at a later, and that at the same time one of the two contributory regions may also influence the other contributory area. The result is an apparently inextricable tangle, only to be explained by the shifting of migratory or, more probably, commercial intercommunication; for it has still to be proved that the area in question was not entirely occupied by settled populations during the period which covered the rise and decline of megalithic building. Indeed, if there is one theory less calculated than another to explain the complex phenomena of the megaliths of the western Mediterranean, it is that of racial migration on a wide scale, and almost equally unsatisfactory is that of diffusion of the megalithic idea from one common source, radiating in various directions, the further it travels from that source.

(1) *The Iberian Peninsula*.—In a recent paper published in *Archæologia*, vol. 70, I have endeavoured to show that the earliest known type of megalithic tomb in the peninsula is a polygonal passage-dolmen, often with remains of a tumulus which appears to have had merely an architectonic purpose. Starting from this polygonal passage-dolmen (as Pl. I, a),

abundant in central Portugal,<sup>1</sup> the evolution of megalithic architecture in the peninsula follows two distinct courses, in both of which, however, the tendency to complete concealment of the tomb (a well-nigh constant feature in that evolution wherever found) can be observed.

In the south of Portugal and southern Spain there appears a large series of tombs, either excavated in the slopes of hillocks or entirely concealed by tumuli. Many of these are developed directly from the polygonal passage-dolmen and a gradual transition can be traced from the use of megalithic slabs throughout to the substitution of small masonry, first in the corbelled bee-hive chambers and later in the walls of the corridor as well. Examples may be cited from Alcalà (Pl. I, b and c), from the vicinity of Sevilla, Antequera and Los Millares (Pl. I, d). Alongside of these there occur tombs of elongated polygonal form, *e.g.* at Antequera and Los Millares (Pl. I, f and g), and others with rectangular chambers at the end of a long corridor, as at Antequera. The exact relation in point of time of these two last forms to the bee-hive corridor tombs is not quite easy to determine, but it may be surmised that the use of megaliths was retained as more suited to the construction of such forms.

A feature to be noticed is the addition, as at Los Millares, of a curved wall at the entrance of the passage of some of these monuments (Pl. I, e).

Although the large polygonal passage-dolmen is not unknown in northern Portugal, *e.g.* the dolmen of Barroso, near Viana do Castelo, it is in the main supplanted by the 'mamôas,' *i.e.* tumuli completely concealing a small polygonal chamber built of megaliths, sometimes with a rudimentary portico, representing the corridor of the large dolmens of central Portugal. These 'mamôas' occur with great frequency in northern Portugal and Galicia. In the latter region the chamber takes at times a rectangular form, which seems to be connected with an extensive series of similarly shaped monuments further east in the Basque district and in Catalonia. As evidence is forthcoming that these tombs at the two gates of the Pyrenees belong to the chalcolithic period,<sup>2</sup> it is highly

1. Simpler monuments of horseshoe form and with no corridor, in the vicinity of Pavia, Alemtejo, which have recently been published (Vergilio Correia, *El Neolítico de Pavia*, Fig. 53), may prove to be a still earlier stage.

2. See *Archaeologia*, 70, and P. Bosch Gimpera, *Memòria dels treballs de 1915-1919 (Investigacions arqueològiques de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans)*, p. 11 ff.



probable that the mixture of types in Galicia, belonging to the same period, is connected with the exploitation of mineral deposits (probably tin) in that district.

The close resemblance of these northern rectangular monuments, especially in the presence of an *allée couverte* type, suggests that their diffusion from southern France is connected with the extensive development of the copper industry in the early metal age in Spain.

(2) *Southern France*.—This region is richer in megalithic monuments than any other area of similar extent in western Europe. By far the greater number are of simple rectangular form with a small admixture of *allées couvertes*. Many of them belong, as at la Halliade, to a type suggestive rather of a multiple cist than of the grand *allées couvertes* of northern France, such as that at Bagneux.

A difficulty arising out of these southern French tombs is that for the most part they seem to be connected with a chalcolithic culture; so much so, that the only explanation of the phenomenon which so weighty an authority as the late Professor Émile Cartailhac could offer the writer in a recent conversation was, 'Il n'y a pas de néolithique dans le sud de la France.'<sup>1</sup> It is, however, hardly credible that of all the hundreds of dolmens in southern France none belong to a pure neolithic age. The occurrence of a few dolmens of polygonal and rounded outline in the western departments suggests the possibility of sea-borne influences emanating from Portugal, and it may be that the somewhat frequent *allées couvertes* in the same departments, mainly associated with neolithic tomb furniture, are an adaptation of the long corridors of the Portuguese monuments. The absence of early megalithic tombs in north-western Spain points to this sea-route as the original one, and thus the neolithic character of the grave-furniture does not necessarily indicate backwardness, but will bear the interpretation of an early date for the monuments themselves.

It is not perhaps without significance that it is in the western departments, *e.g.* Gironde and Vendée, that we meet with one of the early Bronze Age regions of France, both in respect of burials and also in depots of flat celts (Déchelette, *Manuel*, etc., II., i. pp. 93 and 141). From the Spanish copper-deposits the dolmen builders of southern France doubtless

1. This statement was of course only applied to the megalithic monuments.



derived their supplies of that metal. Since the main deposits were situated in south-eastern Spain, the main stream of intercourse between the two countries was diverted in the later days of megalithic building, and thus there appears in the department of Les Bouches-du-Rhône a series of subterranean corridor tombs, with lateral chambers and descending adit (Pl. I, h), closely allied to the numerous tombs of southern Spain.

(3) *Balearic Isles*.—The peculiar tombs known by the name of *naus* or *navetas*, built of corbelled masonry (Pl. I, i), though without exact parallel in the Spanish peninsula, possess features indicative of derivation from that quarter. They suggest an expression of the Spanish polygonal megalithic tombs, such as the Cueva da Menga and the like, in terms of masonry, the system of construction rendering the pillars of the Cueva da Menga unnecessary. Perhaps an intermediate stage is represented by certain megalithic constructions, sometimes subterranean, in which pillars are employed (Pl. I, k).<sup>1</sup>

This interpretation of their origin seems to win corroboration in the existence of rock-cut tombs, one of which 'is exactly similar in plan to the Grotte des Fées in southern France.'<sup>2</sup> The other tombs like it were, as already mentioned, certainly prompted by communication between France and Spain.

The addition of a high façade, like that of the Sardinian *tombe di giganti*, represents a material advance, but the slightly concave line of the façade recalls that of some Spanish tombs and is repeated (see *infra*) in the Sardinian tombs. Indeed the *navetas* and the *tombe di giganti* are manifestly closely related, as are also the Balearic *talayots* with the Sardinian *nuraghi*.

(4) *Corsica*.—Megalithic building is represented by two groups of rectangular dolmens, one in the north, the other in the south of the island. We can hardly look elsewhere than to southern France for the origin of these megaliths in spite of the fact that no discoveries of relics are recorded to help towards an estimate of their relative chronology. From the number of dolmens known (thirteen in all), it would seem that

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1. Antonio Vives, *El Arte Egeo en España*, p. 19 ff.  
 2. T. E. Peet, *Rough Stone Monuments*, p. 74.

the practice of megalithic building had but a short life in the island and never passed beyond the initial stages.

(5) *Sardinia*.—The evolution of the Sardinian monuments has been carefully traced by Dr. Duncan Mackenzie in a series of papers. As examples of early types may be cited the elliptical dolmens at Tanca (Pl. I, l), near Birori, and at s'Angrone, Abbasanta, and others rectangular in shape, as at Doli Fichima, near Alà dei Sardi, and Canigheddu s'Ena, near Tanca Regia, Abbasanta. It is noteworthy that the area in which the simpler types occur is principally highlands situated at no distance from the middle of the west coast of the island. Dr. Mackenzie thinks that the round types may be due to the interaction of round-hut building on a system of rectangular grave-construction. But, judging from the locality in which they occur, it would seem unnecessary to seek further for an explanation of the dual type than in the statement of M. Préchac (referred to by Dr. Mackenzie himself) that, 'les tumuli des Alpes-Maritimes ont parfois une chambre en forme de fer à cheval, parfois même une chambre ronde.'<sup>1</sup> The rectangular form is not wanting in this same department and in the adjacent department of Var.

Thus, as in Corsica, the initial impulses may well have come from southern France, but, whereas in Corsica the practice seems to have died in its infancy, in Sardinia it was destined to flourish exceedingly. The evolution from the simple types through such monuments as those of Sa Janna de su Lacca or Elcomis near Buddosò, su Coveccu in the south-west of the island (Pl. I, m), and Predalunga, near Austis, in which can be observed on the one hand the development of the apsidal end and of the outer wall of masonry, and on the other hand the lengthening of the cell, to the fully developed Giant's Tomb, such as Muraguada or Sa Prigionas with the lofty façade flanked by horn-like walls (*cf.* Pl. I, n), has been so clearly demonstrated by Dr. Mackenzie, that it is superfluous to dwell on it here. Dr. Mackenzie has also noted the close analogy of the frontal wall to that of some tombs of southern Spain, as at Los Millares, and the same feature in the Balearic Isles has already been cited.

Side by side with the Giants' Tombs and, as shown by the grave-furniture, in a large measure contemporaneous with them, there occur subterranean tombs, such as those of Anghelu Ruju.

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1. *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, XVIII, p. 166.



Types like Anghelu Ruju III. (Pl. I, o), though more complicated, appear to have been inspired from the same source, namely southern Spain, as were those of southern France and the Balearic Isles. They have the same descending stepped adit, the same lateral chamber or chambers to the corridor. It is only in the main chamber with its numerous radiating cells that a difference becomes evident, and even this feature is no more than a multiplication of the accessory cells found in such tombs as Alcalà 7 and Los Millares 20.

At some stage in the history of these rock-cut tombs influences possibly from Sicily or the mainland assert themselves in the substitution of a well-shaft entrance for the stepped adit. In this connection tomb XX at Anghelu Ruju is of great interest (Pl. I, p), since we have two tombs side by side with the chamber-wall at their point of contact cut through. One of these tombs has a stepped adit, the other a well-shaft entrance, this latter separated from the passage leading to the chamber by a slab with curved top, which in Taramelli's opinion 'recalls in embryo the form of the stela in front of almost all the *tombe di giganti* of the Bronze Age of Sardinia.'<sup>1</sup>

In Sardinia is also found a type of rock-cut tomb composed usually of a curved porch with, in its simplest form, a circular chamber behind of *tomba a forno* type, as at Busachi (Pl. II, a).<sup>2</sup> Elliptical and rectangular chambers also occur, sometimes associated together in the same tomb, e.g. Busachi (Pl. II, b) and Ruinas,<sup>3</sup> or the tomb may be rectangular throughout, as at Ruinas.<sup>4</sup> From this source the system of tomb-construction seems to have spread to Sicily, where it appears first in the full Bronze Age (Pl. II, c).<sup>5</sup>

(6) *Italy*.—The megalithic tombs are, as is well known, confined to quite a restricted area in Apulia, near Lecce, Bari and in the Terra d'Otranto. They are either of *allée couverte* form, sometimes divided into cists by transverse slabs, not unlike the multiple cists of southern France, or they have a single chamber. Many of these have their coverstone supported by pillars of stones, which must be regarded as the

1. *Mon. Ant.*, XIX, p. 464.

2. *Id.*, XI, p. 53, Fig. 33.

3. *Id.*, XI, p. 49, Fig. 31 and p. 53, Fig. 47.

4. *Id.*, XI, p. 54, Fig. 34.

5. Peet, *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy*, p. 454.



ultimate degradation of megalithic building. The date of this dolmenic type in relation to the *allée couverte* form is supplied by the fact that in one of the latter, at Bisceglie, near Bari, were found about twenty skeletons (along with a fragment of bronze and an amber bead), while the Lecce dolmens contained but a single burial.

One of the most marked phenomena of the close of the megalithic period in every European region where megaliths occur is the discard of communal in favour of individual burial, and the date of many dolmenic tombs with nothing much to distinguish them from simple dolmens of the earliest type in which communal burial has been established can only be proved by the spade. These Lecce monuments fall naturally into sequence as half-way from the *allées couvertes* to such a tomb as the *tomba a fossa* at Parco dei Monaci, Matera, from which a flanged celt, a riveted dagger-blade, and another with handle complete, all of bronze, are recorded.<sup>1</sup>

It is impossible to regard the Italian megaliths as more than a late offshoot in the megalithic genealogical tree of the western Mediterranean.

(7) *Malta*.—The stupendous nature of the Maltese monuments, like Hal Tarxien, Hagiar Kim and others, seems at first sight to demand their allocation to a class apart. But this character is to be explained by the fact that we have no longer to deal with tombs, but with temples or even palaces. Their size and number makes either of these explanations of their purpose somewhat difficult of acceptance for such a limited area as the Maltese islands. But after making allowance for their size, the germs of their form with their succession of rooms, their lateral chambers, niches and the like, their method of construction with megaliths and corbelled masonry, and the practice of superimposing small masonry on the top of the shorter orthostats to bring them up to the same height as the taller blocks, are all to be found in the later megaliths of the Spanish peninsula. In Malta there is perhaps a blend of features, such as the elliptical form of the chambers, borrowed from the rock-cut tombs of Sicily (Pl. II, d).

In the hypogea like that of Hal Saflieni we are confronted with yet a further manifestation of the universal tendency to go to ground observ-

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1. A. Mosso, *The Dawn of Mediterranean Civilisation*, 243; *Bull. Pall. It.*, XXVII, 34 and XXII, 289.

able throughout the whole of the megalithic culture of the western Mediterranean in its later stages, and their size is only what might be expected of a people that raised such imperishable monuments above ground as those mentioned above.

The theory of the distribution of megaliths advanced in the foregoing pages may be illustrated most simply by means of a sketch-map (Pl. II). The omission of all consideration of Africa is due to the fact that no discovery up to the present time furnishes any warrant for regarding the megalithic monuments of that region as in any way contemporaneous with the series under discussion. No evidence seems to exist for a date anterior to 1000 B.C. at the earliest.<sup>1</sup>

Be that as it may, there are other considerations which seem to corroborate the surmise that in the diffusion of the megalithic idea the Iberian peninsula played a prominent part, if not indeed the leading part, with southern France in a secondary rôle. The two regions, inhabited by peoples very closely related, possibly identical, may have been inspired by the same megalithic idea at one and the same time, for it is a question whether the whole conception of megalithic building does not find expression in all races at some period, not necessarily the same in all cases, of their evolution. That, however, there was some diffusion of the idea within the limits of the western Mediterranean in early prehistoric Europe cannot be gainsaid. In this connection it will suffice to draw attention to one or two leading arguments for the view of the matter already advanced.

I. *Distribution of Beaker Pottery.*—It has now been established beyond all doubt that in south-central Spain, particularly in the Seville region, as evidenced by the discoveries of Mr. George Bonsor at Achebuchal, Gandul and elsewhere, what is known as beaker pottery was manufactured in large quantities, and that, while the particular place of origin of the beaker within the peninsula may be a little doubtful,<sup>2</sup> this area constituted as it were one of the principal *foci* of the beaker in Europe. The widespread distribution of the beakers from this region to other parts of

1. The position of the African monuments has been well brought out in a recent paper by Leo Frobenius entitled *Das kleinafrikanische Grabbau (Præhistorische Zeitschrift, VIII, pp. 1 ff., particularly pp. 81-84).*

2. On this point see *Archæologia*, 70, pp. 223, 226.



the peninsula is confirmed by numerous discoveries, as at Talavera de la Reina on the Tagus, at Palmella near its mouth and in the later Portuguese dolmens. The extension can be traced northwards to the vicinity of Madrid, to the provinces of Goria and Galicia, and to those of Navarra (in rectangular dolmens) and Gerona, and eastwards by finds near Granada and in a megalithic tomb at Los Millares.<sup>1</sup> Passing out of the peninsula we meet with beakers at la Halliade, a late multiple cist in the department of the Hautes-Pyrénées, and in the megalithic tomb at Castellet, Bouches-du-Rhône.<sup>2</sup> All these examples are in their zonal decoration and in their form indubitably of Spanish origin. The same holds good for pottery of this class from Mallorca, a fine example from tomb III at Anghelu Rujù, Sardinia, and another from Villafrati, south of Palermo, Sicily.

It is more than probable that the beakers found at Ca di Marco and Santa Cristina, North Italy, must also be traced back to a Spanish source, since one from the latter site at any rate holds true to the Spanish form, and all have the typical zonal decoration.

The very infrequency of beakers discovered in the western Mediterranean area outside the Spanish peninsula, coupled with their close relationship to the Spanish examples and their discovery at a succession of points along well-defined routes of communication, routes which doubtless came into prominence with the opening up of the copper industry in southern Spain, makes it exceedingly difficult to believe that they do not serve as finger-posts along the copper routes of the western Mediterranean. If then they indicate the trend of trade in the chalcolithic and early bronze periods, nothing is more probable than that these same routes brought from southern Spain the more complex systems of megalithic building, which appear in the islands and in southern France at the very time when metal was coming into common use. For it has to be remembered that the Sardinian *tombe di giganti* and subterranean tombs, the graves at Santa Cristina, and the tombs in the department

1. See A. Schulten, *Hispania* (Archaeological appendix by P. Bosch Gimpera), pp. 163-4. The term dolmen pottery often given to the beakers and allied wares is somewhat of a misnomer. For, except in a few isolated cases in Portugal and Spain, it does not occur in dolmens until Brittany is reached, and except in the Seville region, it appears as an exotic in subterranean tombs. In reality, as Hubert Schmidt has shown, it represents a culture apart from megalithic architecture. Even round Seville its occurrence in megalithic tombs is the result of the introduction of the latter into an area where beaker pottery was essentially at home.

2. *Matériaux*, 1877, p. 15, and *Congrès archéologique de la France*, 1876, Pl. III.



of Les Bouches-du-Rhône <sup>1</sup> all belong to a fully developed Copper Age and in some cases in Sardinia to the Bronze Age itself.

Only in Sicily is the beaker apparently associated with a neolithic culture. It seems, however, to be acknowledged that Sicily lagged behind, as compared with the mainland of Italy, in taking up the use of the newly discovered metal,<sup>2</sup> and it is certain that Malta did the same. Possibly it represented a conservatism among its more progressive neighbours, thus explaining a highly developed ceramic which there, as in backward Thessaly, attained a higher level in the neolithic than in the subsequent period. Sir Arthur Evans has recently compared one of the most striking designs at Hal Tarxien with a pattern of the Middle Minoan 2 period,<sup>3</sup> that is to say long after the introduction of the use of copper into Crete. If the Maltese design was inspired from the Aegean, it only proves how strong the conservatism of the Maltese islands must have been.

II. One point that becomes clear from an intensive study of the archaeological material is that not until the metal industry in south-west Europe was in full swing is there substantive proof of any intercourse between the eastern Mediterranean and the Iberian peninsula. The apparent traces in Spain of such intercourse have been used in a manner which can only be described as loose in the extreme.

The ivory (African perhaps, but not necessarily Egyptian) of Los Millares, the turquoise (callais or ribeirite) and amethyst, both possible products of the peninsula, not requiring an eastern origin, prove nothing; the segmented glaze beads of El Argar were found with a long bronze sword, proof in itself of an advanced bronze age, and suggest nothing earlier than 1500 B.C. The beaked jugs of Sardinia and the marble figurine,<sup>4</sup> which have been compared with Aegean examples, come, the former from the *nuraghi*, the latter from a rock-cut tomb with stepped adit and rectangular chamber with supporting pillars and lateral cells, both of which, it is admitted by Italian archaeologists, are contemporaneous with the *tombe di giganti*, themselves in a large measure assigned to a period when metal was in full use.

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1. At Castellet gold, at Bounias bronze was found. (*Matériaux*, 1877, Pl. XIV, 2 and 3, and 1876, Fig. 203.)

2. Peet, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

3. *The Palace of Minos*, I, pp. 262 and 263, Figs. 194, k and 195.

4. *Mon. Ant.*, XI, Pl. XVIII, 16 and 18; XIX, p. 479, Fig. 54.

On the other side of the scales can be placed, apart from the copper and the beakers, silver beads and a jar-burial, from Sardinian rock-cut tombs, both of which appear in Spain in the fully developed El Argar culture long after the megaliths had passed into oblivion. The jar-burial belongs to the innermost chamber of the half of Anghelu Ruju XX *bis* with a well-shaft entrance, and from tomb III and others (*Mon. Ant.* XIX., p. 494) came pottery with a distinctive decoration of concentric semi-circles which in the department of Gard (one of the richest dolmenic regions of France) is found not in the dolmens but in early Bronze Age grottoes.

Only in the full bloom of the metal age did the inhabitants of the eastern and western Mediterranean come into real contact with one another. Previously intercourse stopped at the margin of the western basin, as represented by Sicily and Malta. Without more satisfactory proof of earlier intercommunication than is at present forthcoming, the origin of the megalithic architecture found around the European shores of the western Mediterranean must be sought in that area and in that area alone.

This conception of powerful influences emanating from the west by the routes indicated above seems to have made an impression in one way or another on most archaeologists who have interested themselves in the pre-history of the western Mediterranean eastward of the Iberian peninsula. Most markedly does this come out in papers treating of Sardinia. In his account of the tombs at Anghelu Ruju Taramelli draws attention to the indications of close relations with France on the one hand and with Spain on the other. He notes the absence of links with Sicily, *e.g.* painted pottery, and he adds, 'For the rest, the position of Sardinia, with its roadsteads and its natural harbours open to the western basin of the Mediterranean, seems to indicate it as a passage-bridge between the regions to the east and the western peninsula of the Mediterranean, a position which, some centuries later and for no brief period, determined its economic and political condition in a similar manner.'<sup>1</sup>

Others such as Peet seem to be haunted by similar questionings, since he quotes Mayr as showing Malta 'to belong to a cultural region which included Spain, North Africa, Sardinia, the Balearic Isles . . . in fact, the whole western Mediterranean.'<sup>2</sup>

1. *Mon. Ant.*, XIX, 524 ff.

2. *B.J.R.*, V, 141 ff.; see also *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy*, p. 282.

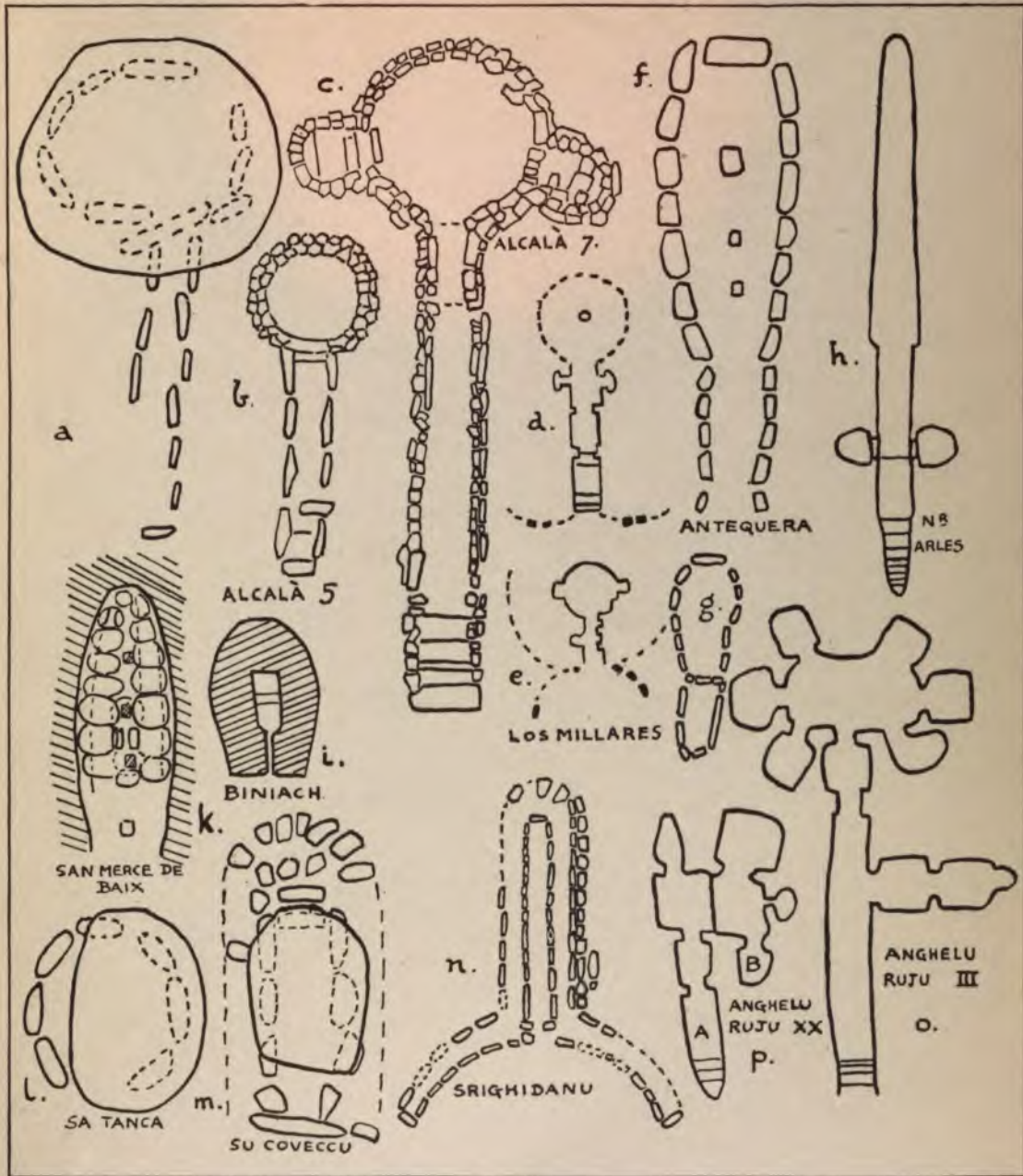


But in all cases one can detect some trace of the latent oriental attraction, an attitude one is inclined to attribute largely to a want of full knowledge and appreciation of the Spanish material. Even archaeologists in Spain have had their vision dimmed in the past by the *mirage orientale*, but a tendency to struggle out of the darkness of the old tradition is beginning to assert itself, and it is becoming more and more evident that it is as true of prehistoric Spain (when not under the thrall of armed invaders) as of later Spain that she 'is not an European country and never has been.'<sup>1</sup> She gave freely of her products and it was her products which finally attracted other peoples to her shores.

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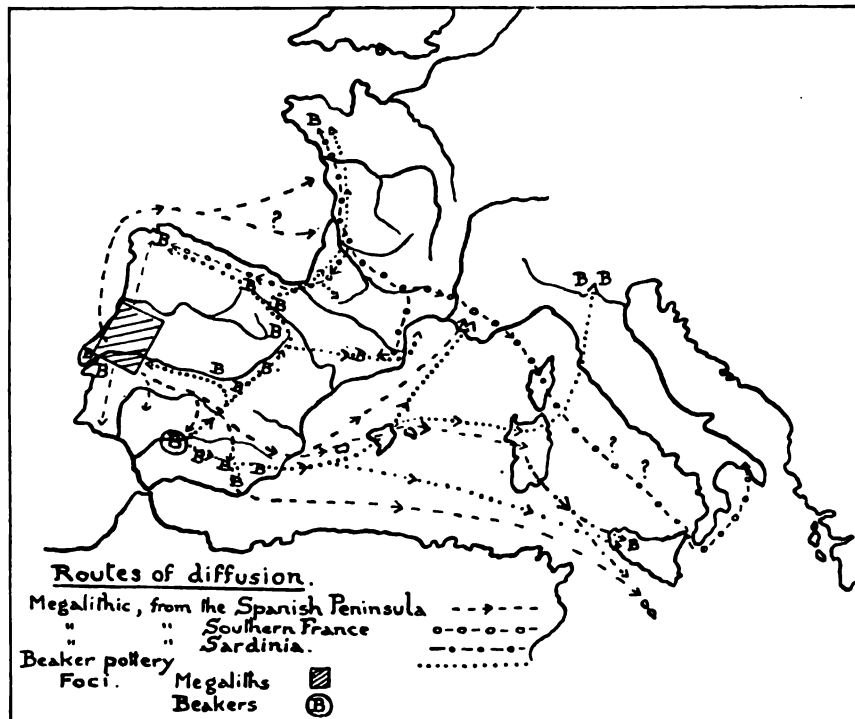
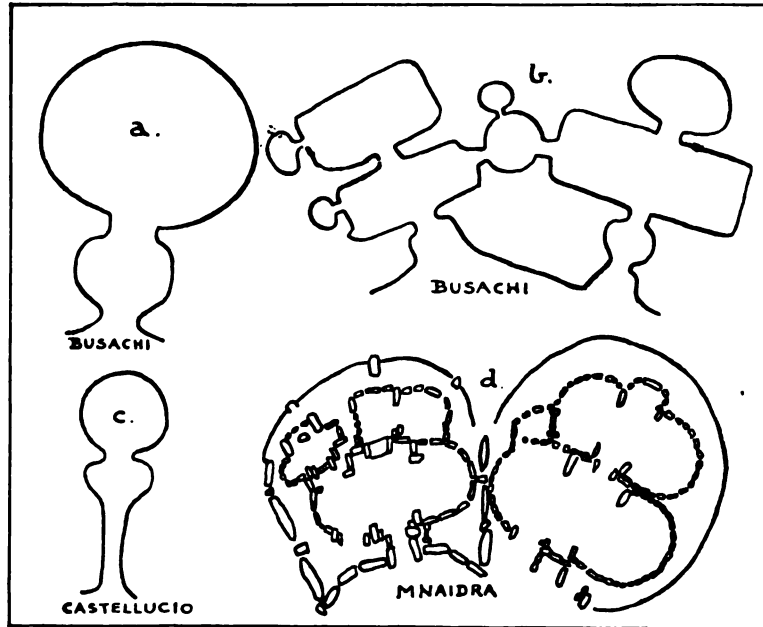
1. *The Nineteenth Century and After*, 1921, p. 620.





TYPES OF MEGALITHIC TOMBS.





1. TYPES OF MEGALITHIC STRUCTURES.  
 2. ROUTES OF DIFFUSION OF MEGALITHS AND BEAKERS.





## ASIA MINOR, SYRIA AND THE AEGEAN

By C. LEONARD WOOLLEY

WITH PLATE III

IN the following paper I venture upon generalisations which may appear unduly rash. It is true that the archaeological evidence which I adduce is by no means all that could be desired; so little excavation has been done in Syria and Asia Minor that there is little material as yet to draw on, and I have not availed myself even of all that might be used. In the course of my own work I have grown more and more convinced of the importance in the eastern Mediterranean of a factor which was neither Egypt nor the Aegean, in the narrower sense of the word, and, perhaps by a process of elimination, I have learnt to look to Asia Minor for the solution of a great deal that is hard to understand in the development of near Eastern art. There is nothing very original in this, except that I have perhaps gone rather further than previous writers; but anthropologists have, on different grounds, arrived at very much the same views, with which new archaeological evidence agrees, though it cannot yet be said to prove them. Some of this new evidence, derived from the British Museum's expedition to Carchemish, is still unpublished, and I can do no more than refer to it by anticipation; some is quoted fully; a good deal more is probably to be found in museums and in publications which a field worker has small leisure to study.

The earliest pottery known to us of Central and South Syria falls naturally into two classes according as it is plain or painted.

The unpainted wares need cause us little difficulty, for they obviously belong to the Eastern Mediterranean cycle common to prehistoric Egypt, to Cyprus, and to Crete. On all the early Palestinian sites hitherto excavated, and in the aeneolithic (?) strata of Jebeil (Byblos), the only Phoenician site from which early material is as yet forthcoming, a rather coarse black or grey ware, often burnished, often decorated with combed or incised patterns, is associated with ledge handles degenerating into waved ribbon handles and into cord ornament in relief, which bring it at

once into relation with the familiar Egyptian types. Jebeil also produces a burnished brown or black pottery with rectilinear designs of deeply-cut white-filled incised lines which, more than any other from the Aegean, recalls the E.M.I wares of Crete. Moreover the characteristic black-topped burnished red bowls of Egypt are paralleled by three examples from Syria, one found in the lowest stratum of Mount Ophel<sup>1</sup> and two from the Bekâ'a and Batrun respectively.<sup>2</sup> The material is still scanty, but it is sufficient to show that in some respects at least, and in certain areas, the earliest culture of Syria was connected if not identical with that of contemporary Egypt and the nearer Aegean islands; the evidence, it will be noticed, comes from the Palestinian lowlands, *i.e.* the Shephelah and the Esdraelon valley (Gezeh, Lachish, Beth Shemesh, Taanach, Tell el Mutesallim), from the valley of Coele-Syria and from the Phoenician coast: only one example comes from the mountain area, and that is from the old culture-centre of Judaea, Mount Ophel, where perhaps we should most expect to find mixed influences at work. Both in their character and by their distribution these wares would illustrate the view held by anthropologists that peoples of the Mediterranean type, who were responsible for the first civilisation of the Nile valley, and formed the earliest population of Cyprus, Crete, and most, if not all, of the Aegean islands, also inhabited the coast regions of Palestine and Syria, though they do not appear to have penetrated into the mountainous region beyond.<sup>3</sup>

The origin of painted pottery seems, on the contrary, to come from the north and east.

At Carchemish and at Sakje-geuzi<sup>4</sup> we find in what it is for the present safest to call the aeneolithic strata, a hand-made painted ware with designs chiefly geometric but sometimes naturalistic or conventional, executed in a varnish-like paint, red or sepia-black, on a light slip ground. Identical wares are found at Tell Khalaf, further to the east (examples in the British Museum); a somewhat similar though not identical type occurs at Susa, at Anau, and at Muhammedabad near Askhabad on the Afghan frontier (examples in the British Museum); various sites in Asia Minor have yielded fragments which carry on the same tradition, and

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1. Vincent, *Jérusalem sous la terre*, Pl. XI, 1. This was actually published as an imported specimen of Egyptian fabric, but in view of the other examples must be regarded as local.

2. Woolley in *Syria*, II, 3, p. 179.

3. Cf. Peake, H., in *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, XLVI, p. 158.

4. Carchemish material not yet published: for Sakje-geuzi see *Annals*, I, Pl. XLVIII.



these again connect unmistakably with some, though not with all, of the neolithic wares of Thessaly.

I obtained this year for the Ashmolean Museum the remarkable vase figured on Pl. III, Fig. 1. It was found at Keultepe near Caesarea in Cappadocia, associated with, and according to the peasants who unearthed it, actually containing Cappadocian cuneiform tablets of the type which by general consent dates from about the twenty-third century B.C.; it is therefore the only dated example of the kind yet known. The vase is hand-made: the whole upper part of the body is covered with a coat of dark red-brown paint (*Urfirnis*), while in a rectangular reserved field there is a geometric design in sepia on a ground of creamy white slip. *Urfirnis* ware, and the three-colour geometric ornament, are common to early Asiatic sites; Carchemish and Sakje-geuzi have yielded it in plenty<sup>1</sup>; fragments from Boghazkeui and Kara Euyuk<sup>2</sup> virtually reproduce our Keultepe example; similar fragments come from other Cappadocian sites, Bolus, Zille, Karayakub, etc.<sup>3</sup> The form too, the *Schnabelkanne* with long and generally V-shaped trough spout, is essentially an Asia Minor type which we find commonly at all periods, distributed from Troy in the west to Cappadocia,<sup>4</sup> and in the Aegean derivatives of Asia Minor fabrics. The Keultepe pot is comparatively late in date, nor do any of the other Asia Minor examples quoted above necessarily antedate it: but it shows a development of technique such as demands a long history behind it. Of the local painted ware which did precede it we can as yet really say nothing: perhaps it may have come a good deal closer to the Carchemish aeneolithic types and earlier still to the much more primitive products of southern Syria.

At Jebeil, and in Palestine, there is found in the early strata a painted pottery which is far ruder and simpler than that of the north: the pigment is not the same, or at least is not worked up in the same way, and the geometric designs are far less developed, so that it would be easy to exaggerate unduly its resemblance to the wares *e.g.* of Carchemish; but there seems to be a connection none the less. It stands between the northern wares and those of pre-dynastic Egypt, but has less in common with the latter, which themselves seem to be due to a foreign influence

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1. *Annals*, I, Pl. XLVIII.
  2. Chantre, *Mission en Cappadoce*, Pl. XIV, 4.
  3. Myres in *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, XXXIII, Pl. XL.
  4. *Cf.* Chantre, Pl. VII, 1.

that ceased to be exerted after the consolidation of the Nile kingdoms by the dynastic kings. That there were northern connections in southern Syria is shown by the earliest bronze implements found there; for the most part these are of Mediterranean (Cypriote) type,<sup>1</sup> but the Western Asiatic axe type with spectacle perforations in the blade finds its way right down into Egypt,<sup>2</sup> and another axe type also procured at Jerusalem, but said to come from Ashkelon, is closely paralleled (Pl. III, Fig. 2) by examples from Tell Khalaf in the north.

Allowing then for local differences such as are inevitable at a very early period and over a very wide area, and are the more to be expected when the material from which we have to judge is not by any means always contemporaneous, we have a hand-made pottery distinguished by geometrical designs painted in two or three colours, which from the highlands of Persia extends northwards and is found along the whole of the east-by-west mountain land from the Afghan border and Russian Turkestan through Kurdistan to the Amanus, with an offshoot along the range of Lebanon into the hill country of Judaea, is common in Cappadocia, occurs (necessarily as yet but sparsely) in western Anatolia, and penetrates into Thessaly. In Thessaly it is possible to see a combination of two totally independent traditions. There is indeed, especially at Dhrachmani and Tsangli, a painted three-colour ware with white slip and geometric motives (cross-hatching, zig-zags, etc.) which is extremely like early wares from Carchemish and from Asia Minor; but shapes are different, and there is side by side with the above types (especially in the Lianokladhi wares, black on red and black on drab slip) a whole range of curvilinear and spiral ornament which is totally un-Asiatic and would seem to be due to an intrusion into Thessaly of the Tripolje culture from Bessarabia.

Thus the painted wares are distributed along the great arc of hill or high-lying plateau which reaches from Eastern Europe to Persia, and this corresponds with the distribution of the eastern branch of *homo alpinus* whom, within these limits, we may call Asianic man. He is at home in the mountains and high plateaus of Asia Minor, extends southward along Lebanon into the Judaeian uplands (whence perhaps he

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1. The American University Museum possesses many Palestinian examples of Cypriote type: cf. Myres and Ohnefalsch Richter, *Cat. Cyprus Museum*, Pl. III, Macalister, *Gezer*, Pl. LX, etc.; and for Phoenicia v. Syria, *loc. cit.* Fig. 4, p. 180.

2. Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, p. 9, and Figs. VI, 169, LXXIV, 170. I recently obtained in Jerusalem a specimen said to have come from Beersheba.



invaded Egypt in pre- or proto-dynastic times<sup>1</sup>), and eastwards to what limits we do not know. In Syria we should then have, as our archaeological evidence goes to show, a mixed population with Mediterranean man on the coastal plains and Asianic or Alpine man in the hill country, the two developing a hybrid race along the fringes of their respective areas, but each keeping touch with their main stock, Mediterranean man with Egypt and the nearer Aegean, Alpine man with Asia Minor.

This state of things was largely modified by two events which occurred, perhaps more or less simultaneously, in the latter half of the third millennium B.C. Driven probably by a prolonged season of drought to seek new pastures, the Semites from Arabia invaded South Syria and the Phoenician coast. The process was a gradual one, wave following wave—in the wanderings of Abram we see one of its closing incidents—but by 2000 B.C. the south country was definitely Semitised. Of course a large part of the older population must have remained, seeking in the less fertile hills refuge from the newcomers: the Lebanon proper was perhaps but little affected; in the Judaean mountains, where even at the time of the Hebrew invasion the peoples were still remarkably mixed, there were in 2000 B.C. 'Hittites' distinguishable alike from the Semitic settlers and from the Mediterranean Hivites, and in Hammurabi's time a king of Goyim, Tidal (an unmistakably Asianic name, like Tudkhal), can, as subject-ally of the Great King, take part in raids as far south as the Dead Sea plain. Some of the older established Asianic place-names to be found in Palestine<sup>2</sup> may go back to the time when Alpine man was at home in the country. But in spite of local survivals the Semitic invasion had one definite result which Palestinian excavations have made very clear: the country occupied by them was cut off, politically and culturally, from its neighbours to the north and to the south-west; politically it became dependent on southern Mesopotamia, culturally, after the first changes brought by the newcomers, it did little more than stagnate, being too distant to derive much inspiration from Babylonia and too alienated to borrow much from the north; from Egypt and the Aegean it exists wholly apart. Autran's theory of a Minoan civilisation flourishing between the twenty-sixth and the twelfth centuries B.C. along the Syrian coast has no archaeological support whatever; excavations

1. Elliot Smith, *Ancient Egyptians*, p. 122.

2. M. Autran has pointed out some of these in his *Phéniciens*, and will I believe further elaborate the point in his forthcoming *Tarkondemos*.



in the interior of Palestine, and as close to the sea as is Gezer, definitely exclude such a view, nor has Ashkelon as yet produced anything to support it; of the archaeology of the Phoenician towns proper we know lamentably little, but in all the mass of objects which native plunderers have found there is nothing on record that would bespeak such a civilisation, and Weil's ingenious theory of Minoan island-factories at Tyre and Sidon has yet to be proved.<sup>1</sup> In the present state of knowledge the only safe assumption is that made above, which is certainly true of the greater part of Palestine and is probably so of Phoenicia. Only after 1550 B.C. did the expansion of the new Empire under the Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty bring South Syria once more into dependence on Egypt and, through Egyptian imperial trade, into some degree of touch with the Aegean.

The north was also affected by a Semitic expansion, but this apparently of a different sort, taking the form not of conquest and settlement but of the establishment of trading colonies, as at Keultepe, depending not on Babylonia but on Assyria. But important though this connection<sup>2</sup> was, both for its cultural influences and for the eastern orientation which it gave to Anatolian politics, it seems to have been largely counteracted at an early date by pressure from a different quarter.

The painted pottery which, in Cyprus, appears for the first time at the beginning of the Bronze Age is admittedly due to a foreign influence which is just as clearly Asianic (Myres, *loc. cit.*). The shapes of vessels are less affected, many of the traditional types being retained, but amongst the introductions we have the long and narrow slanting spout and the triangular 'wishing-bone' bowl handle, both of which are Asia Minor types,<sup>3</sup> and the colour-scheme and the geometrical designs leave no doubt upon the subject.

In Crete the earliest pottery is, as has been remarked, of Mediterranean type, but even as early as late E.M.1 painted pottery begins to make its appearance and with E.M.2 is common. The connection of Crete with Egypt was so strong that Evans, in his presidential address to the British Association, 1916, postulates an actual invasion into the island of the older Egyptian element in Early Minoan times, and this, together with

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1. *Bull. de l'Inst. franç. d'arch. orientale*, XVI, 1919, 'Les ports antéhelléniques.'
  2. Contenau, *Rev. d'Assyriologie*, VI, ii. 97, makes this influence Sumerian, and conceives of 'une période très ancienne où s'élabore, de l'Elam au monde égéen, une culture générale, par beaucoup de points commune.'
  3. The latter is common in Cappadocia, *cf.* Chantre, Pl. IX.

the native genius, was able to give a wholly original stamp to what was really an invention borrowed from the Asiatic coast : later on, the Asianic strain was to be reinforced, but even at an early date parallels in pottery and in other things are sufficiently close to suggest ' a racial connection of the Mycenaean aborigines of Crete with the primitive population in Caria and Pisidia and with the older elements in Lycia.'<sup>1</sup>

The same thing is true in a greater or a less degree of the other Aegean islands and of the mainland of Greece ; from the early days of the metal-using age there appears a painted pottery whose Anatolian affinities are obvious and can only be explained by an immigration of Asianic peoples following perhaps on an initial opening up of the archipelago by merchants and prospectors of the copper trade. A good illustration of this is afforded by a sauce-boat from Naxos ;<sup>2</sup> the upper part of the body is covered with the red-brown *Urfirnis* varnish, and round the rim runs a band of geometric ornament in sepia on a creamy white slip ; in the quality of the pigments, the motives and arrangement of decoration, and in technique the vase is identical with our Keultepe example. It is dated to group 3 of the Early Helladic, immediately preceding the first appearance of Minyan ware, *i.e.* to a period apparently parallel to the transition in Crete from M.M.1 to M.M.2 ; it is therefore later than the Cretan wares discussed above and might well be strictly contemporary with the Keultepe jug. Wace and Blegen<sup>3</sup> remark that ' further exploration and study will probably show that these three divisions, Early Helladic, Early Cycladic, and Cretan Early Minoan ware, are all branches of one great parent stock, which pursued parallel but more or less independent courses ' ; this parent stock must be the Asianic grafting itself on to the aboriginal Mediterranean, and the process began, in some cases, as early as late E.M.1, but the course pursued in the different areas was not wholly independent in so far as connection was maintained with the Anatolian mainland throughout the Early Minoan period and was strongest at that period's close, when indeed it is so strong as to suggest an actual diffusion into the Aegean of Asianic peoples. If, as seems probable, the ' Early Hittite ' period in North Syria begins about this time, we might connect with the Aegean phenomena the fact that at Carchemish the old local Alpine culture is suddenly, with the start of the Early Hittite period,

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1. Evans, *Address to Brit. Ass. Anthropol. Section*, Liverpool, 1896.
  2. *Annual of Brit. School at Athens*, XXII, p. 177.
  3. *Annual*, *loc. cit.*



reinforced by an Anatolian element which becomes only more pronounced as time goes on. The Hittite invasion of Babylonia at the beginning of the second millennium B.C. might be the aftermath of this general expansion southwards.

Arguing for the most part from different premises Peake<sup>1</sup> attributes the sudden rise of a new development of culture in Crete at the beginning of M.M.1, 'accompanied by some movements of peoples and the arrival of broad-headed people in the east of the island, apparently from Asia Minor,' together with a similar sudden development in the Cyclades, and the fall of Hissarlik II, to an invasion of Asia Minor by Nordic steppe-folk from South Russia. If that be so the two events mentioned above as modifying the position in Syria in the latter half of the third millennium B.C. are curiously similar, the Semitic invasion of South Syria being paralleled by a Nordic invasion of Asia Minor: the result of the former was, as we have seen, virtually a negative one, in that South Syria is left to stagnate in isolation; the result of the latter was to spread a racial stock native to Asia Minor over North Syria, the Aegean islands, and parts of the Greek mainland, and for the next thousand years these territories were to develop cultures which however divergent yet betray their relationship and a measure of interdependence.<sup>2</sup>

Very many points of resemblance between these different local cultures have been pointed out by various writers and are too familiar to need repetition; here I would only point out a few new or less-known instances. In *Annals*, VI, Pl. XXIV, I published a marble figurine from Serrin (on the Euphrates N.E. of Aleppo) clearly related to the Amorgos type which appears in the islands with the beginning of the Bronze Age: from the Aleppo district come two more (Fig. 3 a, b) now in the collection of M. Poche of Aleppo, to whom I am indebted for permission to publish them. While less strictly adhering to the conventional type they have the curious back-sloping head of the Amorgos group (J. L. Myres has suggested to me that this might conceivably be a primitive attempt to portray the Armenoid skull form) combined with the steatopygous feature common to Egypt, Malta, Crete and Thessaly, and belonging perhaps to

1. *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, XLVI, p. 169.

2. Cf. Contenau, *Les Cylindres Syro-Hittites* in *Rev. d'Assyriologie*, IV, pp. 73-74. 'Il n'est donc pas téméraire de concevoir que, si l'art sumérien a laissé des traces si profondes en Chaldée, Elam, Assyrie du nord, monde hittite, Chypre et même la Crète, c'est qu'à un certain moment ces territoires ont été habités par des populations à affinités ethniques.'



an earlier date. From the Aleppo district again comes an unusual form of steatite cylinder-seal (Fig. 4),<sup>1</sup> shaped as a double cone, not pierced, and engraved at the two ends, which is a more elaborate example of a type assigned by Dussaud<sup>2</sup> to the Early Minoan 2 period in Crete; other early and simple seal-forms from Syria and the Aegean are almost identical<sup>3</sup> (Fig. 12) and a few of the late and elaborately worked Hittite cylinders are wholly Cretan in subject and in style, *e.g.* Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, 185, 186. The Hittite bronze figurines of deities with tall conical caps are paralleled by examples from the islands and from the mainland of Greece (Ath. Mus., 14494 and 2631, from Mycenae); the same head-dress with the typically Hittite horns reappears on a vase-fragment from the third shaft grave at Mycenae (Ath. Mus., 123-4) and even the Hittite pig-tail is found on a Mycenaean ivory representing a woman holding a fly-whisk—another Hittite attribute (Ath. Mus., 2473, 2475). Aleppo has produced gold beads, in the shape of a short tube encrusted with minute pellets, exactly like those found outside the shaft graves at Mycenae, and at Tiryns. In *Carchemish*, vol. ii. I publish (Pl. XXVIII) steatite carvings which though of mainland manufacture show distinct Aegean affinities, and point out (p. 46) the remarkable similarity that exists between the fortifications of the Middle Hittite town and those of Phylakopi.

That anything like a uniform civilisation extended over Asia Minor, North Syria, the islands and the eastern mainland of Greece, is of course patently not the case; but a certain racial element common in varying proportions to all these districts does seem to have produced certain common features, although each cultural group, exposed to different external influences, pursued in the main different lines of progress. The Khatti of the Halys basin show, naturally, but few points of resemblance to their distant relatives in Knossos: in Lycia and Caria, on the other hand, we can safely assume a mixed culture akin to both Minoan and Hittite;<sup>4</sup> Cilicia, of which we know virtually nothing, must have had fairly intimate dealings with Cyprus; to North Syria there filtered across the Amanus certain products and certain more or less direct influences of the Aegean, but Carchemish was an outpost of Boghazkeui and faced east

1. Now in the Ashmolean Museum.

2. *Civilisations préhelléniques*, Fig. 19, p. 40.

3. Compare Blinkenburg *Antiquités pré-mycéniennes* (in *Mém. d'Antiqu. du Nord*, 1896), Fig. 12, and Evans, *Cretan Pictographs*, p. 59, Fig. 50, or Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, No. 127 with the Mycenaean seal, Ath. Mus., 1196.

4. *V. infra*, and *cf.* Hall, *Aegean Archaeology*, p. 229.



rather than west. After 1550 B.C. the Egyptian conquests to some extent opened up Syria to Aegean commerce, so that imported objects from the islands, and especially from Cyprus, begin to be common in Palestinian tombs, but this indirect trade influence was largely confined to South Syria and even so its importance can easily be exaggerated; as regards North Syria and Asia Minor it may well be that the hindrance to commerce caused by the Egyptian wars and later on the new openings afforded by the alliance with Thotmes III weakened rather than reinforced the connections between those regions and the Aegean.

After the great migrations of 1197 B.C. the whole Near East takes on a different aspect. In Greece and the islands, the Mycenaean civilisation had broken down and disappears; in the Halys basin, the Khatti empire is wiped out; but Carchemish takes on a new lease of life, and a 'Mycenaean' civilisation spreads over the whole of Syria.

In Cyprus the Iron Age, which starts about 1200 B.C., is marked by a complete break with Bronze Age traditions. With the introduction of the new metal, cremation takes the place of inhumation, cylinder seals are given up in favour of button or conoid seals of Asia Minor types, and the pottery changes altogether. Henceforward clay vessels are wheel-made, the shapes are new, *e.g.* the krater, the kylix and the round- or barrel-bodied oenochoe, three-colour decoration is commonly employed, and there are two main motives of ornament, both new, *i.e.* compass-drawn concentric circles, and rectilinear geometric patterns often composed in panels or 'metopes.' For want of foreign parallels, the change has generally been assumed to be due to normal local development, but this is certainly not the case.

The occupation of Palestine by the Aegean Purusati stands out as a documented historical fact. Whether they came from Crete or *via* Crete from the Anatolian mainland, these Philistines introduced into South Syria a sub-Mycenaean culture which at once invites comparison with Cyprus. The hemispherical bowls with black ladder designs on a matt white ground, common in Palestinian sites, are characteristically Cypriote of the Bronze Age—though it must be remembered that Cyprus derived its painted bronze-age wares from Asia Minor; some are actual importations from Cyprus, others are of local fabric; some date from before 1200 B.C. and must be due to pre-Philistine trade; others are later, and it would appear that the type survived in Palestine for some time after it had fallen into disuse in Cyprus itself. The late stirrup-vases and

oenochae with bands of red-brown varnish paint on white, are Mycenaean, *i.e.* Aegean not Cypriote in origin, and had only appeared in Cyprus after the collapse of Crete. The peculiarly 'Philistine' wares with three-colour decoration of 'metopes' and figure-subjects recall in some respects Cypriote pottery of the Iron Age, but are far more intimately related to certain less-known wares of Asia Minor.<sup>1</sup> A direct dependence of Philistine ceramic art on Cyprus would be difficult to explain in view of the non-Cypriote origin of the Philistines; the evidence for it is more apparent than real, and though the connection cannot be denied altogether it must not be too strongly emphasised.

At Carchemish after 1200 B.C. we find a new race installed, who have introduced iron, burn their dead instead of burying them, and in place of the plain or ring-burnished pottery of the Middle Hittite period use types which recall at once those of iron-age Cyprus.<sup>2</sup> In the graves and in the town ruins occur a few small red oenochae, round-bodied or barrel-shaped, with compass-drawn concentric circles in black, which are perhaps imports from the island. But the vast bulk of the painted wares, including all the larger vessels, have black-on-white rectilinear geometric designs often of the 'metope' style. In spite of first appearances, these pots are not Cypriote; they are of local make, the ornament differs in many if not in most details from the Cypriote, and several vase-forms which are most characteristic of Cyprus are entirely wanting at Carchemish. These late settlers at Carchemish were assuredly not Cypriotes. The fact that they used Hittite hieroglyphs for their inscriptions, retained with improvements the canons of old Hittite art and represented on their reliefs many of the old Hittite gods, shows them to be of Asianic origin; their Aegean connections, which are numerous, incline one to place their former home in the south or south-west of Asia Minor.<sup>3</sup> Certain facts, *e.g.* that their foot-soldiers wore an armour curiously like that of the fifth century Athenian hoplite,<sup>4</sup> would point to Caria, whence the hoplite's armour was admittedly derived. The exact spot whence they came does not matter for the present discussion: the important point is that we have here a people undoubtedly of Asia Minor origin who show distinct traces

1. Cf. Chantre, Pl. XI, 1.

2. *Annals*, VI, Pl. XXVI, c, d.

3. I differ here from von Lichtenburg (*Einflüsse der ägäischen Kultur*, p. 22-23), who would bring in the Late Hittite Mushki, c. 1100 B.C., from the Caucasus area, and, less markedly, from Hogarth, who (*Hittite Seals*, p. 10) would derive them from Cilicia.

4. *Carchemish*, I, Pl. B.2, B.3.



of Aegean tradition and in some respects approximate closely to the people of iron-age Cyprus.

In Phoenicia a similar phenomenon appears. We have cremated burials,<sup>1</sup> certainly not a Semitic custom. We find, as at Carchemish, clay horsemen and zoöomorphic vases of 'Cypriote' type: these are particularly common in the north, *e.g.* about Amathus, but go right down into Aegean Philistia. The bronze figurines of Aegean type, already described, begin early, but many must belong to the Iron Age, for the type continues in vogue, with gradual modifications, into the classical period. In *Syria*, II., pp. 177 *seq.*, I publish a limited number of sub-Mycenaean vases and bronzes (including one tomb group) found in the Lebanon, and a long series of later painted vessels of the Phoenician Iron Age whose relationship with the Cyprus wares is immediately obvious. It is a peculiar thing that this later pottery is all of one type: the decoration (apart from one or two cases when it consists of plain horizontal bands of colour only) always takes the form of compass-drawn concentric circles, generally black on red: there is not a single example of the rectilinear geometric ornament such as in Cyprus accompanies the concentric circles and at Carchemish predominates. A few vases (always of small size) may well be importations, most are certainly of local fabric. Here again we have evidence of an Aegean people, and again a relation with Cyprus which is curiously one-sided.

Both types of pottery decoration, the rectilinear and the concentric circles, are found in Asia Minor. Unfortunately we know very little about the earlier antiquities of that country and particularly little about Caria and Lycia. But in Caria sub-Mycenaean pottery has been found, and also concentric-circle wares like the Cypriote: in S.W. Pisidia it is stated that the type of painted pottery most usual on the old mounds is 'the red Cypriote ware of the early Iron Age with concentric circles.'<sup>2</sup> 'It is common on many of the Cappadocian and Galatian sites';<sup>3</sup> and it is found as far away as the Dazimonitis plain in S.W. Pontus.<sup>4</sup> At Gordion the German excavators record 'local imitations of Cyprus iron-age ware, black on red, with concentric circles, wavy bands, spirals, hatchings, etc.,' which are local indeed but, late though they are, are

1. At Rashidieh near Tyre; Macridy, *Revue Biblique*, 1904, p. 565.

2. *Annual of Brit. School at Athens*, XVI, p. 100.

3. *J.H.S.*, XIX, pp. 34 ff.; some of the wares he alludes to seem to be earlier in date.

4. Anderson, *Studia Pontica*, I, p. 71.

certainly not imitated from Cyprus so far as the spirals are concerned, and sherds with the characteristically Asia Minor three-colour decoration.<sup>1</sup> Nothing in the history of Cyprus would lead us to suppose a pottery export trade so widespread, or a cultural influence so profound, all over Asia Minor and Syria : but conclusive evidence the other way is afforded by a sherd found by Chantre at Boghazkeui : the vase was of red clay with black-bordered panels of a pinkish cream slip whereon are compass-drawn concentric circles (the impressed dot in the centre is clearly visible) in dark red : the pot was *hand-made*. Another fragment from the same site has concentric circles drawn free-hand in black on a drab slip. Chantre's Boghazkeui and Kara Euyuk sherds are of many dates : they include *Urfirnis* and three-colour pieces of our Keultepe style, black on white-slip wares closely resembling those of bronze-age Cyprus,<sup>2</sup> wheel-made spiral-burnished bowls resembling Middle Hittite types from North Syria, and wheel-made painted platters like our earlier Late Hittite examples ; the hand-made vase with concentric circles does not belong at the end of the series, and nothing in the series is necessarily later than the beginning of the Iron Age in Cyprus ; there can be no question that here we have, with a more primitive technique, the precursor of the Cypriote wheel-made vases similarly decorated.

The conclusion is that when Cyprus got its iron (which can only have come from the rich mines of South Asia Minor) the same people who brought in the metal and the practice of cremation introduced also two new types of decorated pottery ; and as of these two types one, almost exclusively, is found at Carchemish and the other, exclusively, in Phoenicia, both of which countries were invaded at the same time by iron-using tribes, we must assume that Cyprus was invaded by two tribes acting in concert, or by a tribe which, living originally between the other two, had learnt the fashions of both its neighbours : once more Cyprus manifests itself not as a centre for invention but ' as a transmarine outlier and a receptacle of obsolescent phases.'<sup>3</sup>

If then after 1200 B.C. Syria is ' Aegeanised ' that is so, thanks not to the ' Aegeans ' as we know them, but to the peoples of Asia Minor ; and if these were able to diffuse a culture which has generally been regarded

1. *Jahrb. des K. D. Arch. Inst.*, Ergänzungshefte 5, 1904, p. 179, Figs. 161, 162 and p. 182, Fig. 166 ; none of the wares are earlier than about the eighth century B.C.

2. Myres in *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, XXXIII, p. 389.

3. Myres, *loc. cit.*



as the peculiar product of the Greek islands, it is because these peoples were akin in some measure to the islanders, had played a part in forming their culture and had never stood wholly aloof from it; at least along the S. and S.W. coasts of Anatolia the connection must have been fairly close throughout,<sup>1</sup> and we have yet to learn which contributed most to the other.

Perhaps the main objection that will be raised against the foregoing is the apparently arbitrary assumption of an 'Aegean' colonisation of Phoenicia. I have published in *Syria* the material discoveries that led me to this view: it might be as well here to show that the view is not really in conflict with literary sources. I do not agree that the Phoenicians were other than a Semitic race, settled on the Syrian coast since the third millennium B.C.; I only hold that after 1200 B.C. these were leavened by a minority of conquering invaders, an iron-using 'Aegean' folk from Asia Minor, who, inheriting themselves the sea-faring traditions and the trade connections of the now extinct Aegean (island) empire, gave a new impetus and a new direction to Phoenician business. Under their leadership the Phoenicians were able to take over the trade of the Mediterranean, but only on Aegean lines (that is why the earliest Phoenician colonies date from after 1200 B.C. and produce when excavated only sub-Mycenaean remains) and as being themselves Aegean. In time the ruling stock 'Semitised' and disappeared, but not before the new population of Greece and the islands, when the cataclysms of 1400-1200 B.C. had made shipwreck of tradition, had transferred to the Phoenicians, as the last of the Aegean folk, many legends to which even the alien lords of the Phoenicians had but a very shadowy claim. It is inconceivable that the Greeks should have traced back to a Semitic stock the origin of so much of their religion, their civilisation, even the founding of their greatest cities and their princely houses<sup>2</sup>: but it is intelligible that they should have done so if to them the Semites of the Syrian coast stood, thanks to their ruling class, for the heirs and lineal descendants of the Aegean heroes to whom the legends properly attached.

I would risk the suggestion that the conquerors of Phoenicia were the Tzakkarai. We only hear of that tribe as settled in the little coast-town of Dor, but it was apparently second only to the Purusati in importance,

1. Cf. Herod., I, 171-3; Strabo, XIII, i. 48, XIV, i. 6; Pausanias, VII, iii. 7; Strabo, XIV, ii. 3, 27.

2. This point is brought out very clearly by Autran, *Phéniciens*.



and its territory must therefore have extended farther north and may well have included Phoenicia. In Wen-Amon's story, *circa* 1100 B.C., the King of Byblos was Ta-ka-ru-b'ira, which is generally taken to be the Semitic Zacchar (as in Zacchariah)-ba'al. J. A. Reinach has suggested <sup>1</sup> that the first part of the name may be a Semitised corruption of Tzakkar(ai), and if that be possible it is tempting to see in the latter part not the Semitic suffix *ba'al* but *piru*, a not uncommon element in Asianic names. More to the point is Justin's story (xviii, 3, 5) of the capture of Sidon, *circa* 1196 B.C. *a rege Ascalaniorum*, for it is only natural that the Philistines of Ashkelon should have helped their allies to conquer their northern territory; and if Macalister's ingenious emendation,<sup>2</sup> *a rege Sacaloniorum*, be accepted, the case is even clearer. Jeremiah (xlvii, 4) writing *circa* 609-608 makes Tyre and Sidon even then friends and allies of the Philistines, a combination hardly likely if the Phoenicians had no Aegean traditions to unite them to the strongly anti-Semitic southerners.<sup>3</sup> Another curious point of connection between the Phoenicians and the Philistines is given by an Egyptian inscription of the twenty-second Dynasty (probably *temp.* Sheshonk I, 945-924 B.C.)<sup>4</sup> which describes a certain Petisis as 'official interpreter for the two countries of Pa Kana'an and Pileschet.' Dussaud<sup>5</sup> has argued from this that the Philistine language had already died out and that the Semitic tongue had become common to Philistia and Phoenicia alike; but that this was not the case seems clear from the fact that late in the sixth century the children of Jewish fathers and Philistine mothers, brought up to speak their mother's tongue, were unintelligible to the Jews (Nehemiah xiii, 23), and it is more natural to conclude from the Egyptian phrase that the two dialects, Philistine and (upper-class) Phoenician, were akin in that both were non-Semitic and Asianic. If the Aegeo-Phoenicians were Tzakkarai it would explain why the Cypriote relation seems to be stronger and more lasting in Phoenicia than in the rest of Syria, since the Tzakkarai can be identified with the Teukroi, and the Teukroi are just those iron-using people who, according to Greek tradition (Pindar, *Nem.* iv, 46), founded Salamis in

1. *Revue archéol.*, IV. xv. 45.

2. *The Philistines*, p. 37.

3. Hence von Lichtenburg, *ad loc.* 'Sollten sich noch bis zum Schlusse des 7 vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts Takkaraleute in grösserer Menge unter den Bewohnern von Tyrus und Sidon erhalten haben?' *op. cit.*, p. 26.

4. *Bull. de l'Inst. fr. au Caire*, I, 1901, pp. 98-100.

5. *Op. cit.*, p. 303.

Cyprus not far from where the Phoenicians later on founded their trading-station of Kition.

A good deal of fun has been poked at the Ptolemaic scribe who in the Canopus Decree translates Phoenicia by Keftô. I cannot help thinking that an imperial text of the sort would have been entrusted to an educated person, perhaps a member of the university staff at Alexandria, and that his rendering reflects a theory current amongst scholars of his time which is not far removed from the truth.<sup>1</sup> If in the Septuagint (2 Sam. xx, 23; 2 Kings xi, 4, 19) 'Cherethites' is translated 'Carians' (elsewhere they appear as Cretans; in Isaiah ix, 12, the Philistines are called "Ἕλληνες) this too may fairly be taken as evidence, the identifications being due to theories which, if not always consistent, have some backing in tradition and fact; the case is strengthened too by the Greek use of 'Phoenicia' to designate Caria; and even now Feniki survives as a place-name on the Lycian coast. When Thucydides (i, 8) describes the sea-robbers of King Minos' day as οἱ νησιῶται Κάρης τε ὄντες καὶ Φοίνικες, his island Phoenicians are no Syrian Semites (such as had yet to learn to venture far overseas) but a people with whom the Carians would naturally be bracketed. 'It is not the Mycenaean art, it is the Phoenicians who, in many respects, acted as the depositaries of decadent Mycenaean art,'<sup>2</sup> and if this relic of the Aegean tradition was brought to Carchemish, to Phoenicia and to the Philistine lowlands by tribes whose earlier home was in south and south-western Asia Minor, we can better understand how Diodorus (v, 84) can represent the Carians as masters of the sea in the twelfth century--μετὰ δὲ τὴν Τροίας ἄλωσιν Κάρης αὐξηθέντες ἐπὶ πλείον ἐθαλαττοκράτου κ.τ.λ.

1. The phrase is taken seriously by its latest commentator, Weil, in his article in *Syria*, II, ii, p. 125.

2. Evans, in *Address to Brit. Ass.*, Liverpool, 1896.



1. VASE FROM KEULTEPE. Scale about  $\frac{1}{2}$ .  
2. BRONZE AXE-HEADS FROM ASHKELON. Scale about  $\frac{1}{2}$ .





## REVIEWS

[The Editor will be glad to receive books and periodicals for review.]

*Nile and Jordan.* By Rev. G. A. FRANK KNIGHT, M.A., F.R.S.E.  
(London: James Clarke & Co., Ltd., 1921.)

This large volume of 572 pages with its copious, perhaps too copious footnotes, is clearly a labour of love which has occupied its author during many years. Whatever faults it may have it is undoubtedly a great achievement. It may be described as a history of Egypt with special reference to her Palestinian relations.

We owe its author a debt of gratitude for the courage with which he has thrown over the time-honoured attribution of the Exodus to the reign of Merenptah, an attribution based apparently on nothing more than the occurrence in the narrative of Genesis and Exodus of the place-name Rameses or Raamses, which may perfectly well be an anachronism of nomenclature, and on the reference to Israel on the Merenptah Victory Stela, which proves nothing at all, but over which even some of the wisest have completely lost their heads. On the other hand we cannot but regret that he has adopted the higher dating (3500 B.C.) for the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty, long abandoned by practically every Egyptologist of note, and now made more difficult than ever by the evidence of the new Carnarvon cylinder, which bears the cartouche of a Sehetepibre', who is either Amenemhet I of the Twelfth Dynasty or a less well-known king of the Thirteenth, and an inscription in Babylonian cuneiform in a style which may be as late as 2000 B.C., and can hardly be more than a few centuries earlier at the most.<sup>1</sup>

The author has searched the literature of his subject thoroughly, and is rarely guilty of a serious omission in his references. (Max Pieper's article *Das Brettspiel der alten Aegypter* would have answered his queries in the last paragraph of p. 197.) On the other hand he occasionally seems a little uncritical in his use of his authorities, and apt to represent as fact what even those to whose work he refers would regard only as possibility or probability. Thus, for example, on p. 129, we are told that shortly after the Twelfth Dynasty the 'Sinai Peninsula was invaded and passed under Chaldaean influence, the very mountains taking on a Babylonian name, *Sinai*, from the Chaldaean Moon-god Sin.' In the

1. Petrie's note in *Ancient Egypt*, 1921, p. 103, to the effect that the cylinder may have lain some time in Babylonia before being carried to Egypt surely only renders his own theory more difficult than ever. How will the Assyriologists like the date of 3500 B.C. or earlier to which his chronology would assign the inscription!



first place this statement assumes the equation Magan equals Sinai, which not all Assyriologists accept ; in the second place there is no serious evidence for deriving Sinai from Sin ; and in the third place the author is surely under a delusion as to the time at which and the way in which the peninsula acquired its modern name of Sinai. On the same page we are told without query that Gudea of Lagash brought wood from Upper Egypt ; yet it is doubtful whether any Assyriologist now believes that Melukha means Upper Egypt. On the next page Amraphel, Arioch and Tidal are made vassals of Chedorlaomer of Elam, an arrangement which the wording of Genesis 14, 5 does not necessitate, and which the history of the reign of Amraphel (Khammurabi) does not justify. Finally, it is so far from being true that Piliter's article (p. 130) has settled the identification of Arioch of Ellasar with Eriaku (Warad Sin) of Larsa, that the newly-discovered Larsa Dynasty list shows that Eriaku died thirty years before Khammurabi began to reign, and thus can hardly have been his ally.

Other instances of this type of writing might be given. The pre-dynastic Egyptians should hardly be referred to as neolithic without some caution to the effect that Petrie believes, apparently on good grounds, that copper was already known, though in small quantities, in the earliest and most primitive tombs yet found. The contrary view would appear to rest only on unpublished evidence from Naga ed-Dêr, which cannot be accepted as evidence until published. To speak dogmatically of Semito-Libyans as inhabiting the North of Egypt and neolithic Hamites the South (p. 36), is the merest hypothesis ; light indeed would be the task of the Egyptologist if the matter were as simple and as clear as this.

This same lack of critical attitude is apparent in regard to smaller matters. For instance, we now know enough of Cretan pottery to assert with considerable assurance that the painted vases found in the tomb of King Zer at Abydos are not Cretan importations (p. 88). On p. 100 we read, 'This fort of Avaris is not Pelusium.' Yet Gardiner has, in an article which appeared since this book was published, placed it virtually beyond doubt that Avaris is Pelusium. In any case there was never any serious reason for identifying it with Tell el Yâhudiyyeh, an identification with regard to which we are told 'there is no doubt' (p. 101). Lieblein's view, that the names Potiphar, Asenath, etc., indicate the Hyksos period, quoted as authoritative on p. 108, does violence to the rules of phonetics and has long been abandoned. What, again, is the evidence for the statement on p. 112 that in the Hyksos period 'the chief hierophant of Ra at Heliopolis was at the head of Egyptian religious worship, and was of royal blood.' In the identifications of the sites of Pithom, Raamses, etc., the author exhibits a strange preference for the guesses of early explorers bent on finding biblical sites at any cost as against Gardiner's irresistible combination of philological reasoning and inquiry into what the Egyptians themselves have to say on the matter (a detail only too frequently ignored by Egyptologists). He seems to be



unaware, too, that Gardiner has destroyed for ever the illusion that Goshen equals Qesem or Saft el Henneh (pp. 137 and 241). The evidence for the identification of the Shardana with the Sardinians (accepted on p. 255) is very meagre, and Wainwright's identification of Keftiu with Eastern Cilicia can hardly be explained away as 'a mere matter of wind' (p. 260).

The book is not altogether free from minor errors. Thus Retennu (p. 167) and Keftiu (p. 260) are the names not of peoples but of places. The scribe Anna or Ennene did not compose the 'Tale of the Two Brothers,' he merely made the copy which happens to have come down to us. Similarly Pentaur (p. 233) was not a poet, but only a scribe who made the copy of the Kadesh Poem preserved in Papyri Sallier III and Raifet. No golden *Bügelkannen* were found in the tomb of Ramesses III (p. 259), though they were represented in its wall-paintings.

But despite such errors as these, which are almost unavoidable in one whose vocation prevents him from being in continual and daily contact with his material, and despite the lack of that critical discernment which only a first-hand acquaintance with the philological and archaeological as well as with the historical material can give, the book is a mine of information and reference which cannot fail to prove of use to the biblical student.

T. E. PEET.

JOSEPH HAZZIDAKIS. *Étude de Préhistoire Crétoise, Tylissos à l'Époque Minoenne, suivie d'une note sur les larnax de Tylissos*. Traduit du grec par l'auteur avec la collaboration de L. Franchet, Chargé de Mission en Crète et en Égypte. Introduction et annotation par L. Franchet. Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner. 8vo, pp. 88, 10 plates + 48 illustrations in the text.

This little book is a translation by Dr. Hazzidakis into French of his paper in the *'Αρχαιολογική Έφημερίς* of 1912 describing the objects found in the first three seasons' work at Tylissos between 1909 and 1912, an excavation that was notable for the extreme care that marked it.

The descriptions are clear and admirable and are only marred by the inadequacy of the blocks by which most of Dr. Hazzidakis' excellent photographs are reproduced.

The book is now amplified by an introduction by M. L. Franchet which sums up the results of the chronological evidence.

The objects found indicate three periods of occupation of the site. The earliest comprises remains of E.M.1, E.M.2, E.M.3 and the beginnings of Middle Minoan; the next, remains of the end of Middle Minoan and the beginnings of Late Minoan; while the third is of the Late Minoan 3 or 'Mycenaean' period.

It is implied in the introduction that the generally accepted Cretan

chronology is upset by the results of this excavation. From the book itself, however, it hardly seems necessary to go so far. On the face of it pottery belonging to the periods E.M.1-M.M.1 inclusive, found together in a stratum from .50 m. to .80 m. thick between the rock and the pavement of a later building, should in the absence of any reason to the contrary bear explanation as the result of the telescoping of the material of several periods done when the paving was laid down. For the rest the results of Tylissos, interesting as they are, are only additional indications hardly to be stressed to-day that any divisions made in describing a continuously developing culture are but milestones set up for convenience. They do not necessarily imply a break in the road.

In consequence, whether or no elsewhere a break can be discerned at the end of the Middle Minoan period, there is nothing disturbing in finding at Tylissos a building with remains of M.M.3 mingled with those of L.M.1 and 2.

A note on some Cretan larnakes completes an interesting volume.

J. P. DROOP.

*The Witch-Cult in Western Europe.* By MARGARET ALICE MURRAY.  
Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1921. Pp. 303. 16s. net.

Miss Murray claims to have discovered that the witchcraft of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries represents an organised cult which survived in western Europe from prehistoric times. She has not proved her case. In itself the hypothesis is improbable although it belongs to a type which would seem to be coming into fashion. Quite recently Miss Weston made a similar and in my opinion unsuccessful attempt to prove that the Legend of the Grail had its origin in the survival of Mithraic rites.

That Miss Murray's prehistoric religion existed at all is purely hypothetical; the two passages quoted from Strabo and Dionysius Periegetes prove nothing; her allusion on p. 12 to Janus and Diana is based upon a vital misapprehension of fact which reference to any reputable and recent work upon Roman religion would correct. Nor is there any solid bridge between this hypothetical prehistoric religion and the period 1550-1700 A.D. to which the bulk of the evidence considered belongs.

In the ingenious examination of the records of the witch trials I am not always able to agree with Miss Murray's reasoning. Upon more than one occasion she tells me that 'the evidence proves' something when the facts would be more accurately represented by saying 'if my main proposition is accepted the evidence may be thus interpreted.' Nor does her equipment for its interpretation inspire confidence, for although she has studied the documents of the trials with great care and thoroughness there is little evidence of any profound knowledge either of the thought and institutions of the Middle Ages or of the immediate back-



ground of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For example, she is misled by not knowing that the organisation into covens, so far from being a relic of a prehistoric religion, is a parody of a monastic institution, just as the Black Mass is the parody of a Christian rite. (Cf. *New English Dictionary*, *svv.* convent, coven.)

Again if she were at home in the biographical literature of the seventeenth century she would be likely to modify her view that William Marsh of Dunstable, the friend of many years' standing of Lilly the Astrologer, was a clear example of the sacerdotal head of a local witch organisation. (Cf. *The Life and Times of William Lilly, Student in Astrology, written by Himself* (London 1774), p. 76; Aubrey, *Miscellanies* (London 1721), p. 171.)

This may seem a severe notice of a book which contains a great deal of interesting information, but an important principle at stake necessitates frankness. No historical research can profitably be prosecuted without reference to the probabilities and known facts of historical development and to the thought and ways of life of the particular period to which they belong.

W. R. HALLIDAY.





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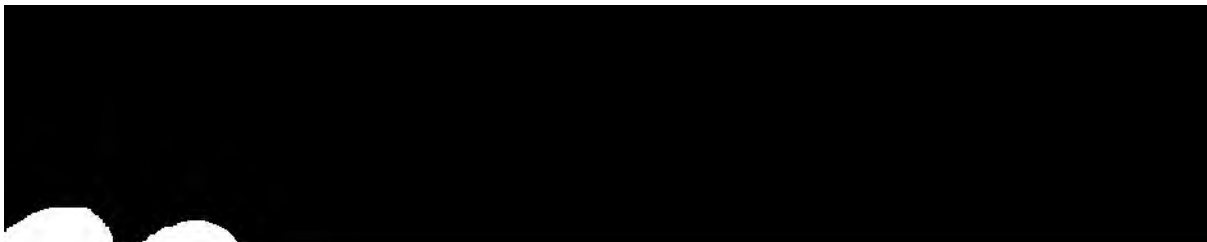
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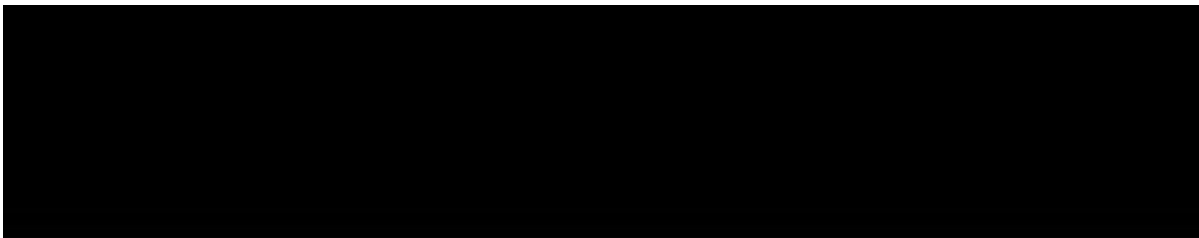
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## A NEW CYLINDER SEAL

BY W. B. EMERY

WITH PLATE LXIII, FIGS. 1 AND 2

THE cylinder seal shown together with an impression in Pl. LXIII, figs. 1 and 2, is in the Egyptian collection at the Institute of Archaeology. Whether it actually came from Egypt or not is uncertain. It was found in a box marked 'Esna,' but Professor Garstang can find no trace of it in his note-books on that particular excavation. Dr. Hogarth, who has examined the seal, pronounces it to be 'either Cypriote or Phoenician, copied from the late Hittite (11th or 12th cent.) type of North Syria.' Mr. Griffith found a Syrian seal of basalt in the Napata cemetery, which, though of far better workmanship, resembles it in certain points.

The seal is made of steatite, and is covered with a light green glaze, full of bubbles, with large white patches. It is 30 mm. in length, and 13 in diameter; the diameter of the hole is 4 mm. From the position of the men and animals the design of the seal would appear at first sight to depict a hunting scene. Yet two of the men, Nos. 1 and 2, appear to be fighting with raised weapons. The weapon of No. 2 seems to be a kind of knob-stick or club. It will be noticed that all three men wear round helmets of a distinctly Syro-Mesopotamian type, quite commonly depicted on seals from those regions. The upraised arm of figure No. 1 is covered with what seem to be bracelets, in contrast with the two other figures, which are devoid of ornament except the two lines representing the girdle. Figure No. 3 appears to have dropped his weapon.

Two of the animals, judging from their long curved horns, appear to be a kind of ibex. The resemblance to certain types of animal on predynastic and archaic Egyptian seals must, in view of the divergence in date, be fortuitous. The posture of the ibex on the left, leaping over its prostrate fellow, is more true to life than any other figure on the seal. The remaining five animals are depicted with short curved horns not unlike those of a cow. What animal they represent it would be hard to say. The presence of the three bull's-eyes, two of which are joined



by a line which makes them into a false running spiral, is perhaps the most important element in the whole design, for it limits the provenance of the seal to a certain area, viz. : Cyprus and North Syria.

The craftsman who made this seal probably first drew the device in ink before attempting to engrave it. He then marked at certain points of the design small holes with the help of two fine drills, one solid and one tubular, in much the same way that a modern wood-carver drills certain parts of his design as a start for his chisel. These drill-holes in the seal bring down its date to 1500 B.C. at least, for the drill was not used in seal engraving before that time. On this particular seal there are more than twenty drill-holes, the most noticeable of which are the three ornamental bull's-eyes. The eyes of the animals have also been drilled as well as the heels of the three human figures.

The seal, despite its Cypro-Babylonian design, may well have been found in Egypt, and perhaps even made there to judge by its glaze.



1 AND 2, CYLINDER AND IMPRESSION; 3 AND 4, FIGURINES AND SEAL FROM SYRIA. (See pp. 48, 49).





## OXFORD EXCAVATIONS IN NUBIA

BY F. LL. GRIFFITH, M.A.

WITH PLATES IV-LXII

*(Continued from vol. viii, p. 104)*

ALTHOUGH much remains to be said about Faras after the New Empire, we must now turn to the work of the third season at Napata, as this alone supplied us with monuments of the next period (and little else). Early in 1912 Mr. Woolley paid a visit to New Merawi and reported favourably on the prospects of work in the neighbourhood. The Government of the Sûdân having granted us the concession of all the ancient sites there we transported to Merawi our equipment and excellent Qufti workmen who were under the effective control of the reys Suleiman el-Fernîsi. The well-known Governor of Dongola province, Colonel H. W. Jackson (now Brigadier-General Sir H. W. Jackson, K.B.E.), who has earned the gratitude of many archaeologists visiting the province, gave us every facility. Unfortunately for us Mr. Woolley had gone to Carchemish and no other assistant could be secured that year. Mrs. Griffith and I found accommodation in a European bungalow on the left bank just outside the upper end of New Merawi, capital of the Dongola province. The house stood on the edge of the Sanam ruins, and although we made rare excursions in different directions over the whole concession, our time was fully occupied by work at Sanam, in an extensive cemetery (which produced a multitude of small antiquities), a temple of Tirhakah, and a store-house of the Ethiopian kings. It was the last season of the Oxford Expedition in the Sûdân. We had hoped to continue the exploration of Napata in succeeding years, but circumstances prevented us; and in 1916 the concession was given to Dr. Reisner who has year by year explored both banks in his own remarkably thorough way and with most brilliant results.

## VIII. NUBIA IN THE 'LIBYAN PERIOD'

After the end of the New Kingdom in the Twentieth Dynasty there is a complete archaeological blank in Nubia until the rise of the 'Ethiopian' power. In Lower Nubia, strange to say, the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, its ancestors and its immediate successors, offer no remains to indicate a prosperous and civilised population, and at Faras itself we found no trace of it. Important points, however, seem to have been held by the Ethiopians. At Buhon as well as at Ibrîm (the fortress protecting the river passage at Mi'am) there are remnants of sculpture or inscriptions of Tirhakah; and here and there a grave of this period has been met with in the wide explorations of the Archaeological Survey.<sup>1</sup>

It is in Upper Nubia, where lay their capital at Napata, that the monuments of the 'Ethiopians' are to be successfully sought, and not in the frontier-land between Egypt and Nubia. Exploration as yet has been almost confined to Napata and Meroë, but other sites may be expected eventually to yield important results to the excavator. In recent years Dr. Reisner has explored round Napata with such success that he has arranged in order a long series of 'Ethiopian' kings of whom but few were recorded before, identified their burial-places, and traced their origin.<sup>2</sup> No doubt his conclusions may need correction and amplification in detail, but the main lines are fixed and are included in the following account.

As the power of Egypt weakened towards the end of the New Kingdom, Libyan warrior clans, in some cases mercenaries of Egypt, in others invaders, settled upon the rich lands of the Nile valley. The Libyan chiefs ruled in their several districts and the most powerful families produced the Pharaohs of the dynasties from Dyn. XXI onwards. In Nubia too the Libyans settled, and the ruling family at Napata, whose representatives for several generations were buried in tumuli at El-Kurrû, were the leading power, probably at first owning allegiance to Pharaoh in Egypt. Continuing in a barbarism which the settlers in Egypt had thrown off, these Ethiopian Libyans also preserved intact their warlike qualities. It was not long before the Napata dynasty held Upper Egypt

1. See Reisner, *A.S.N. Report for 1907-1908*, pp. 342-343, and Firth, *Bulletin No. 7*, p. 11 (Cem. 131 near Maharraqah).

2. See the two articles referred to on p. 71, note.



and claimed suzerainty over Middle Egypt. Scarcely a written record of the kings survives before Pi-ankhy, son of Kashta. About 730 B.C. when Pi-ankhy had reigned twenty years or more, a rival appeared in the north to dispute his power in Egypt; Tefnakhte, an energetic leader, possessing Memphis and the western border of Lower Egypt, contrived an alliance among the princes of the Delta and overran Middle Egypt; thereupon Pi-ankhy sent his forces stationed in Upper Egypt to raise the siege of Heracleopolis Magna, which had held out stoutly against Tefnakhte, and soon after led in person a great expedition down the Nile, recovered the cities of Middle Egypt, captured Memphis, and compelled the submission of the princes of Lower Egypt. This expedition was a turning point in the archaeological history of Upper Nubia. Builders, sculptors, and artisans of all sorts as well as a vast booty were brought from Egypt to Napata, the temple of Ammon at Napata, dating from the New Kingdom, was restored, and in it was placed a huge stela inscribed in Egyptian hieroglyphic with the narrative of the expedition, together with other monuments in Egyptian style.

So far the 'Ethiopian' dynasty had clung to its ancestral home at Napata, and Bocchoris, succeeding his father Tefnakhte, ruled over Lower Egypt at Memphis and Sais. But Shabako, succeeding Pi-ankhy, suppressed Bocchoris about 714 and probably spent most of his time in Egypt, keeping a firm hand on the local princes and centralising its administration; for whereas the names of Shabako and of his successor Shabatok are sufficiently frequent in Upper Egypt and at Memphis itself, they have not been found on a single building at Napata<sup>1</sup> although sepulchres were prepared for the two kings in the family burying-ground at El-Kurrû. Tirhakah succeeded Shabatok, and for some forty years Egypt prospered under the comparatively settled rule of these 'Ethiopians' (who, doubtless, had a mixture of negro blood in their veins), until the terrible armies of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal in a succession of invasions from 673 to 661 plundered as far south as Thebes, driving Tirhakah, and after Tirhakah's death his nephew Urdamane,<sup>2</sup> back into Ethiopia. Tirhakah, unlike his predecessors since Pi-ankhy, did much to adorn Napata with fine monuments. In his earlier and fortunate years he may have sought thereby to unite all his territories against

1. See Reisner, 'The Barkal Temples in 1916' (*Journal of Eg. Arch.*, VI), pp. 263-264.

2. For the name see Ranke, *Keilschriftliches Material*, p. 36 note 2. In the cuneiform documents it appears to represent the hieroglyphic Tanwetamane.



the foe in Asia ; or his attention to Napata may have been due to the unhappy plight of Egypt in his later years. Tanwetamane recovered Upper Egypt from the Assyrians for a brief time, but Psammetichus, son of Necho, a successor and perhaps descendant of Tefnakhte, had used his opportunities well to establish himself, first as agent of Assyria and chief among the subject princes of Egypt, and afterwards as independent Pharaoh in the north, until by his ninth year, about 655 B.C., Tanwetamane died or was squeezed out of the Thebaid and Psammetichus found himself sole king over a territory extending from the mouths of the Nile to the First Cataract. His ambitions turned northward and he was content to leave the narrow Nubian valley in its poverty to the Ethiopians.

As has been already indicated, the civilisation of the Ethiopian court at its most brilliant epoch was borrowed directly from Egypt. Artists and craftsmen, carried up the Nile to Napata from Thebes and Memphis, were employed in cutting and inscribing granite, building temples, excavating graves, embalming the bodies of the dead, making vessels of pottery, bronze and alabaster, and moulding or carving ornaments and amulets in gold, silver and bronze, in hard stones, steatite and fayence. At first the contact was chiefly with Upper Egypt and Thebes ; but when Shabako took up his residence in Egypt as Pharaoh, he turned away from the traditional policy of the Twenty-Third Dynasty and revived in his titles the style of the ancient Memphite kings of the Old Kingdom. Perhaps he realised that they had engaged in friendly intercourse with Nubian chiefs, whereas the Pharaohs of the New Kingdom had crushed the independent life of the Cushites by cruel conquest and harsh government. The pious and impressionable barbarian marvelled at the antiquity, the massiveness and the beauty of the Memphite monuments, and sought to preserve the perishing records, to copy their inscriptions and to reproduce their sculptural designs.

It would appear that Shabako left no monument in Ethiopia except that in the ancestral cemetery of El-Kurrû, humbly imitating his great models, he built himself a tiny pyramid, a form of royal burial which was once for all adopted in Ethiopia and continued to the end of the Meroitic dynasties.

Shabatok, Tirhakah and Tanwetamane maintained the style inaugurated by Shabako. It thus seems that it was the choice of ancient models by the kings of Ethiopia which set the fashion of the age in Egypt and originated the archaism which characterises the Saite period ;

it was derived from Memphis, the central capital of the Ethiopian dynasty in Egypt, in spite of the strong ties of religion which bound the Ammon-worshippers of Napata to Thebes.

Of the kings who reigned at Napata and Meroë after Tanwetamane, Dr. Reisner has recovered the names and succession; of their history almost nothing is known. After the rise of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty under Psammetichus the connection between impoverished Ethiopia and Egypt was comparatively slight. It is clear that the two countries carried on an exchange of commodities; gold and ivory fruits and herbs and probably slaves coming from the one, well-baked pottery, cheap and serviceable, and bronze vessels from the other. The peculiar skill of the Egyptian stone-masons in cutting the hardest materials was no longer available in Cush; the artisans had to subsist mostly on their traditions and on such inspiration as they could get from earlier remains, from Egyptian imports and from the primitive culture of their African neighbours. The arts of Napata quickly relapsed from the fine or skilful workmanship of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty into barbarism and feeble imitation. The technical deterioration of their work is seen clearly in the series of royal monuments, shrines, stelae, pyramids and sepulchral furniture, and can be traced in the necropolis of Sanam, in which well-cut tombs and orthodox mummies gave place almost immediately to simpler graves and contracted burials, the local pottery is again all made without the wheel, and the amulets are of much ruder fabric. Egyptian, more and more corrupt, continued to be the language of the written documents.

According to Dr. Reisner<sup>1</sup> the series of Ethiopian-Libyan kings, with their burial-places, is as follows:—

Beginning about 900 B.C.

Six generations of ancestors ending with

		Kashta.	.	.	.	Tumuli at El-Kurrû.
About	744-710	Pi-'ankhy	.	.	.	Tumulus at El-Kurrû.
About	710-700	Shabako	.	.	.	Pyramid at „
About	700-688	Shabatok	.	.	.	„ „

1. For the Nûri pyramids see Reisner, 'Preliminary Report on the Harvard-Boston Excavations at Nûri' in *Harvard African Studies*, II. For the Kurrû Burials, Reisner, 'The Royal Family of Ethiopia' in *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, XIX, p. 21; and 'Note on the Harvard-Boston Excavations at El-Kurruw and Barkal in 1918-1919' in *Journal of Eg. Arch.*, VI, p. 61.



	688-663	Tirhakah . . . .	Pyramid at Nûri.
	663-653	Tanwet-amane . . . .	„ El-Kurrû.
Roughly	653-633	Atlanersa . . . .	„ Nûri.
„	633-613	Senk-amane-seken . . . .	„ „
„	613-573	Anl-amane . . . .	„ „
„	573-543	Aspelt . . . .	„ „
„	543-528	Amtalqa . . . .	„ „

followed by fourteen or fifteen other kings reaching perhaps to beyond the end of the fourth century when Ptolemy Philadelphus began to reign in Egypt.

### IX. NAPATA

For about 200 miles beginning at Abu Hâmed, the Nile turns out of its usual northward course, first westward and then S.S.W., to Korti and Debba where it resumes its northward line to the Mediterranean. So overpowering is the importance of the river to the inhabitants that in local usage even the cardinal points have given way to it; consequently throughout this stretch the sun rises in the 'west,' *gharb* or 'sunset,' and sets in the 'east,' *sherg*. The confusion seems all the greater in that 'north' and 'south' strangely retain their usual signification. For the European visitor it is necessary to adjust his ideas by holding fast to the designations 'right bank' and 'left bank,' and substituting these for the native 'west' and 'east' which elsewhere would mean 'left bank' and 'right bank' respectively. Professor Reisner, in his archaeological communications, adopts the native orientation by the river;<sup>1</sup> but it seems clear to me that the Ancient Egyptians and the Ethiopian kings in planning temples and tombs here retained the same orientation as in other parts of the Nile valley; the direction of the approach or axis would be influenced by the river and other local conditions, but the ordinary cardinal points dominated all in their minds.<sup>2</sup>

Two-thirds of this topsy-turvy Nile-compass consists of channels and rapids cut through the rocks of a barren region which culminates in the dreaded Fourth Cataract. The river is practically unnavigable

1. See his note 2 on page 213 of the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, IV. He appears to have found 'north' and 'south' interchanged as well as 'east' and 'west.'

2. See below, p. 79 note 3.



and only rafts are used to carry the few inhabitants from island to island or from bank to bank. Soon after the Fourth Cataract is passed, however, the character of the ground changes: the land for some distance on either side of the river is low and good for cultivation, abounding in palm-trees and cereal crops; the population upon it is considerable and fairly industrious. But the river is still obdurate, for though the channel is broad and clear the perpetual north wind and the strong current acting together make northward journeys a matter of sheer tugging at the tow rope, and this is not adequately compensated by the seductive ease of the southward journey. Navigation is therefore almost confined to ferry-boats and the occasional postal steamer of the Government, while passengers and merchandise travel mostly by road, on foot or on the backs of donkeys and camels.

The Fourth Cataract probably constituted a final barrier to the spread of the Egyptian power in Ethiopia; for the desert route from Koroskô to Abu Hâmed was used little if at all in ancient times. The Third Cataract was passed as early as the Sixth Dynasty; the Eighteenth Dynasty must have held all the goodly land beyond with its marts for the products of the Sûdân, and placed its Ethiopian frontier-station of Napata at the foot of Gebel Barkal on the right bank, within sight of the outliers of the Fourth Cataract.

Apart from certain monuments which were probably brought from elsewhere by later kings, the earliest record found by Dr. Reisner in the Great Temple of Ammon at Gebel Barkal was a great stela of Thutmosis III. His successor, Amenhotp II, brought in triumph to Napata the seventh of the captured princes of Syria, the bodies of the other six being left hanging upon the walls of Thebes. Less clearly, Napata, or the Ethiopian limit of the Empire under the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties is referred to as Nes-toü 'the Throne of the Two Lands,' and KRY.<sup>1</sup>

Nothing more is known of Napata in history until it comes into prominence in the eighth century B.C. as the seat of the Ethiopian dynasty of kings (Libyan in origin according to Reisner), who when Egypt was divided against itself first dominated the Upper Country, then ruled as

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1. Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, §§ 1020, 1025. Cf., for the possible reappearance of KRY in late times, my 'Meroitic Studies' in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, IV, p. 27; one is tempted to connect it with the modern El-Kurrû, the early home and burial-place of the Libyan-Ethiopian royal family.

Pharaohs in Thebes and Memphis for fifty years, and, finally, excluded from the enlightened regions beyond the First Cataract, shrank back into barbarism.

The most prominent feature in the landscape towards the upper end of the cultivated valley, after the river has emerged from the cataract region, is the massive rock of Gebel Barkal, rising with precipitous sides to a flat top 300 feet above the plain.<sup>1</sup> This rock, named 'the Holy Hill' in the inscriptions, must have been the religious centre of the district. Along the front towards the river are the remains of many temples built by the Ethiopian kings, the chief one, however, founded and adorned by the Egyptian Pharaohs of the New Kingdom. The remains of its temples and pyramids were first noted in 1820 by two travellers from Cambridge, Waddington and Hanbury, and were long since surveyed by Cailliaud and Lepsius.

On the high ground south of the hill are pyramids of Meroitic age, and on the north-east are town remains. It is only at Barkal that the name of Napata itself is found; but the extent of the royal residences is testified by the pyramids eight miles down stream at El-Kurrû on the right bank, and four miles up stream at Belâl or Nûri on the left bank. Thus the royal monuments of the Napata district cover a stretch of twelve miles.

In a central position on the left bank, about seven and a half miles from each extremity at Zûma and Belâl, lies the site known as *Şanam*, 'Idol.'<sup>2</sup> Here before we began our work the potsherds and rubbish of an ancient town were to be seen stretching from the river bank for a kilometre inland, and the circular sections of standing columns, worn down to the level of the sandy surface, were traceable in more than one place. It was known that the brick block-house 'Kitchener's Fort' (Pl. IV a), built by Major Hunter during Kitchener's expedition against the Dervishes, stood upon the ruined columns and walls of a temple; and the collection of antiquities gathered into the *mûdirîyeh* by the well-known Governor of Dongola province, testified to the productiveness of the place in figurines, beads and other small articles of bronze, stone and glazed ware, and in fragments of large monuments of granite.

1. 302 feet according to Major Talbot quoted by Budge, *Egyptian Sudan*, I, p. 130.

2. The natives seem to pronounce the name Şanab (and it is so recorded by Lepsius), but it is always written Şanam in Arabic.



Our excavation showed that the temple at Sanam was of considerable size, with a fore-court surrounded by a colonnade entered through a pylon gate; a second pylon opened into the hypostyle hall beyond which were a pronaos and a sanctuary surrounded by various chambers. All this was built by Tirhakah, who also put a small chapel in the north half of the pronaos. Aspelt, a century later, added another in the south half. The temple was evidently soon occupied to a large extent by manufacturers of ushabti and other figurines and ornaments in glazed ware, moulds for these and a few figures being found scattered through and around the greater part of it. It was probably for these artisans that rough walls of crude brick were built almost at random within the temple, blocking the bays; the side entrances north and south were carefully blocked with stones, and brick walls were built on to these, probably after some disaster to the place. There are traces also of a rebuilding of the brick walls after they had been ruined. The name of a late Ethiopian king is found among the remnants of stone-work<sup>1</sup> and late Meroitic inscriptions, and a few pieces of coarse comb-pricked Meroitic ware were picked up in the clearance. In the end we were compelled to clear away the whole of Kitchener's Fort.

The temple stood on the south-east edge of the town ruins. Along the south-west edge (*i.e.* down-river) of the town and at about half a kilometre to the south of the temple, began a large cemetery most of which we cleared, finding over 1500 cave-graves, brick-lined graves and burials in the sand. The contents were of the Ethiopian period, probably beginning about the time of Pi-'ankhy and continuing long after Tirhakah's reign; only at the west end a few of the cave-graves gave evidence of re-use in the Meroitic period.

A third site which we worked was about a kilometre to the north from the cemetery and the same distance from the river.<sup>2</sup> Here an extraordinary series of columned chambers was disclosed which appear to have been royal store-houses of the Ethiopian dynasty. Burnt and denuded by wind, the walls were reduced to a maximum height of eighteen inches. This site had been the chief local source for small

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1. See below, p. 111.

2. A plan showing the relative positions of the archaeological sites at Sanam will be given in the next volume of the *Annals*, with the description of the cemetery. Bayard Taylor (*Life and Landscapes from Egypt to the Negro Kingdoms of the White Nile*, pp. 433-435) is perhaps the only traveller besides Lepsius who has left any description of the Sanam ruins. He was there early in 1852.



antiquities for many years past. Opposite the west end were considerable remains of brickwork and traces of stone columns which probably belonged to the royal Palace and linked this 'Treasury' to the town. We understood that Herr Deiber and M. d'Allemagne of Nancy and the Sorbonne had excavated at this spot from January to April 1908. It is to be hoped that they will soon publish an account of their finds.

The surface remains of the town site of Sanam point mainly to the same age as the temple and cemetery. The flourishing period of all may be roughly defined as extending from Pi-'ankhy to Aspelt, the earliest part of the Ethiopian period, about two hundred years, parallel to the Egyptian Dynasties XXIII-XXVI. Meroitic remains of about the second (?) century A.D. and later are found sparingly at the west end of the cemetery and in the town and temple, and extend inland. Christian pottery is here found only along the shore; but at some miles from the river, in the Wâdî Ghazzâlah, are the ruins of a once flourishing monastery, whence tomb-stones inscribed in Greek and in Coptic have been taken to museums.

Merowe (pronounced Marawi), the charming capital created by Sir H. W. Jackson for the province of Dongola, is built at the upper end of the old village of Abû Dôm, which still preserves its separate existence as the native quarter, while the Government buildings of Merowe extend thence along the river bank to the ancient site of Sanam. Marawi is the exact equivalent of the Egyptian name of the Ethiopian capital which the Greeks and Romans rendered as *Μερόη* (Meroë); but its application to the site of Sanam dates only from General Kitchener's expedition against the Dervishes in 1897. The original native Merawi is immediately opposite Abû Dôm on the right bank of the river. Here was the capital of the Shaigîa tribe of Arabs in former days and a sub-capital of the older Egyptian administration from the time of Muhammed 'Ali's conquest of the Sûdân until its withdrawal and the occupation by the Dervishes in 1885. The seat of the sub-Governor was an old fort converted into a very handsome building but now again in ruins; in its walls are some sculptured and inscribed blocks which may have belonged to an ancient building on the spot if they were not brought from Barkal or Sanam.

If Merawi were less well authenticated as the native name of the place we might perhaps have attributed its occurrence here to misplaced

erudition on the part of those who organised the Sûdân for Muhammed 'Alî; they might have detected in the pyramids and monuments around it evidence that the village occupied the site of ancient Meroë. If the name be a genuine survival from antiquity we may conjecture that Merawi was an Ethiopian term for a capital, applicable equally to Napata and to the historical Meroë near Kabushîa. Mr. Crowfoot, however, tells me that Merawi, or as he has heard it pronounced Mirwi, may be regarded in the Sûdân as an Arabic name meaning 'place which is irrigated or watered' (by a *chor* or a stream of any kind), and as a matter of fact the site of Old Merawi is intersected by a watercourse. He has noted also a hill named Merwi in a map of the desert east of Omdurmân.

## X. BARKAL AND SANAM


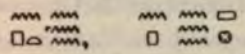
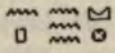
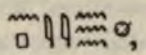
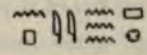


OR

### NAPATA AND CONTRA-NAPATA

In a few Greek and Latin writers (Strabo, Ptolemy and Pliny) we meet with the name of Napata (treated as a plural, *Ἡ Νάπατα*) as a royal city in Ethiopia on the way to the capital Meroë. The sites of these two royal cities are at once recognisable by the numerous pyramids which distinguish them from all others in Nubia. The ruins of Napata show that it was an older capital than Meroë, but in the time of Herodotus the southern city outweighed the northern, and the expedition of Petronius recorded by Strabo destroyed Napata so that Nero's spies found it only a small town.

The god Ammon of Napata and officials in 'Napate' are mentioned in Meroitic inscriptions down to the third century A.D. at 'Anîbeh, Faras and Meroë. An Egyptian inscription at Kalabsha of the time of Augustus, probably influenced by the Greek or the Meroitic form, names 'Ammon of Napate'  $\overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{D}} \overline{\text{t}}$  (NPD.t), L. D. IV, 72 e. But the ancient Egyptian name of the city was NP.t (the *t* being merely for the feminine ending which was generally not sounded) and was probably pronounced Nâpi or Nûpe. This is first found as  $\overline{\text{N}} \overline{\text{P}} \overline{\text{D}} \overline{\text{t}}$  on the stela at Amada (l. 19, GAUTHIER, *Temple d'Amada*, Pl. X; BREASTED, *Records*, II, § 797) wherein Amenhotp II records that he hung up the body of one of the Syrian princes on the wall of Nâpi. BRUGSCH (*Dict. Geogr.*, 110) quotes



the name Nâpe also from the texts of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel, here written  with the determinative of water as in later inscriptions, followed by the symbol of a foreign land. Lastly Nâpe  (Sanam temple, long inscription, below, Pl. XXXIX, l. 157)  (Tirhakah altar, L. D. V, 13 a) sometimes written Npy ,  (stela of Tanwetamane, l. 34, stela of Nastseñ *passim*) is named on the monuments of the Ethiopian kings at Gebel Barkal, the temple of Tirhakah (L. D. V, 9, 12 a), the stela of Tanwetamane, the altar of Atlanersa (*Journal of Eg. Arch.*, V, 104), the obelisk of Senk-aman-seken (*ib.* 108), the Election- and Excommunication-stelae of King Aspelt, and the stelae of Harsiotf and Nastseñ, the last two belonging to the very end of the Ethiopian dynasty. The same monuments designate Gebel Barkal by the name *Dw-w'b* 'the Pure or Sacred Mount,' a name which reappears in a Meroitic inscription on a group of Isis with Horus from Barkal as Tew-webi (*Journal of Eg. Arch.*, III, 114 (mm) and footnote 3). The presence of the determinative of water in spelling Nâpe has not yet been satisfactorily explained; that of the stone  or rock  is no doubt due to the situation by the rock of Gebel Barkal. The etymology of the Greek and Meroitic Napata, Napate, in relation to the Egyptian *Np.t* is not clear; perhaps the former contains some non-Egyptian suffix. The two forms of the name have a curious, if accidental, resemblance to those of the Nubian people known as Nubae or Nobādae.

It is remarkable that none of the above names are to be found, except incidentally, on the left bank of the river. They are confined to the monuments of Barkal. When we excavated the temple at Sanam it proved to have been dedicated to 'Ammon Bull of Bow-Land (*Ta-sti*)' or 'Ammon, Bull in the Place'; and in turn these titles of Ammon are not named on any of the published or accessible inscriptions of Barkal. But there exists in the Louvre a stela recording the endowment of a daughter of King Aspelt as priestess (in succession to her mother), in the temple of an Ammon who bears these very titles. Schäfer, who edited it,<sup>1</sup> recognised that this temple must have been in the neighbourhood of

1. 'Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Louvres' in *Zeit. f. Äg. Spr.*, XXXIII, p. 101.



the king's residence, but the provenance of the stela was unknown,<sup>1</sup> and the position of the temple remained unfixed till now. There is a curious point to observe, that the cartouches on the Louvre tablet, like those on the chapel at Sanam, are intact, while those on the two stelae of the same king from Barkal are all systematically erased. Evidently Aspelt offended the powerful and influential priesthood of that ancient religious centre. A little later the priests of Napata are credited by Herodotus and Diodorus with tremendous influence over the king, until Ergamenes early in the third century B.C. rose against them and slew them. Aspelt probably resided at Sanam; the wrath of the priests of Barkal was therefore not effective across the Nile, nor yet did the king or his successor dare to prevent them within sight of his palace from insulting his cartouche on monuments in their own domain. For a time at any rate we may gather that the hierarchy of Napata and the court in Contra-Napata were not on speaking terms.

## XI. SANAM TEMPLE

The temple axis,  $110^\circ$ , is approximately at right angles to the Nile, which here runs south-west by south, 470 metres from the first pylon.<sup>2</sup> There is a considerable rise from the river bank, the stone foundation of the temple resting on sand  $5\frac{1}{2}$  metres above it.<sup>3</sup> The total length of the temple was  $68\frac{1}{2}$  metres; <sup>4</sup> the breadth of the front pylon was  $41\frac{1}{2}$  metres, of the walls of the court behind 29 metres and of the rear part 27 metres.

1. In 1859 it was in the possession of Linant Bey.
2. In describing the temple in this memoir, the walls are assumed for convenience to face the points of the compass, the axis lying east and west instead of east-south-east and west-north-west. Thus the back wall is called the east wall. The respective positions of the nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt on the east wall proves that this convention was observed by the builder of the temple, who was not bound by the direction of the river's flow, as the modern inhabitants are in their nomenclature, making the sun here rise in the *gharb* (west) and set in the *shery* (east). (See p. 72.)
3. The following measurements above sea-level were kindly noted for us by the provincial Surveyor under the orders of the Governor.

	Zero water-level	232·906	above sea-level.
Shore	" "	251·356	" "
At	72 metres from shore,	ground rises	1·310
	172	" "	2·440
	272	" "	3·970
	372	" "	3·950
	470	" "	5·500 <sub>4</sub>

4. See the Plan in Pl. V for the following. The site surmounted by Kitchener's Fort is shown in Pl. IV a, and the ruins after most had been excavated in Pl. IV b; for their condition see below, p. 92.

The constant westerly winds have blown straight on to the remnants of the pylon face, leaving it mostly unprotected with the foundations exposed, whereas the ruins of the rear wall were well banked up with sand. No trace of sphinxes or other monuments was found in front of the pylon nor was there any sign of an enclosing wall.

The temple consisted of two rectangular blocks of building; the outer and broader block formed a colonnaded court entered through the massive first pylon; the inner one through the second pylon comprised first a hypostyle hall occupying the full width and behind it the sanctuary and various subsidiary chambers grouped together.

So far as could be ascertained the stone foundations of the walls and the pavement blocks rested on sand, which was held in under the whole of the temple by a single continuous containing wall of crude brick 50 to 60 cm. thick. This wall agreed exactly to the external outline of the building with its pylons and courts; the only exception was that, owing to a miscalculation or change of plan, the stonework of the second pylon at the north and south ends was made to overlap the containing wall, mainly to increase its width from front to back.<sup>1</sup> Apart from this exception the outer foundation blocks of stone were laid to fit neatly inside the line of the brick wall, and projected a few centimetres above the top of it. The foundation blocks had a chiselled surface; on them rested a second layer of smooth-faced blocks, retreating slightly, forming a plain footing, and above them rose the sculptured walls. The temple floor was considerably above the level of the stone footing. A section was obtained of the north-east wall near the second pylon (Pl. VI, 2).

Measurements of the bricks of the containing wall gave 28×14, 30×15, 33-35×17 cm. A block of the stone footing showed L. 58, H. 28, another, H. 27; a corner block L. 102, W. 51, H. 34. The pale local sandstone was used throughout.<sup>2</sup> It is of fairly even grain, but unsuitable for fine work and without resisting quality against salt and sand wear. The blocks were of moderate size, seldom exceeding a metre in length, the other measurements being approximately  $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{4}$  metre. The *dabsh* or stone chips, thinly covering the exposed edge of foundation blocks, and extending out some distance from the walls, was perhaps

1. The wall-line required by the original lay-out at the north-east corner of the pylon is marked by a dotted line at *a* in the Plan.

2. There are extensive quarries on the opposite bank in the ravines south-west of Gebel Barkal.



mason's rubbish rather than destroyer's work; the ushabti moulds (p. 87) lay above it.

Taught by Mr. Petrie's early excavations at Naucratis and Nebêsheh, we looked for foundation deposits in the angles of the retaining wall. The back corners, protected by fallen blocks and concreted rubbish, preserved their deposits. On the other hand the exposed corners at the front pylon had been much disturbed and probably plundered out in ancient times; the subsidiary corners at the second pylon, though undisturbed, yielded no deposit.

At the south-east corner the brick wall was about 90 deep, reaching the *gebel* surface; the sand in it was 60 deep, and the rest was occupied by the foundation blocks. In the angle, but at a little distance from the walls, a circular<sup>1</sup> pit for the deposit was dug through the sand and pierced the *gebel* to a depth of about a metre. The diameter of the pit was about 60. At the bottom lay some sand (probably filtered through from above), and six inscribed plaques of Tirhakâh of bronze, lead (?), crystal-quartz, green felspar, lapis-lazuli and green fayence respectively, with a thin plaque of silver in the centre. The silver was verdigrised showing copper alloy, the lapis-lazuli was cracked, and the lead (?) was hopelessly decayed.<sup>2</sup> There was also a small half-disk of white alabaster, uninscribed. All the above were carefully shaped, these beautiful objects contrasting with a very rudely shaped pair of model corn-rubbers in quartzite. Over them lay a heap of model pots, plain red, of five types, many of them in fragments. About a quarter of a pint of plain ring beads of green fayence lay in masses among and below the pottery; they appeared to have been put in loose, *i.e.* not strung together in any way. Inside one pot were found small pieces of malachite (?), or coppery colouring matter, and in another some pieces of bitumen; such things if originally placed above would naturally fall down into and amongst the pots. At the top of the deposit were the fragile remains of the skull and fore-leg of a calf.

The deposit in the north-east corner was closely similar, the plaques here being of gold, bronze, crystal-quartz, red jasper, green felspar and

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1. Dr. Reisner must have misunderstood me when he states that these holes were square (*Journal of Eg. Arch.*, V, p. 107). Our photographs (Pl. VII) as well as our notes show that they were cylindrical with rather firm sides.

2. This was the only plaque not recovered for us by the Governor from a thief who entered the house at night and stole my handbag containing money and the plaques of the foundation deposits.



green fayence. The alabaster half-disk lay inside a pot. There were also the corn-grinders, bitumen and beads (see the full lists, below, p. 90). The bottom of the pit was 110 below the brick wall, which here rested on sand 35 above the old surface of the *gebel*.

The inscriptions on the plaques name Tirhakah 'beloved of Amen-re' the Bull of Bow-land (*Ta-sti*); on the two fayence plaques, however, the god named is Harendotes 'Horus the avenger of his father.' The former is the principal god of the temple, associated with Muthis and Chons, but Harendotes is not found again in the remnants of scenes and inscriptions. Probably the fayence plaques were made for some other temple in greater numbers than were needed and were put with the deposits here for the sake of economy.

The front pylon was 40 metres wide at the base, and  $6\frac{1}{2}$  metres from back to front, excluding the roll corners which added about half a metre; in the front of either tower were two rectangular grooves or niches for masts, 1 m. 25 cm. deep. The entrance passage was 4 m. wide with central recesses 35 cm. deep. Although considerable masses of the core of the pylon remained, no architectural features beyond these at the base could be discerned.

The external measurement of the colonnaded court gives a width of 29 metres and a depth of 20 m. 50 cm. There were ten cylindrical columns in each half, the north and south walls each accounting for six. There was a door in the north and another in the south wall, the latter blocked with squared stones, the former also partially blocked. This court was occupied by habitations not many generations after it was built; mean walls of mud connect the columns and form chambers (the doorways were still identified by mud jambs and thresholds are marked *b* on the Plan), four holes have been made in the pavement more or less symmetrically towards the corners of the court for the support of water jars (*cccc* in Plan), and in the northern half is a great circular well, 3 metres in diameter. Above the floor level of the temple the well mouth was surrounded by a wall rudely built of squared stones to a height of about 70 cm.; below this it is roughly lined with large burnt bricks and small stones for nearly 3 metres, reaching to where it is cut through hard *gebel*. We cleared it to a depth of 25 ft. and it would perhaps be worth while to dig it out entirely, i.e. to some 80 ft. in case statues, etc. were thrown into it; it is not certain that it formed part of the original design of the temple.



The second pylon is 30 metres wide and only 4 metres thick between the courts. The containing wall of the foundation was evidently planned for this thickness only, but the architect enlarged the plan externally at each end to a width of 5 metres, so that the stonework overlapped the brick wall (see above, p. 80); the enlarged external width of the pylon appears to be an unusual feature in temple architecture, and was evidently here simply a trick to make a narrow pylon appear more imposing. On the south side each roll corner ended in a cube of 42 cm. resting on an upper footing block. In the south-east corner of the colonnaded court there was a staircase up into the pylon, of which six steps remained. The passage through the second pylon was about 20 cm. narrower than that through the first.

The so-called 'Kitchener's Fort' stood mainly on the ruins of the colonnaded hall and second pylon, and the ditch on its west side was cut into the solid stonework that remained of the front pylon, and on the north across that of the second pylon (*d . . . d, d . . . d* in the plan).

The rest of the building formed externally a rectangle, 25 m. 75 cm. broad, and 37 m. from back to front, which was probably all roofed in. Rather more than a third of its length and all its breadth was devoted to a Hypostyle Hall (K) of sixteen cylindrical columns in four colonnades. In the north and south walls of this hall there were symmetrical doorways. In between the four eastern columns on the north side of the hall Tirhakah built a little chapel or shrine of Ammon (M); and Aspelt walled off the south-east corner of the hall with a few slabs to make another chapel (L). Besides these chapels there are the usual brick walls of later occupation; and both of the side entrances were blocked. The south doorway is blocked systematically with large rectangular blocks, well fitted, some smoothed, others with pitted surface, flush with the wall but not decorated; a brick wall was built against it inside. The north doorway too appears to have been blocked up with a row of large blocks laid on rubble, burnt brick, etc., and above this row with small blocks, rounded bits of sandstone and rubble in general. In position against the east wall on each side of the axial doorway is a block of very white sandstone 117×53; the height of the southern block is 33, of the northern 30. Evidently these were bases for statues.

The remaining portion of the rectangle is more complicated. It had no side entrances. The axial entrance is again narrowed to about 360 cm. and opens into a small second hypostyle (C) the roof of which was sup-



ported by four columns ; on the left is a small chamber (J) reached through a narrow doorway by a shallow step down of 12 cm. and in front is the sanctuary (B) with doorway as wide as that of the second hypostyle.

The chambers round the sanctuary are accessible only from C. The most important is that on the right (D-E), L-shaped, reaching to the east wall of the temple, with a row of four cylindrical columns to support the roof in the broader part. The diameter of the bases is 131, the shafts give D. 82, 83 and 84 cm. The doorway from C (Pl. VIII a) is 120 wide.

The west end of E is occupied by a platform 50 cm. above the floor (Pl. VIII b) ; on the middle of this platform was raised a mass of masonry 270 square extending from the front edge of the platform to the back wall but leaving at each end a narrow space or passage between it and the wall of the chamber ; each of these spaces was reached by two steps from the floor. The masonry remains to 70 above the platform and in front of it there are traces of a narrower rectangular projection from the platform. The whole thing rather suggests the throne for a statue-group of the king with divinities, but most probably it was an altar.

At the east end of the chamber a door, only 85 broad, leads into a narrow chamber behind the sanctuary. From the north-east corner of the hypostyle another narrow door (90 cm.) leads into a complex of four small chambers with similar doorways.

The walls generally preserved one or more courses of stone above the floor, the pylon more, but very little was found in any part of the temple by which the height of the walls and columns could be estimated ; the only useful evidence was the remains of sculptured figures (chiefly feet) belonging to scenes on the internal walls, and on the outside of the east wall. No remnant of a capital appeared. The exterior angles of the temple and pylons generally preserved a relic of the roll-corners, and fragments of cavetto cornice were found both on the north and south sides which must have belonged to the second pylon. Two lion heads from spouts were also found outside the walls, respectively on the south side outside the Hypostyle Hall (Pl. IX a) and on the north side between the chambers H and J.

Outside the temple on the south was a brick structure parallel to and about 20 metres from the temple wall, opposite the east end of the hypostyle K and the west end of E. A solid block of crude brickwork, 270 square with a projection at its east end 340 long and 180 broad, may have been an altar with sloping approach. It stood in an area



neatly paved with stone slabs ( $97 \times 44 \times 17$  thick, another  $70 \times 50$ ) at about 1 metre below the floor of the temple. East of it was a brick wall or screen built on cement, the pavement slabs economically reaching, but not going beneath it. The western and northern edges of the pavement were not definable. Whatever the purpose of this brick structure may have been, it suggests an analogy with the neighbouring stone structure in Room E, and the dimensions of the two square blocks are almost identical.

The temple appears to have been founded, built and completely decorated by Tirhakah, to whom is due also the little shrine in the hypostyle K. Aspelt made his chapel in the south-east corner of the same hypostyle. Senkamanseken must have built something of which a fragment remains in the pylon entrance, and two later kings have left their names on blocks in C. But there were also statues and other monuments in the temple, one of which may have been earlier than Tirhakah, and it is quite possible that an earlier temple had existed on or near the site. To the south of it a deep trench in the neighbourhood of the brick structure just described, revealed a brick wall below its foundation and unconformable with it and with the temple.

As to the subsequent history of the temple, the floor was clean and unencumbered by rubbish when the irregular brick walls were built in the larger chambers. Some of the doorways, *e.g.* the south doorway of K, had probably been blocked at an earlier date. Many of the brick walls are much burnt, especially in the northern half of chambers C and K, and the stone walls were reddened by fire correspondingly. In one little brick chamber in the south-west corner of K (*cf.* Pl. IX b), there was a heap of small bronze figures of Osiris, probably a store for sale. Moulds for royal ushabti and for amulets in fayence and some examples of the finished products were found scattered in the rubbish for several metres outside the temple both north and south wherever we made clearances, although there was little sign of houses there, especially on the south side. When destruction came, the walls of the temple fell outwards, the blocks of the outer walls being invariably found outside. The soldiers of Petronius may have ruined this temple when they destroyed Napata, and there is nothing to show that it was in use as a whole after that time. The Meroitic inscriptions, however, found amongst the rubbish of the fort ditch in the south-east of K, as well as a fragment of an ostrakon inscribed in Meroitic and some potsherds from K, belong probably to the

third century A.D. ; and some portions of the temple may perhaps have been a resort of the pious or superstitious till the fall of paganism in the sixth century.

## XII. FINDS IN THE TEMPLE

Before describing the remnants of sculpture and inscription on the walls and fallen blocks, I will deal with the scattered monuments and antiquities which we found in and around the temple, and the contents of the foundation pits.

In the colonnaded court, almost against the middle of the face of the southern pylon tower, stands an altar or support for the sacred bark (Pl. X; marked in Pl. V), the right way up but tilted on shallow rubbish and evidently out of position. It is of black granite (?) rectangular, 120 × 130 and about 100 in height, well shaped with cavetto cornice but otherwise plain ; it has been badly fissured and large flakes have fallen away.

In the south half of the same court were found a lion's head (Pl. X, 4) probably from a statue of the goddess Sakhmis or some congener, and a small sphinx, possibly hawk-headed but the head almost worn away (Pl. X, 2), both of rude work in poor sandstone. In the Governor's collection there is a little bronze sphinx, hawk-headed, wearing the double crown.

In the south half of the hypostyle court K lay a sandstone base in the shape of a staircase (Pl. X, 3), on the top of which, no doubt, had stood a mummied figure of Chons as seen in the chapel of Aspelt.<sup>1</sup> It was of poor material and workmanship, unworthy of Tirhakah. Hereabouts, in clearing the ditch of Kitchener's Fort, amongst the rubbish were found two small fragments from the lintel of a shrine (?) in red granite with the name of the king Amananel, and another inscribed fragment of granite that may have belonged to the same (Pl. XI, 1, 2); and three fragments of sandstone inscribed in late Meroitic, perhaps graffiti from the walls (Pl. XII, 1, 2).

In H we found the head of a small statue of Ammon, well sculptured in yellowish serpentine, height 33 (Pl. XIII, 1, 2); on the back had been the titles of a king, but only the Horus-name, Wah-mert, otherwise unknown, was preserved (Ashmolean).

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1. Below, p. 108.



In J we found two large snake heads in grey granite apparently representing different species. The larger, length 34, width at eyes 23 (Pl. XIV, 3, 5, Ashmolean), has protuberant eyes with two vertical scales beneath their middle and broad blunt snout, perhaps *Echis*, or a hornless *Cerastes cornutus*; the smaller, with nostrils marked, is like *Naja* (Pl. XIV, 4, Berlin. See the figures in Anderson's *Zoology of Egypt*, I). Here also were two fragments of a much rarer object, a colossal vulture (*V. monachus* ?), the head L. 26 and part of the back and shoulder with *usekh*-collar (Pl. XIV, 1, 2, Ashmolean). All these probably belonged to statue-symbols of the goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt.

Outside, against the north wall of the temple lay a large part of the left side of the throne and base of a statue in black basalt (Pls. XV, XVI, 1, 2). Down the front of the throne, to the left of where the leg of the statue had been, is half of a defaced cartouche (Pl. XIII, 3) which I cannot identify from the faint traces, followed evidently by a dedication to Bubastis. The cartouche has been usurped by [Mai-Aman?] Pi-'ankhy; his name has here been fully spelled out, justifying the usual transcription of the name which has hitherto lacked confirmation. On the back is part of what appears to be the original inscription, 'to whom is given all life like Re' for ever,' preceded by broken remains that may read 'Hathor'; on the side is the emblem of the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt and the ends of several lines of inscription in late-Egyptian language, apparently added by the usurper ['Ammon in Thebes . . . . . Ammon, this is the doing of Re', . . . . . , Thoth wrote it, which men did not . . . . . , it is my . . . . . , I . . . . . yearly . . . . . 11746.' It is difficult to get a clue to the meaning; the text is of a very unusual character and if only it had been complete would doubtless have been important. One may at any rate suggest that the statue was part of the spoil of Pi-'ankhy from Egypt and had been originally dedicated by one of his opponents of the Twenty-Third Dynasty to his patron-goddess.

The throne of another statue (Pl. XVI, 3, 4) is of hard sandstone with scale pattern and the symbol of unity of the two countries on the side; the remnant of inscription names 'this good god.' On the back is engraved 'beloved of Kamutf,' apparently altered (by lighter engraving) to 'Bull of Ta-sti' without 'beloved of' to suit local requirements.

The moulds for ushabti and amulets on Pl. XVII reveal one of the industries pursued in the temple. None of the ushabtis are identical



with those figured by Reisner from the pyramids at Nûri (*Harvard Studies*, II, Pls. I-V). I have followed Reisner's example in his careful description of the features of the figures.

(1) Mould in firm brownish terra-cotta for the ushabti of a king; with beard and uraeus; no base. Of the headdress only the folds of the top corners over the forehead and the lappets below the cheeks are in the mould. In the cast the right hand appears to hold both hoe and basket-cord above the left which seems to be empty. The mould has been broken and somewhat injured. H. of figure 10·7. (Berlin.)

(2) Mould in firm reddish terra-cotta for the ushabti of a queen, well modelled with square base; no beard or uraeus; headdress bulging on the shoulders without lappets; hands of figure crossed on breast, right over left, the right holding a hoe, the left hoe and basket-cord. H. of figure 13. (Ashmolean.)

(3) Mould in soft reddish terra-cotta for the ushabti of a queen; body and legs shallow, the top of the feet only in the mould; no beard; uraeus on forehead; headdress smooth with lappets; right hand holding hoe above the left with hoe and cord. H. of figure 12. (Ashmolean.)

(4) Mould in soft and coarse red terra-cotta for the ushabti of a queen; the soles of the feet not in the mould; no beard; uraeus double; headdress with lappets smooth, but two lines across the ends of the lappets; right hand with hoe above the left with hoe and cord. H. of figure 14·1. The top of the head is slightly injured. (Berlin.)

Moulds in hard terra-cotta: (5) for seated figure of Harpocrates with curl and uraeus, soles of feet not in the mould, H. of figure about 1·8; (6) for dwarf, feet in mould, H. of figure 1·9; (7) for hawk-head of Re<sup>c</sup> with disk and uraeus, on rectangular base, H. of cast 3·2; (8) for lotus pendant, not channelled for piercing, H. of cast 1·7; (9) for conical chrysanthemum flower bead, not pierced, D. of cast 1·1; (10) another, deeper and smaller, D. of cast 1; (11) another, shallow and ill-made, with similar matrix on back and front, probably a practice piece.

(1) and (4) are in Berlin, (2), (3) in Ashmolean, Oxford, (5), (6), (10), (11) in Munich, (7)-(9) in Brussels.

Ushabtis. (Pl. XVIII, 1) Part of large ushabti of a queen, legs and most of right arm destroyed, pale blue glaze; beardless, vulture headdress with plain lappets; right hand holding hoe above left holding hoe and cord, basket behind left shoulder; no pilaster; round the body and legs three whole lines and part of a fourth remaining of the full spell for

'The Osiris, the king's wife Meqmel deceased.' H. 13·2. This queen is not otherwise known. (2) Small uninscribed ushabti of a queen, feet missing, the front moulded, back shaped by hand, no pilaster; headdress plain with uraeus or vulture-head on forehead, and lappets; right hand above left but no instruments marked; turquoise glaze, original H. about 10. Both of these are in the Ashmolean. There were also found a fragment of two lines of inscription broken from a large ushabti, the incisions filled almost level with the green glaze, and four fragments of heads, etc., broken from ushabtis like (2).

Bronze figure of Isis, standing with headdress of disk and horns, gilded on stucco, H. 21.

Group of twenty-one bronze figures of Osiris, very flat, of several sizes and patterns, L. from 16 to 5, from a brick chamber in the south-east corner of K. (Examples in Ashmolean.)

Small tablet of limestone sculptured in relief with the figure of a king offering a necklace with pectoral, considerably worn and indistinct (Pl. XVIII, 5.) The king is clothed in a long flowing garment reaching nearly to the ankles and apparently wears a leopard skin of which the head (?) is seen behind the waist; the ends of a long scarf from the waist or shoulders fall to the edge of the skirt. The form of the close headdress is uncertain, the ends of a scarf round it fall behind the shoulders. On the feet are sandals. The necklace is long, of large beads held so that it hangs in two coils with the pectoral in the middle. H. 7, W. 4·1. (Ashmolean.)

Alabaster spout in the shape of a gazelle's head; the horns, inserted at the back of the head, are missing. L. 8·2. (Pl. XVIII, 3, Ashmolean.)

Mace-head of white granite with little hornblende, surface originally ground, circle not true, edge injured by bruising. Original diameter 6. (Pl. XVIII, 6, Ashmolean.) Perhaps Meroitic.

Lid of vessel of fine greyish wheel-made pottery with stop-rim below. D. 8·9, of the same material and shape as from Daphnae, PETRIE, *Nebesheh and Defenneh*, Pl. XXXVI, 87-92 (Pl. XVIII, 4, Berlin).

Fragment of thin hand-made pottery, from the rim and upper part of a pitcher (?) with nearly straight sides, brown, surface burnished with black patches, the rim painted red inside and out and the rest below the rim in red parallel lines and hatchings apparently arranged in large triangles. H. 15 (Pl. XII, 3, Ashmolean). We have found nothing resembling this elsewhere.



Incomplete ostrakon of thick and very coarse pottery (from some large vessel or bin, shaped by hand) with sketch in black ink on the concave side, very faint, of two rows of small figures moving to the right; apparently a ritual scene of presentation of offerings to a god whose figure is lost (Pl. XIX). The foremost figure in the lower row, wearing the feathers of Ammon, offers a cloth in his left hand and perhaps a mirror or sistrum in his right; behind him a priest appears to hold a censer in his left hand, the right feeding it; there follow a priest reciting and three figures striking with their hands each end of long *darabukkas* slung at their waists from their necks. The upper row shows in front a shorter figure wearing loin-cloth, the left arm apparently brought back across the chest, the right down the side, his head turned to those behind him as if inviting them to advance; of these, six figures remain, their bodies bent forward and arms down in front in a reverential attitude. The lower part of the ostrakon is blank. H. 13·5. (Ashmolean.)

Part of mud sealing with indistinct impression of a small seal. Design apparently at the top a *uzat* with scarab below between two pairs of small *uzats*. (Pl. XX, 1, Berlin.)

Fragments of crucible with remnants of blue frit.

The number of fayence amulets found was small. Most of the notable ones are shown in Pl. XX:—2. a clumsy figure of the goddess Ma'at, H. 5; 3. scorpion with peg-like tail, L. 2·25 (Berlin); 4. head-dress broken from a flat figure of Ammon, H. 4; 7. solar disk, H. 1·8; 8, 9. two plain peg amulets, L. 2·3; 10. feathered cartouche of Shabako, L. 2·1; 11. pair of eyes superposed (two examples), L. 1·3; 12. tablet 'ankh, *dad, was*, on *neb*-basket, with loop not pierced, coarse, perhaps a trial piece, H. 7·9; 13. square plaque with winged uraeus, on back 'Amen-re' upon' (*sic*), 2·5; rectangular plaque with two crocodiles, L. 2·6; 14. nail-shaped object, L. 1·5 (Ashmolean).

A small but remarkable fragment of a fayence vase shows a design in relief with *was* and above it a hollow disk, apparently for inlay in a different colour (16).

*Foundation Deposits* (see above, p. 81).

Wheel-made pottery, red, painted with haematite:—

Pl. XXI, 1. Jar. In N. 3, two, viz.: one uninjured, H. 22·5; the other broken, H. 23.

In S.E. two, broken, H. 22·7 and 23.



2. Bottle, with straight neck, base slightly convex.  
In N.E. one, uninjured, H. 12.  
In S.E. one, uninjured, H. 11·7.
3. Pot. Base slightly convex.  
In N.E. three, H. 7·2 to 8·5.  
In S.E. three, H. 7 to 8.
4. Cup. Variable in proportions and a few with sides curving out.  
In N.E. twenty-three (twenty ?), H. 7·0 to 8·5,  
D. 8 to 9·5.  
In S.E. twenty (twenty-three ?).

(*Note.*—Most were broken ; in 1920 after mending there were twenty marked as N.E., the rest unmarked, of which three were attributed to N.E. and twenty to S.E. ; but there is some uncertainty as to the exact number originally and as to the attribution to the two deposits.)

5. Saucer, with rather marked ribs inside and out.  
In N.E. three, D. 16 to 17·5.  
In S.E. three, D. 16 to 17·0.
6. Coarse quartzite, rude imitation of corn-grinding stones, very rough.  
In N.E. upper, L. 11·0 ; lower, L. 18.  
In S.E. upper, L. 12·5 ; lower, L. 18·5.
7. Coarse quartzite, fragment, L. 4·5, no doubt representing the rubber for the lead ore (No. 12). In S.E., L. 4·5.
8. Bitumen, lump. In N.E. and S.E.
9. Resin, small lump. In N.E. 2·2 × 1·5.
10. Decayed organic matter, whitish.  
In N.E. from inside one of the pots.  
In N.E. inside fragment of pot along with a few beads.
11. Blue glaze ring beads, about a quarter of a pint. In N.E. and S.E.
12. Lead ore ? In S.E. in a pot (see No. 7).
13. Dark pebble, perhaps intended to represent haematite.  
In S.E.
14. Bluish frit (?), very small pieces apparently from amongst the beads. Both N.E. and S.E.

Pl. XXII. Plaques: 15. gold, thin, N.E.; 16. silver, thin, S.E.; 17. bronze, N.E., S.E.; 18. chalcedony, N.E., S.E. (a second photograph of each of these is given in Pl. XXII to show the inscription); 19. green moss agate, N.E., S.E.; 20. red jasper, N.E.; 21. lapis-lazuli, S.E.; 22. greenish fayence, N.E., S.E. The fayence plaques are inscribed with dedication to Harendotes, the rest to 'Ammon, the bull of Nubia,' see above, p. 82.

A plaque of lead, much decayed but probably of the same size as the bronze, from S.E., is lost.

23. Half disk of alabaster uninscribed, N.E., S.E.

24. Bones of head and foreleg of a calf, N.E., S.E. (see Pl. VII.)

(*Note.*—The plaques from N.E., taken by the Sûdân Museum, are deposited in the Ashmolean; those from S.E. are in the Ashmolean. The types of the pottery from N.E. are in the Ashmolean; those from S.E. in Berlin.)

### XIII. SCULPTURES, ETC., EXTERIOR

The scanty remnants of temple sculpture and inscription may now be described. The walls were ruined to the lowest courses, and the sculptured parts that remained in place were generally much injured, but many detached blocks with sculpture were found in the *débris* along the sides and back of the temple, and a few inside. Most of the reproductions in the plates have been drawn by Mrs. Griffith from photographs, which are difficult to interpret without the originals; they are however the result of prolonged study. Not a few are taken from my rough notes made on the spot, there being no photographs by which to check them; though given with all reserve, they may have a certain value, as the originals are inaccessible and may have perished by now.

#### EXTERIOR.

Except the pylons and doorways the whole of the side walls of the temple had been sculptured with small-scale processional scenes in narrow registers, one above another. It can hardly be doubted that they belong to the reign of Tirhakah, to whom the larger sculptures as well as the procession of nomes on the rear wall are definitely attributable; the titles attached to the figure of a queen in the processional



scenes on the block *B 1*, are unfortunately too imperfect for identification. The execution is rough for the small scale on the sandstone which, where the original surface is well preserved, is lightly scored with the marks of the chisels used in facing the stone. The sculpture is sunk below the surface, but, where one object is shown crossing another, as a rule it is given in relief; thus in the case of a wheel, the spokes and tyre of the upper half against the body of a cart are in relief, while for the lower half they are sunk; so also the carrying-pole is in relief against the necks and shoulders of the carriers, while the extreme ends are sunk. There is in this no essential difference from the method employed in sculpturing the nome figures on the east wall; the beard of a nome figure is marked by a groove where it lies between the chin and the shoulder, while the end on the shoulder is in relief. Most of the exterior sculpture has disappeared through scaling and decay of the surface even where the blocks have not been carried off; sometimes a single block of better quality preserves its surface when all its neighbours have crumbled.

#### FIRST PYLON.

*West Facade.* No sculpture remained in place. There must have been the usual representations of the king sacrificing prisoners. In front of the north pylon-tower many fallen blocks were found showing fragments of one or more colossal figures and of prisoners kneeling with their cartouches. Nearer the centre lay smaller fragments from the gateway. From the south half also part of a kneeling prisoner was recovered, and some blocks of Tirhakah were found introduced into a thick stone wall which had been built out later from the first mast-niche.

The cartouches of the prisoners on the northern pylon-tower (Pl. XXIII, 6) named specific countries or places, but unhappily are too fragmentary for identification:—(a) an Oasis *wḥ[t]* with the interesting spelling-out of the word-sign noted by SETHE, *Zeit. f. Äg. Spr.* LVI, 46; (b) Pa . . . .; (c) Shar . . . .; (d) Ar . . . .; (e) . . m(?)wa . . .; (f) . . . . r; (g) . . . menip (?); (h) *šp* or *š'*.

The north and south faces and the return faces at the back of the pylon preserved no sculpture or inscription.

#### COLONNADED COURT.

*South Side.* Remnants of scenes of procession eastward → with small figures in narrow registers, commencing immediately behind the



first pylon. The remaining height of the walls shows parts of three registers, the lowest commencing at 66 above the upper stone footing and 45 high, the second 50 high.

*a.* From first pylon to door (Pl. XXIV).

Lowest register ; near pylon, 1. the plain prow or stern of a bark with sloping bar (?) on water ; two metres beyond, 2. a human head. This register seems very empty and was perhaps not continued, but the surface of the stone is much destroyed.

Second register ; near pylon, 1. mules and riders ; two metres beyond, 2. remains of chariots ; about half-way to the second pylon, 5. crested objects probably representing wild palm-trees and desert herbage on undulating ground ; a little before the door, 3. square cart, apparently two-wheeled only, with trace of horse in front, another horse following.

Third register ; a line of hilly desert (?) followed by the vertical wall of a building is perhaps traceable above and to the west of the cart.

*b.* The door preserves no decoration.

*c.* Beyond the door.

Immediately before the inner pylon ; in the lowest register 6. desert hill, in the second, 4. chariot, with driver and quiver of arrows, drawn by two mules.

*North Side.* No sculpture left.

#### INNER PYLON.

*South End.* On the narrow west return nothing visible.

South face, at 150 above the upper footing an oblique groove remains, evidently belonging to a representation on a large scale.

On the east return at the end of a column 47 wide, two very large hieroglyphs *nb pt* 'Lord of heaven.' Apparently there were two columns of inscription.

*North End.* Nothing visible. Fragments of a colossal bas-relief figure were found on loose blocks.

#### REAR BLOCK.

*South Wall.* From inner pylon to door into K, remains of four registers (Pl. XXV, 1.) From below upward :—

At 1·20 above upper footing, H. 20, traces of ox bound for sacrifice.

H. 20, offerings of fruit, jars, etc. on trays and stands.

H. 20, small figures with victim being cut up, foreleg and head cut off and laid as offering →

Lower part of larger figures as in the rest of the procession.

Pl. XXV, 1. Door (blocked) to Hypostyle Hall, flush with the rest of the wall, jambs and lintel having been marked out upon the blocks of the wall. The lintel block was found complete in the rubbish below and is now in the Ashmolean Museum; part of the inscription on each jamb remains in place; together the door inscriptions have been, on the right 'Lives the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Nefertemkhu-re' living for ever, Son of the Sun, Tahraqa, beloved of Amen-Re' to whom life is given'; on the left the same, but 'beloved of Muthis.'

From door to south-east corner. The small-scale processional scenes recommence immediately. The direction is now westward ← towards the bark of Ammon by the door. Only fragments of the lowest row remain in place, 120 above the upper footing:—

Pl. XXV, 1-2. At the west end, portions of the lower halves of a group of figures, evidently priests, bearing the bark of Ammon as in Pl. XXVII. The aegis with ram's head at the prow of the bark is preserved with the leading bearer; facing it stands the priest wearing uraeus (?) and Ammon-plumes, reading from a square tablet or roll, while another priest holds a burning censer, casting incense upon it with his other hand. Behind this last figure is an enclosure with trees and a shrine (?).

After a long gap of about 350, at about the middle of the south wall, there are legs apparently of a succession of animals proceeding westward ← in the direction of the shrine and sacred bark. About twelve animals following each other seem to be accounted for, and with one of the best preserved there may be a trace of a rider's foot. To judge by the stray blocks they might represent animals either with or without riders, and some of the legs might even possibly be of men accompanying them. Further on, opposite the west end of the chamber D, are two pairs of feet of men ←.

*North Wall.* About the middle of the rear block one piece of sculpture remained at 100 above the footing, showing a boat on water amongst rounded sandbanks or rocks (Pl. XXVI, 1).

Loose blocks found at various points along the north wall supplement this to a small extent; viz. :—

At the east end (1) block with three men ← with hands uplifted in adoration, a ram head crowned with disk ← at their feet (Pl. XXVI, 2).



- (2) Block with boat having bellying sail, mule carts in register above.  
 (3) Block with offerings resembling those on the south wall, eastward of the inner pylon.

Further west, lion (?)-head aegis crowned with disk ←, apparently the front of a sacred barge (Pl. XXVI, 3).

Half-way to Hypostyle, three men ← towing barge with bellying sail, chariots in register above (Pl. XXVI, 4).

From J up to the inner pylon various blocks of the procession series occurred, the faces →; at the west end, fragment of offerings and another showing feet of draped figures dancing.

The numerous fallen blocks from the south wall may be grouped as follows<sup>1</sup>:—

A. Priests carrying shrines, etc. ; in all cases the movement is to the right (eastward) (Pl. XXVII).

1. Procession of the divine bark. Two blocks fitting together (L. 69 and 71) show the bark, containing shrine and small figures and decorated with an aegis at prow and stern. It is supported on a pole each end of which is carried by a close group of seven shaven priests moving to the right; the right hand of each priest grasps the upper arm of the one in front. The face of the second bearing priest is well preserved, and marks upon it might be taken to represent scarifications like those of the modern Nubians. Opposite the middle of the bark, by the shrine itself, walk two priests wearing panther skins and holding a pointed brush (?) in the right hand, one of them steadying the shrine with the left hand. In front marches a priest wearing Ammon-plumes and reading from a tablet, and before him is the burning censer held by another priest. Following the bark is seen the oblique stem of a flabellum held by a priest behind. (Ashmolean.)

2. Procession of a shrine (?) of Muthis (?). Two blocks probably from one scene. The first shows six priests similarly carrying the hinder end of a pole; an arm is stretched out above the fifth head, holding the staff of a flabellum (?), but though there is plenty of space above on the block, no part of a bark is visible. The second shows the leader of the hinder group of carriers, the shrine (?) with two priests at the side supporting it and three of the front group of bearers; above the foremost is the staff of a flabellum. (The left-hand block in Berlin.)

1. Some were sawn down and sent home, but most were left on the spot owing to crumbling or expense of transport.



With these compare the representations in Naville, *Inscription Historique de Pinodjem III* of Dynasty XXI, where the three shrines of Ammon, Muthis and Chons are separately carried, each in a bark.

B. Royalties proceeding to left (westward) (Pl. XXVIII).

Two blocks apparently belonging together, parts of two registers. The upper one shows the legs of a man proceeding to the left towards another figure facing him of which very little remains; behind the first are the feet and part of the robe of a female figure standing, of double height, evidently a queen or princess. The lower register shows another female royalty also of double height, immediately beneath the first, wearing tall plumes and holding a sistrum. The remains of her titles might be interpreted to read 'Mother of the king, wife (?) of the king Ba-ka-Re', *i.e.* Tanwetamane, or 'Mother of the king, daughter of the king Shabako . . .' or 'Mother of the king, sister of the king . . . ba-ru.' Behind her is a smaller figure of a man holding flabellum; the register is here subdivided into two, and figures were represented in each.

Probably in the register below this would have been the king himself, the queen being in the row above him and the princess above her, corresponding to the shrines of Ammon, Mut and Chons in the procession.

In the following description the register corresponding to the second register of the above is referred to as the 'queen's register.'

C. Attendants, musicians, etc., proceeding to left (unless otherwise stated) (Pls. XXVIII-XXIX).

1. Block, perhaps continuing the queen's register, divided into two registers; two out of the three lower figures raising their arms in adoration. (Berlin.)

2. Four blocks apparently joining, belonging to the queen's register with a fragment of the one above (the princess's). In the lowest row three men stand to left, holding a lighted candle (?) in each hand. Behind them a man turned to the right holds a ball (or tambourine or cymbals?) in his two hands. He faces another wearing a shawl, who plays a cornet and holds a wand with flower-like top (the design of the hand holding the wand seems to have been altered). Behind him stand three figures each holding a wand with curved top in one hand and other objects. In the register above are men turned to the right facing musicians. The first of these are two harp players, each accompanied by a singer who appears to be blind and holds the harpist; behind them is a similar group

of a drummer held by a cornet player, and behind these are the feet of two separate figures. In the top row is seen the arm of a man prostrate in obeisance to the right, with legs of a close group of four persons facing to the right in front of him; by exception only the backward leg of each is shown. Probably they are bearers of a palanquin or shrine. (Upper block of harper in Berlin.)

3. Fragment showing remains of similar figures, the lower one with curved-topped staff and headdress of feathers (?).

4. Fragment with remains of two figures and indications of a register above.

5. Block, two registers; in the lower one remains of three women dancers facing to left and wearing lotus-flower headdresses, surface gone on right.

#### D. Men kneeling in obeisance, turned to right (Pl. XXX).

1. Two blocks joining show the end of two rows of suppliants; behind them there appears to be an irregular or flat-topped bush in front of a building in the upper part and perhaps the prow of a boat below.

2. Block showing a row of three suppliants above; four male dancers (?) with tall headdresses below.

3. Block showing three figures above, two suppliants below. This seems to have fitted on to the top of 2, making another row of suppliants. Probably, therefore, the two rows of suppliants had a register of courtiers, etc. above and another of dancers below. The front end of the suppliants seems to be given by C. 2.

4. Fragment showing a suppliant.

#### E. Boats on the river (Pl. XXXI).

1. Block showing on water the prow of a boat with rowers and sounding pole and stern of another, proceeding to right.

2. Block showing two registers. In the upper one feet of two animals accompanied by men, moving to right, probably drawing a cart as in F. 6, etc.; below, a boat on the water, laden and with figures, apparently proceeding to left.

3. Block, two registers. In the upper one mules showing feet of riders as in G. In the lower, the stern of a boat with steersman, a rock (?) behind him.

4. Fragment, two registers. Two small figures bending to left in salutation, another standing to right, presumably all on a boat; above



them the hind (?) legs of a pair of animals and advanced leg of a man ; behind them a tusk-like object almost reaching the ground ; and beyond it doubtful remains, perhaps a vertical building, crossed by a limb (?) in relief, or perhaps the second foot of the man with the leg of an animal behind it.

5. Fragment, two registers. Below, desert hill and stern (?) of boat with steersman's platform ; above, legs of animals.

F. Wheeled vehicles (Pl. XXXII). The wheels of both chariots (cf. Pl. XXIV, 2) and carts have eight spokes. No. 7 with at least three wheels in the side is extraordinary.

1. Block ; chariot with quiver, containing driver (Berlin). On another block lower part of wheel of the same (?) chariot followed by the mule of another. This belonged to the lowest register on the wall.

2. Forepart of a chariot drawn by a pair of mules ; part of wheel of another chariot in front.

3. Block with remains of two registers ; in the upper one four-wheeled cart drawn by a pair of animals with driver running by the side, followed perhaps by the leg (?) of a running driver and the fore-legs of another pair of animals ; in the lower register head and staves of riders. L. 71. (Ashmolean.)

4. Block with four-wheeled cart, hind quarters of animal and leg of driver.

5. Block with cart, two wheels remaining and hind quarters of an animal.

6. Block showing front of cart, one wheel remaining, long pole with two pairs of animals and legs of drivers running by the side.

7. Block with six (?) -wheeled cart (three wheels remaining on the side), pole and most of one pair of animals, with driver running by the side.

G. Riders, all proceeding to the right (Pl. XXXIII). The scale of the animals, etc. varies greatly on different blocks, that in 8 being twice the size of others. The animals are generally represented as if with an ornament on the head resembling a third ear. The riders sit on a saddle cloth with tassels and a saddle with circular panniers having round marks (pocket-holes ?) in the middle. They appear to steady themselves by a high horn-shaped pommel (?) unless it be a cloth attached to the saddle.



1. Block with two riders on mules, one with both legs on one side. L. 64, H. 43. (Ashmolean.)

2. Block with upper parts of two similar riders on mules. L. 60-5. (Ashmolean.)

3. Block with parts of three similar riders on mules, the foremost, apparently, passing by a hut or stela with rounded top. (Berlin.)

4. Block with similar rider.

5. Block showing animals of two similar riders.

6. Block with similar rider but without pommel.

7. Fragment showing two riders on mules; remains of an upper register. (Berlin.)

8. Legs and tassels of an animal, exceptionally tall and on a large scale.

H. Animals without riders (spare animals) (Pl. XXXIV).

1. Two mules or asses with saddle-cloths, followed by a groom with stick; trace of sculpture in register below ← .

2. Series of three animals ← with saddle-cloths and saddles, much worn.

J. Various buildings, etc. (Pl. XXXIV).

1. A pylon(?) - tower and door.

2. A door and other buildings with trees, a man standing on left of the trees, much worn.

3. Grove of trees, partly in front of a building.

4. Desert with shapeless bush, perhaps belonging to the boat series (not figured, owing to the engraved lines being indistinguishable in the photographs from cracks and injuries).

*East Wall.* On the east wall no sculpture remained in place; but many fallen blocks here showed that there had been two series of sculptures, viz.: A row of small nome-figures with inscriptions, evidently from the base, and colossal groups of the king with deities that had adorned the upper part of the wall. (Pl. XXXV.)

Of the former series, the Upper Egyptian nome-figures faced → and were therefore from the south half of the wall (where the blocks actually lay), the Lower Egyptian ← from the north half. Unfortunately there is here no list or indication of Nubian provinces, the whole of which may have been nominally included in the nome of Elephantine 'The Land of the Bow.' The central block (see Pl. XXXVI) was inscribed 'Taharqa

comes to bring to thee the gods of the South Land' → and 'Taharqa comes to bring to thee the gods of the North Land' ←. The figures or inscriptions of several of the nomes of Upper Egypt were recognisable, viz. : those of I, Elephantine ; II, Edfu, and III, Hieraconpolis (Pl. XXXV, 5) ; of VIII, Abydos and IX, Panopolis ; of XI, Hypselis ; and of XIV, Cusae, XV, Hermopolis, and XVI, Oryx nome (Pl. XXXV, 3, 4). Of Lower Egypt only XVI, Mendes, survived. It is noteworthy that the figures representing I, II, XIV, XVI of Upper Egypt are made with beards and short garments, while that representing the XVth (Hermopolite) nome is female, beardless, with prominent breast and long garment. This seems to imply that most of the names of the nomes are masculine, but that of the Hare-nome feminine. A curious mistake seems to have crept into the inscription of the XVIth nome, where *Hbnw* perhaps should have been written instead of *Hnt-Hbt*.

Of the upper sculptures, remnants of colossal figures (about one and a half times natural size) and names of Tirhakah and Ammon were found, including the head of the ram-headed god (Pl. XXXVII, 1), headdress of the king (Pl. XXXV, 1), his foot and symbolic tail. The inscription marked a in Pl. XXXVI belongs to them. It seems probable that there would have been two such groups upon the wall, but if so, that on the northern half must have been entirely destroyed.

#### XIV. SCULPTURES, ETC., INTERIOR

*The First Pylon.* In the entrance between the front pylon towers is an architrave(?) - block of sandstone naming the king 'Senq-amanseken beloved of Amen-re', Bull of the Place' (Pl. XI, 3). It has been laid upside down probably as a foundation for some late walling when the temple was used for habitation.

The back of the pylon (east face) showed no important remains of decoration except, on the south half, the lower ends of ten lines terminating or appended to the long inscription on the south wall of the court, followed immediately by the footing of the usual type of scenes.

*The Colonnaded Court and the Long Inscription.* The Long Inscription (Pls. XXXVIII-XL) begins at the east end of the south wall at the foot of the staircase in the inner pylon, continues along the whole length of the wall to the west end (unless it was interrupted by the



door), and finishes on the back of the pylon. For the first sixteen lines the height of two inscribed blocks, about 75 cm., remains in position, protected by the neighbourhood of the second pylon; but for most we have only the height of a single block of about 40 and what remains is often worn or intentionally blank. Probably the columns of writing were originally several metres high, perhaps even carried up to the roof of the colonnade; the absence of date, royal protocol, and all introductory words from the first line shows how little has been preserved. One may perhaps estimate the height of the roof from the floor at  $5\frac{1}{2}$  to 7 metres, and the columns of inscription might consequently have been  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to 6 metres in length, six to eight times that of the remnant of the first line. The blocks in position can be supplemented by loose fragments to a small degree, but it is impossible to fit any of these on to the wall; from them it can be seen that the dividing lines were filled with blue, the hieroglyphs with red. The average width of the lines is 11 cm. but l. 1 is 13 cm. wide, l. 2 about 12 cm. and some are hardly more than 10. The remnants of the columns of writing are interrupted at l. 30 in a list of names by a door, but the inscription may have continued above the door and apparently the same list proceeds on the other side of it.

- (1) [Year . . . of King Tirhakah etc., etc.] by its name; if he lean on this nome, this god shall be
- (2) . . . . They went so[uth] to Shais, his majesty
- (3) . . . . [Napi] for twenty days, they departed thence?
- (4) . . . . they . . . to the holy place and when they had done all that they were doing in order to
- (5) . . . . they said, Amen-re', bull of Bow-land, great (?) god
- (6) . . . . a temple in his time by Es-ge-shoout (?) upon
- (7) . . . . to this locality upon which they were doing work
- (8) . . . . the ancestors, its towers standing entirely
- (9) . . . . his face, a statue of stone of the prophet who
- (10) . . . this . . . who went with him carrying out the work in the temple
- (11) . . . . in which this temple was fo[und]; and when . . . saw
- (12) . . . . sailing to Shais, his majesty said to the nobles
- (13) . . . [the temple of] Amen-re', bull of Bow-land, it was found as



- (14) . . . . . this temple was found as he had said in  
 (15) . . . . . [and the nobles said to his majesty] . . . his image is in  
           thee upon earth, his heritage is in thee  
 (16) . . . knit together a kiosque for him in thy reign, of the greatness  
 (17) [of thy love for thy father Amen-re'] . . . He is a god that  
           loveth him  
 (18) . . . . . a great god. And his majesty said

l. 22 . . . . . month . . . day 8, resting in (23) . . . organising  
 (24) . . . of Bow-land, superintendent (25) . . . all [offices] of his  
 house, (26) . . . [wi]th him and with the superintendent? (27) . . . he  
 went south.

ll. 28-30 evidently began a list of persons which continued to l. 57 ;  
 l. 56 ends with '21 women' and l. 57 was probably the total '544 (?)  
 [men and] women.'

The narrative then proceeded :—l. 58 ' . . . his way, he drew near to  
 Thebes (?). (59) . . . [The people gave praise] to this great god, unto  
 their children with [their wives] (60) . . . good progeny (?). One came  
 (61) . . . thy heir upon thy throne, the son of Re' Tirhakah (62) . . . .  
 manifested upon the throne of Horus for ever. They said (63) . . . [they  
 made for] him a great banquet of bread, beer, oxen, ducks, wine (64)  
 . . . . . Amen-Re', bull of Ta-sti, to the edge of the river (66) . . . .  
 boats innumerable (67) . . . [making a list of] all the things (?) by their  
 names.

ll. 68-91 must have contained the list, perhaps of contributions by  
 individuals or institutions and localities to the dedication-feast or to the  
 endowment of the temple ; and with some headings or short paragraphs  
 of narrative this continues to the end. In l. 120 'his majesty went to  
 the city.'

In l. 151 *et seqq.* 'his adornments . . . . the temple of Ammon, the  
 great god in [Napi?] . . . victims . . . he turned his head to the  
 [Sacred] Mount . . . . may their names be cursed . . . all his . . of  
 the previous day [and the god] assented [greatly] . . . . the great  
 [goddess] in Napi.

The south-west corner is reached between ll. 170-171 ; the few signs  
 in the latter may be scrawls not belonging to the inscription. A new  
 text may begin at l. 172 ' . . . all the [ritual?] of stretching the cord . . .  
 Nemt (?) the beginning at Memphis, [the end at . . . ].

No fallen blocks were found, only small fragments (Pl. XL); these had perhaps been broken up in the construction of the fort. One series was easily fitted together making a block (15) nearly complete, but the rest appeared to be disconnected. I have grouped these remnants of inscription for convenience under the heads of dates 1, 2; cartouches 3, 4; narrative etc. 5-11; names and titles 12-14, cf. ll. 28-57; lists of offerings 15-21 (cf. ll. 68-end).

Evidently the long inscription concerns mainly the building, dedication and endowment of the temple of Sanam. In it occurred the cartouche of Methesuphis (?) on fragment 4, doubtless referring to the fourth king of the Sixth Dynasty. This king received at Elephantine the homage of the Nubian princes and it was in his reign that Herchuf made his long and eventful journeys in Nubia. Unhappily the cartouche is on a very small fragment and its context is wholly lost; it is not preceded by any royal title; we might perhaps read [*w]nn . . . M . . . -m-s'-f [m'-hrw]* 'which [the deceased] Methesuphis had . . .' But more probably we should take the two characters before the cartouche as belonging to a place-name or geographical expression such as Water-, River-, or Channel-of-Methesuphis. Such may well have been a name in Nubia itself, comparable to the 'Residence of Amenemmes' named on a block of Ethiopian workmanship in the citadel of Old Merawi on the right bank. The kings of Dyn. XXV, admirers of the glories of the Old Kingdom, may have been proud to preserve or revive such a name in Ethiopia. The fragment is now in the Ashmolean Museum.

The locality Shais, named twice in the early lines, is unfortunately not recorded elsewhere. The references to Memphis are obscure; perhaps a visit of Tirhakah to his Egyptian capital is here referred to, or perhaps Memphis was named as a contributor to his temple at Napata.

But at present all is conjecture. It is very unfortunate that we cannot even tell whether the temple was built and dedicated in the years of Tirhakah's prosperity or after the Assyrians had brought disaster upon him and upon Egypt. The expression 'cursed be their names' in l. 155 shows that the long inscription was not without interesting historical references and the loss of so much narrative and detail of various kinds is deplorable.

In the southern half of the court lay several inscribed blocks. Two fragments of columns showed the name of Amen-re' and the cartouche of Tirhakah (Pl. XXVI, 5, 6). A piece of cavetto cornice built into a



brick wall also showed portions of the two cartouches of Tirhakah (7); and a slab (8) inscribed ' . . . their temples upon their estates (?) . . . [filled (?)] with male and female slaves . . . . the Tehenu-Libyans ' and another sculptured with some representations of divine accoutrements, collars, pectorals and staves and inscription ' . . . [Bull of] Tasti, son (?) . . . ' (Pl. XI, 4) probably recorded gifts to the temple.

#### INNER PYLON.

*West Face*, forming the east wall of the Colonnaded Court. The south half is best preserved. It shows a slightly raised door-jamb 77 cm. broad with remains of a smallish standing figure sculptured upon it, beginning at 110 above the floor. Beyond the jambs on each half, extending from 68 to 110 above the floor, was a horizontal band of six parallel grooves filled with black, the upper three spaces between the lines painted yellow, green, yellow. Above is a row of prisoners kneeling with cartouches in front. Twelve were on the south side and are all traceable, viz.: ' . . . , [Nations of the East], Nat[ions of the Wes]t, Nations of the North, Nations of the South, Fenchu, All Lands, Shasu, South Land and North Land, Bowmen of the Deserts, Libyans, All the embrace of the great Circuit.' Above and on scattered blocks are remnants of the usual scene of sacrifice of prisoners. Beyond this is engraved a single column of inscription mentioning ' [Bull] of Ta-sti,' and then comes the stairway (Pl. XLI, 1).

On the north side only a fragment of one prisoner's name remains.

*East Face*, forming the west wall of the Hypostyle Hall. The lower parts of a succession of scenes are preserved (Pl. XLI, 2 from my rough notes).

South of entrance, proceeding southward.

1. End of column of large inscription on jamb of doorway.
2. Scene of king with staff and mace leaving the temple (Pl. XLII, 1).
3. Scene of [Taha]rqa's purification with deluges of 'ankh and was by two gods standing on troughs or basins.
4. Tirhakah wearing sandals, embraced by a god on either side.
5. King wearing tail and sandals with red legs followed by a god with blue legs. This reaches the corner.

Below the scenes are the usual base lines, showing red between yellow bands.



North of entrance, proceeding northward. Pl. XLI, 2, as above.

1. Column of inscription.

2. King wearing sandals between two gods conducting him.

3. Two small figures of divinities on thrones, a third effaced, and indications of another in a row above. This was evidently a representation of the divine Ennead, or of the two Enneads, one in each row. They are followed by three columns of inscription and part of a larger standing figure (of the king offering to the Ennead) (Pl. XLII, 2).

At the northern end about a third of the whole length was broken away in making the ditch of the fort.

#### HYPOSTYLE HALL (K).

*South Wall.* East to west. (The shrine of Aspelt is in the south-east corner, but hardly interferes with the Tirhakah sculptures.)

1. Feet of a figure of the king above life size wearing sandals and a long garment ornamented in squares, followed by a smaller figure without sandals, lower edge of garment fringed (Pl. XXIII, 1).

2. Door, neatly blocked with squared stones flush with the wall but undecorated, each jamb with cartouches of Tirhakah in two columns (*ib.*).

3. A brick wall hides the east end; then three figures, the feet of the foremost (the king) destroyed, the others sandalled (reaching to pylon). Probably this scene represented Ammon or some other deity approached by the king and two princes (*ib.*).

*North Wall.* Doorway (blocked with rubble and stone). On the east jamb, remnant of two columns of inscription naming 'Amen-Re', Bull in the Place' (Pl. XXIII, 2).

Beyond this, remains of feet and base lines.

*East Wall.* The framing of the door, 73 cm. broad and raised 2.50 above the general level, remains to a height of 100, the base line of decoration being at about 80. North of the entrance, part of the wall remains to a height of 160, the surface preserved at the north end, showing red band between two yellow bands separated by black lines at 75-95, above which are the sandalled feet of two male figures before an altar, followed by the foot of a god holding the *was*-sceptre; there also remains one foot of a figure facing them on the other side of the altar. South of the entrance next to the framing, is the end of a column of hieroglyphs (Pl. XXIII, 3).

*Columns.* None of the decoration remains.

The small *shrine of Tirhakah*, 370 square, internally 230, was built between four columns in the northern half, facing south. The upper part of the walls is destroyed at the level of the shoulders of the sculptured figures, about 160 (Pl. XLIII).

3. On the right jamb, dedication by Tirhakah 'beloved of Amen-re', Bull in the Place' and 'Muthis, lady of Heaven.' On the left 'beloved of Amen-re', Bull of Tasti' and 'Muthis, lady of Heaven.'

On the east side nothing remains except some feet.

1. On the west side three columns of inscription between which are two scenes; on the left a god → holding *was* faces the king who wears sandals and tail; on right, probably a similar scene.

4. On the back a similar arrangement with symmetrical scenes; on the left, Tirhakah standing ← wearing sandals and holding 'ankh and mace, is embraced by a god → wearing tail.

INTERIOR. The narrow space at each side of the entrance was probably blank; each of the other walls had traces of a scene of a king worshipping two deities:—On the east wall, Ammon and another male god. On the north wall? On the west wall, god and goddess. The remains of inscription on the three walls are shown in 2.

The roofing blocks had collapsed inside; they were painted beneath with yellow stars having red centres on a blue ground.

The lower part of the entrance (115 wide) of this little chapel was blocked by a large slab and two fragments of its cavetto cornice laid in neatly, see 3.

*Shrine of Aspelt.* This was timidly constructed in the south-east corner by utilising the existing walls and fitting in a wall of thin slabs from the east wall of K to the nearest column and then another on to the next column; from this a kind of west façade wall was made by a double thickness of slabs carried to the south wall. These slabs, forming the north and west walls of the shrine, have some rough edges and are not skilfully adjusted; where they met the outside curve of the column, they are cut away at the back to fit it. They are of very white sandstone (like those of the Treasury) and were sculptured inside and out. But the original sculptures on the east and south walls of K were not tampered with; only on the east wall inside the shrine a new row of figures was begun below those of Tirhakah. The interior measurements are, width 375, to outside north wall 400; length 420, to outside west wall 475.



The upper part of the walls has gone and it is not certain that the shrine was ever roofed over. The eastern half of the north wall still shows the heads of the sculptured figures and reaches 130; probably a roll beading and cavetto cornice would have completed it at about the height of a man.

EXTERIOR. The little west façade (Pl. XLIV, 1) shows a doorway with jambs outlined by a roll beading; it was doubtless surmounted by an architrave with cavetto cornice. On each jamb was engraved a figure of the king, standing, wearing pointed kilt and tail and holding a staff (head lost) in one hand, and mace and 'ankh in the other. Between the jamb and the south wall of K are the feet of two figures embracing, evidently the king, wearing sandals, and a god—'I have overthrown thine enemies every day.' On the left side the corresponding space is much narrowed by the projection of the column and it was apparently filled by a figure of the bark of Sokaris, the stand of which alone remains.

On the north wall outside, (1) East half (Pl. XLIV, 2), from east wall of K to column, king offering 'to his father Amen-re' [bull of] Ta-sti → ' who promises 'there is no ill in [thy] time,' and 'thou art established for ever.' (2) West half (Pl. XLV), from column to west wall, feet of king followed by two females pouring libations (all without sandals) facing Ammon, Mut and Chons, the last figured as a mummy on a pedestal.

The ditch of Kitchener's Fort was dug here and evidently destroyed the topmost stones remaining of the wall. Lepsius' expedition had noted a 'portion of a partition-wall between two large columns in the great temple near Abudom. A king, a queen and a daughter stand before the three deities, Amonra, Mut, Ptah (?); the king gives his hand to Amonra'; and copied the inscriptions and the royal figures as far as they were visible above ground.<sup>1</sup> His summary copies of these upper parts fortunately contain an overlap of the line of inscription which is still preserved. Their connection being thus guaranteed, they can be readily fitted to the remnants left and are utilised in our plate. Lepsius' doubtful Ptah can be corrected to Chons, the third member of the Theban triad, whose figure often bears a resemblance to that of Ptah, only differentiated by the lunar disk which had probably been destroyed in the present case long before Lepsius' visit. The same triad is seen on the stela of

1. LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, Text, V (Nubien, etc.), p. 285.



Aspelt in the Louvre (*Ä.Z.* XXXIII, pl. IV) as well as on one from Gebel Barkal (Mariette, *Mon. Div.*, pl. 10). The same fragment must be referred to also earlier, immediately after the heading *Abu Dom*<sup>1</sup> where we read 'In Napata are to be distinguished some eight different buildings which appear to have been mostly temples. One of them is recognisable by a mound, fragments of columns and blocks; on the last is found a king's name (*S<sup>o</sup>-re' . . . It*).' This remnant of the king's title agrees exactly with that in the other copy. Lepsius' 'Napata' here seems to stand for the Abû Dôm site, and indeed the name of Aspelt would hardly have survived on the right bank at Jebel Barkal (see above, p. 79). These are the only references to our temple, and it is fortunate that its one fragmentary record can be identified and utilised here. It is clearly from this same inscription that the two cartouches labelled 'Abu Dom' in Lepsius' *Königsbuch*, Nos. 959, 960 are taken.

To return to the scene as now restored by the help of Lepsius' record, Ammon greets the king, taking his hand as when a deity leads a king forward, '[thou art] living like Re' for ever.' Behind the king two princesses with curious tailed garments (as in the Louvre stela) are rattling sistra in the right hand, and emptying libation vases in the left; the swinging handle of one of the vases is seen hanging downwards across the stream of water. The strange headdress of the second princess is preserved in Lepsius' copy, showing four curved bars issuing from small cup-like objects. Above them appear to be the words which they are singing, but the fragmentary copy gives no clue to their names and is altogether obscure. 'Words said by the royal sister' and 'son [of the Sun, Aspe]lt . . . like Thoth' are in the second half, and in the first half another obscure cartouche which probably should be corrected to 'Aspelt' followed by 'living for ever, thou establishest' is recognisable. Between the two ladies is ' . . . rowing Amenre', making (?) the path of Re', that we (?) may tread upon his water-path like . . . ' This may be a continuation of one of the lines at the top.

As the east and south walls were formed by portions of the massive constructions of Tirhakah, there is no sign on the outside of their connection with Aspelt's shrine.

INTERIOR. *West Wall* (Pl. XLVI, 2). Left of door, two columns of

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1. *Ib.*, p. 283.

hieroglyphs followed by remains of a scene showing legs of a figure of the king on a tank of ablutions with inscription referring to purification, and his name 'son of the Sun, Aspelt.' This scene has been re-stuccoed and a second coating of colour painting put over the first, and some of the inscription appears to have been doubly engraved. Right of door, three columns of inscription and scene of a small figure of the 'southern Mert' before the king on a tank (see BLACKMAN, *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, VII, 9).

*North Wall.* From the west wall to the column (Pl. XLVI, 1) the legs of three male figures wearing divine or royal tails remain, and in front a column of inscription '. . . . son of the Sun, Aspelt, living for ever.' Behind them in one column, '[the southern are] in obeisance, the northern in [adoration].' The three figures might be simply a multiplication of the figure of the king, or two of them may have represented princes.

From the column to the east wall, part remains to a height of about 130, but nearly all is defaced (Pl. XLVII, 1). At the top the head of a king is fairly well preserved, wearing close-fitting cap and double uraeus. He stood opposite a large pendent uraeus behind which is the headless figure of a goddess. A scene on the walls of the small temple of Tirhakah at Gebel Barkal gives the clue to this remnant. The king must be offering to a seated figure of Ammon, perhaps ram-headed, behind whom stands Mut, the two deities being in a shrine from the cornice (?) of which hangs an enormous uraeus. Two columns of inscription are faintly traceable behind the king, and other inscriptions are scattered about. A base band to the scene, red between black, is seen at about 40 above the floor.

*South Wall.* So far as can be ascertained nothing was added by Aspelt to the sculptures on this wall.

*East Wall.* The footing lines of Tirhakah's scenes remain. Below them, at a lower level than the rest of the sculpture in Aspelt's shrine, are engraved the more or less unfinished outlines of seven male figures ← bringing offerings (Pl. XLVII, 2); of these two libation vessels (one unfinished) are recognisable, each terminating above in a hawk's head crowned with the sun's disk, and a jar with cover of the same form. The procession begins south of the middle of the wall and at the north end there is an apparently blank space that could have taken one more figure. Brick walls had covered up part of these and of other pieces of sculpture in Aspelt's shrine.



## HYPOSTYLE C.

Of the *walls* generally, two courses remain to a height of 80 cm., in places three courses, H. 130, and on the west wall to north of the axial entrances, four courses, H. 170. This chamber is distinguished from all the others by false-door panelling incised on all the walls from the floor to a height of 90 or 95 cm.; traces of coloured stucco on the north wall complete the scheme (Pl. VI, 1). Feet, etc., of sculptured scenes remain on the north and west walls beginning at 117 above the floor, with the usual horizontal lines below.

*Doorways.* That into hypostyle K had no framing, the panelling reaching to the edge; that into B had a framing, 71 wide, raised 2 cm.; into D, E, left jamb plain, on right jamb inscription reaching almost to the floor (Pl. XXVI, 9); into J (Pl. XXXVII, 2) left jamb plain, right jamb with inscription in relief (Pl. XXIII, 4); into H, right jamb plain, on the left cartouche of Tirhakah, etc. in relief (Pl. XXIII, 5).

*Columns.* The base has bevelled edge, height about 25-30, diam. 130. Of the shafts about 70 to 115 of the height remains; diam. at 115 above base 97; they appear to have been plain except on the face towards the central aisle; here on the north-east column is a trace of a column of inscription in relief between vertical lines, beginning at 35 above the base (Pl. XXVI, 10).

In the entrance to K lay a sandstone block with titles of an unknown king in large hieroglyphs (Pl. XXVI, 13). Unfortunately there is no cartouche, but as the subsidiary titles of the first four kings after Tanwetamane in Reisner's list,<sup>1</sup> viz. Atlanerse, Senkamanskeken, Amananel and Aspelt, are known, this must be placed later.

Near the entrance to J lay a block with part of a royal name (11), evidently that of Aman-mal-(nefr?)-wy(b?), who is placed very late by Reisner, at the thirteenth place in the series of nineteen kings after Tanwetamane.

Later brick walls connecting the columns, etc., were laid on the clean floor; they were much burnt, especially in the northern half, and the stone walls were reddened by fire correspondingly.

Blocks found in and about C (one between the entrances to B and H, another in the doorway between K and C, a third resting on the wall

1. *Harvard African Studies*, II, p. 63.



between K and J) (Pl. XLVIII) show in a fragmentary way the cartouches of Tirhakah side by side between two representations of his Horus-title; the hawks belonging to the titles are turned in opposite directions, and each receives *was* from the emblem or figure of a deity accompanied by an inscription describing the king as 'beloved' of that deity. In one case the deity is Nekhebt; she is figured as a vulture and stands on a basket supported by the symbol of the plant of Upper Egypt; this design makes in monogram, 'Nekhebt, mistress of Upper Egypt,' the inscription continuing 'the white one [of Nekhen] mistress of . . . . .'. Another example has 'Amen-re', Bull of . . . . .'. In another case a deity at each end of the block is lost, and the disk of the sun with uraei and its name Behedti are over where the cartouches should be, apparently taking the place of the ordinary titles. Another block preserves the lower part of the cartouches and the end of the inscription 'beloved of . . . . . living for ever'; in this case, further, the top of a king's headdress (on which are two pairs of crowned uraei) is traceable beneath the cartouches, revealing the part taken by the inscriptions in the scheme of decoration:—they surmounted large sculptured scenes which doubtless represented the king offering to or in converse with the divinity named. Probably they formed a series at the top of the walls of C.

*Room B.* The Sanctuary. Two to three courses remain to a height of about 220, but scarcely any original surface remains except on the lowest course of the south wall and scraps of the east wall. A base line of decoration seems traceable at 54 cm. on a block in the east wall. The room contained nothing but blown sand.

*Room D-E.* The doorway into C had an incised column of inscription on either side; the west half shows double base lines at 60 above the floor on the south wall and at 75 on the north wall where there are also two feet and a scrap of inscription from a scene.

East of the altar(?)-platform were found a number of loose blocks which formed an unexpectedly complete and interesting subject amongst so much that was hopelessly gone or ruined (Pl. XLIX). It represents the figure of a ram-headed lion wearing a broad collar on its shoulder and the sun's disk on its head recumbent upon a shrine-like base under the shadow of a tree which bends over it. In front of the ram is a tall bouquet of papyrus flowers and buds, and an inscription giving the name of the ram as 'Amen-re' in the midst of [P]-nubs' (the House of

the Nubs-tree).<sup>1</sup> Beyond had evidently been a figure of the 'king of Upper and Lower Egypt [Nefer]tem-khu-re', Son of the Sun, Taharqa,' adoring or offering to the ram, with a scrap of inscription which may mean 'homage in the place of . . . .'. Of the figure of the king only the fingers of one hand are preserved. 'Welcome, welcome, thy name is established in this house, my son of my body whom I love, King of Upper Egypt, Taharqa [living] for ever; I have given to thee all life (*ankh*) and longevity (? *was*).' Another set of blocks from the same place appeared to have upon them the base or support of the lion-ram, decorated with false doors and with plants symbolical of Upper and Lower Egypt alternately; they are represented with it in the restoration. To the same series probably belongs a group of blocks associated with it showing a coloured cavetto cornice beneath which are remains of a horizontal line of inscription concerning building, well engraved (Pl. XXVI, 12). A single block was sculptured with a cornice (?) having '*ankh* and *was* on baskets below, meaning 'all life, all longevity (?)' (Pl. XI, 5). Possibly this was a standing-block for the ceremony of royal purification in the temple.

One can hardly avoid the conclusion that the representation of the Ammon-sphinx was an object of special devotion which had been treated with respect, and the blocks composing it probably hidden away at a time when the adjacent blocks of the adoration of the king and the roof and walls of the temple generally were carried off wholesale. There was no indication in the remnants of wall scenes of the position which it had originally occupied. One might perhaps conjecture that it had belonged to a shrine on the roof.

The eastern part of the chamber (D) was much wider than the corridor. The roof here was supported by four columns on the north side; on a fragment of a drum are the tops of a pair of cartouches and of the name of Chons beneath the sign of the sky (Pl. XXVI, 14). On the west wall the double base line at 72 from the floor continues from the north wall of E. The north wall behind the columns remains to a height of 180 at the west end and in the middle shows the base line at 92 above the floor with a horizontal line of hieroglyphs (15), naming 'Amen-re' Bull of [Ta]sti.' The south wall remains to 55 cm. but the east wall is destroyed to the last course, H. 25.

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1. See my 'Meroitic Studies,' III, in *Journal of Eg. Arch.*, IV, p. 26.



*Room A* behind the sanctuary opens out of E. On one block of the north wall are coloured base lines at 81 above floor. The east wall is much destroyed and is broken right through for about 150 cm. but presumably there was no door here.

*Chamber J.* On the west wall are feet and lower legs of a god of more than human size with the name of Ammon (?) (Pl. XXVI, 16), faced by king (?) and queen (?). On the north and south walls are similar traces of smaller figures.

On the ruins of the wall between K and J lay a fragment of sculpture with gilt stucco.

*Chamber H.* On the west wall are feet of a figure of more than human size; on the north wall foot of a similar figure and two *neb*-baskets in an inscription. On the south wall between the doors to I and C the feet of a large figure; between the doors to F and I, remains of an inscription (17, 18) in columns of large characters incised and painted blue. At the south end of the east wall the leg of a smaller figure remains.

*Chamber I.* Shows feet of figures with colour (male red, female yellow) of about natural size.

*Chamber F.* The walls remain to the height of about 100. Decoration at 80 cm. three bands, yellow, red and yellow, between black incised lines, above which are feet of figures of about natural size.

*Chamber G.* Walls very much destroyed, from 100 to 20 high. On the north and south walls from 35 to 45 above the floor is a band of yellow between blue lines, over which are the feet of figures of natural size, coloured red.

## XV. THE TREASURY

The remains of this curious building covered a large area which has been for more than half a century, one might perhaps say for more than two thousand years, an occasional hunting-ground of natives and visitors for beads, amulets and little ornaments; from here came most of the small objects collected by the Governor and presented to the late Lord Kitchener on the occasion of his visit to Merawi at Christmas 1912. The site was exceedingly shallow, having been gradually denuded by the winds of twenty-five centuries, as fast as the surface of the soft stone and brickwork perished, so that the whole presented an unbroken level



with the sandy surface of the desert ;<sup>1</sup> the latter was here only diversified by a few fragments of pottery and by the appearance of occasional clean, smooth disks of stone where remnants of columns in position underlay (Pl. LI a). Our excavations, so far as they went, showed that the remains represented one long narrow range of building, 256 metres long by about 45 metres broad running from east to west, apparently entirely isolated in the desert, except at its west end. At this end perhaps only a roadway separated it from an important brick building with some stone columns, perhaps a royal palace, where we were told an excavation had been made in 1908 by Father Deiber and M. d'Allemagne. At the east edge of this presumed roadway, just beyond (i.e. northward) of the Treasury is a considerable heap of chips of black granite. It was from about this spot that the Governor, Colonel Jackson, took the broken body of a colossal hawk of the same material and of excellent workmanship, removing it for safety to his Residence. It had been seen and sketched by Lepsius' expedition (*Denkmäler*, Text V, p. 284), and is referred to by Bayard Taylor as 'a mutilated figure of blue granite, of which only a huge pair of wings could be recognised' when describing what was evidently the site of our Treasury.<sup>2</sup> The hawk may thus have crowned some fine monument at the approach to the royal quarter from the desert. The traveller immediately after passing it would have found himself between the Treasury on the left and, on the right, the façade of the crude-brick palace with (so far as I recollect) four cylindrical sandstone columns belonging to its hall or entrance.

The Treasury appeared to consist of a double series of seventeen equal chambers ranged on either side of a spinal wall. We cleared entirely the southern series, and also two or three chambers at the east end of the northern half, reserving the complete clearance of this portion (which yielded very few antiquities) for the next season.

The deepest part was at the inner end of chambers 6 and 7 where portions of the walls and columns remained to a height of nearly half a metre (Pl. LI b); but this was exceptional. The chambers at the east end were smoothly denuded almost to the floor and tailed off to nothing, so that it is even conceivable, though unlikely, that one or

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1. According to observations by the provincial surveyor the Treasury stood on slightly higher ground than the Temple, the surface here reaching 258'026 m. above sea-level; the floor was about 40 cm. below this, less than a metre above the floor of the Temple.

2. *Life and Landscapes*, p. 434.



more chambers beyond no. 1 had disappeared, leaving no trace whatever. The south edge was entirely worn away and no trace of a south wall could be discovered. We made a detailed plan (Pl. L, 2) of the southern chamber 6, which was slightly better preserved than the rest, and a diagram of the whole of the southern series (*ib.* 1). Unhappily all the original notes of dimensions and finds are lost, except a few measures noted on these plans and provenances marked on the antiquities.

The principal material of the walls was crude brick, which had almost decayed away. The walls were neatly and completely lined, as high as they survived, with thin slabs of very white sandstone. These slabs, about 10 cm. thick and half a metre broad, were set upright in the wall, resting on the floor; the upper ends were all destroyed and we could not tell how high the lining was carried, but presumably it formed only a dado of single stones. Pl. LII a shows the condition of some of the chambers with all the brick gone.

The spinal wall was of the same thickness as the party walls, about 180.<sup>1</sup> Each chamber was 13.40 metres wide and at least 20.5 metres long. Each was provided with a doorway in the spinal wall, W. 125, the best preserved showing three shallow steps up on to it (Pl. LII b). These stairs rose to about 35, apparently with a clean drop on the other side into the corresponding northern chamber (but this needs verification). The steps, about 10 high, consisted of slabs of the white sandstone on brick foundations. The first six chambers from the east had the door at the east end, the next four at the west end, the last seven at the east end again. Between the seventh and eighth chambers was a wall of nearly treble width; at the north end of this there appeared to be brick foundations for three stone steps (Pl. LIII a), presumably the beginning of a staircase which had been carried up along this wall away from the spinal wall. Here there was probably a step up to it from the northern chamber.

The chambers had level floors of mud perhaps with a thin layer of white cement on the top; the roofs were supported by twelve cylindrical columns of the same white sandstone, without bases, D. about 80, neatly and regularly placed in three rows. In addition there were seven rows of much smaller columns of the same material, D. about 45, less regularly disposed in rows of nine each, except the central row; this

1. Sir H. W. Jackson has kindly given me a measurement confirmatory of this fact, of which I had some doubts when preparing the account for publication.

central row consisted of ten small columns on the same axis as the original four, one new column being placed against either side of each of the original columns besides one at each end of the chamber. Thus each chamber appears to have had its roof upheld by seventy-six stone columns; some of these (in rooms 6 and 7) still stood high enough to prove that they were not mere bases for wooden columns. Evidently the original twelve columns had been found insufficient for the load which they had to bear above each chamber, and additional support was provided on the most lavish scale.

What were the nature and purpose of the building? We began by calling the place 'The Palace' because of the large proportion of objects with royal cartouches which were found there. But as the plan developed we recognised that it was no palace in itself though perhaps connected with the palace, and we renamed it 'The Treasury.' In one of the southern chambers was found a tiny fragment of the treasure carried off by Pi-ankhy from Hermopolis (Pl. LV, 1), and part of the floor in no. 15 was covered with tusks of raw ivory injured by fire (Pl. LIII b). But there are considerable difficulties in the way of this or any other interpretation of the ruins. One would have expected a royal magazine or treasury to have been enclosed by a thick outer wall with guard-rooms, etc. of which some considerable traces would have been preserved. Although the soft sandstone and crude brick of the surviving walls offer little resistance to the denuding action of the atmosphere and winds, the absence of such traces on the south and east rather implies that if any walls have vanished they were little, if at all, thicker than the party walls.

If the chambers were closed at the south end one looks in vain for any general entrance to the structure; since the only other building near by, the Palace (?), lay towards the town and river at the west end, the entrance would certainly have been from that end, but the west wall of no. 17 was complete and unbroken with nothing immediately beyond. It is easier then to suppose that the row of buildings was more or less open at the south end; it might have constituted a series of sheltered markets or *sûqs* divided from each other by party walls; or can it have been planned for royal stables? Dr. Reisner's discoveries have shown how highly Pi-ankhy and his immediate successors valued their horses,<sup>1</sup>

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1. *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, VI, p. 64.



and so long as the roofs were supported by only the original twelve columns, the chambers would have held horses comfortably; the later arrangement would then indicate a change of purpose.

That the roof was more than a light shelter is shown by the prodigious pillaring; there must have been some kind of upper storey, or at least a strong flooring on the roof to be supported. The stairway on the thick wall between no. 7 and no. 8 presumably led to this. There were signs of a considerable conflagration and the antiquities found in the chambers may have dropped in from other chambers above. White ants and disintegration have destroyed all traces of woodwork and mud superstructure. The names found on objects in the Treasury include Pi-'ankhy, Shabako, Atlanersa, Senq-aman-seken and Aspelt. The sandstone slabs in the lining of the chambers recall the material used in Aspelt's shrine in the Temple, but the Treasury is probably earlier than Aspelt, and may have continued in use still later. That is all that can be stated about it at present. Perhaps excavations in the north chambers or beyond may solve the problem of 'The Treasury.'

#### XVI. THE ANTIQUITIES FROM THE TREASURY

Not many objects unbroken or of value would have escaped the searchers when 'The Treasury' was first abandoned by the Ethiopians. We found nothing to suggest Meroitic or later occupation except two fragments of pottery (Pl. LVI, 13, 14); occasional passers-by in the desert and recent antiquity hunters are the only possible sources of contamination of the antiquities, which therefore have a special value for dating. Owing to the extreme shallowness of most of the site and much previous *antika*-hunting in the sand, the finds made by us were of either very small or very fragmentary objects and few pieces could be fitted together. It is quite possible that the Governor's collection (now Lord Kitchener's), of which we were permitted to photograph a selection, will be found to contain some fragments to fit with ours. In the following notes the more important antiquities are mentioned, generally without naming the particular chamber in which they were found. Nos. 8 and 9 of the southern series were the most productive.

Pl. LIV. *Iron*. 1. Head of a large adze or small mattock, the blade like that of a modern *fás* but with longitudinal ring-socket for hafting to an angulated wooden handle; L. 15, much decayed and

apparently ancient. 2. Axe-head, much decayed and flaked, the blade apparently with sides narrowing from the edge, remains of wings for binding to haft, L. 9·2. 3. Thin flat triangular blade, decayed, the broad end broken, L. 11. (1-3 in Ashmolean.)

Broad knife-like blade, the back continued as a hollow cylindrical socket in one piece, all much decayed. Found under the tusks in S. 15.

*Bronze.* 4. Sacred harpoon-head, blade broken off; against the tang Horus wearing disk (?) standing on a crocodile whose jaws are held in a noose by the left hand, right hand broken off; a loop is at the base of the tang over the tail of the crocodile; long cylindrical socket, L. 6·5, D. 2·2; total L. 11 (Berlin). Another in the Jackson collection has the blade but the socket is broken off and missing.

5. Crio-sphinx with disk and uræus, good work, L. 2.

6. Two uræi rising back to back, respectively with crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt; the hoods have been inlaid with glass (?) over gold foil; between them the body looped and behind it two long nails for attachment, H. 5·2; probably from the royal headdress of a statue.

7. Solid penannular earring tapering to sharply pointed ends.

8, 9. Two wires with one end coiled round L. (bent) 10, and three thin pierced disks, D. 2 to 2·5, evidently all from sistra.

10. Chisel, blade of rectangular section ending in a flat disk beyond which is a cylindrical shaft, L. 9·2. (5-10 in Ashmolean.)

*Lead.* Three pieces.

Pl. LV, 1. *Silver.* Gilt plate 1·9 square, the back with a raised ridge at some distance from the edge forming a smaller square as if to fit into the mouth of a box as a lid; the hollow within this square has been filled with blue paste. On the top engraved 'The good god *Nmrč*,' evidently the name of the king of Hermopolis Magna whose treasures were confiscated by king Pi-'ankhy. (In Ashmolean.)

2. *Granite.* Pestle of circular section, tapering, L. 16·5.

*Crystal, etc.* Several small lumps and blocks of obsidian, quartz, green felspar, and rock crystal, apparently raw material for working.

3. Fragment of cover (?) of rock crystal with broad grooved rim, evidently a very choice piece.

4. Fragment of cup of rock crystal with plain rim. (3, 4 in Ashmolean.)

A few beads and other small objects of green felspar, rock crystal, carnelian, chalcedony and (5) glazed steatite.

Small unpierced ball of green felspar, of rock crystal (6), and three



of hard reddish yellow composition (?), D. 1·2-1·5 (7); and two very small of hard blue composition (?), D. 4 (8). These were perhaps for games. (Ashmolean.)

9. *Lapis-lazuli*. A few beads, ball, six-sided and tubular; plain scaraboid; small shaped plates for inlay.

*Marble*. Fragment of alabastron.

10. *Alabaster*. Large alabastron with two pierced ears, H. 15, much burnt.

Alabastron (nearly as cem. type II f) bored right through from mouth to base with a straight hole and the lower end of the boring bevelled, the ears clumsily unsymmetrical, H. 8.

A few fragments of a large circular bowl (?) with broad flat base and rounded body, the top perhaps curving to a vertical rim and perhaps having some kind of handle, D. of base probably about 20. On the outside are engraved figures and inscriptions, probably of a magical or ritual character; one of them names Suchus of Shedi, i.e. Crocodilopolis in the Fayûm; on another is a figure of Onuris holding a spear.

*Glazed Steatite*. Ram's head pendant; several engraved barrel and cylinder beads.

Fragments of vessels of calcite, grey schist and dark reddish serpentine.

Pl. LVI. *Glass* (all in Ashmolean). 1. Fragment of clear greenish alabastron. 2. Fragments of a clear greenish pan or cover, rim rounded, flat base, cracked by fire (?), L. 6.

3. Triangular fragment of thin clear whitish glass showing rim ground flat, with thin lines or characters apparently of another colour decayed to brownish. 4. Another clear fragment as if part of a spout of rectangular section, W. 1·4, perhaps Arab.

5. Fragment of vessel of translucent pale blue glass, shaped in curves, H. 3·5.

Fragment of vessel of translucent pale amber glass, L. 3·7.

*Paste*. Several objects of blue paste; large lump of the same, apparently for stopping a wine jar, with traces of cloth, D. 8.

*Linen*. A small bundle was found well preserved through having been charred; it was examined by Mr. Midgeley of Bolton who separated three varieties, none of them fine.

*Ivory*. Part of a tusk, burnt, engraved with a cross in double outline.

6-10. Several thin fragments sculptured and engraved, two with *alopecurus* heads or ears of corn (?), imperfect. (Manchester Museum.)



11. *Shell*. *Uzat*, curved. (Munich.)

Large quantities of cowries (*Cypraea annulus*) the backs cut away.

A few shells of other usual species, *Nerita*, *Engina*, *Nassa* and *Marginella*.

*Ostrich egg-shell* disk beads, and a small fragment.

*Pottery (wheel-made)*. Upper part of a gigantic pilgrim bottle, rough and clumsy, D. probably about 35. Three little pans for wine-jar stopping. 12. Two-handled bottle, pale buff ringed with red on neck and body above and below middle, flat base (cem. type VI e, imitation Cypriote?), H. 9.5 (Berlin.)

Pl. LVII, 1. Fragment of incurved mouth of large bowl, of good, well-burnt red pottery, with incised ornament which on the rim is confined to the outer half, L. 11.2. (Ashmolean.)

Pl. LVI, 13. *Pottery (hand-made)*. Coarse fragment probably of a very large vessel with punctured band and tassel below neck, L. 6.5. 14. Thin blackish polished fragment with punctured ornament in diamonds, L. 4.25 (these two resemble Meroitic). Large brown ball of pottery, D. 5.7.

Pl. LVII, 2. Broken object, perhaps originally star-shaped or rude human figure, one face flat, the other with rounded edges, W. 7.

*Sealings*. 8. Burnt clay, from a small tied vessel, impression repeated, cartouche with prenomen of Shabako in front of winged serpent (Berlin); 3. small sealing of unburnt clay, cartouche of Aspelt (Ashmolean); and several small vague sealings. 4. Parts of about twelve large sealings burnt and unburnt, with remains of large seals crowned by feathers, generally in two columns, very illegible; they appear to give 'Son of the Sun, Lord of diadems . . . . [beloved of] Amen-re' . . . .'; the lower parts are all destroyed. 5. Seal from a papyrus (?), burnt, design of Men-kheper-re' in cartouche, etc., W. 2.5. (Berlin.)

*Fayence*. Small objects and fragments were still abundant and a few fragments could be fitted together. All noted here, unless otherwise described, are of blue glaze.

A. *Fayence Vessels*. The most important is the beaker, 9, the sides of which are incised with four groups of a papyrus stem flanked by two of *alopecuroides*, alternating with four lanceolate petals; below the rim are two incised lines and on the edge spots of black, H. 12.5 (Ashmolean). This with Pls. LVI, 8 and LVIII, 4 takes back the use of *alopecuroides* in

design to about Dyn. XXV. (See Borchardt, *Z. f. aeg. Spr.*, XL, 38; Petrie, *Decorative Art*, p. 73; Bissing, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Kunst*, Text 101, col. 9.)

10. Small gourd-shaped jar, body decorated with lanceolate leaves, round neck a band of small petals on black ground, mouth shaped as papyrus head, H. 15.2. (Munich.)

7. Bowl, rim lost, below it a row of small rectangles followed by a band of petals all outlined in black, H. 9, D. 10.2, rounded base with marks of circular stand. (Berlin.)

6. Cup with straight rim slightly outturned at edge, on the shoulder a row of small spots followed by a row of petals between bands, all in relief of the same pale blue colour, very imperfect, the glaze much scaled, H. about 9.2, D. of mouth 11. (Berlin.)

Pl. LVIII, 1, 2. Fragmentary bowl with square rail-stand complete. Of the bowl the rim is lost; one pierced ear remains; the body is decorated with impressed design representing four large petals alternating with papyrus stems. Greatest width 9.8, the stand 5.4 square.

8. A very coarse circular lid for a bowl of this type was found in another chamber; the loop on the top is broken; the design is a lotus flower in relief.

5, 6. Fragments of several other bowls and beakers were found with exterior decoration of a similar character incised, in relief, or on a black band. 3, 4, 7. There were also remnants of shallow bowls with similar decoration on the inside, one fragment showing *alopecuroides* again. (Munich.)

Of plain fayence there were found a small cup with straight expanding sides, H. 5.3; a small pilgrim bottle with rounded edge and symmetrical sides, H. 6; and a rectangular palette for two inks, 5.6 × 3, height 2.1.

B. *Fayence Figures, Amulets, etc.* Figure of Thoueris, hollow with the left breast pierced, probably to exude milk, present height 10. (Berlin.)

Several fragments of cynocephali; one rough specimen perfect with lunar disk on the head.

Fragments of ushabti.

Pl. LIX. 1. Plaque-figure of winged Tephennu, one pair of wings attached to the disk on her head, and the feathering of those belonging to her arms so divided as to appear almost like four. H. 5. (Ashmolean.)



2, 3. Plaque with winged Isis (?) (Munich.)

Plaque with head of Hathor; plaque with seated cat in relief; and many others, all fragmentary.

5, 6. Among the most interesting and characteristic objects are the remnants of *ka*-plaques, the sides of which are formed by *ka*-arms with enclosed space inscribed. Various fragments indicate the type of inscription as being [*wp*] 'Mn rnp nfr [s R' Snq-]' Mn-skni mr 'Mn 'Ammon grant a good New Year to Senq-aman-seken, beloved of Ammon.' They vary somewhat in size; one must have measured about 7.5 sq. In the Governor's collection were two fragments of perhaps this kind of plaque naming respectively 'Ankh-ka-re' Aman-anel and 'the royal mother Nensels.'

7. A fragmentary *bai*-bird is a rarity, H. 3. (Ashmolean.)

10. Two fragments of very fine quality, pale greenish-blue paste throughout, represent the circular base, D. 47, and square abacus, W. 4-15, of a clustered papyrus column. (Ashmolean.)

Fragments of sistra (Pl. XII, 4-6). On the handles are wishes for a good New Year to the king [Atlan]ersa and for 'the good god Senq-aman-seke[n].' In Colonel Jackson's collection I noted fragments giving the names of Mer-ka-re' Aspelt, and an uncertain name.

11. A fine seal, much broken, was inscribed '[May Ammon, lord of] the Throne(s) of the Two Lands in the Sacred Hill [give] a good year to the Son of the Sun Pi-'ankhy.'

Pl. LX. Scarabs were few. 5. One shows the name of Aspelt.

Of sacred eyes there was a plentiful variety, including 6. part of a large one inscribed on both faces 'The good god Aspelt, beloved of Ammon, to whom life is given.' (Berlin.)

8-13. Sundry thin flat objects pierced for sewing onto cloth, included rams' head or 'aegis' with disk, ram's head with uraei and winged disk, winged scarabs and rosettes.

Pl. LXI, 5-11. Cowries were common, in green, blue and whitish fayence.

Many finger-rings were found, some (1-4, 13) with wishes for a good New Year, of openwork (12-14), keeled (21) and other varieties; 22 is a stud.

Pl. LXII. The beads included lily-flower (3, 4), tubular flower (5), melon and eyed varieties; one of barrel shape with wriggle openwork (2). Two large ball beads (6, 7), probably imitated from metal, have raised



rims at the ends of the hole; one of them is of brilliant yellow glaze, the other blue (Ashmolean). A number of beads (10) were composed of two lions (Shu and Tephens) side by side, and one was in the form of a double frog.

In Colonel Jackson's collection is a large barrel bead, L. 3, W.  $2\frac{1}{4}$ , with the prenomen of Shabatok followed by the *uzat*, twice repeated. It is of course not necessarily from the Treasury.

#### XVII. ANTIQUITIES FROM THE TOWN-SITE, ETC.

We attempted no excavation here. Most of the site is more or less disturbed. Between our house and the temple I picked up half of a flattened-barrel weight of pale breccia, pink and buff. Its original length was about 7.5, W. 4.6, H. 3.75. The present weight of about  $4\frac{1}{4}$  oz. avdp. shows that it probably was intended for two debens. Pl. LXII, 11 is a fayence fragment with internal decoration, 12 a rosette of ivory.

A small brick ruin within the town area on the river bank a few hundred yards upstream from our house appears to be Christian. We picked up in it a small fragment of white-faced (Christian) pottery (13) with the letters  $\chi\omega\lambda$  (*sic*) incised on the concave side.

## REVIEWS

[*The Editor will be glad to receive publications for review.*]

*Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft*, begründet von Professor Dr. FRITZ BURGER; herausgegeben von Dr. A. E. BRINCKMANN. Berlin-Neubabelsberg, 1913 onward.

a. *Die antike Kunst* by Dr. LUDWIG CURTIUS. Lieferungen 13, 22, 27, 28, 32, 32 a, 34 and 34 a of the whole *Handbuch* are devoted to Egyptian art. The attitude of the writer is made clear in his first words 'The roots of European art lie in Egypt,' and the whole work is an admirable corrective to the far too prevalent idea that nothing in Egyptian sculpture is worthy of consideration beside the Greek work of the fifth century B.C. Such an idea can only be entertained by those who are acquainted solely with the poorer and more stereotyped productions of Egyptian art in the Eighteenth Dynasty and later. In reality it is not by such works that Egyptian art must be judged. Let those who will despise it, but let them first make the full acquaintance of such works as the Chephren statues, Reisner's triads from the Third Pyramid, the Hesire panels from Saqqara, the small female bust of Old Kingdom date in Lord Carnarvon's collection, and last but not least the still unpublished bust of Queen Nefertiti from Tell el-Amarna, now at Berlin.

It is to be hoped that all those interested in art, classical or later, will make time to read these sections of the publication. The illustrations are numerous and well chosen, and include many monuments all too seldom reproduced in such works; we would refer in particular to the prominence given to the predynastic and archaic periods, and to the strange but important art of Akhenaton and its offshoot, that of the period of Horemheb. We do, however, miss a reference to the curious and important local art of the Middle Kingdom shown in the tomb-chapels copied by Dr. Blackman at Meir. These would seem to be the product of a Herakleopolitan school whose work, owing to political reasons, went under before that of Thebes, perhaps to our loss.

The text is carefully written and concise, and brings out admirably the connection at all periods between the arts of sculpture, painting and architecture.

T. E. PEET.

b. *Altchristliche und Byzantinische Kunst*, von Professor Dr. OSKAR WULFF. Part I: *Die altchristliche Kunst von ihren Anfängen bis zur Mitte des ersten Jahrtausends*. Lieferungen 3, 4, 7, 7a, 8, 8a, 9, 12, 15, 19, 23, 24, 30.

Few things in the whole history of art are more curious than its manifestation in early Christian days. In revolt at the wickedness of the pagan world the Christian confused the beauty with the sin, and appears to have tried to draw, paint, and carve the human form as badly—from any point of view but his own—as he possibly could. Paint he must for the glory of God, but his one anxiety was not to paint anything that for one moment could distract the faithful from the contemplation of that glory. As Browning's Prior has it:—

'Your business is to paint the souls of men

Give us no more of body than shows soul!

Why put all thoughts of praise out of our head  
With wonder at lines, colours, and what not?  
Paint the soul, never mind the legs and arms!

Mahomet's view was probably the same when he declared that all painters are in Hell and forbade art to meddle at all with the likeness of man. And the reaction of the Renaissance on Christian art shows that prohibition may have been the wiser course.

Nevertheless for a thousand years the Christian artist succeeded in suppressing manfully any leanings he may have felt towards physical truth. This may explain his fondness for the mosaic work which he inherited from the Roman world, a medium the limitations of which kept him from temptation.

We cannot however regard the results of this curious view as all loss, for we probably owe to it the masterpieces of architecture, Byzantine, Romanesque, and Gothic, in which the choked instincts found an outlet.

These reflections arise from a perusal of Professor Dr. Oskar Wulff's extremely well-illustrated essay on early Christian art. Its scope is comprehensive. Painting, sculpture, architecture and the rest are dealt with after their geographical and stylistic development in a manner that makes the work an excellent introduction to the subject, while for those who wish to go further a judicious bibliography is attached to the end of each section.

J. P. DROOP.



P. CRUVEILHIER, *Les principaux résultats des fouilles de Suse.*  
(Geuthner, Paris 1921.)

All who have had occasion to make a careful study of the formidable though excellent volumes of the *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse* will realise what a valuable service to archaeology M. Cruveilhier has rendered in giving a digest of their main contents within the limits of a small octavo volume of about 150 pages. There are many students of Middle Eastern History who do not need the whole of the information contained in the original lengthy reports of the *Délégation*, and for these this book is admirably suited.

The purely archaeological results, such as the painted pottery of the lowest strata at Susa, are, quite rightly, dealt with very briefly. There is a chapter of some length on the religion of Elam, and a shorter one on her legal and economic system. A few pages at the end sum up the results so far obtained in the decipherment of the Anzanite language and its so-called Proto-Elamite script.

M. Cruveilhier has assimilated his material thoroughly and reproduced it in a readable and attractive form.

T. E. PEET.

*Aegyptus, Rivista italiana di egittologia e di papirologia*, diretta da  
ARISTIDE CALDERINI, Anno I, 1920. (Milan.)

Those Egyptologists who are also lovers of Italy have long wished that she should take the place in Egyptological publication to which her scholarship entitles her. It speaks well for the aspirations of the Italians themselves that within two years of the end of the war a group of scholars should, scorning the difficulties caused by cost of printing, have ventured to launch a new periodical, dealing with Egyptology in general and papyrology in particular. The range of the matter contained in the articles of this first yearly volume varies over a period of more than two thousand years. In addition to this the *Rivista* contains an admirable index, arranged on the American system, of newly appeared publications in every branch of Egyptology, together with a series of reviews, and a co-ordinated account of the general progress of the subject during the year. Though the style of the work is unpretentious, the printing is good, and the printer has ready to hand very complete founts of the various types necessary for work of this nature. The *Rivista* is produced at the astonishingly low price of 25 Italian *lire* for Italy, and 30 for foreign countries. We wish Professor Calderini and his colleagues the success they deserve.

T. E. PEET.

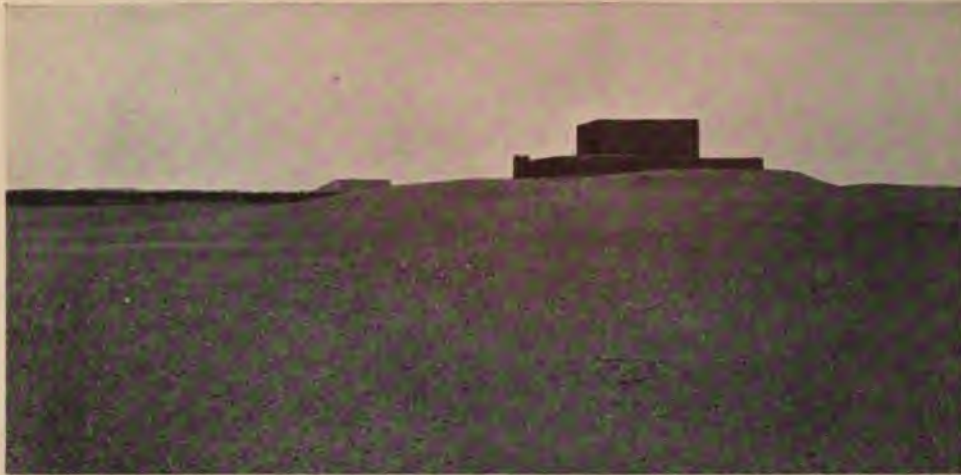
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a

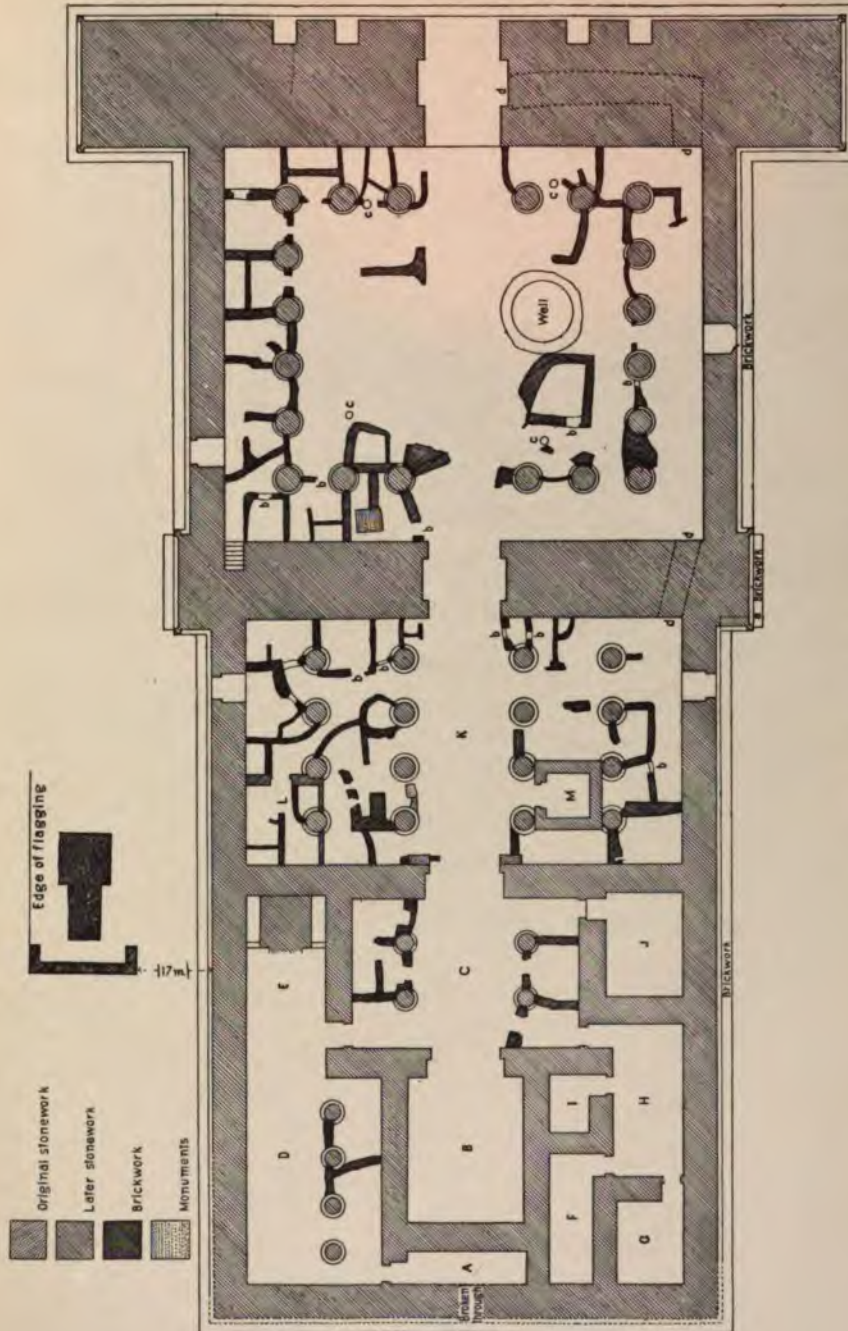


b

- (a) KITCHENER'S FORT WITH JEBEL BARKAL BEYOND THE RIVER IN THE DISTANCE.  
(b) EASTERN HALF OF THE TEMPLE AFTER EXCAVATION.

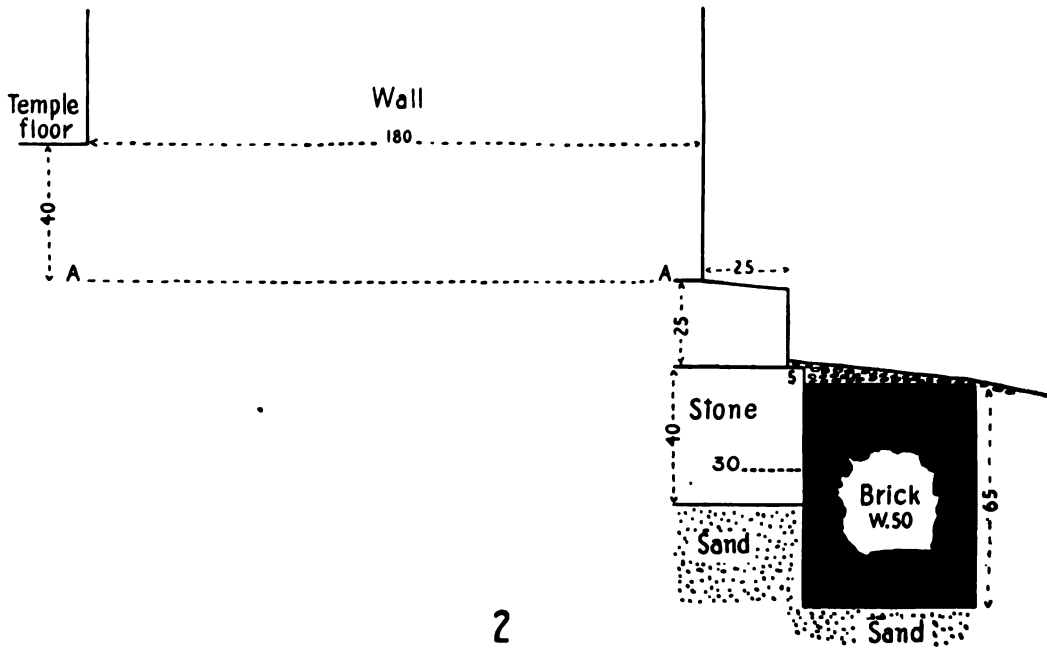
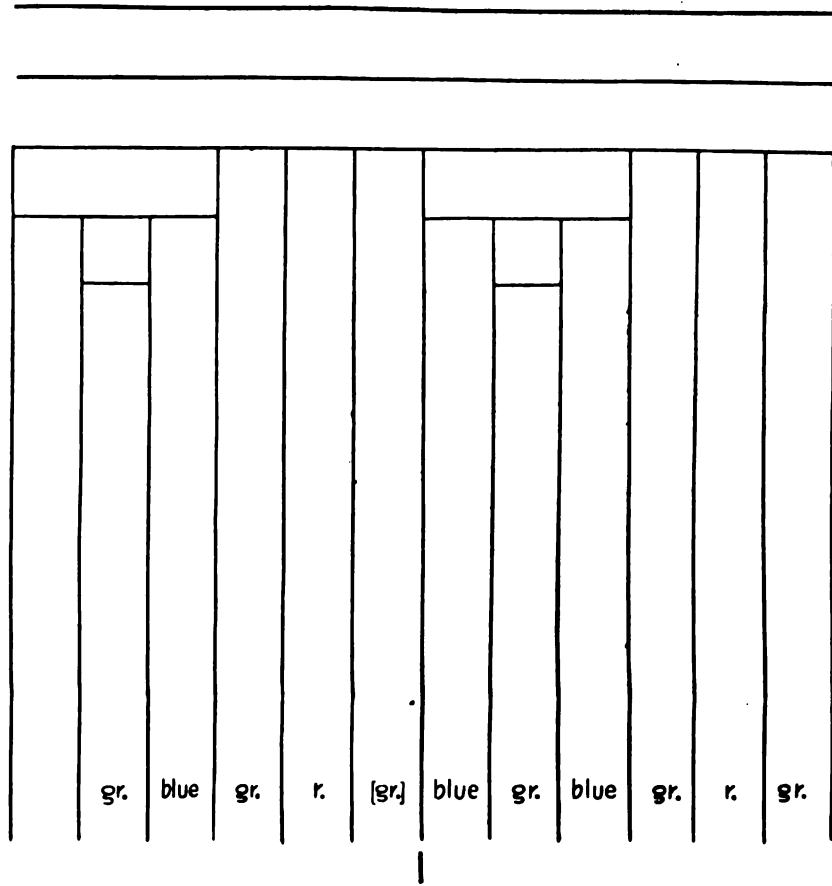






PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF TIRHAKAH.  
Scale 1:400.

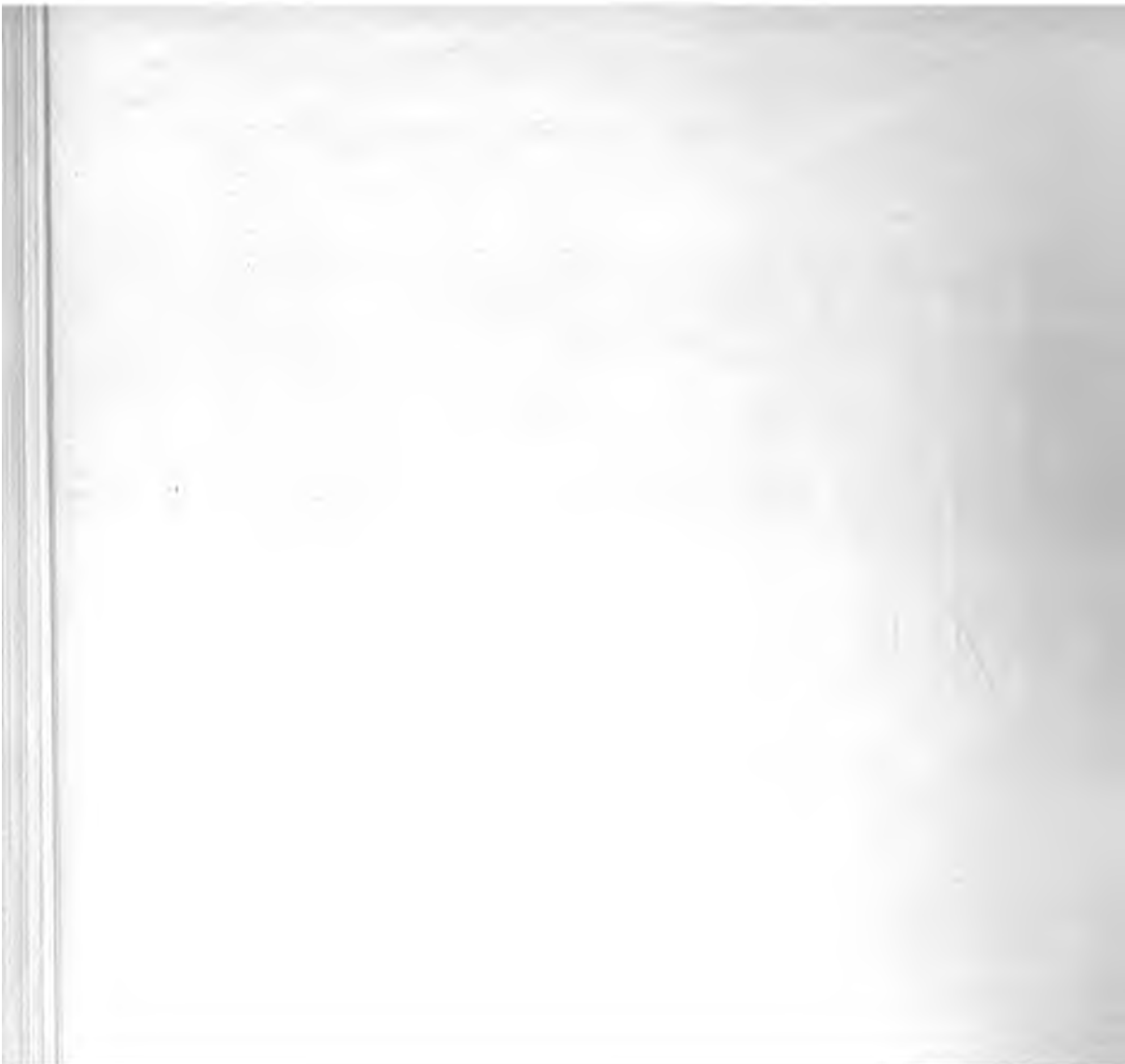




2

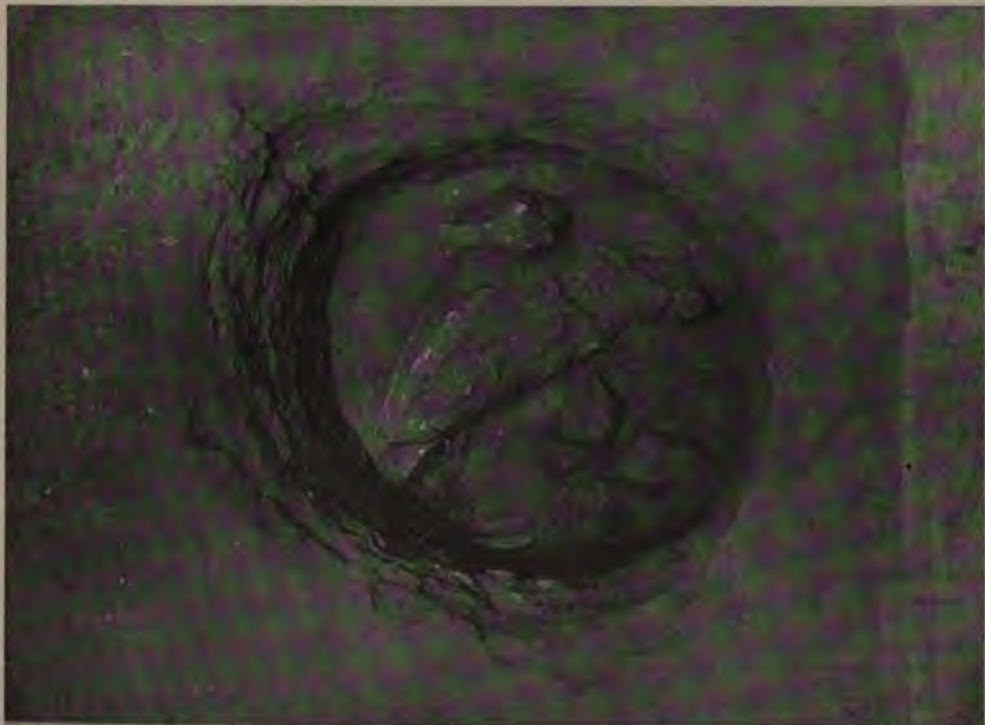
1, PANELLING IN ROOM C. 2, SECTION OF FOUNDATION.







a



b

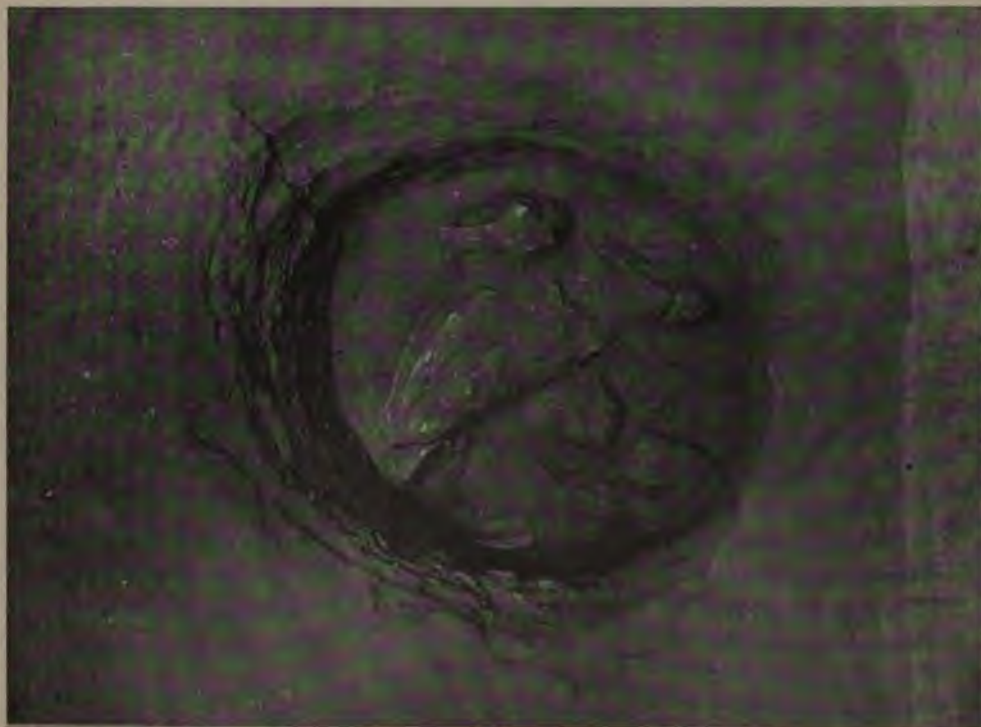
THE FOUNDATION DEPOSITS: (a) SOUTH-EAST, (b) NORTH-EAST.







a



b

THE FOUNDATION DEPOSITS: (a) SOUTH-EAST, (b) NORTH-EAST.





a



b

(a) DOORWAY FROM D, E TO C. (b) WEST END OF E.







a



b

(a) DOORWAY FROM D, E TO C. (b) WEST END OF E.







a



b

(a) LION'S HEAD FROM SPOUT ON SOUTH SIDE. (b) BRICK CHAMBERS IN S.W. CORNER OF K.

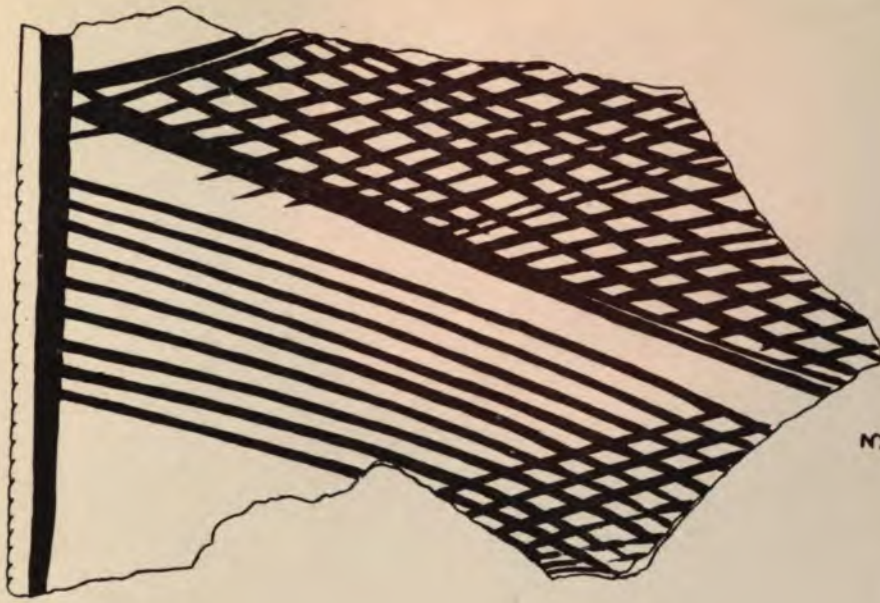




FRAGMENTS. 1, 2, GRANITE; 3-5, SANDSTONE.  
(Pp. 86, 101, 105, 113.)



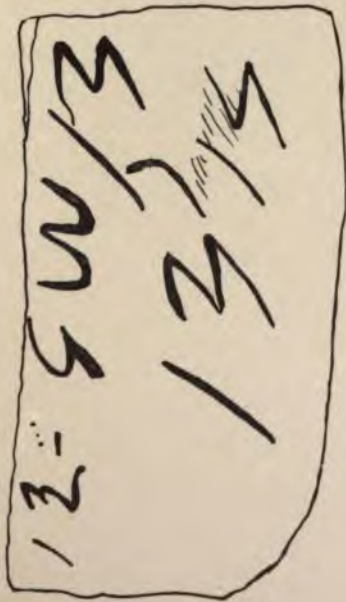




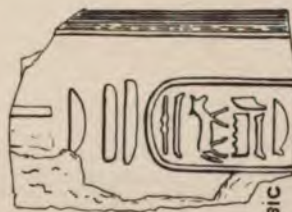
3



2



1

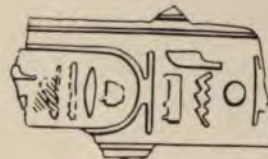


sic

4



5



6

1, 2, MEROITIC INSCRIPTIONS. 3, PAINTED POTSHERD. 4-6, SISTRUM HANDLES FROM THE TREASURY.  
(Pp. 86, 88, 123.)







1



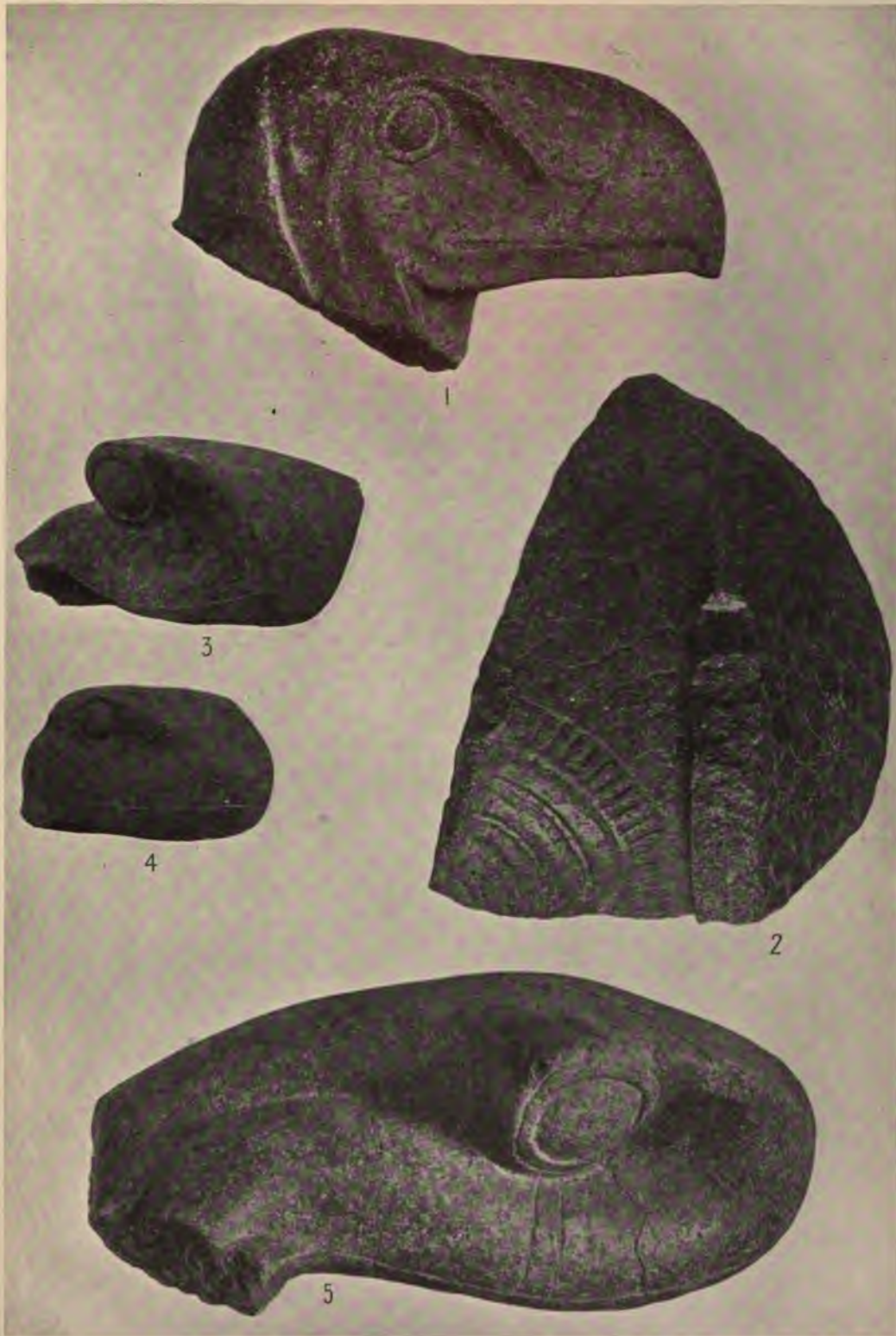
2



3

1, 2, HEAD OF AMMON. 3, USURPED CARTOUCHE.





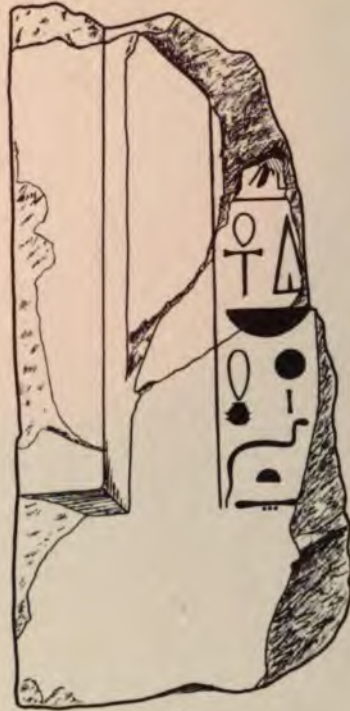
FRAGMENTS OF COLOSSAL VULTURE AND URAEI IN BLACK GRANITE.



1



1



2



3

STATUE USURPED BY PI-ANKHY.







THRONES OF STATUES.





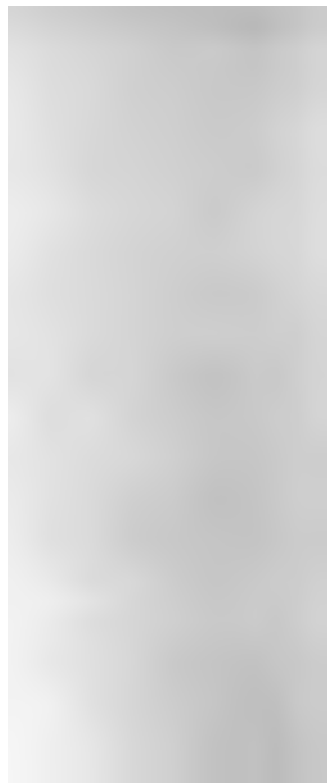
MOULDS FOR USHABTIS AND AMULETS.







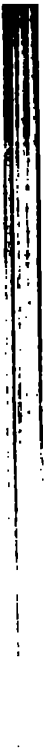
ANTIQUITIES FROM THE TEMPLE.

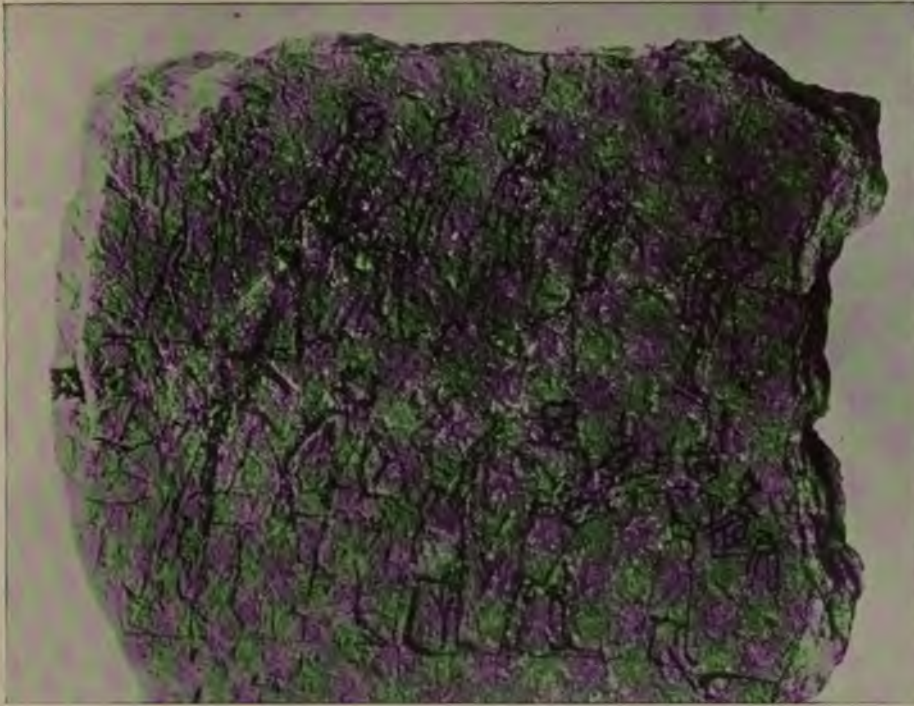






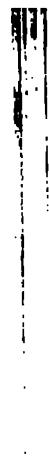
ANTIQUITIES FROM THE TEMPLE.





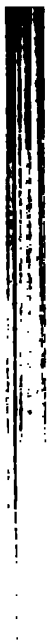
OSTRACON FROM THE TEMPLE,







OSTRACON FROM THE TEMPLE.







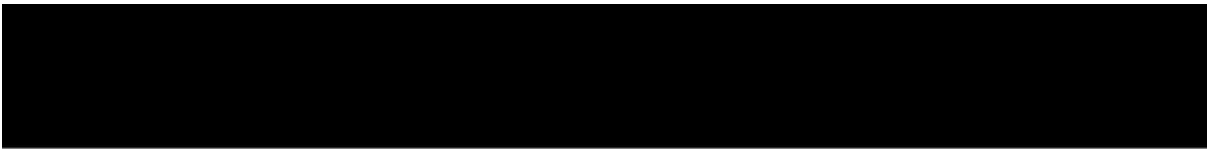
AMULETS ETC. FROM THE TEMPLE.





AMULETS ETC. FROM THE TEMPLE.







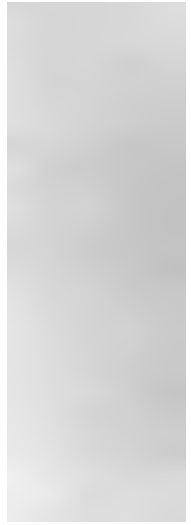
FOUNDATION DEPOSITS.

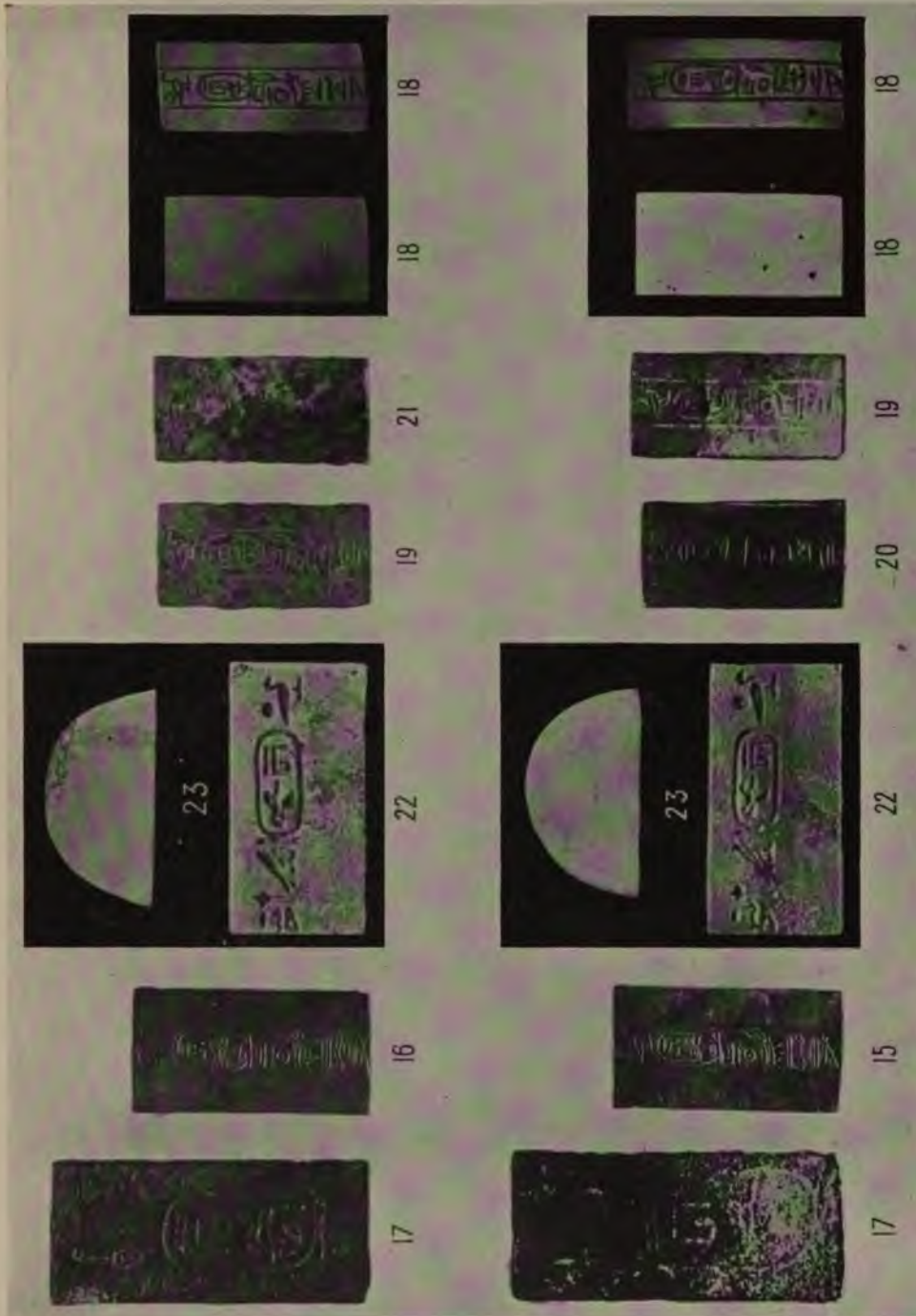






FOUNDATION DEPOSITS.





FOUNDATION PLAQUES: UPPER, SOUTH-EAST; LOWER, NORTH-EAST.  
(Full size.)







ANTIQUITIES FROM THE TEMPLE.







OSTRACON FROM THE TEMPLE.





AMULETS ETC. FROM THE TEMPLE.



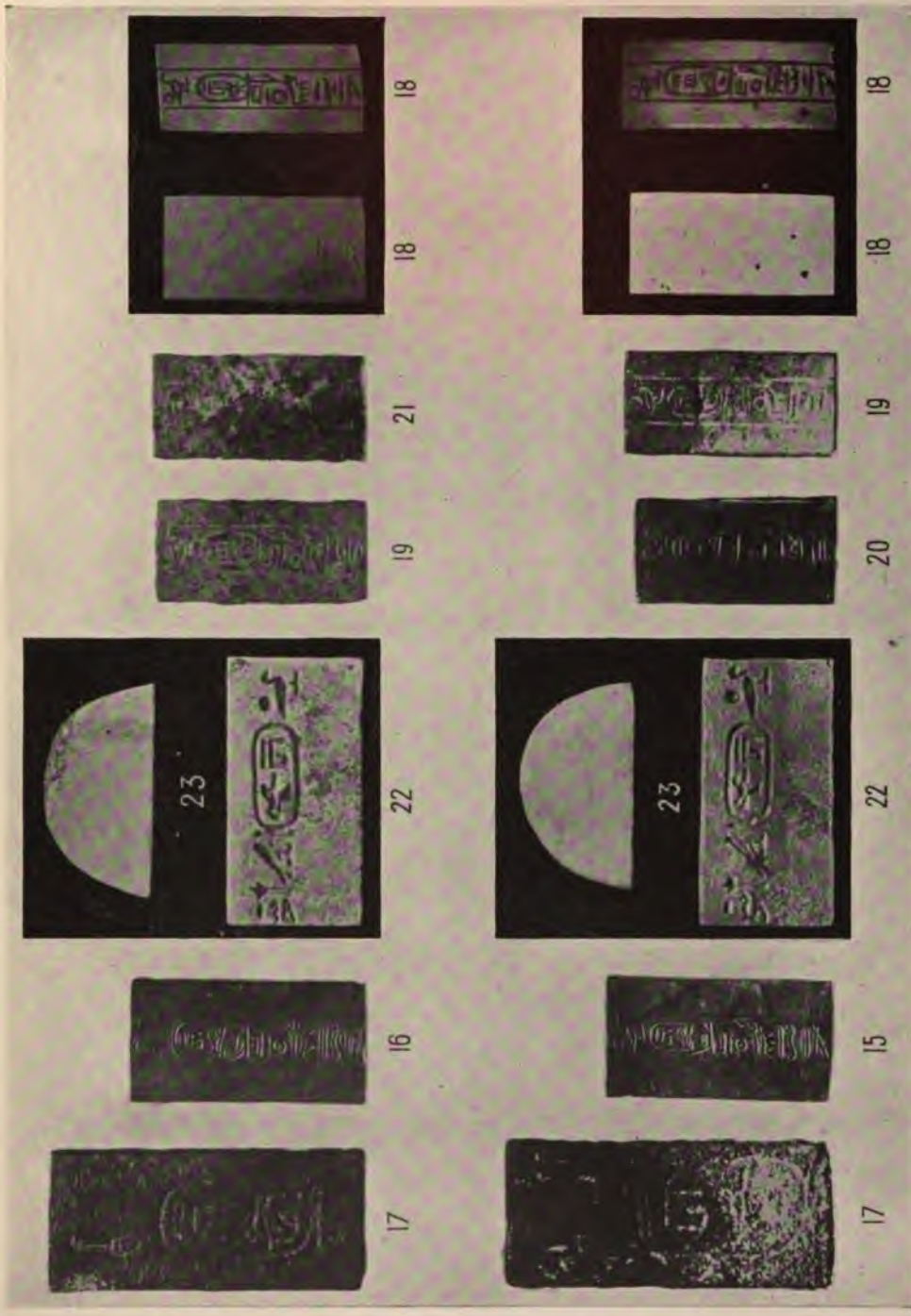




FOUNDATION DEPOSITS.

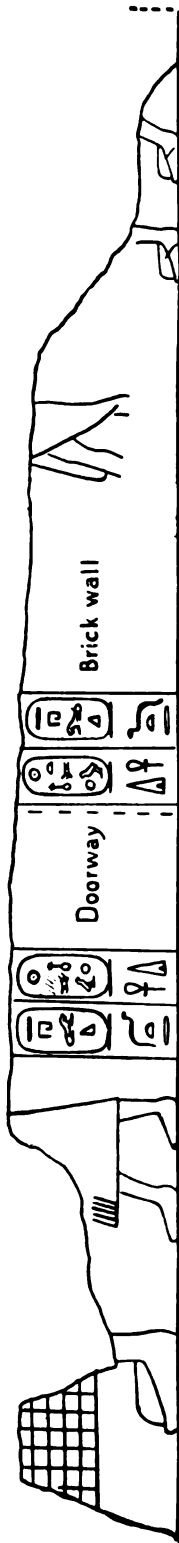




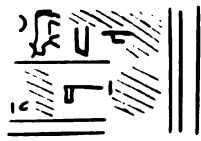


FOUNDATION PLAQUES: UPPER, SOUTH-EAST; LOWER, NORTH-EAST.  
(Full size.)

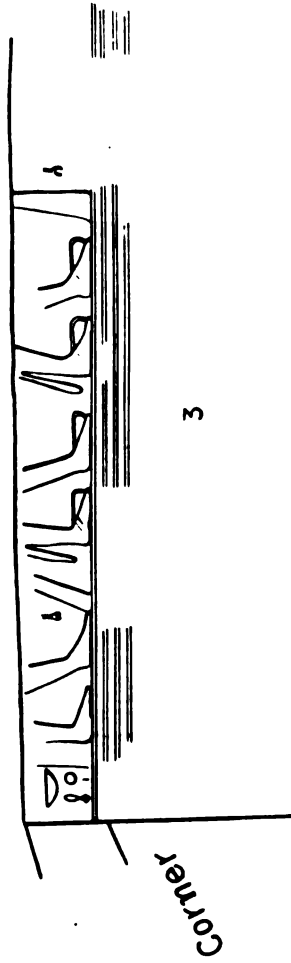
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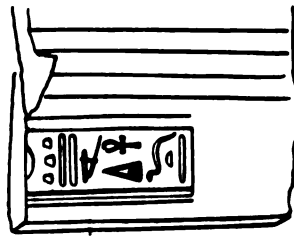
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2



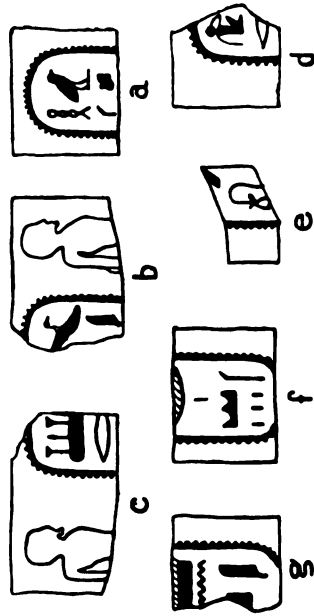
3



4



5

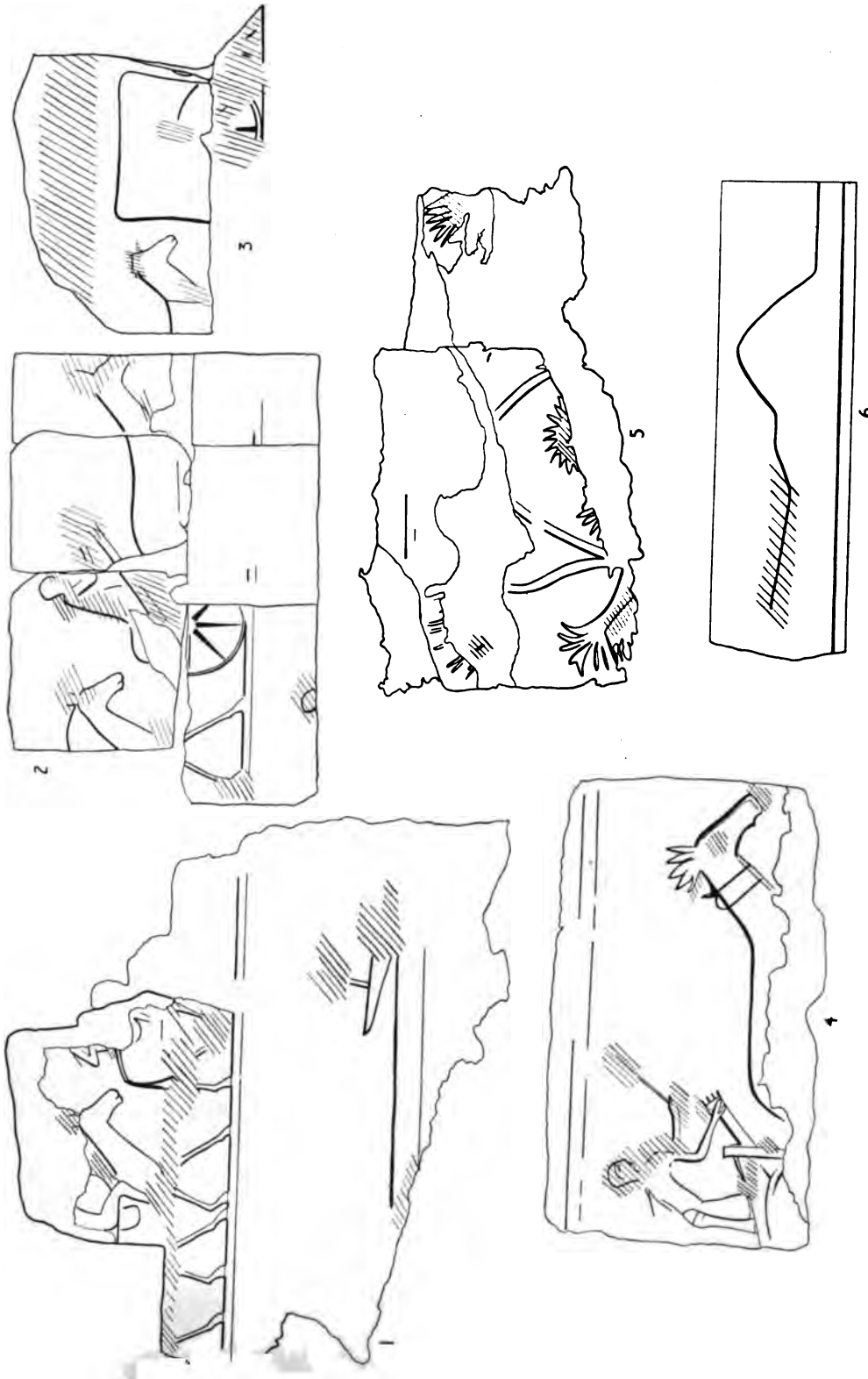


6

1-3, WALLS IN K. 4, 5, DOORS IN C. 6, FIRST PYLON. (1, 6 from rough sketches.)



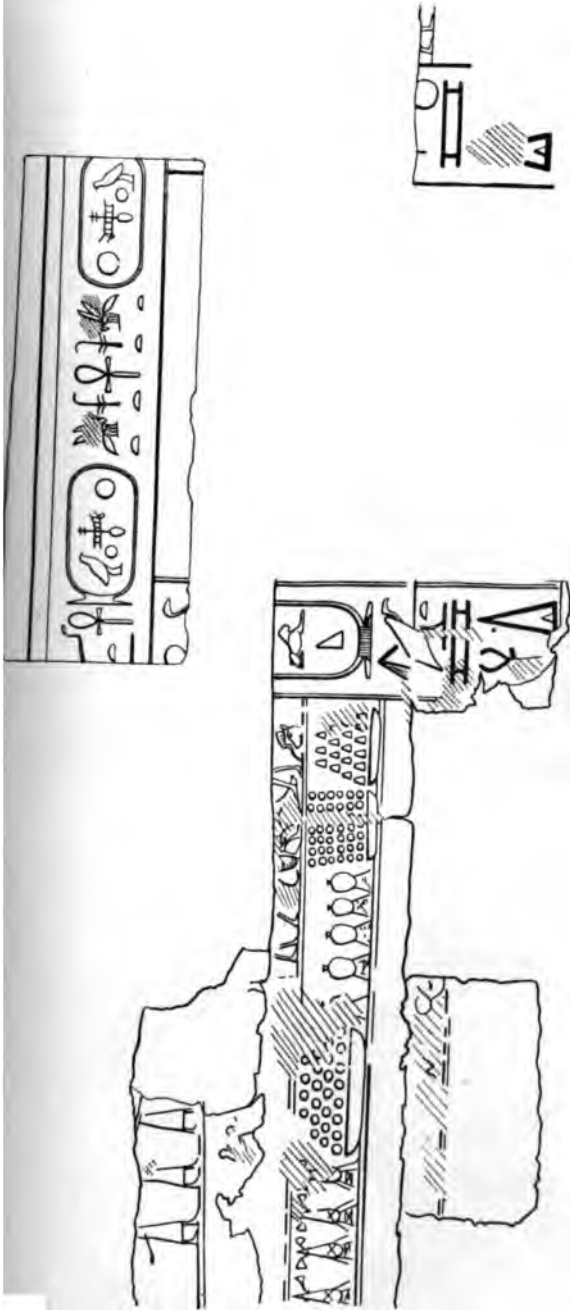




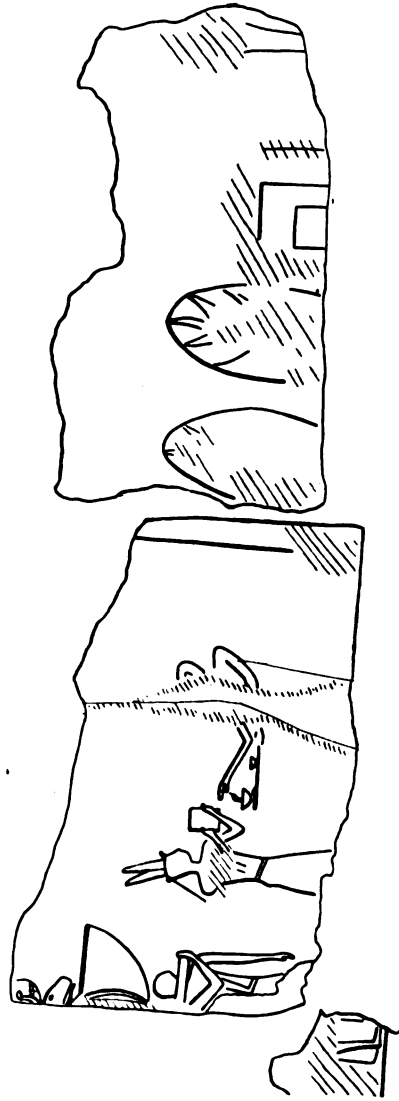
SCULPTURES FOUND IN POSITION ON THE SOUTH WALL. (6 from rough sketch.)







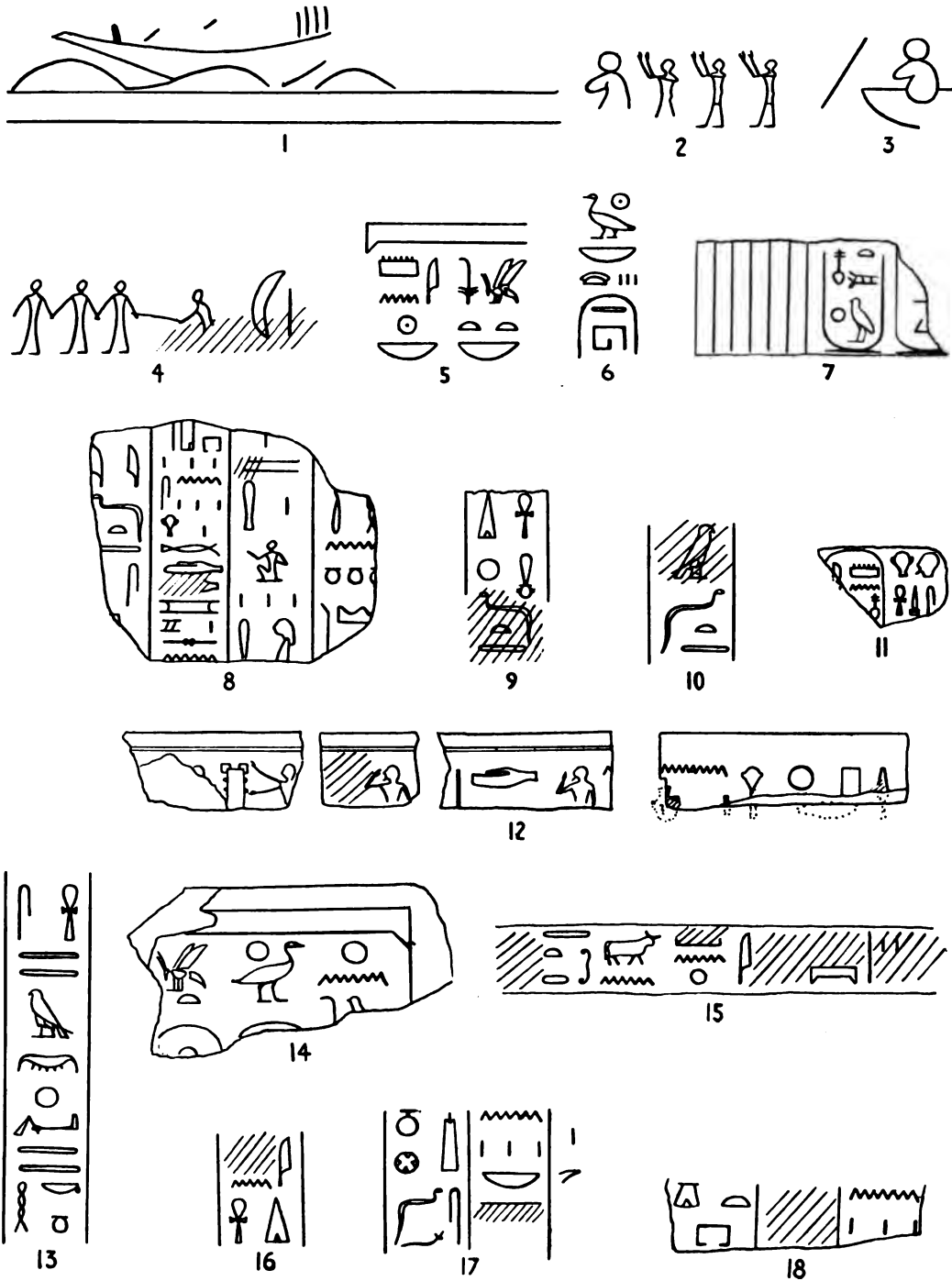
1



2

FRAGMENT OR INTO K; 2. SCULPTURE FURTHER EAST.

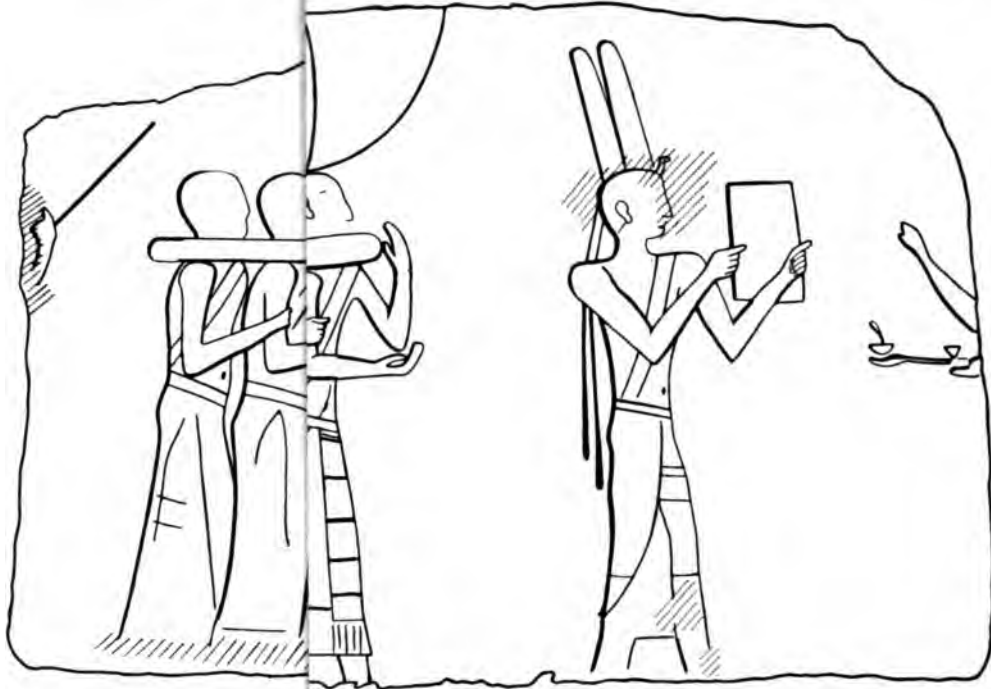




FRAGMENTS FROM THE TEMPLE. (12 and 14 from photographs.)



1

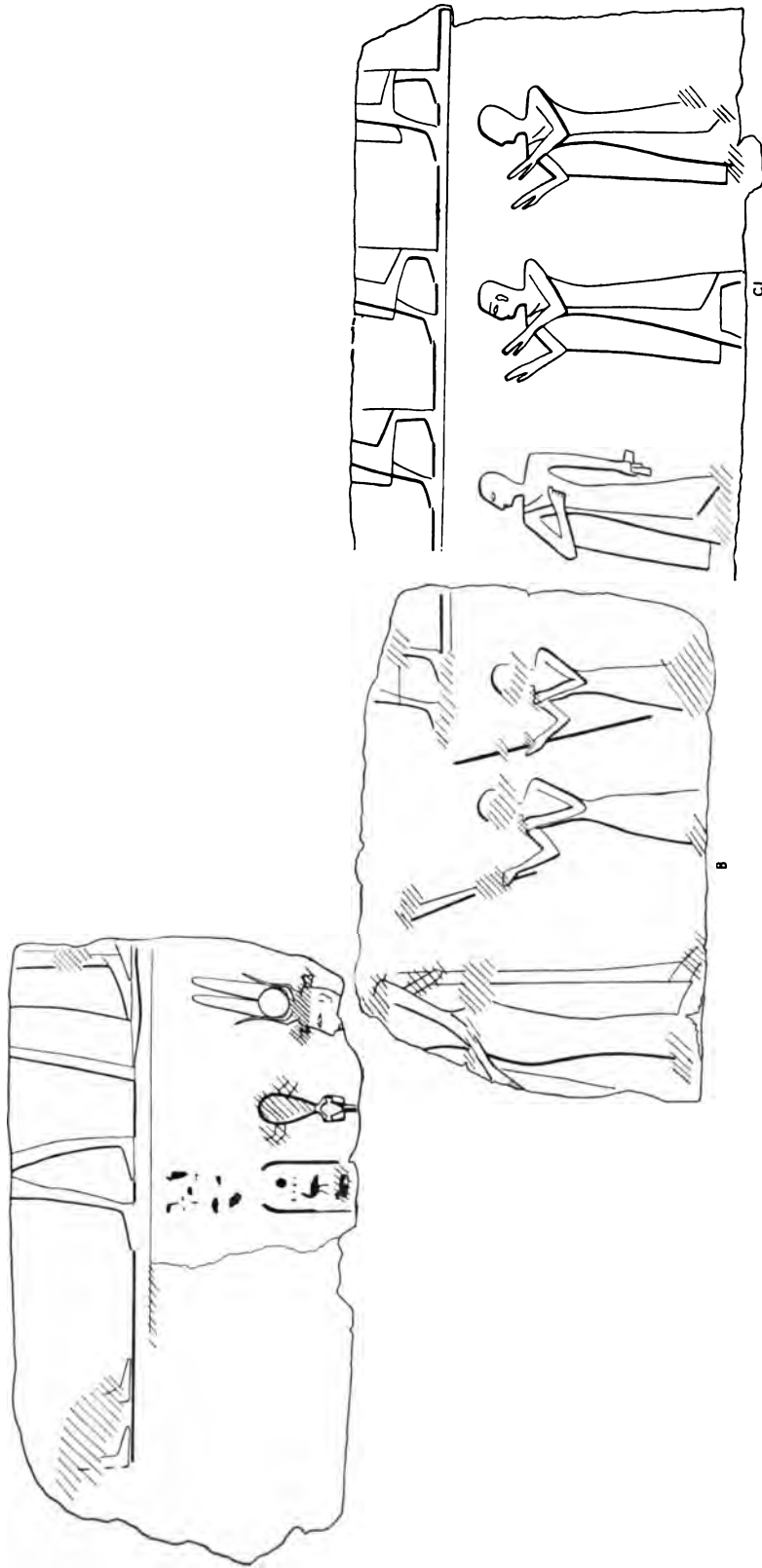


1







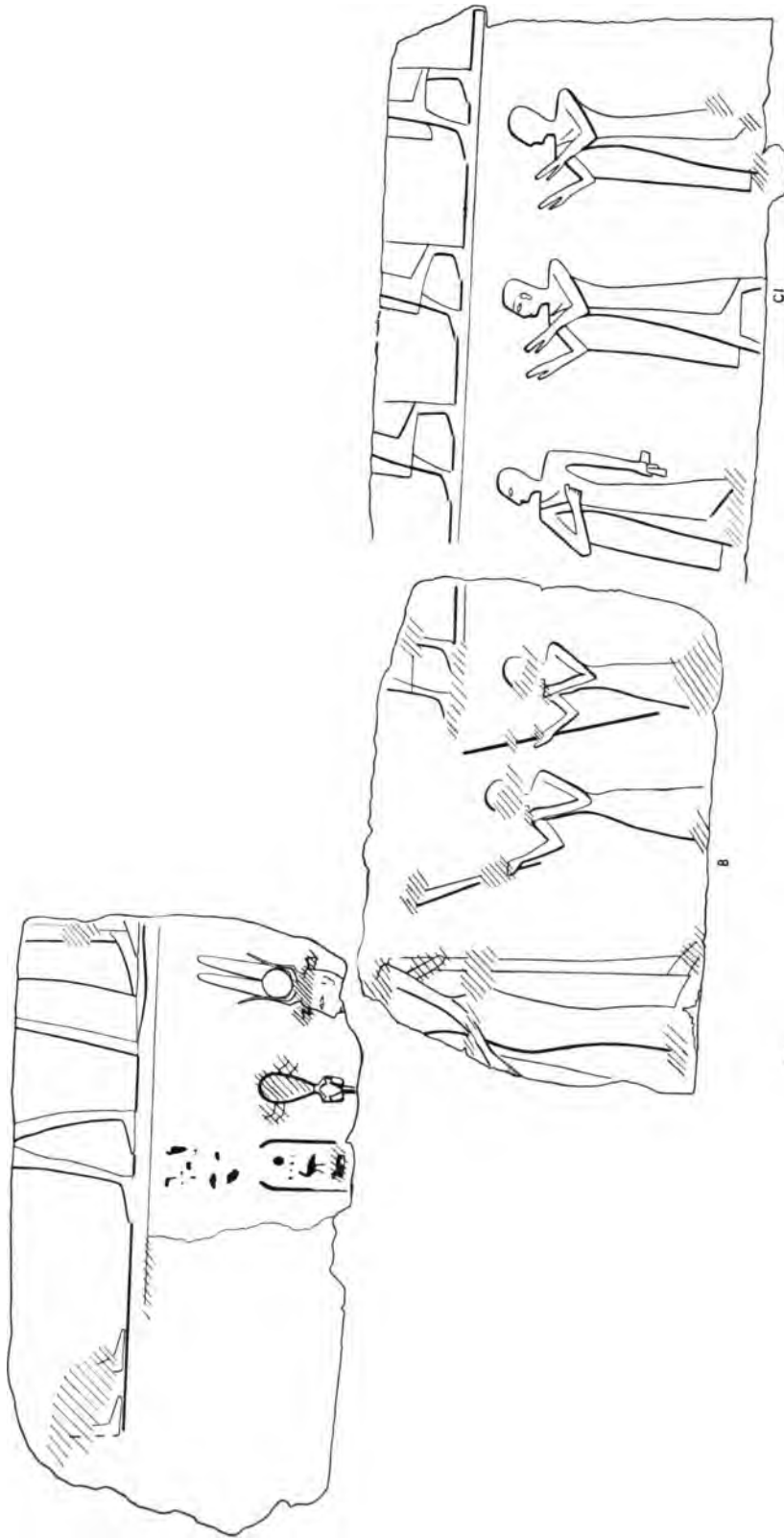


FALLEN BLOCKS. B. ROYALTIES; C. ATTENDANTS ETC.



1

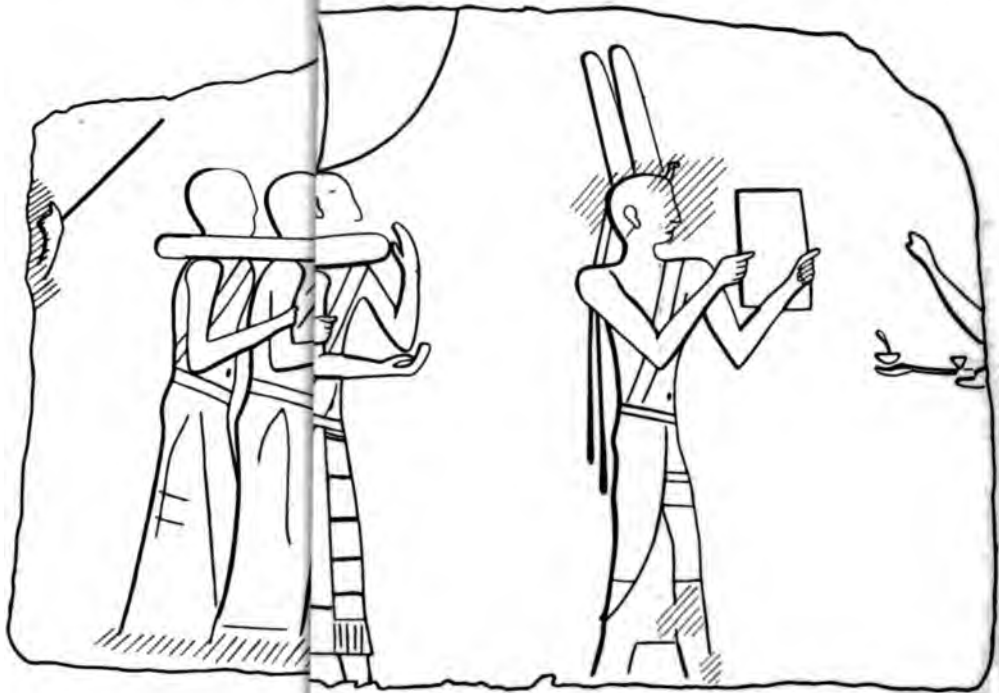
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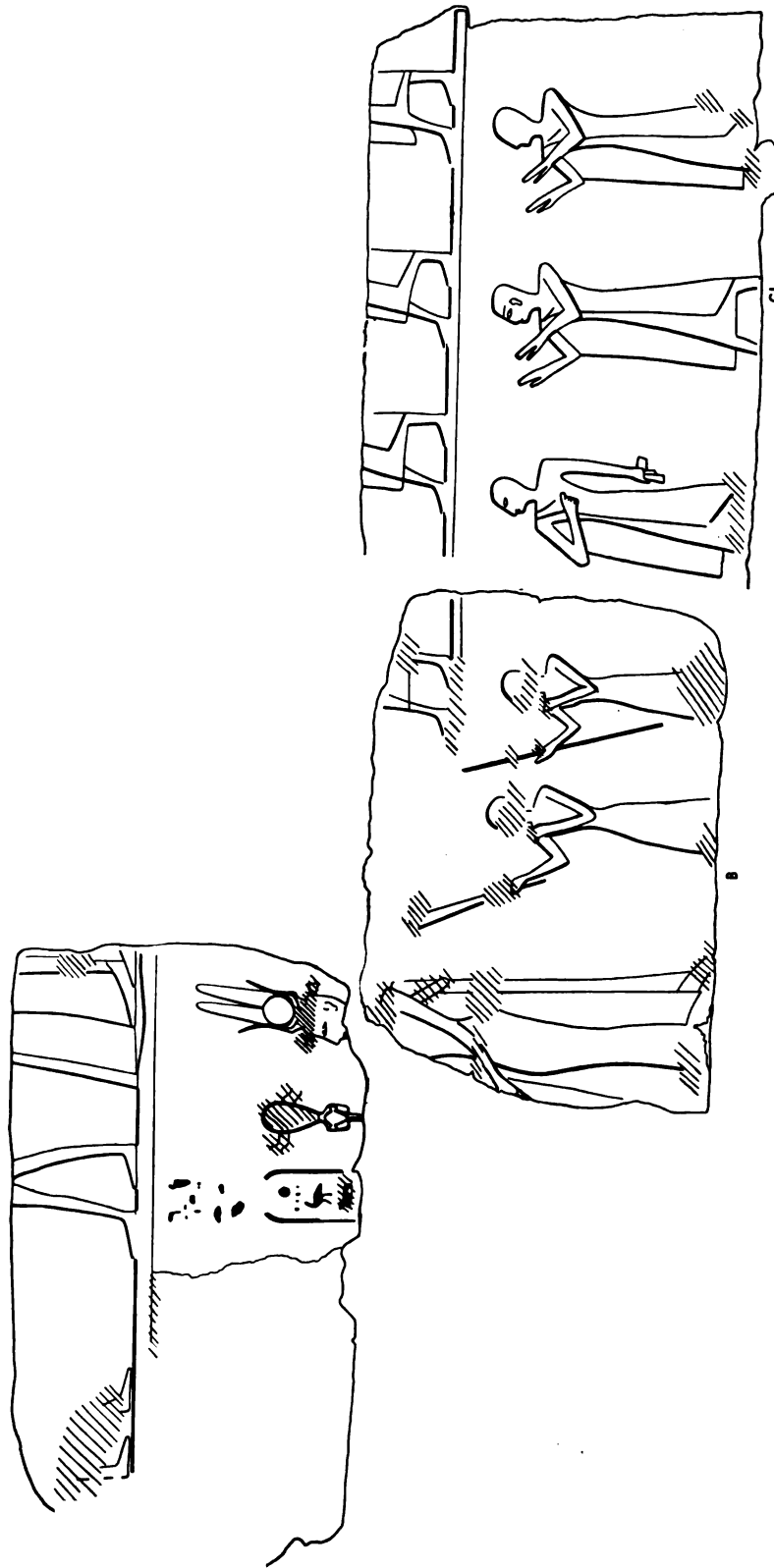
FALLEN BLOCKS. B. ROYALTIES; CI. ATTENDANTS ETC.







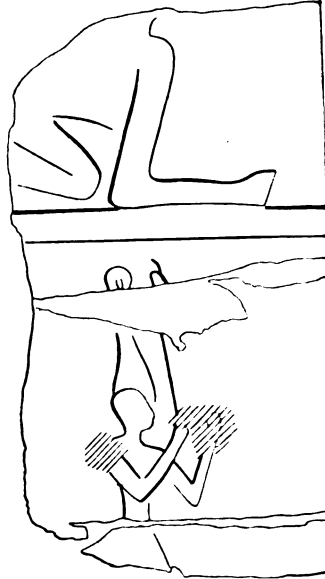
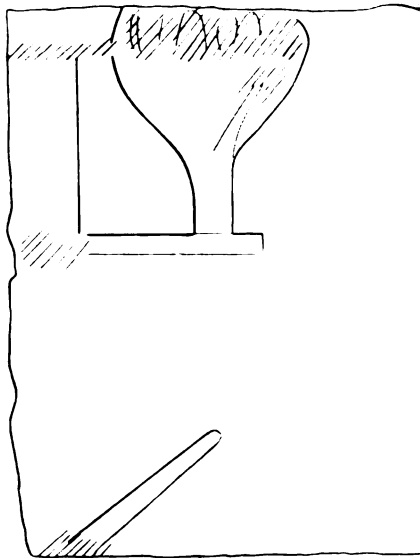
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FALLEN BLOCKS. B. ROYALTIES; CI. ATTENDANTS ETC.

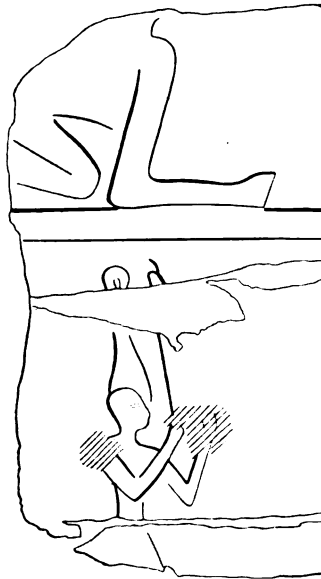
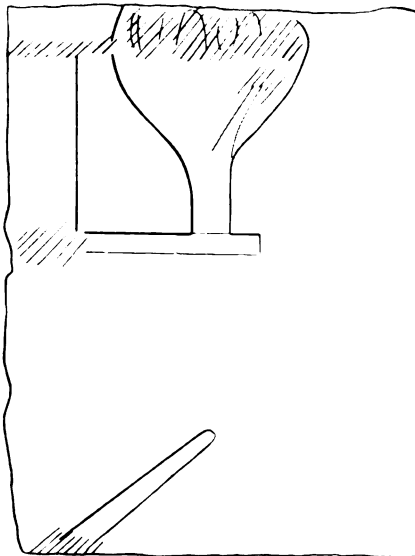






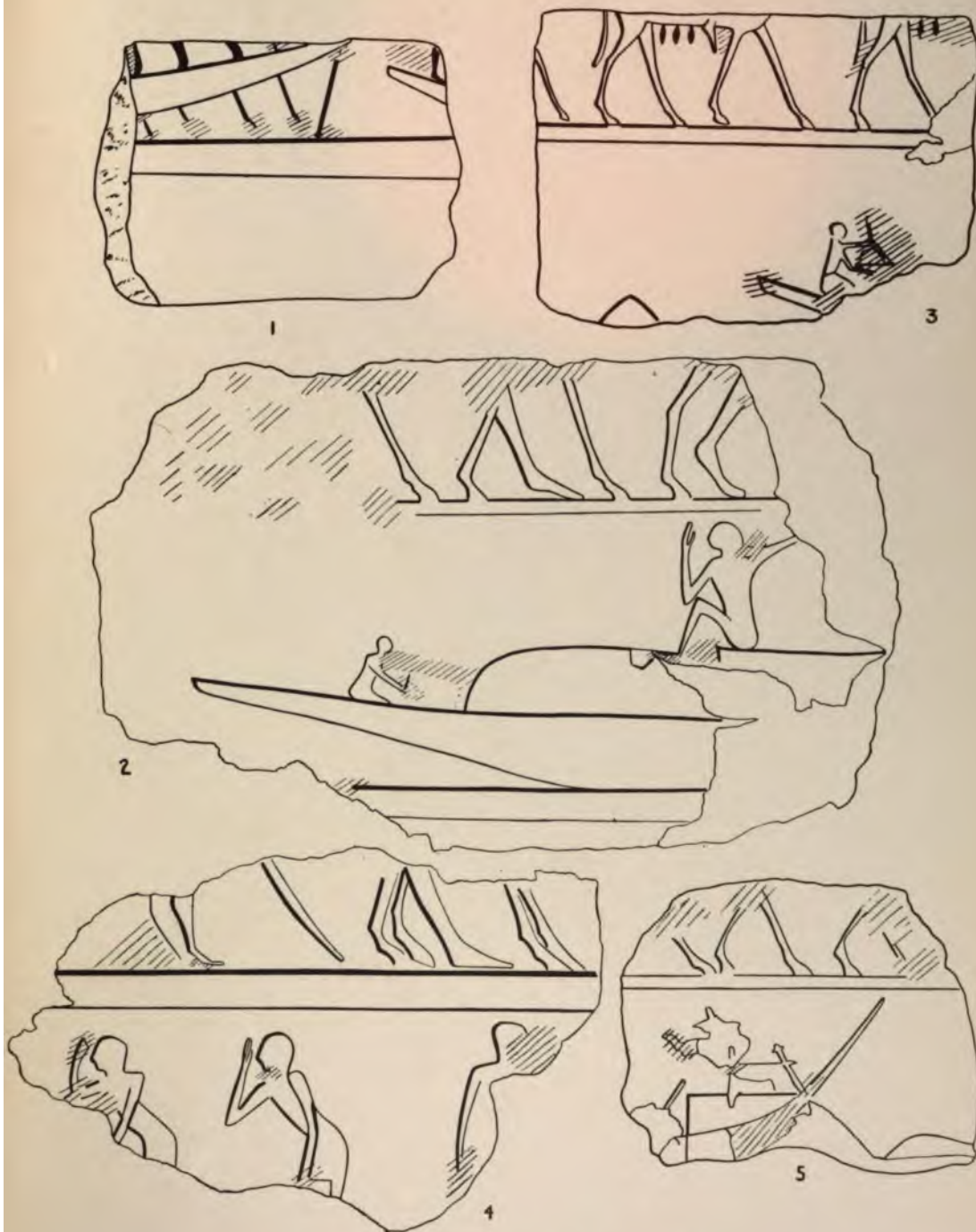
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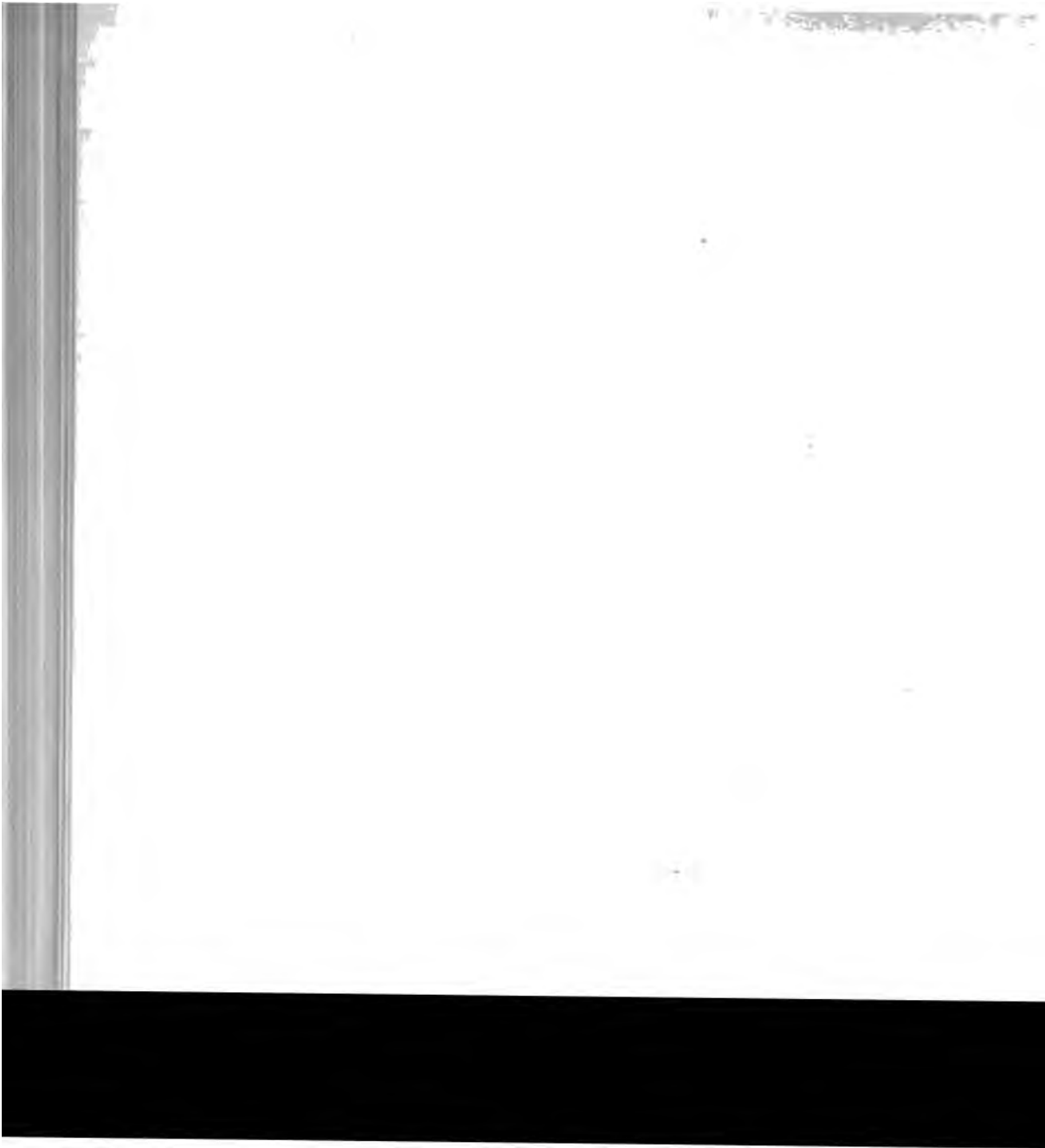
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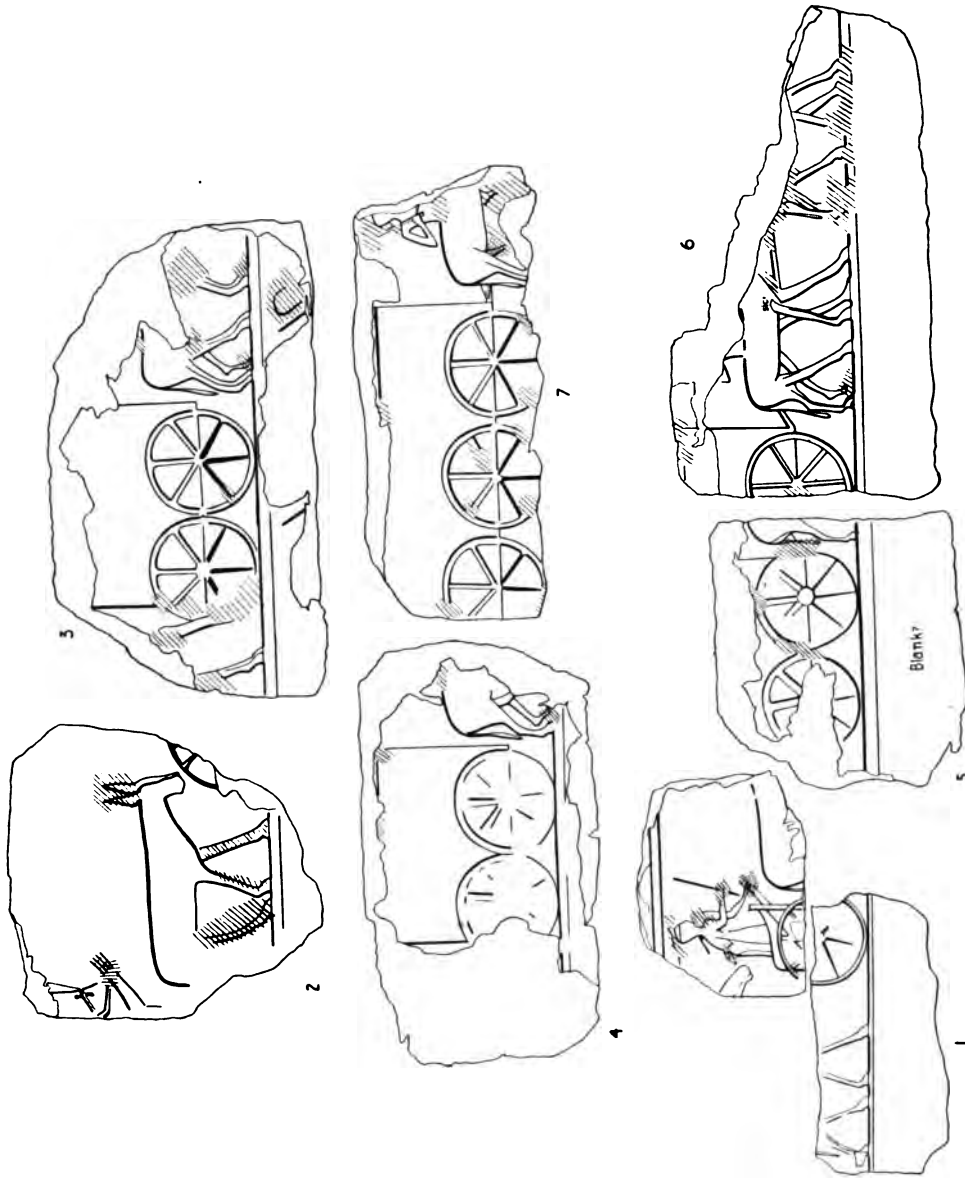
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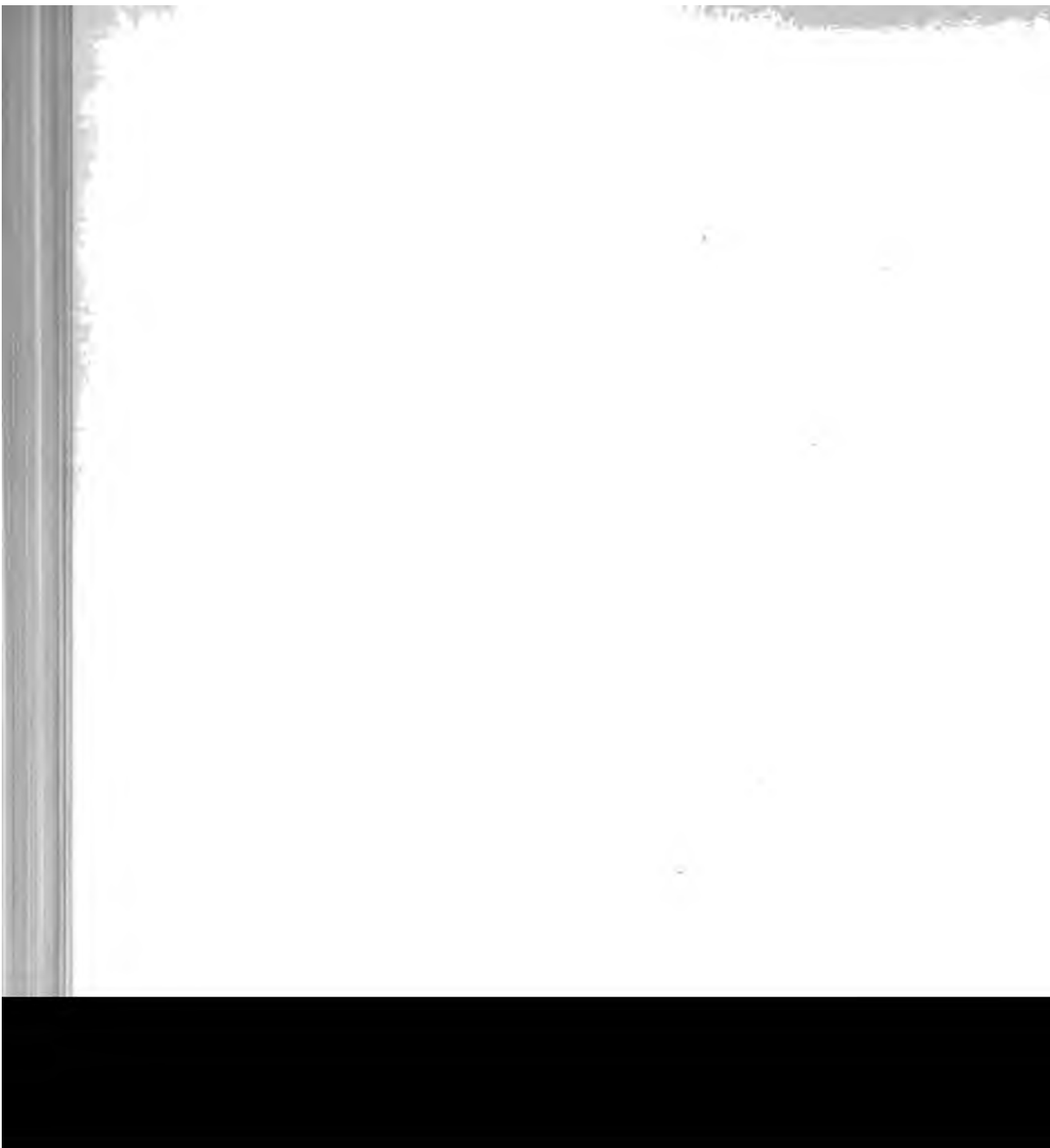
FALLEN BLOCKS. E. BOATS ON THE RIVER.



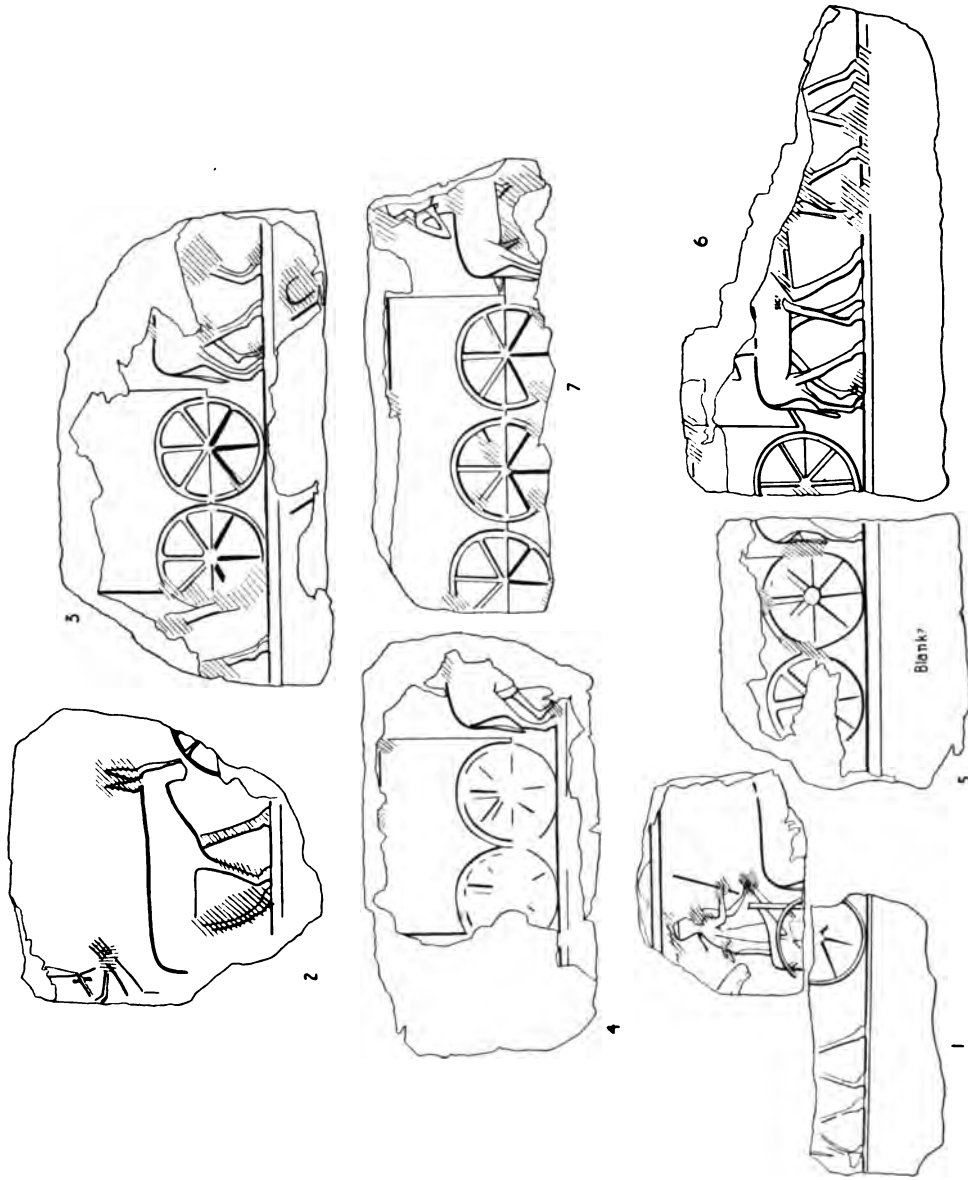




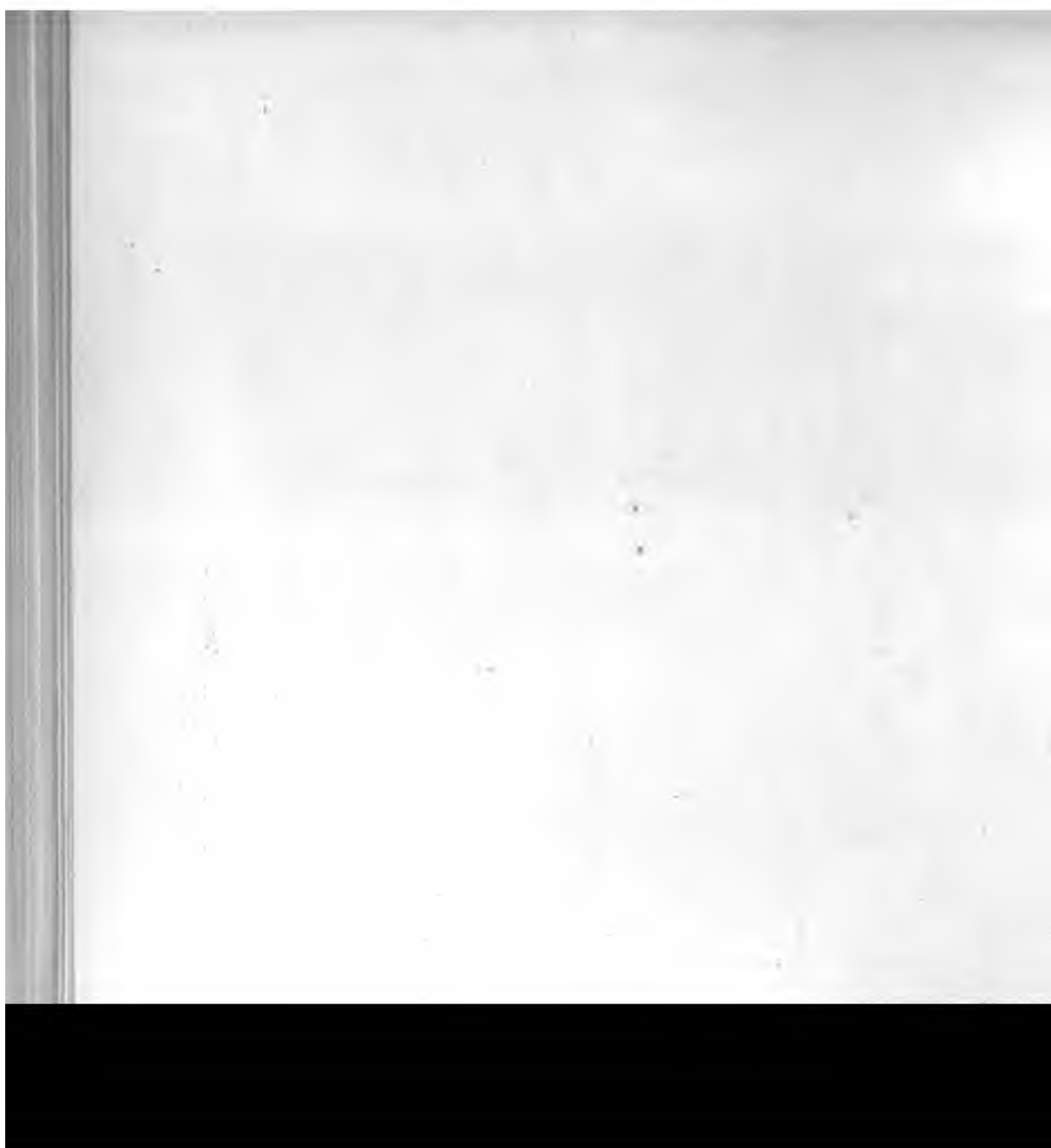
FALLEN BLOCKS. F. WHEELED VEHICLES.

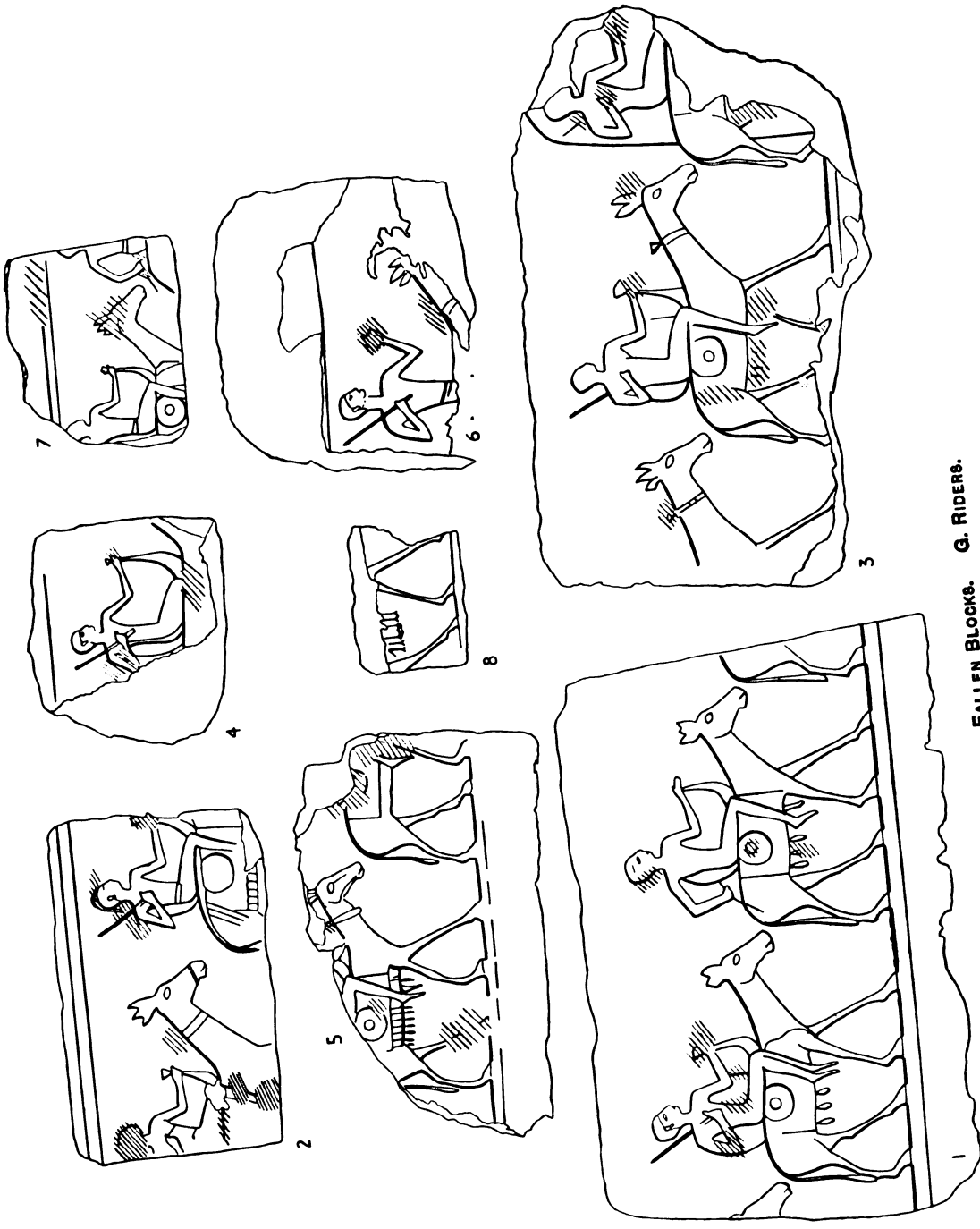






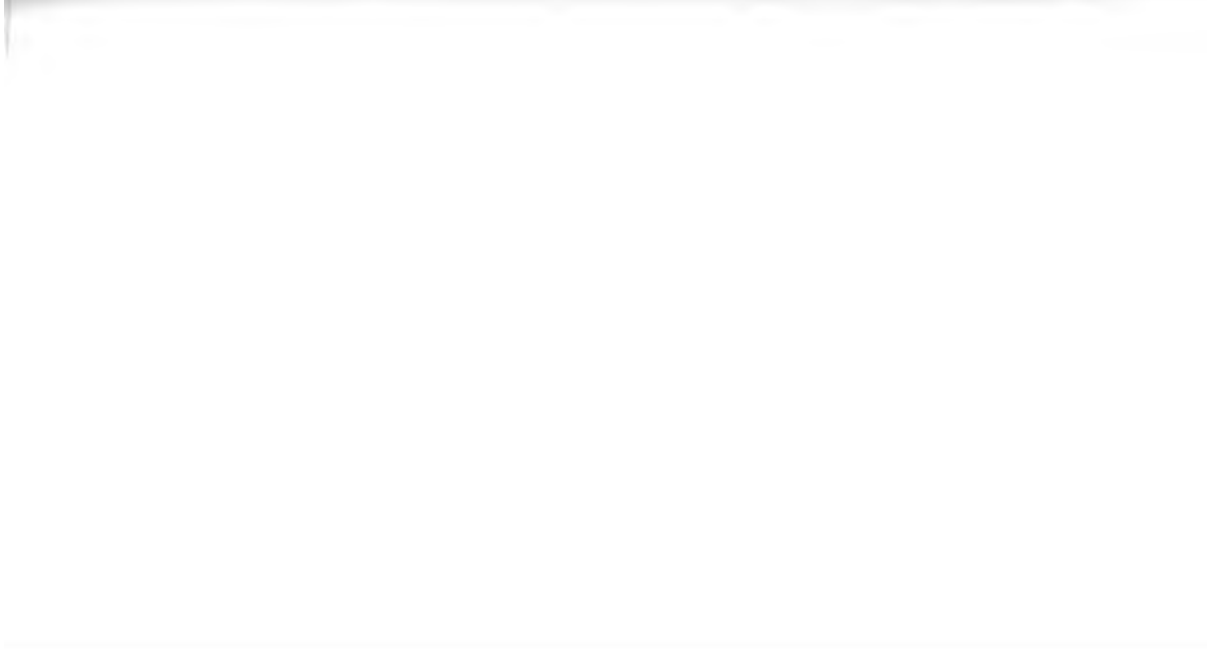
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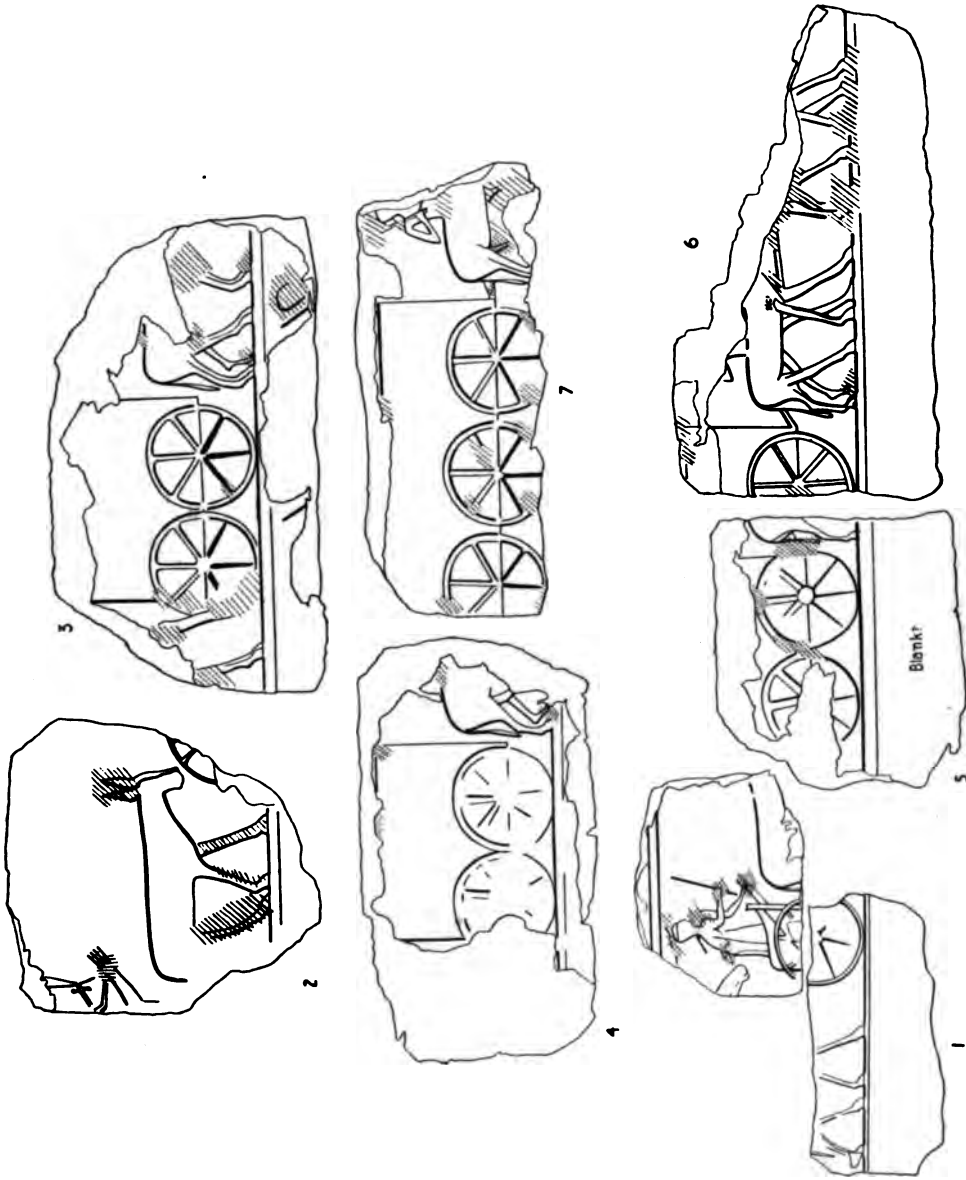




FALLEN BLOCKS. G. RIDERS.







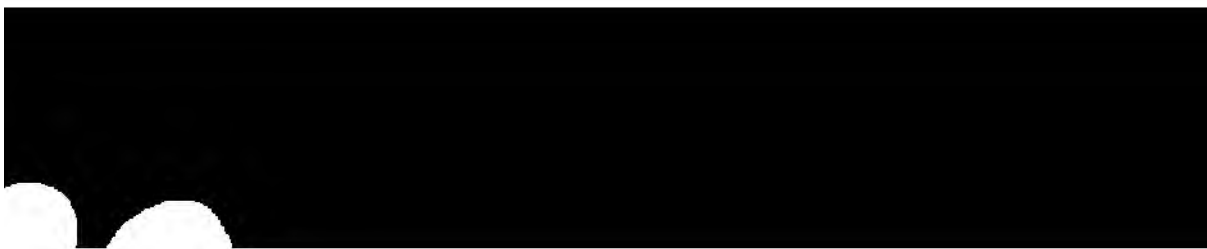
FALLEN BLOCKS. F. WHEELED VEHICLES.





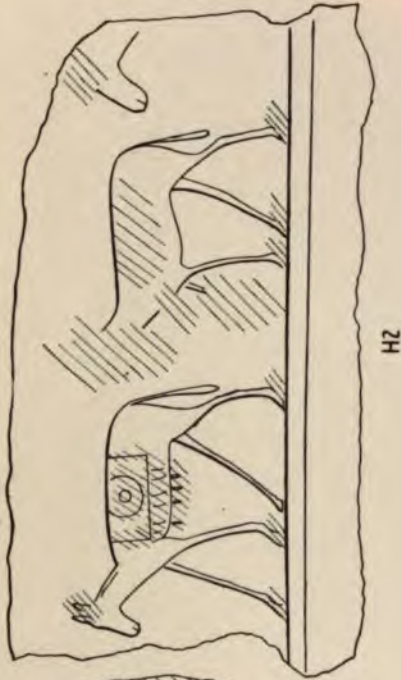


FALLEN BLOCKS. G. RIDERS.





J1



H2



H1



J2



J5

FALLEN BLOCKS. H. RIDERLESS ANIMALS; J. VARIOUS BUILDINGS.

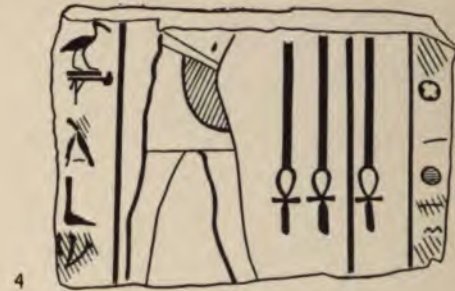


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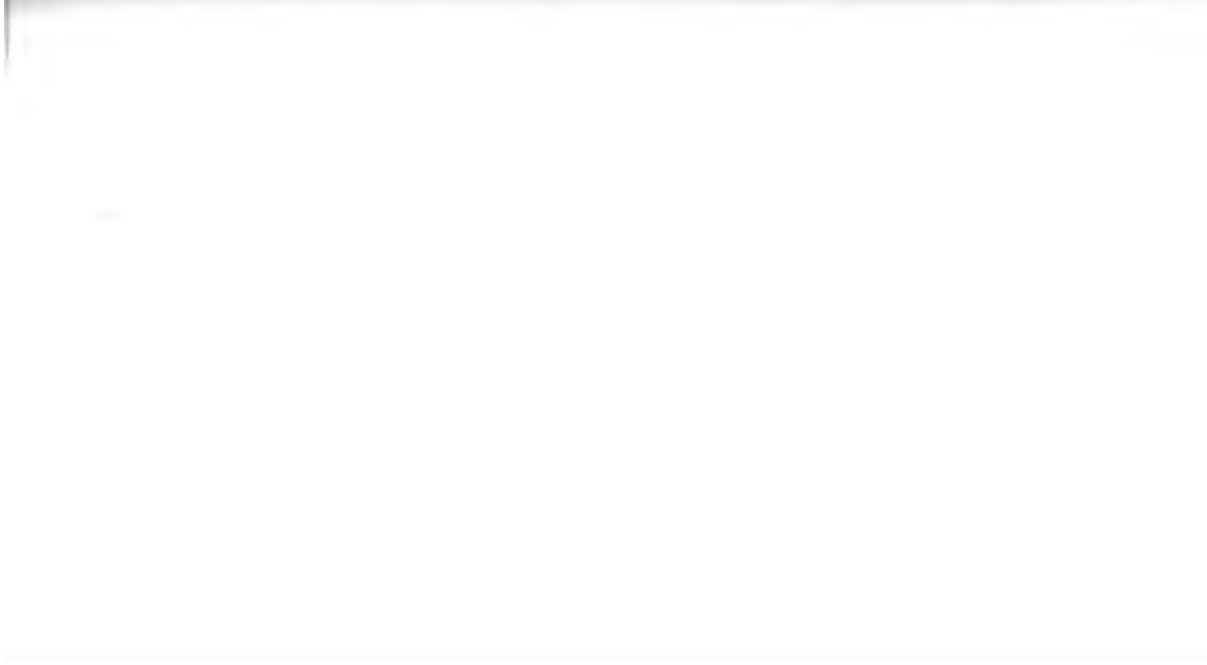
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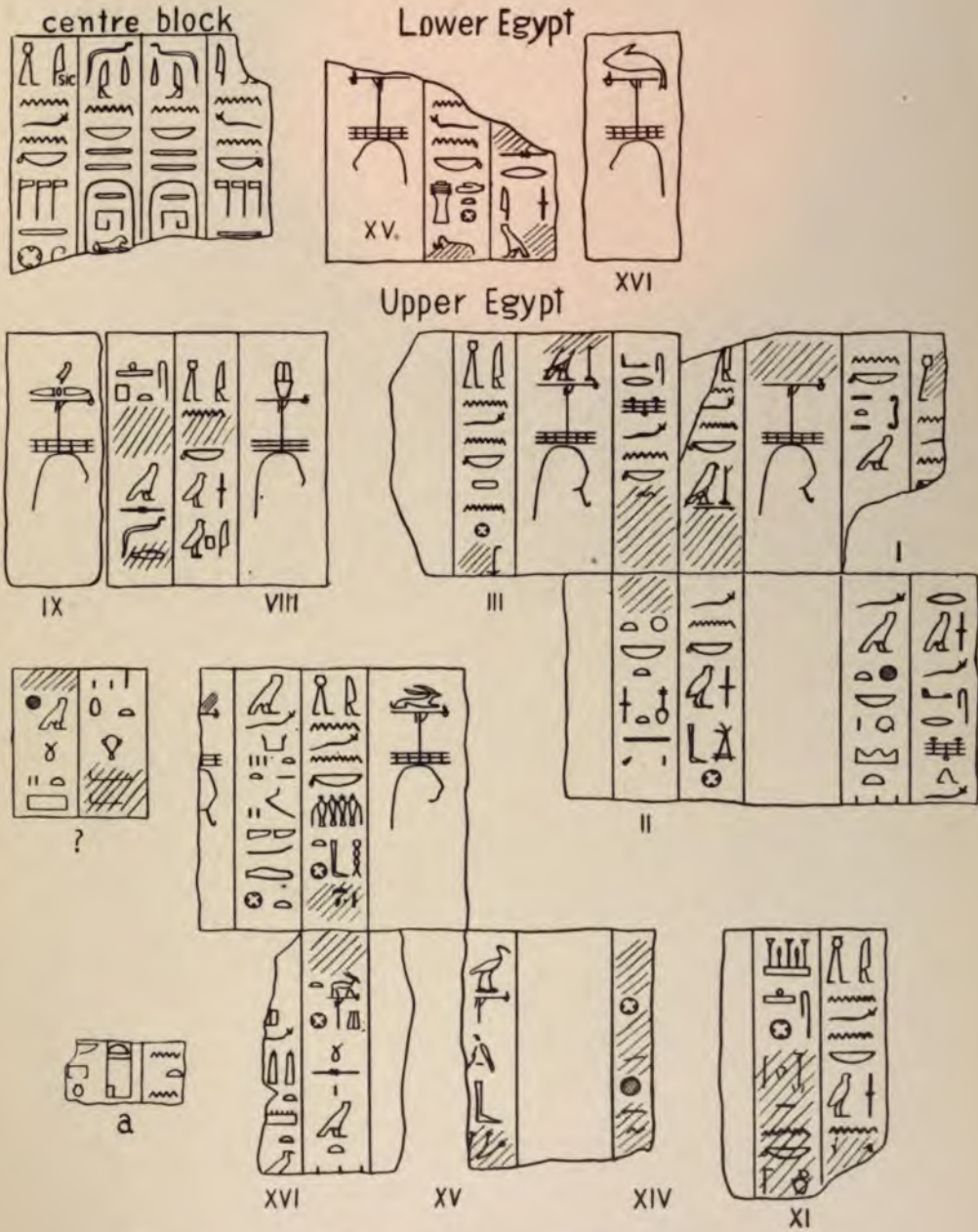
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ON FALLEN BLOCKS FROM REAR WALL.







INSCRIPTIONS OF THE NOME PROCESSION. (a) FROM THE UPPER SCENE.



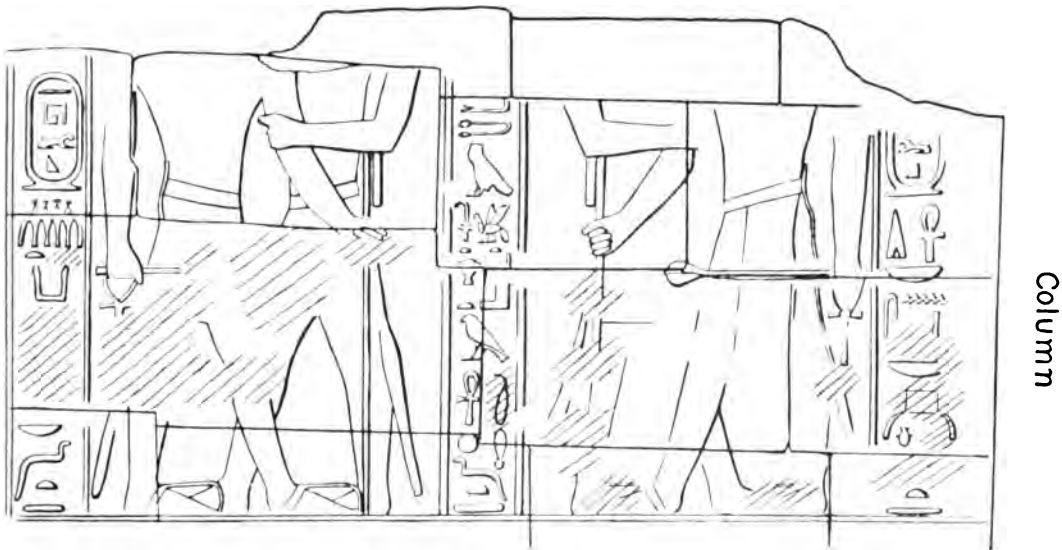
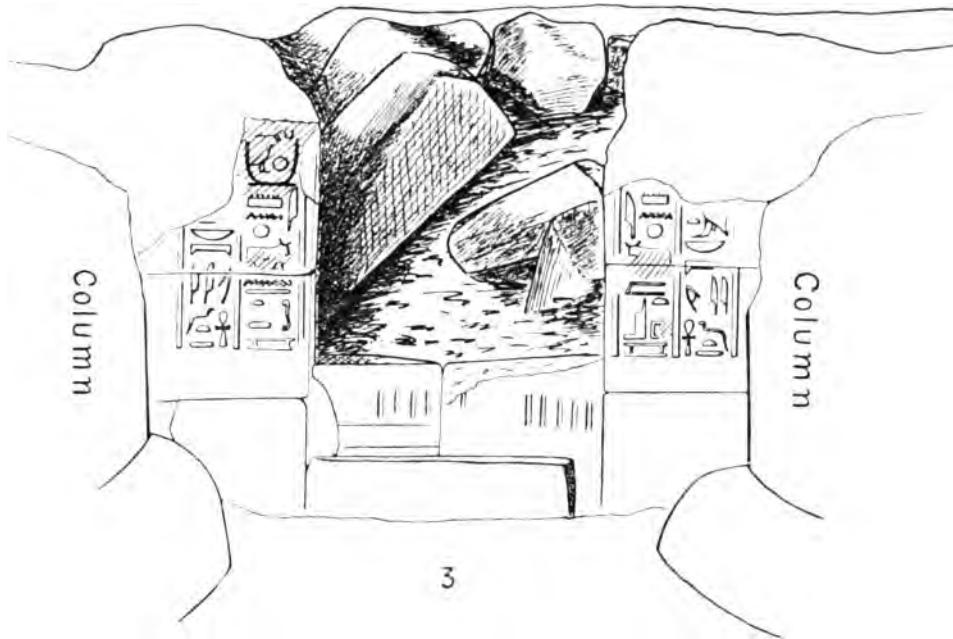
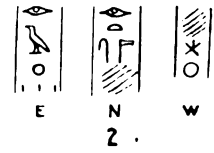
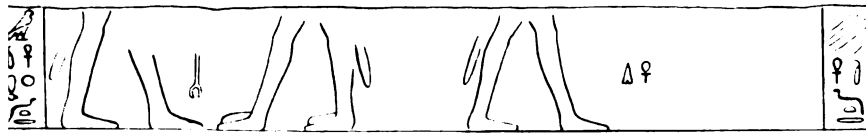


1, HEAD OF AMMON, EAST WALL. 2, DOOR FROM C TO J.

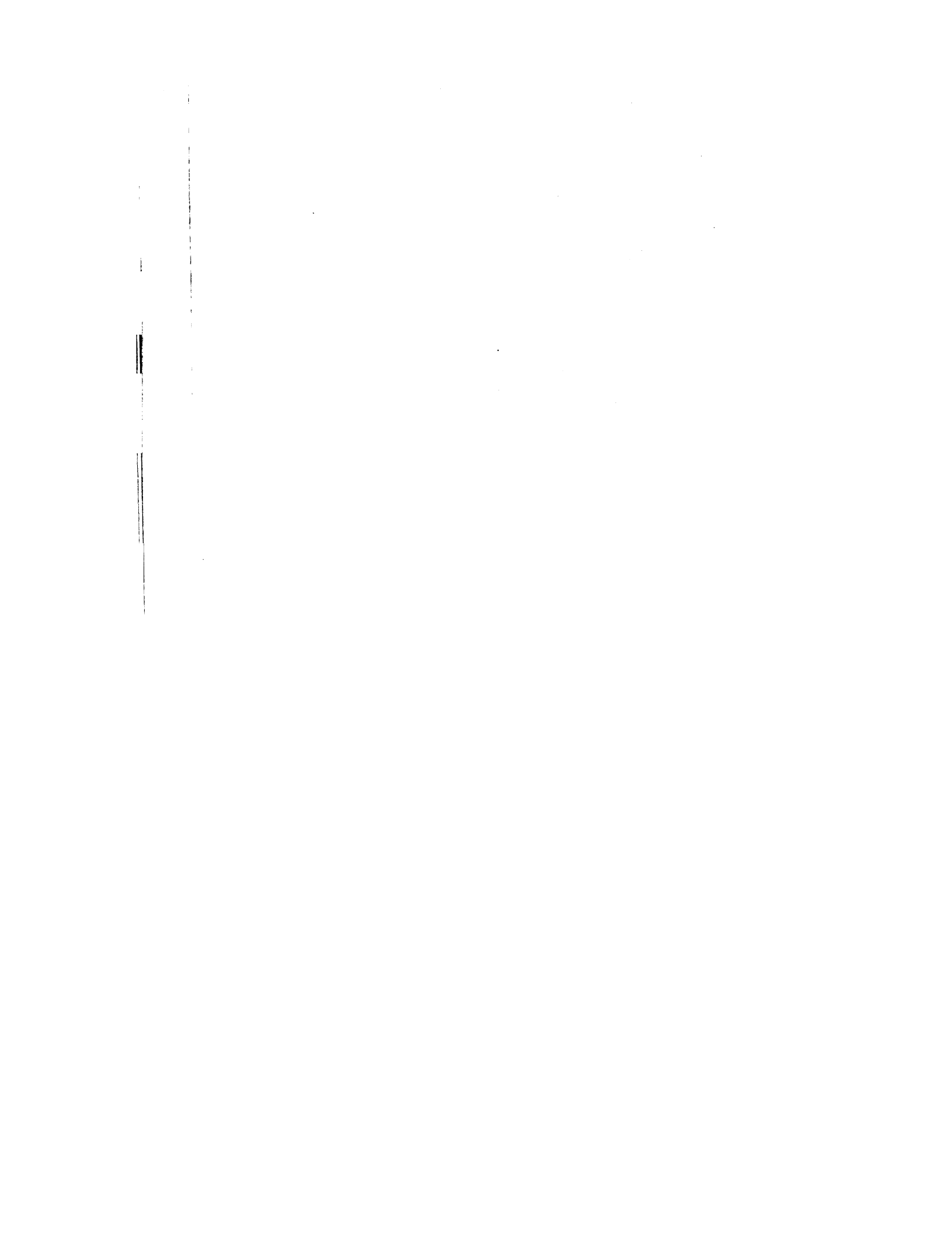


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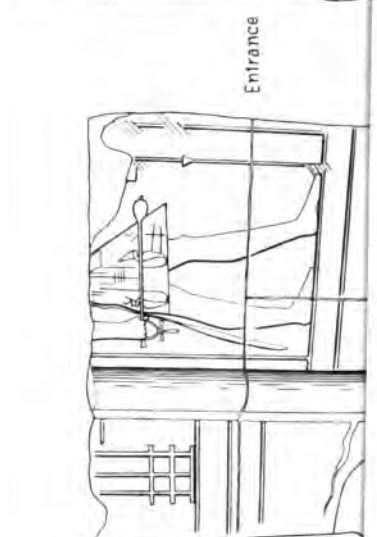
SHRINE OF TIRHAKAH. 1, 3, 4, EXTERIOR; 2, INTERIOR.







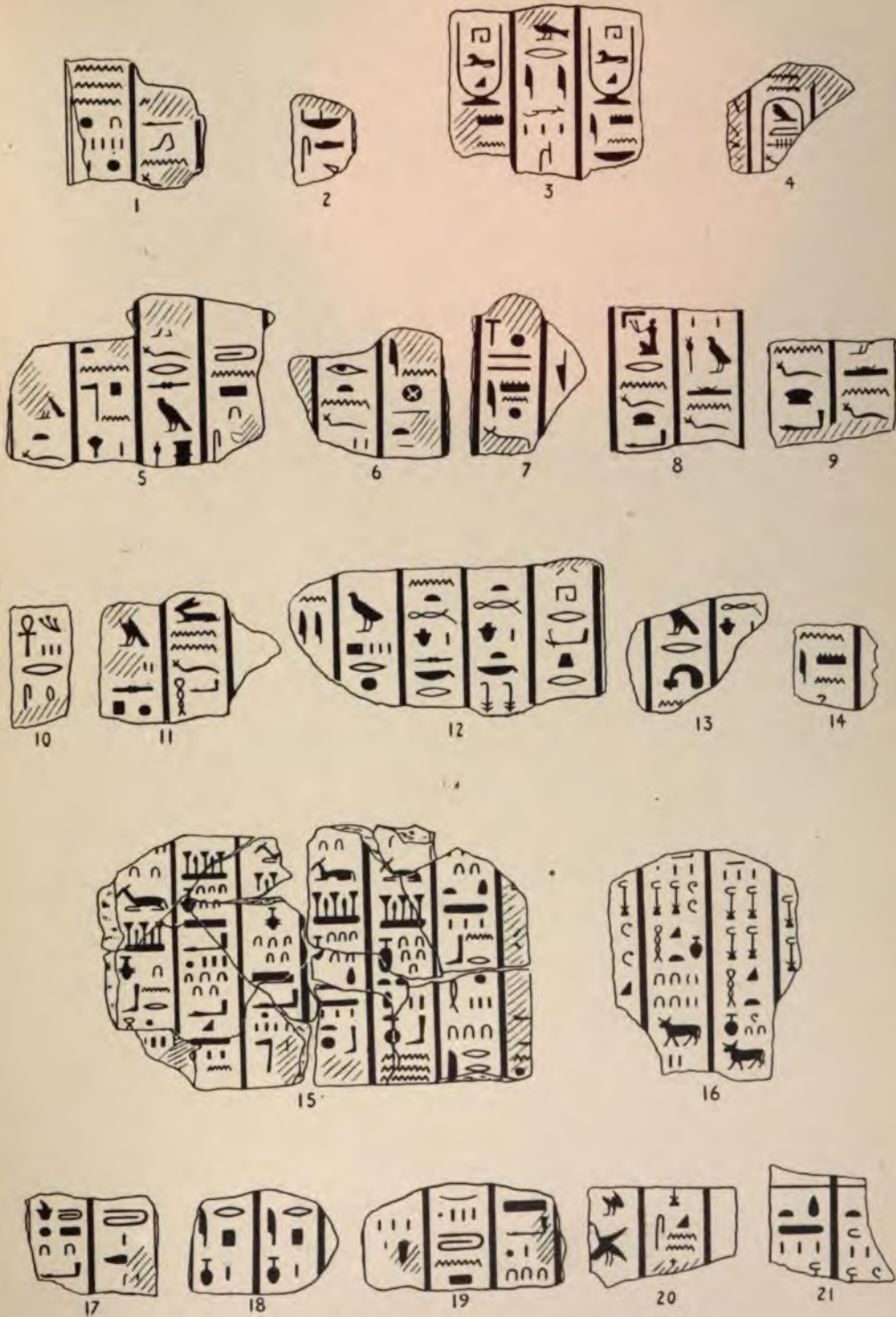
Tirhakah wall



Entrance

Tirhakah column

Vertical line of text or markings on the left side of the page.

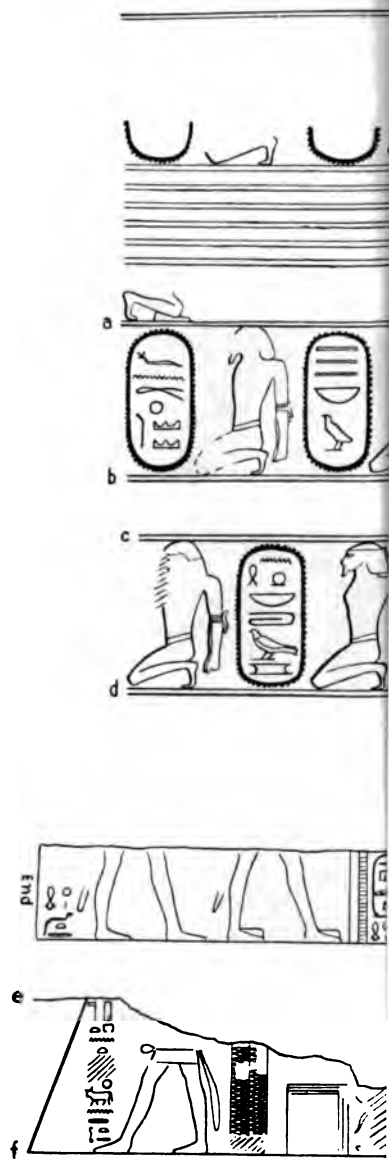


THE LONG INSCRIPTION: FRAGMENTS.





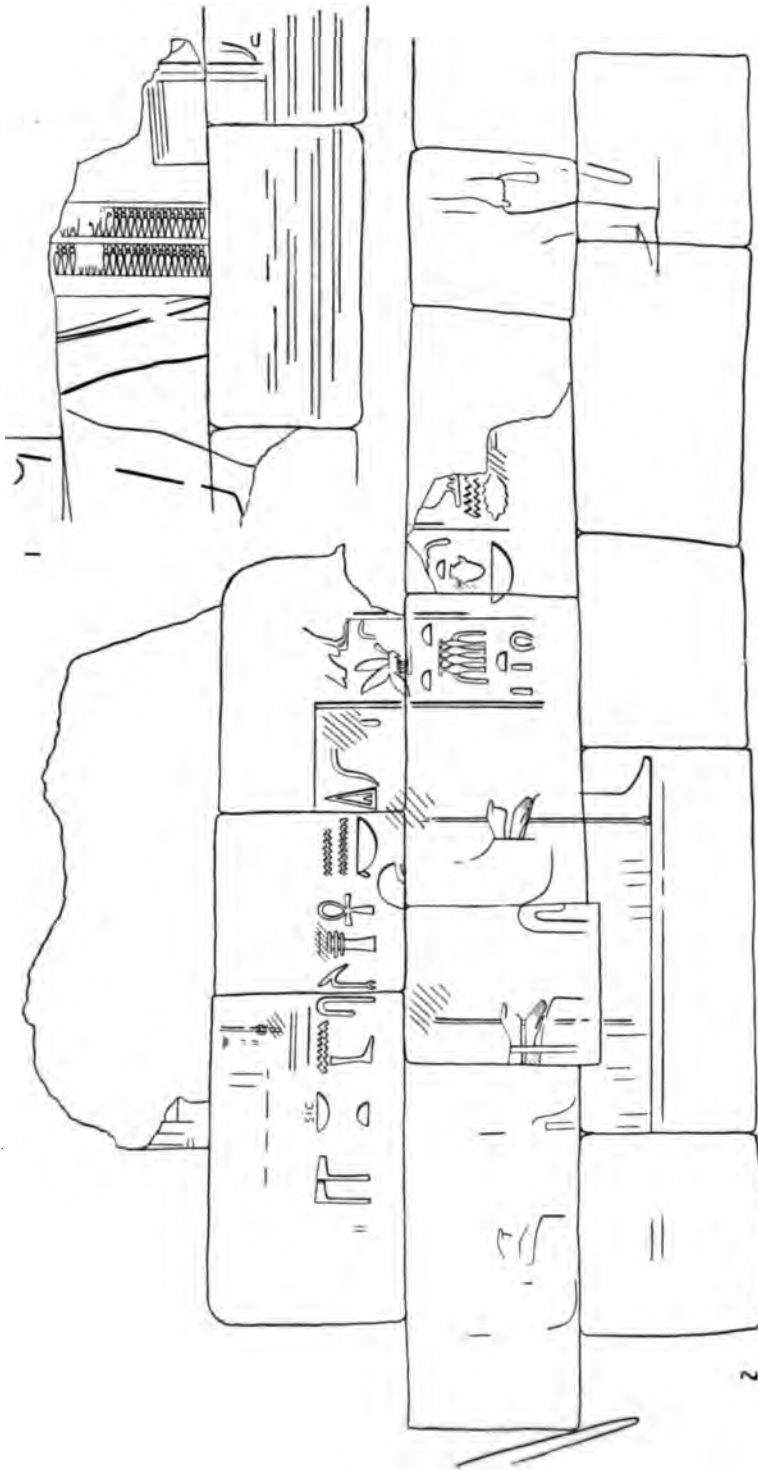
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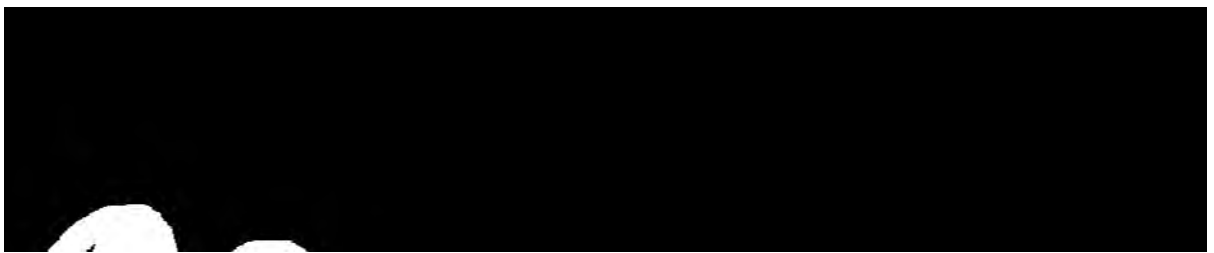
1, SOUTH H

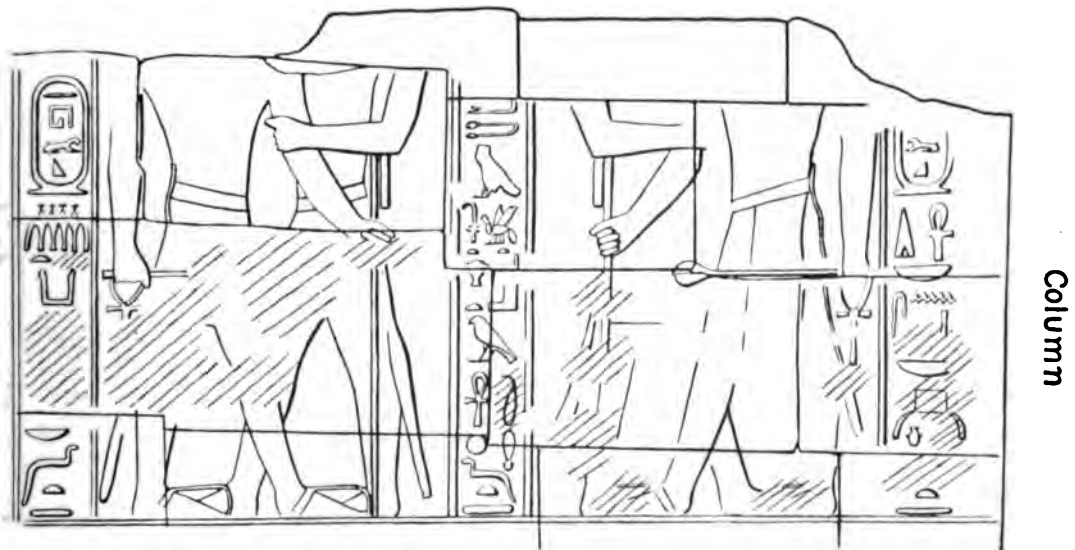
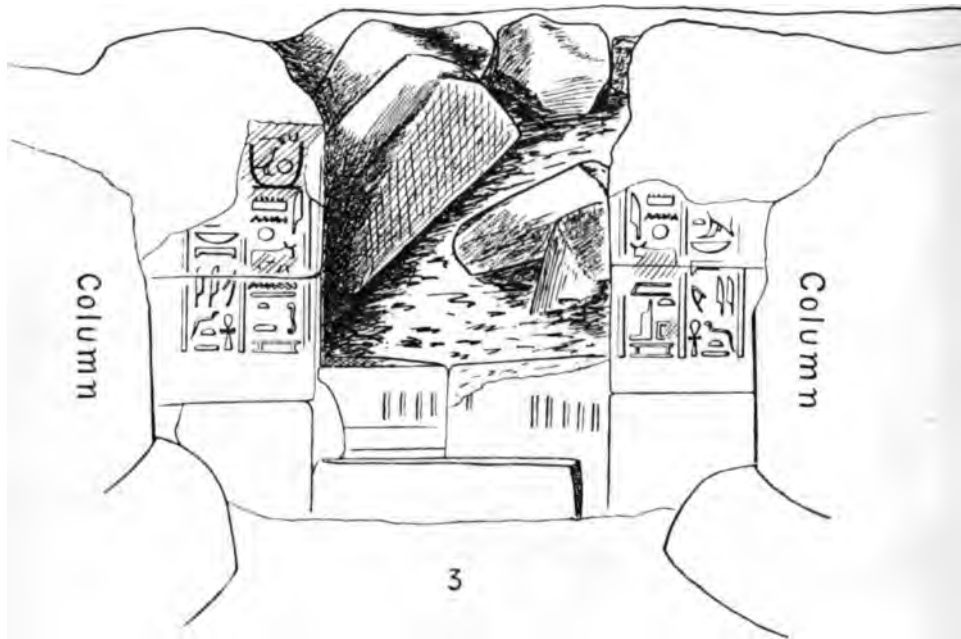
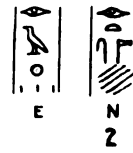






SCULPTURES ON EAST FACE OF INNER PYLON.  
1, SOUTH OF DOORWAY; 2, MIDDLE OF NORTH HALF.





SHRINE OF TIRHAKAH. 1, 3, 4, EXTERIOR; 2, INTERIOR.



1

2

3

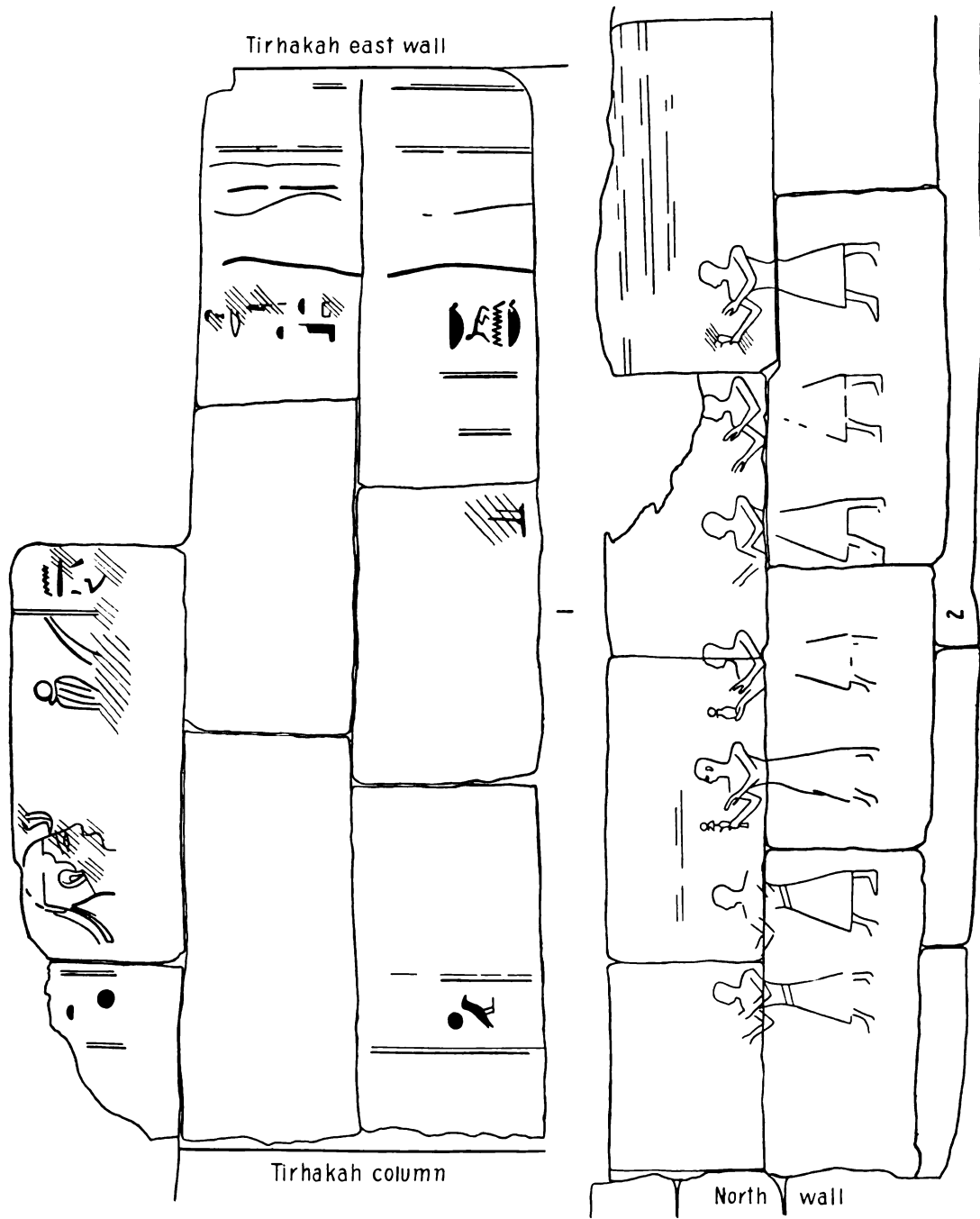
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SHRINE OF ASPELT, INTERIOR. 1, EAST HALF OF NORTH WALL; 2, WEST WALL.



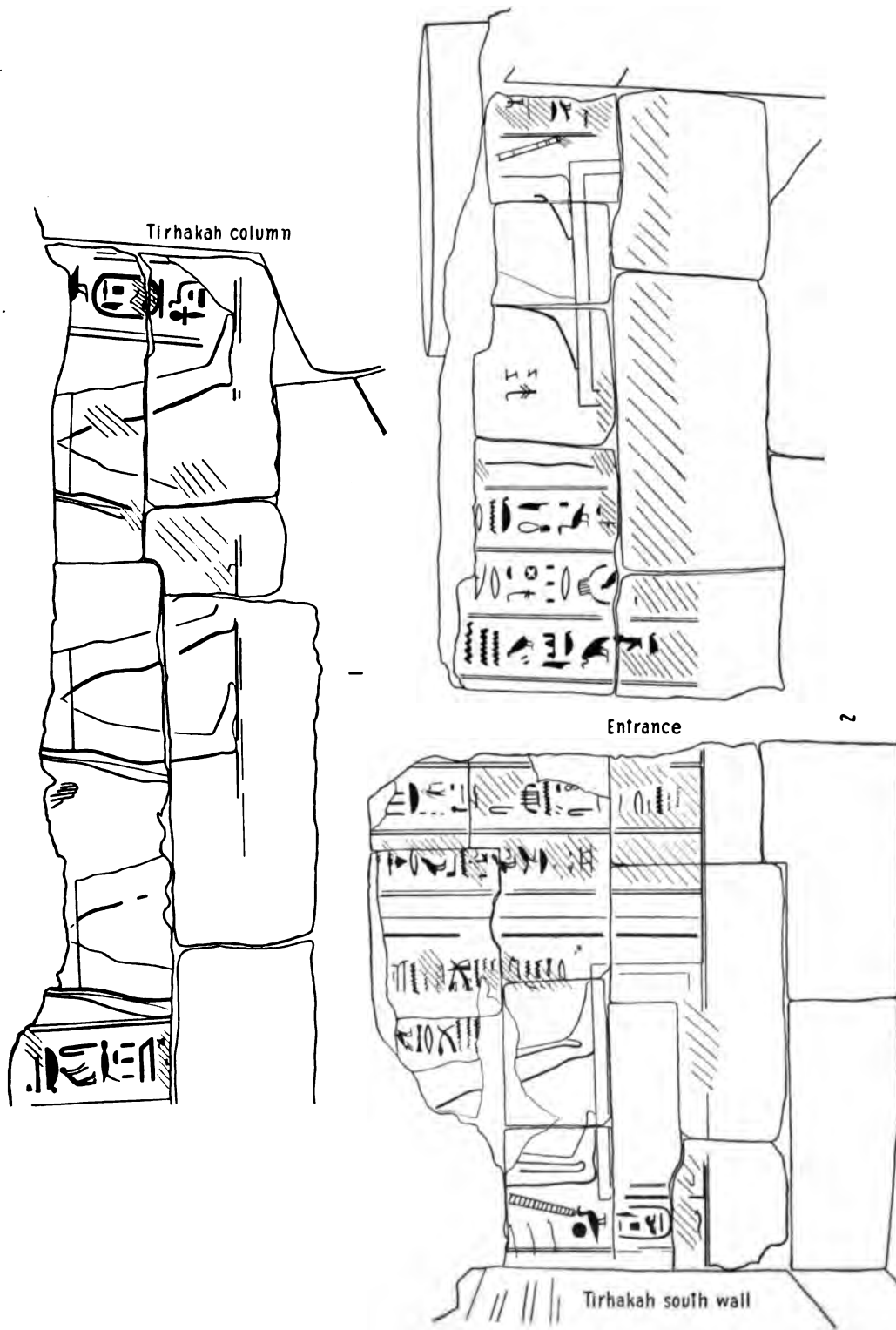




SHRINE OF ASPELT, INTERIOR. 1, WEST HALF OF NORTH WALL; 2, EAST WALL.

1

2



SHRINE OF ASPELT, INTERIOR. 1, EAST HALF OF NORTH WALL; 2, WEST WALL.



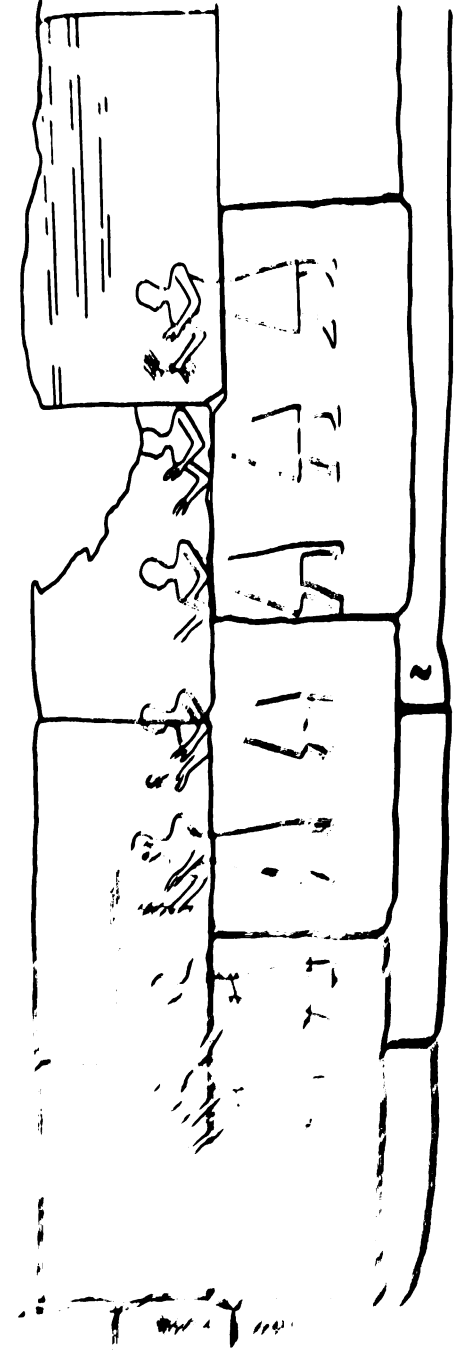
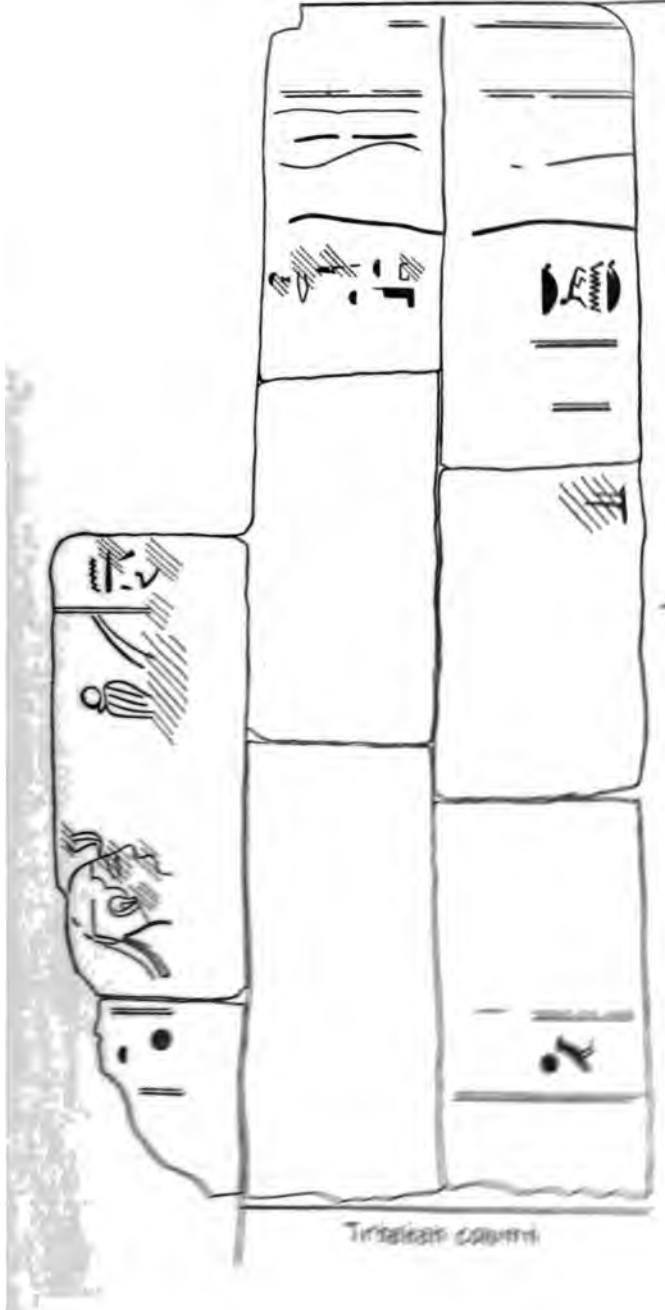
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Tirhakah east wall



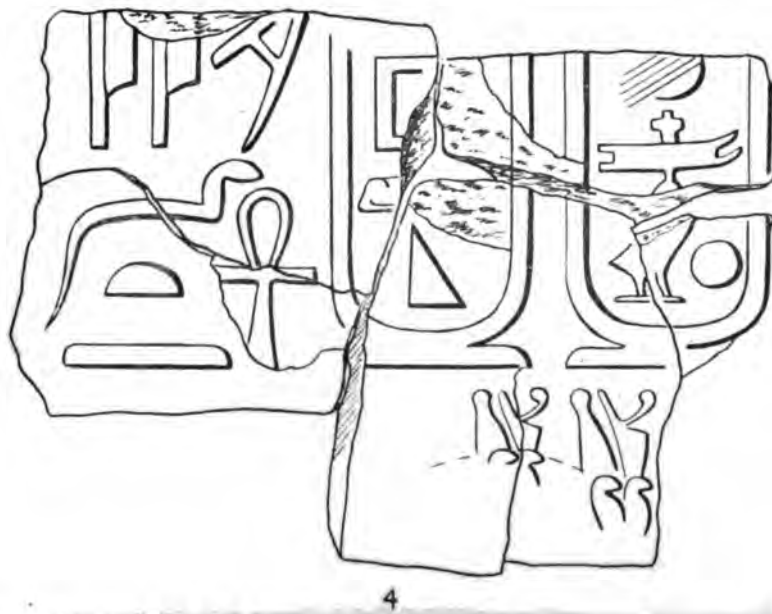
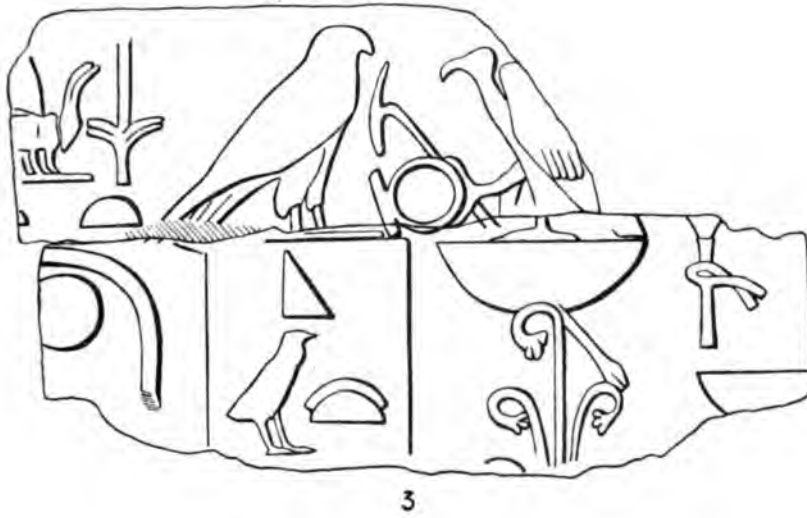
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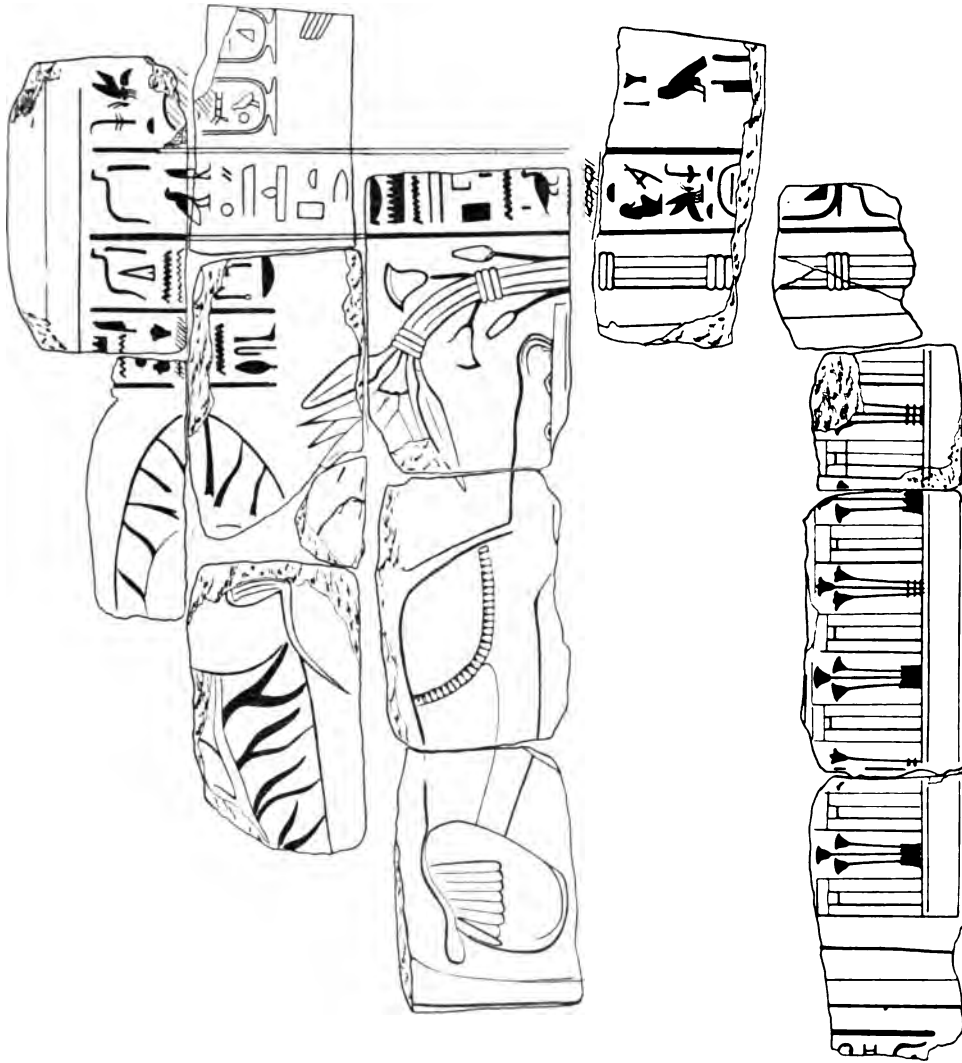
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BLOCKS FROM ABOUT C. (1, 2, from rough sketches.)

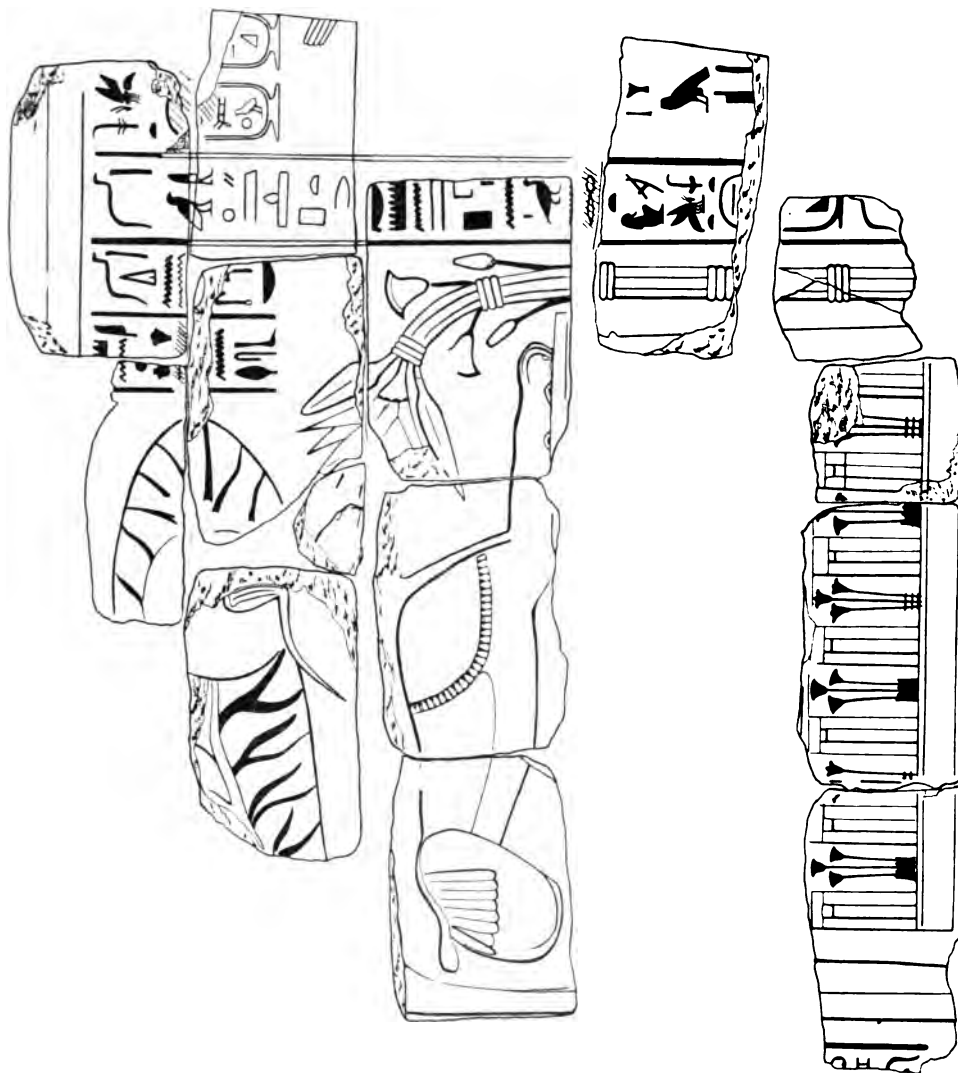
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AMMON OF PNUBS.



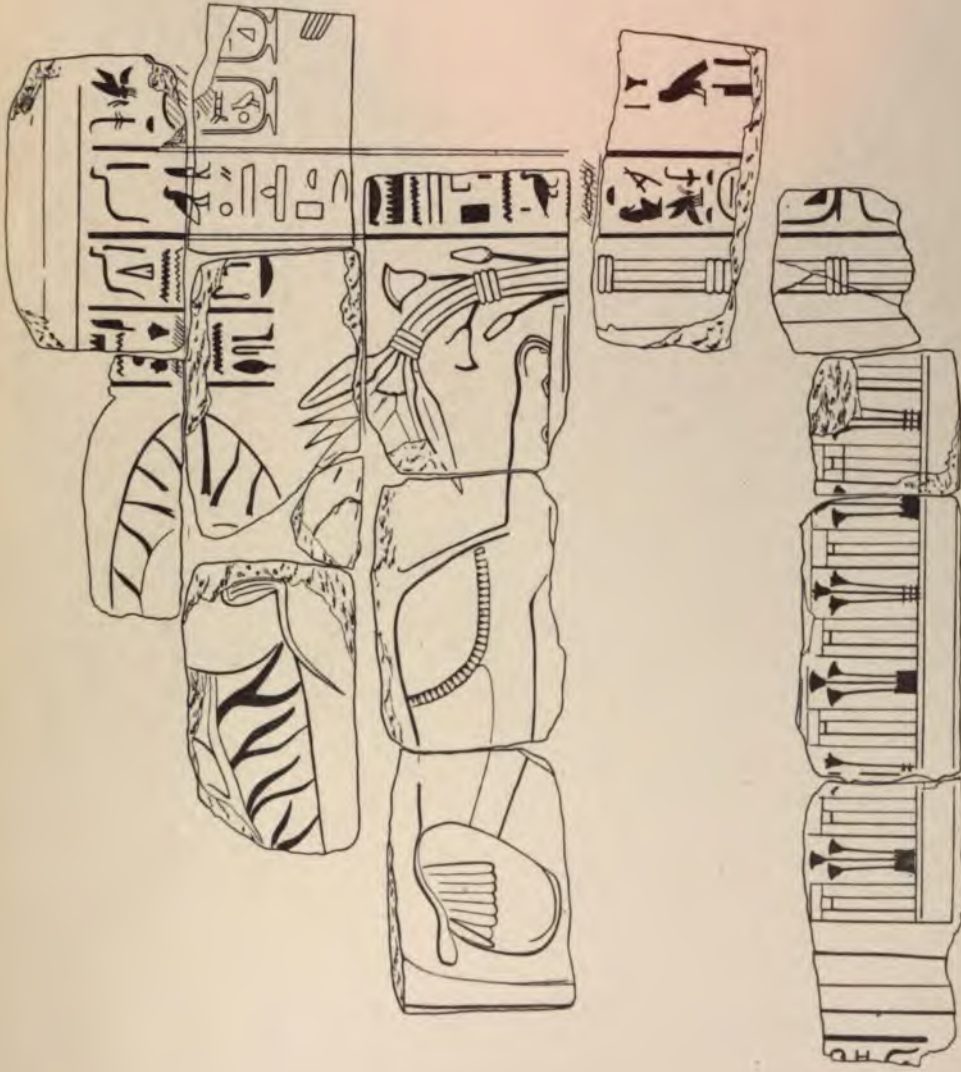




AMMON OF PNUBS.

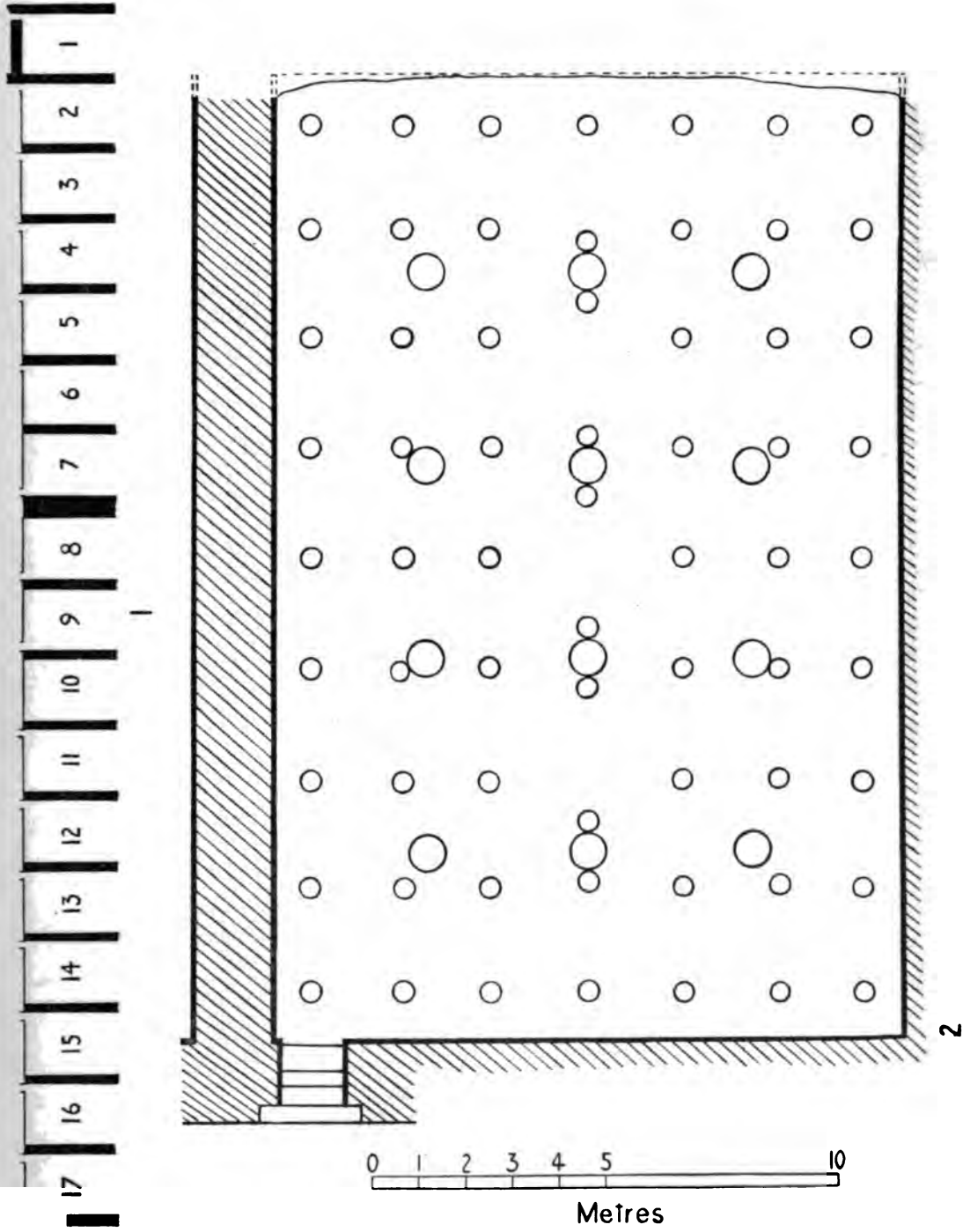






AMMON OF PNUKS.

1



THE TREASURY. 1, SCHEMF 3/ CHAMBERS. 2







a



b

THE TREASURY.

- (a) SCRAPING THE FLOOR OF A SOUTHERN CHAMBER.  
(b) DIAGONAL VIEW OF CHAMBERS EASTWARD FROM DOORWAY OF NO. 7.







a



b

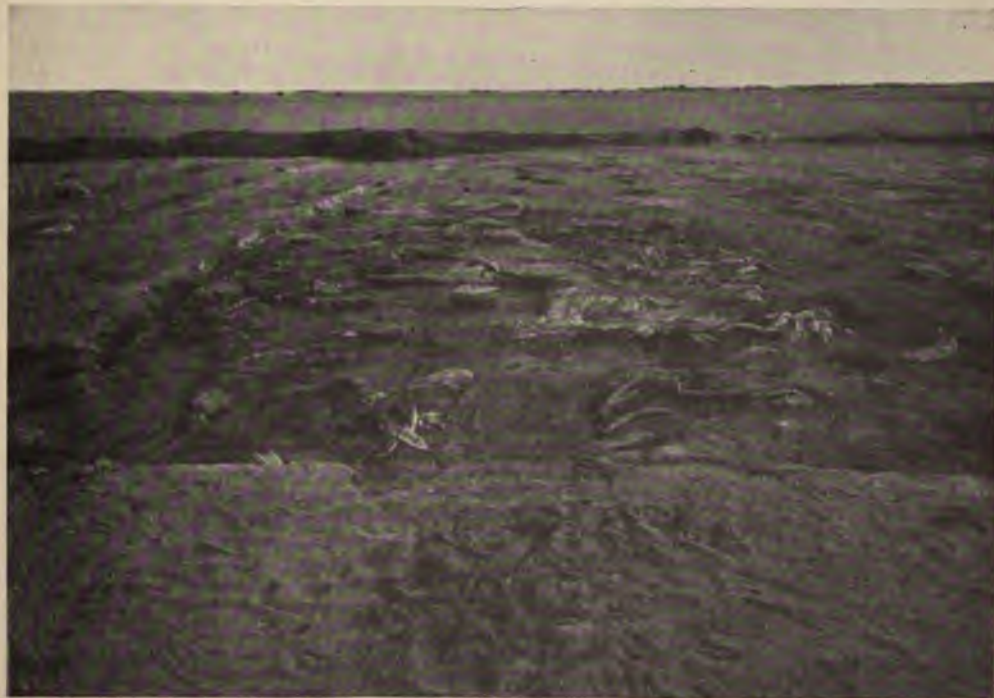
THE TREASURY.

- (a) LOOKING NORTH UP A PARTY WALL, JEBEL BARKAL IN THE DISTANCE.  
(b) DOORWAY AND STEPS IN NO. 12.





a



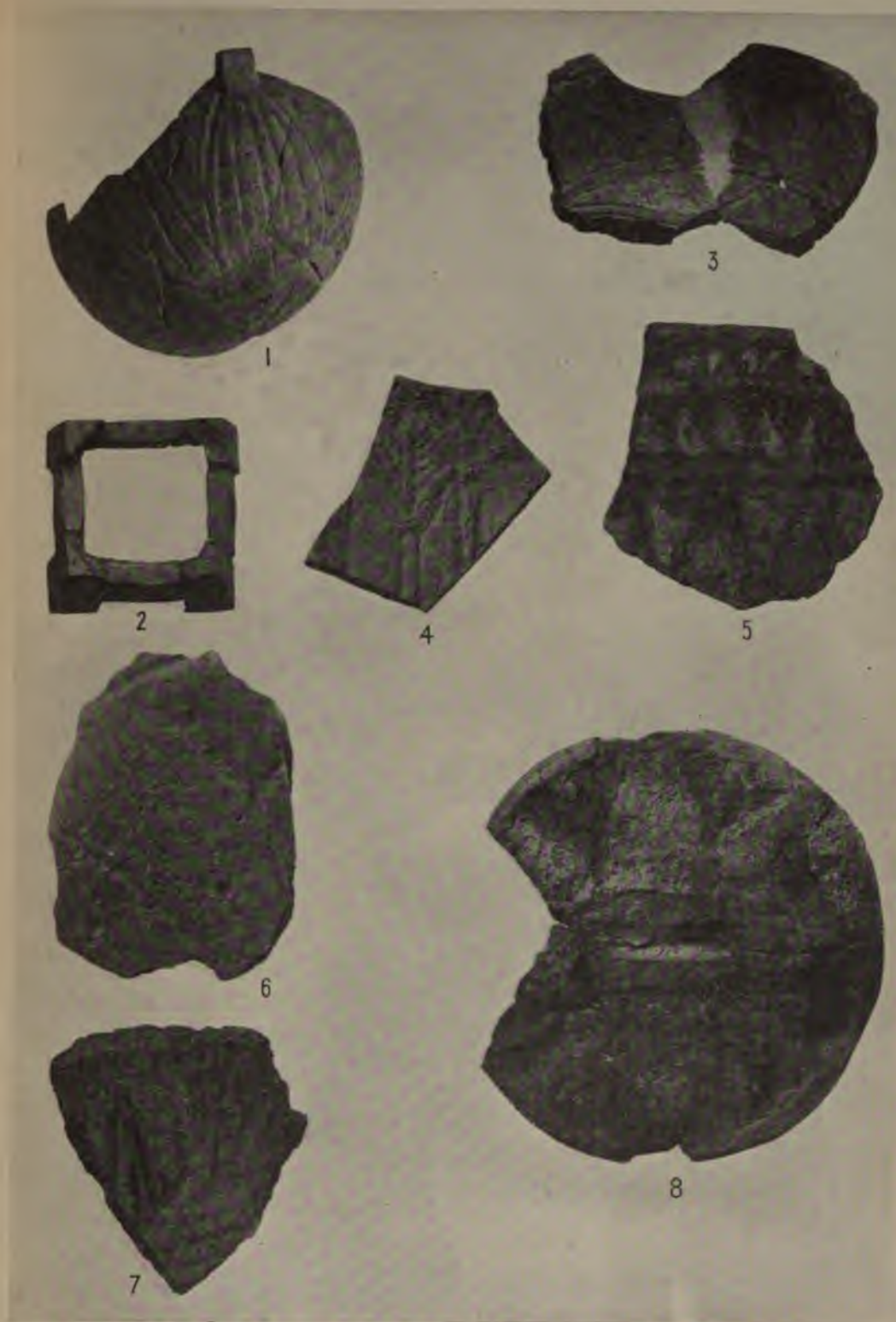
b

THE TREASURY.

- (a) STAIRWAY ON BROAD WALL BETWEEN NOS. 7 AND 8, SHOWING STONE STEP TO SPINAL WALL.  
(b) ELEPHANT TUSKS IN NO. 15.



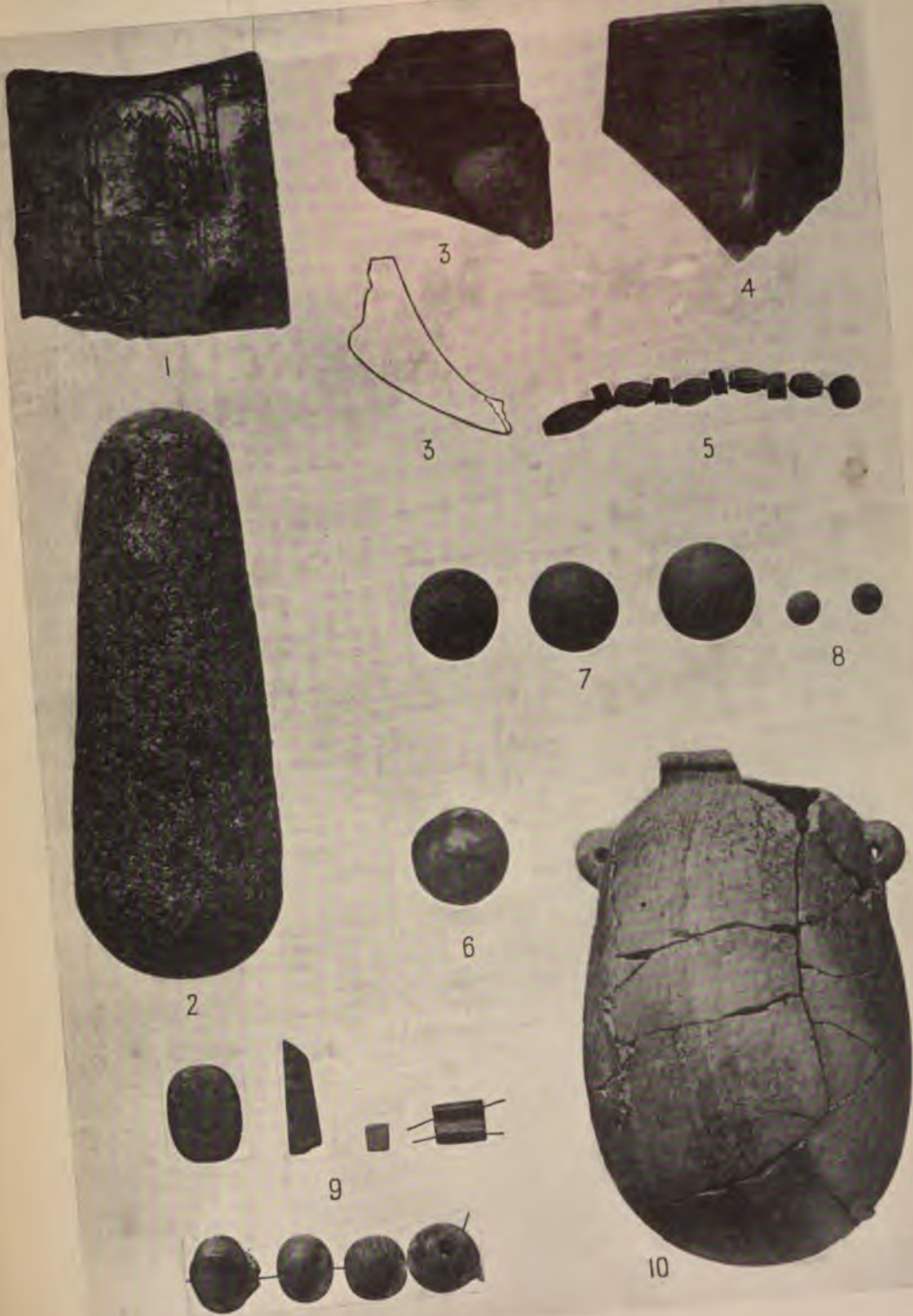
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TREASURY: FAYENCE.

1





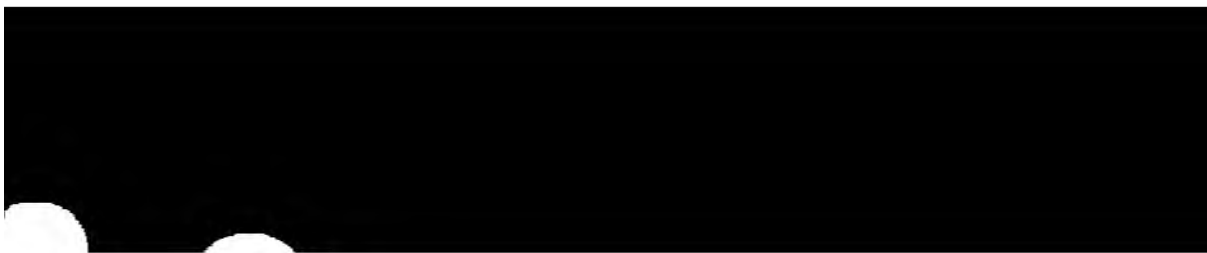
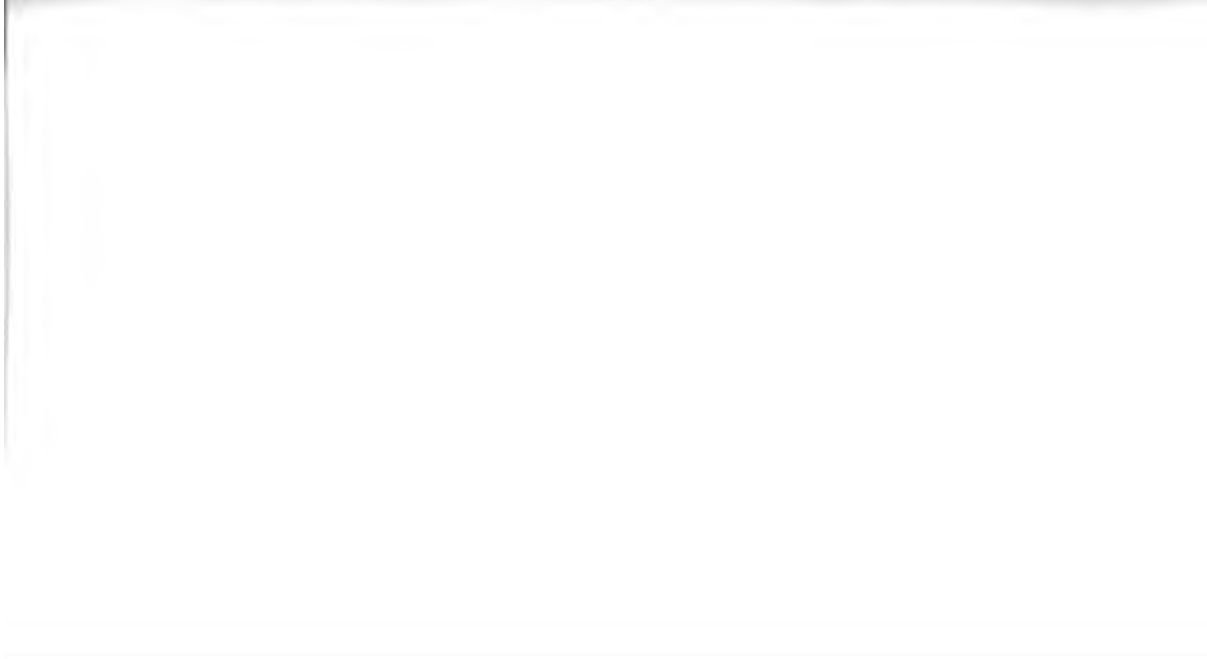
TREASURY: SILVER AND STONE.

1



TREASURY: GLASS, IVORY, SHELL, AND POTTERY.



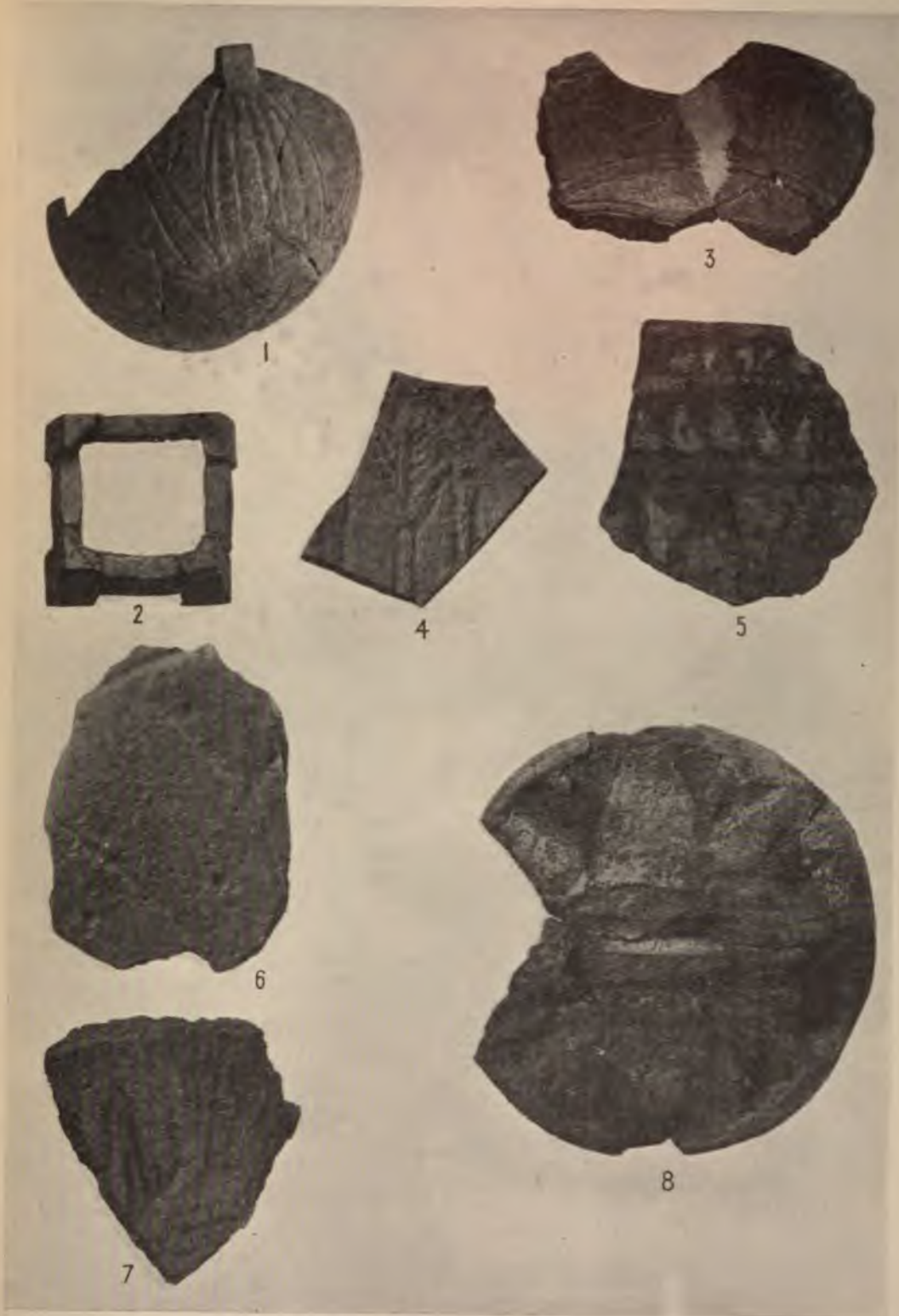




TREASURY: POTTERY, SEALS, FAYENCE.







TREASURY: FAYENCE.





TREASURY: FAYENCE.







TREASURY: FAYENCE.

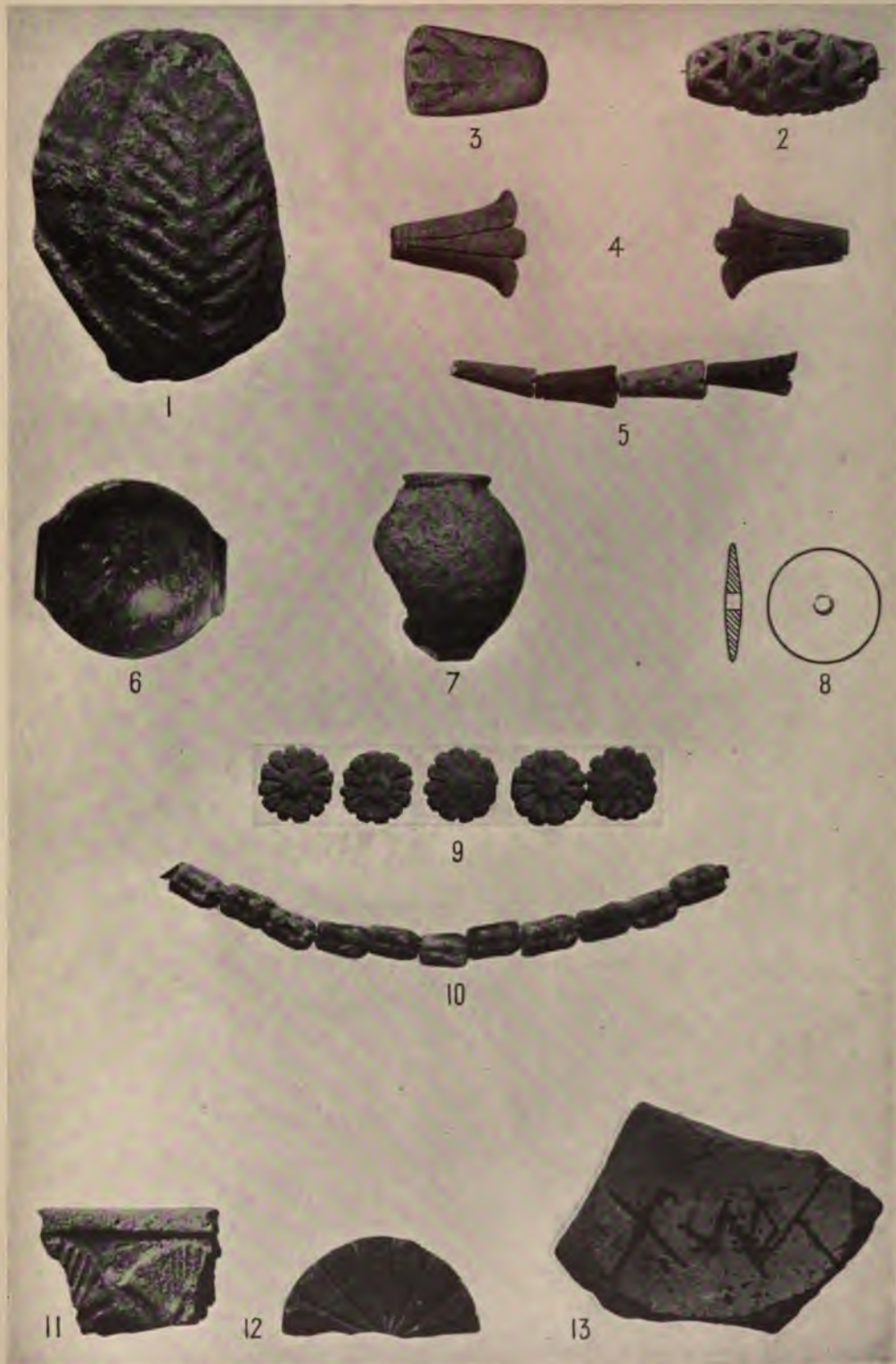






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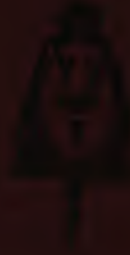


1-10, TREASURY, BEADS; 11-13, FROM TOWN SITE.





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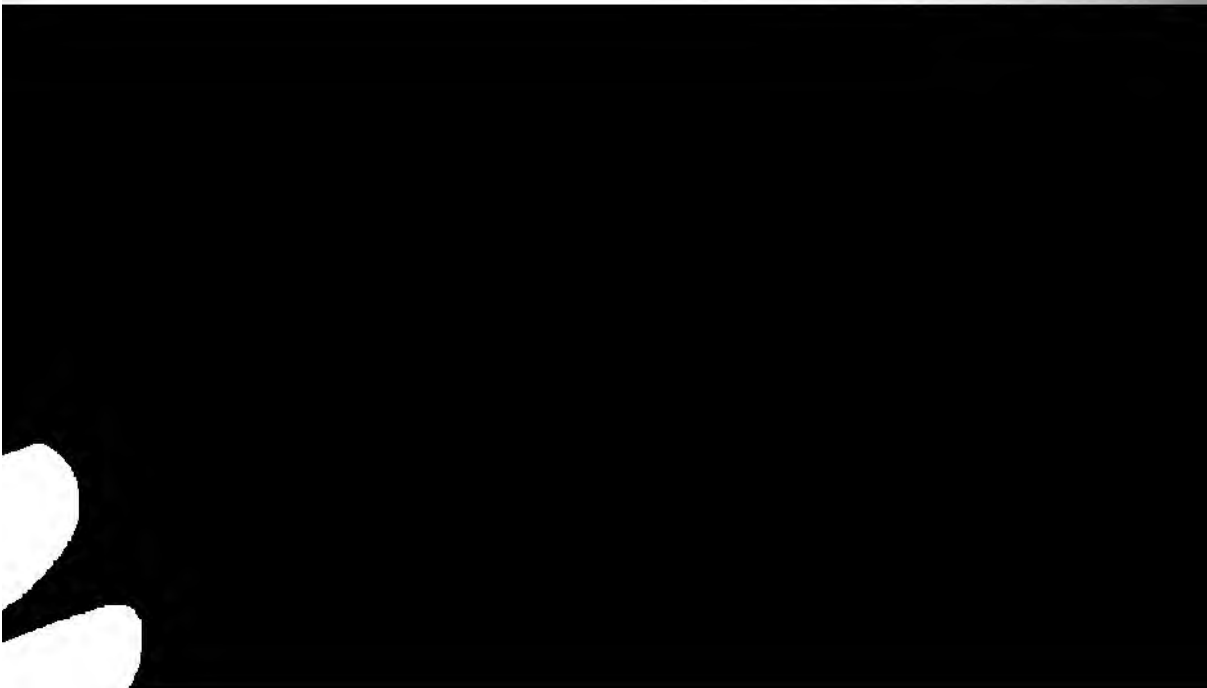


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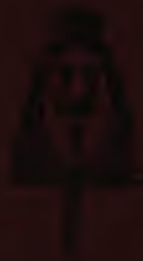
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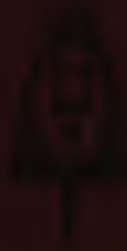


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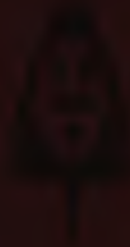
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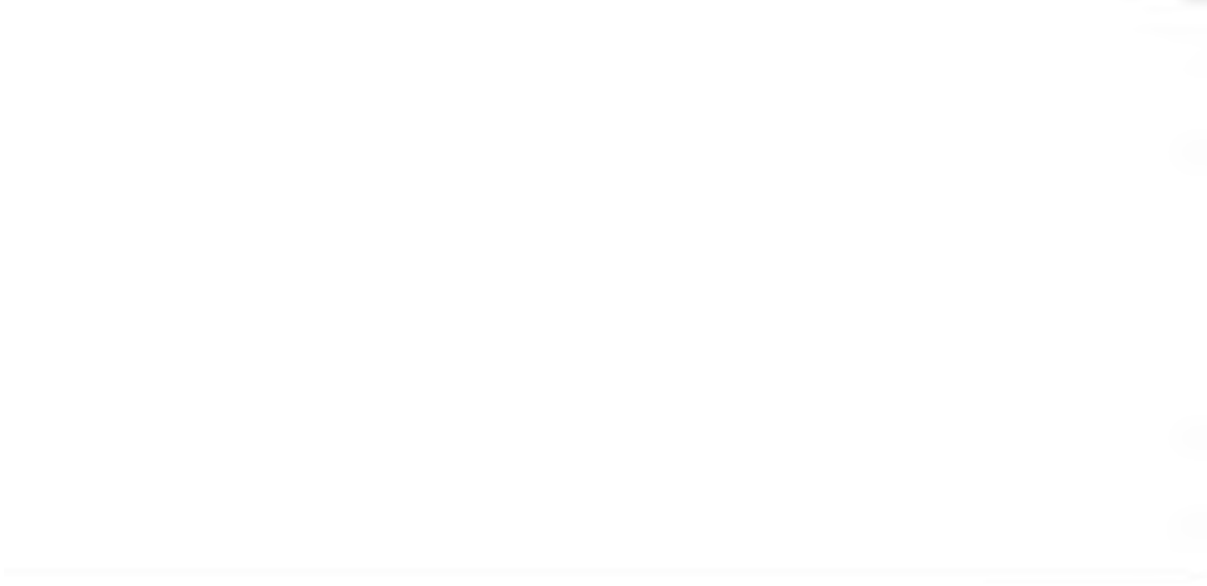




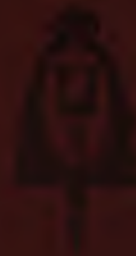








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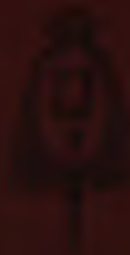
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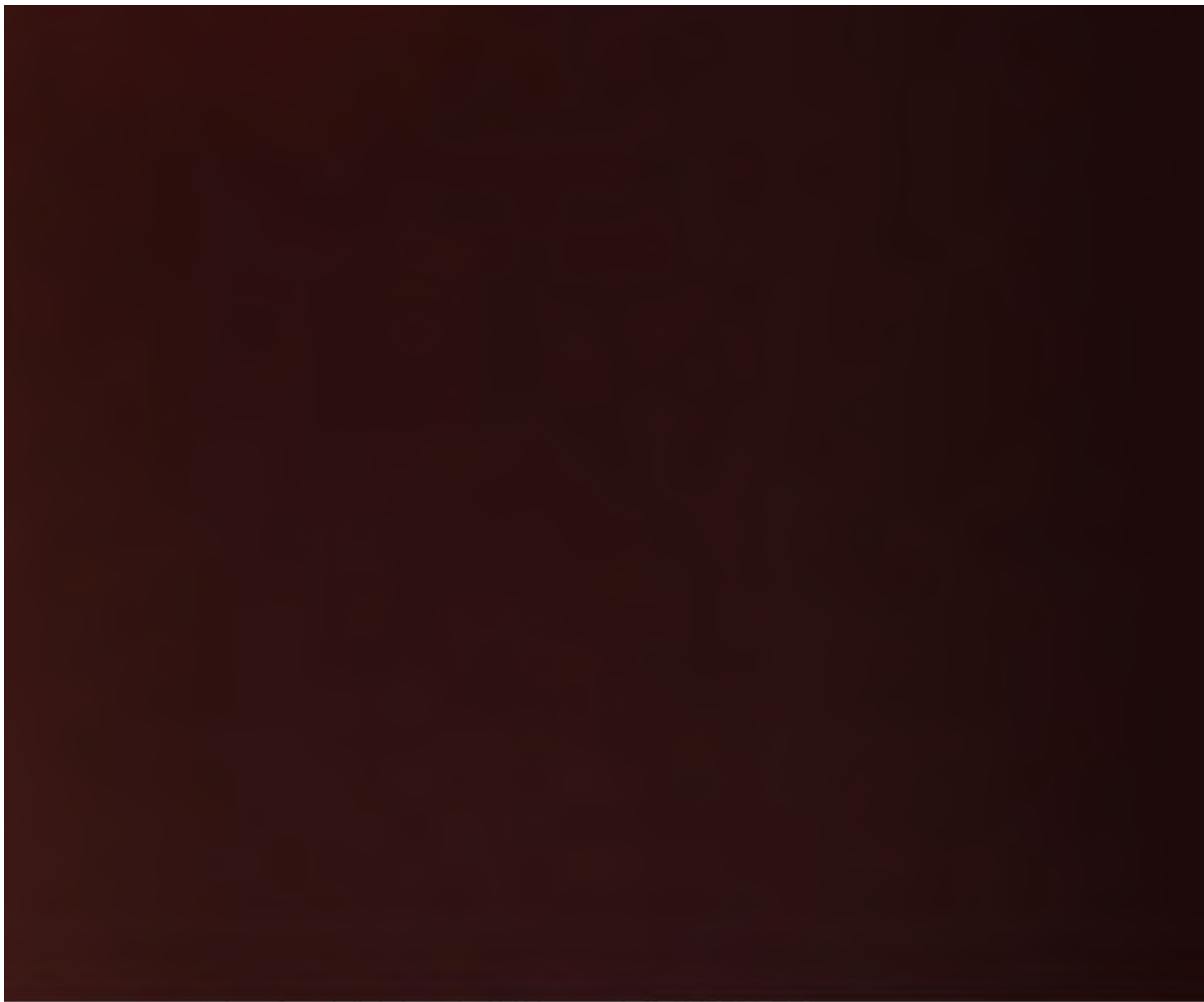
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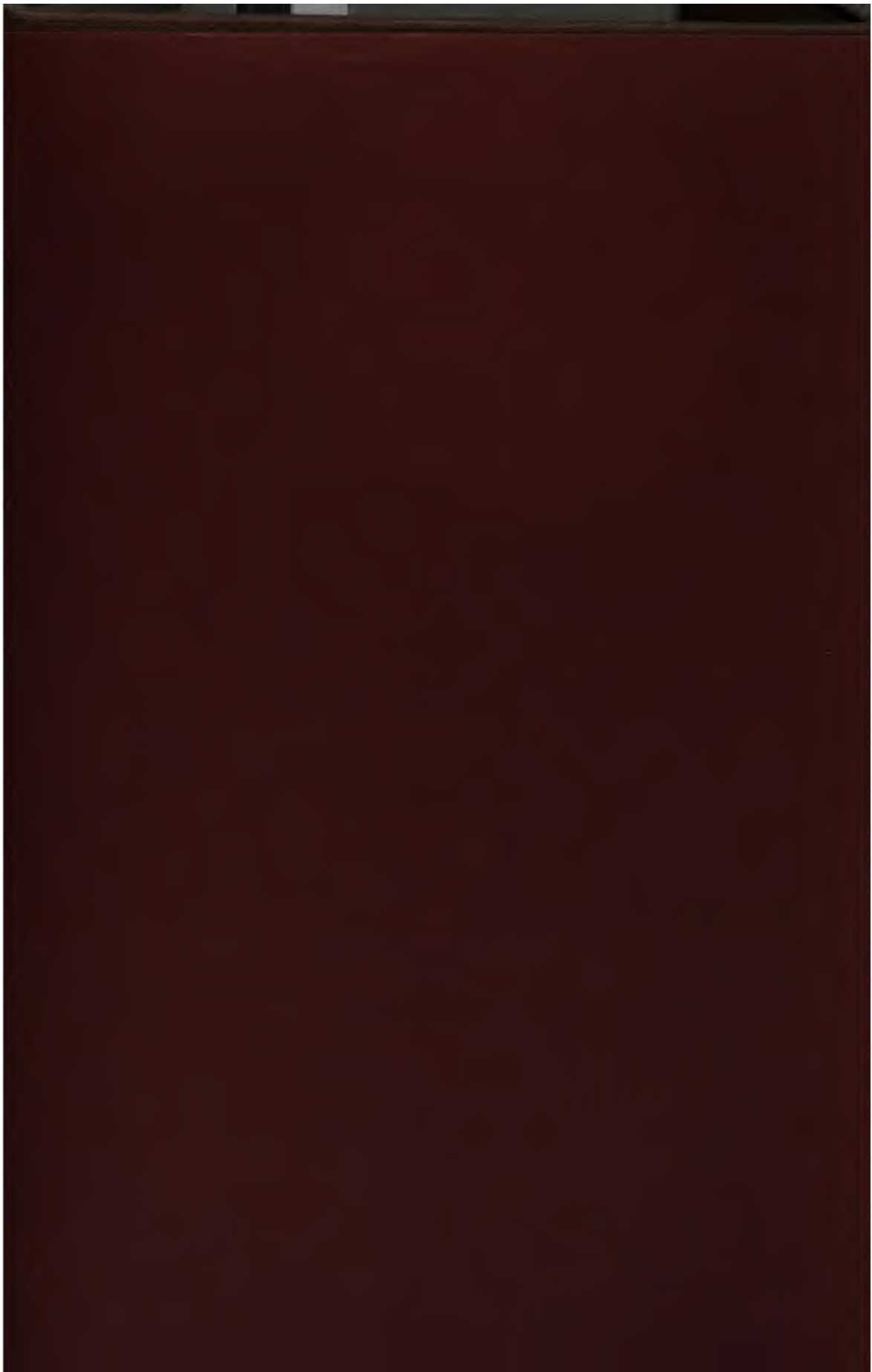
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