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QAU AND BADARI I

BY

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QAU AND BADARI

VOLUME I

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. THE work done by the British School of Archaeology in the Qau-Badari district occupied the three seasons 1923, 1924, and 1925. There was one camp only for the first and third years, two in 1924, when the Director had his own camp in addition to mine. The 1923 party consisted of Mr. C. H. G. Bach, Mr. J. L. Starkey, my wife, and myself. We camped in and around the largest of the terraced rock-tombs in the Qau cliffs, some 100 ft. up, with a fine southward outlook over all the desert bay. Water was obtained from a well which we dug in the edge of the cultivation at the foot of the hill-side. Work started on the 1st of December 1922 and ended on the 4th of April 1923. Dr. H. Frankfort joined our party for six weeks on the 14th of December. This was both his and Mr. Starkey's first visit to Egypt. Mr. Bach had worked with the School since the season of 1921. Professor Douglas E. Derry spent four days with us from the 26th of January in order to give us his skilled help with the mineralized human bones.

2. Professor Petrie occupied our Qau camp the following year, bringing with him Mr. S. Yeivin, Mr. T. R. Duncan Greenlees, Mr. Noel F. Wheeler, all three new students, Mrs. W. J. Benson, and Miss Gertrude Caton-Thompson. Excavations started at the beginning of December 1923, and were carried on till April 1924. Mr. Yeivin left to manage Mr. Robert Mond's work at Luxor in February, and the Director returned home in March.

My own party was the same as that of the previous year, with the addition of Mrs. G. B. Aitken and Miss Irene Donne, making six in all. We began work on the 28th of November 1923 and closed down in the middle of April 1924. Huts were

built on the desert edge under the cliffs some five miles north of the Qau camp; and Graeco-Roman rock-cut tombs were also made use of. Mr. Yeivin worked with us for a week, while Mr. Bach and Mr. Starkey spent a little of their time with Professor Petrie. Miss Caton-Thompson also camped with us for the last fortnight. Mr. Terence Gray joined our party as a visitor for a month, and was of much assistance with the preservation and packing of the skulls.

3. The expedition of 1925 was on a small scale only. My wife and myself were alone at our 1924 camp near Badari from the 30th of January 1925 until joined by Miss Caton-Thompson on the 19th of February. I was taken to hospital at Assiut on the 23rd of March, and the work ended on the 4th of April. My very grateful thanks are due to Mr. R. Engelbach, the Chief Inspector of Antiquities, and to Mr. J. L. Starkey, then Field Director of the Michigan University Expedition, for the way in which, at great inconvenience to themselves, they came to my wife's assistance and undertook the very arduous work of packing the antiquities and closing down the camp.

Our old Fayumi workman, Ali es Suefi, was with us as usual, and his experience was invaluable in detecting the sites of the cemeteries, which were often almost invisible on the surface.

4. The recording of graves was done chiefly by Mr. Bach, Mr. Starkey, Mr. Yeivin, and Mr. Wheeler, though a certain amount was the work of the Director and myself. The general surveying and plan drawing was the work of Mr. Bach and Mr. Wheeler, the Director planning the great rock-tombs and Qau hill. Professor Petrie and I photographed, with help from Mr. Bach. Mr. Starkey saw to all the packing during the first two seasons. Mr. Greenlees's time was entirely devoted to the

laborious task of copying the dim vestiges of the paintings and inscriptions in the largest of the Uah-ka tombs. My wife's time was very fully occupied with the drawing, nearly all the plates in these volumes being entirely her work. It is due to her indefatigable patience and skill that we are able to publish for the first time a *corpus* of the great quantities of Old Kingdom and later amulets which have not been studied hitherto. Miss Donne helped with the drawing of Roman beads, register keeping, and the preservation of objects, ivories especially—a very delicate and difficult work. Mrs. Benson and Mrs. Aitken helped with the multitudinous jobs which fall to the lot of all excavators.

Miss Caton-Thompson devoted her time partly to a study of the geology of the Qau bay with a view to tracing the source of the mineralized bones, and mainly to the very careful excavation of Predynastic settlements near Hemamieh.

5. The delay in bringing out the report of our excavations is due principally to the desirability of publishing the results of the three years together. This has resulted in the banking up of a great mass of material. The arrangement of the *corpus* of amulets and beads has taken up much time; and my own illness in 1925 delayed the work very much. It has been thought best to arrange the material according to date rather than locality. The objects found along the whole desert edge from south of Qau to near Naga Wissa are similar at any one period. It was obviously better to mass the results than to issue separate volumes on Qau, Hemamieh, and Badari. The first two volumes therefore deal with the period from the First to the Eleventh Dynasties, and the third with the later periods and the great rock-tombs. These volumes are named *Qau and Badari*, while the fourth, which is confined to the Badarian and other Predynastic ages, is called *Badari* in order to distinguish it easily. Owing to the large number of plates required to illustrate the finds of the early Dynastic periods it has been thought best to confine the first volume to everything of more general interest, and to relegate to the second the Tomb Register, and the pottery, amulet, and bead *corpora* of the Fourth to Eleventh Dynasties, for the use of the specialist. My thanks are due to Mr. G. D. Hornblower, who read through the text when in manuscript and made some valuable suggestions.

6. The Tomb Registers have been split up into periods: the Fourth Dynasty and all pot burials;

the Fifth Dynasty; Sixth Dynasty; Seventh to Eighth Dynasties; Ninth to Tenth Dynasties; and a few indeterminate graves in groups between these. Each object shown in a plate has the tomb number placed under it on the left, with its period in Roman numerals. The student will thus know to which section of the Tomb Register he must refer. In a few cases it was found necessary to alter the date of a tomb after the Register had been completed. The more correct date is in this case added in brackets. Thus 3601 ix (viii) means that grave 3601 will be found in the Ninth-Tenth Dynasty section of the Registers, but would have been more correctly placed in the Seventh-Eighth section. It is more convenient to refer to dynasties than to use such compound expressions as Early First Intermediate Period, and so on. But it must be strictly understood that these references to definite dynasties are not meant to imply an exactitude of date. The whole of the dating is a matter of *sequence* more than anything else; and where inscriptions and royal names are almost entirely absent, it is *sequence* only which can be determined. There is, I think, little doubt as to the approximate date of each section. But the overlapping of styles in different periods is so common that there can be no certainty that any one particular tomb is correctly placed. In the plates, viii is used for vii-viii, and ix for ix-xth for the sake of brevity. Making these allowances, then, the student can see the date of each object on each plate without further reference. But a glance at the Register will show what proof there is for the date given.

CHAPTER II

THE SITE

7. WHEN the expedition of 1923 was entrusted to me, I selected the Qau region for various reasons. Previous work had shown that the rock-tombs were of the finest order, both in type and in the quality of their decoration. It seemed that the great general cemetery, though badly plundered by the natives, might prove equally interesting. The god Antaeus worshipped in the nome capital was a mysterious divinity about whom little was known. A desert road led to the Red Sea from the Qau bay. And, more particularly, much Predynastic stuff was to be seen in dealers' shops, all reported to have come from Qau. It was very desirable to see if

any of this was left, and to rescue it as quickly as possible.

8. Two expeditions had previously worked in the vicinity, one under Professor Schiaparelli in 1906 and another under Professor Steindorff in 1914. They excavated chiefly around the great tombs in the cemetery on the hill-side. No results of this work have so far been published, with the exception of a short note in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* I, p. 217. The work of the School in 1923 began with the southern cemeteries, mainly the great field of graves near the village of Qau el Kebir (or Etmanieh as it is now called). We then explored all the ground as far north as Hemamieh, doing a little digging in the hill-side cemetery *en passant* without much result. Professor Petrie in 1924 confined his work to the main rock-tombs, and to further digging in the Etmanieh cemeteries. My party finished the Hemamieh site from the northern camp at Badari, and then started on the cemeteries three miles to the north while the weather was still cool. We worked back gradually to the house, taking everything as it came. In 1925 we completed the excavation of some ground near the house which had not been finished the previous year.

9. Our system of tomb numbering is as follows. We used the numbers 100 and 200 for isolated cemeteries (see map, pl. i), 300-1200 for the main Etmanieh cemeteries, 1300 for the isolated hill with "Pan" graves (pl. i), 1400 for tombs on the hill-side under the cliffs, 1450 for tombs in the level ground at the foot, 1500-2100 for the Hemamieh site, 3000-6000 for the various cemeteries near Badari running from north to south, and 6500 for a few graves found by Miss Caton-Thompson in the settlement north of Hemamieh. Our 1923 numbers end at 1652, and the 1924 numbers at 5299. All Professor Petrie's graves, from the cemeteries in the centre of the Qau bay, are numbered from 7000. The number of any grave therefore at once indicates the site, the year, and the excavator.

10. The great desert bay of Qau extends for six miles or more from point to point. It is surrounded by the usual limestone mountains which recede from the cultivation some ten miles or so to the east. It is roughly bisected by a very shallow *wadi*. This carries away the water which comes down in floods every four or five years from the gorges in the hills. To the north of where this *wadi* meets the fields is the modern village which used to be called Qau el Kebir, but is now known

as Etmanieh. A separate Coptic village stands just to the north of this.

The surface of the desert is fairly flat, with low hillocks here and there. It is pebbly, flint strewn, and rather soft, but not particularly sandy, except in the far south, where the north wind has banked up the sand against the hills. The soil is unsuitable for graves, being a rather loose alluvial gravel for some depth. The substratum of marl is too deep to be reached by the grave-diggers, and is water-logged except on the hill-side below the rock-tombs at the northern horn of the bay.

As there was no high ground available, the main Qau cemeteries were placed on the rise to the north of the main *wadi*, to the south and east of the present village. All the deeper tombs are now very damp, though only some of the stairway tombs close to the cultivation are actually down to water-level. The dampness of the soil has rotted most of the wood-work in the deeper and better graves. As a general rule there was nothing more than a stain in the filling of the chamber to indicate the presence of a coffin; and the bones were often quite soft and pulpy. The shallow graves were naturally drier, but in them the coffins were also in a very bad state. This was not such a misfortune, however, as the burials were poor, and the coffins probably uninscribed. It is entirely due to the damp that we discovered no inscriptions, except a very few scratched on pottery. There was, however, an almost complete absence of salt, a blessing which we fully appreciated.

The course of the Nile near Qau has changed considerably in the last century. On the map (pl. i) the eastern bank, taken from the map in the *Description*, shows by a dotted line where the river flowed in the time of Napoleon. It has since then completely washed away the Ptolemaic temple of the nome capital Antaeopolis, as well as the old village of Qau, which has changed to its present site.

11. The cliffs at the northern horn of the great bay arise directly from the fields, and then recede again a little to the east, leaving a narrow strip of desert running north for about five miles till the cliffs form another cape rising from the sea of fields. This strip is composed of a series of spurs or foothills of limestone detritus. At the centre is a large *wadi*, to the south of which stands the village of Hemamieh, full of very aggressive dogs. Close by are the sculptured rock-tombs of the Fourth Dynasty, which were completely photographed

and planned by Professor Steindorff in 1914, but are still unpublished. The ancient cemeteries lie to the north and south of the *wadi*.

12. After rounding the cape referred to above, another and longer strip of low desert is reached running as far as Naga Wissa, where the hills again almost meet the cultivation, six or seven miles to the north. The cliffs recede to a distance of about half a mile in the southern part of this strip. It is cut up into a multitude of low spurs, running down from the cliffs to the crops. These, with their cemeteries and village sites, are shown on pl. vii. The spurs which we first explored are numbered from 1 onwards on the map. North of Spur 1 we saw nothing that looked like an ancient site, but it was too far from our camp to explore thoroughly. There was as much as we could tackle to the south.

13. It is necessary to place on record here the extent of ground which we cleared exhaustively. The South Cemetery of Qau is of very great extent and has been well worked over by the natives, who, however, have neglected the deeper shaft tombs, as the objects found did not repay them for the labour involved in working them. We began at the east end, where the tombs are numbered 300 in the plan (pl. ii), but had to abandon it as it was very unproductive. Professor Petrie worked this area the following year (graves numbered 7000), but the results were again poor. We next started a very thorough clearance from the west side, from a line roughly parallel to a line joining Points D and E (pl. iii). This clearance extended to the east as far as my tomb numbers are shown on the plan. Results becoming poorer and poorer, we were forced to try elsewhere. We then worked round to the north-west, where the earliest graves of the bricked-over type were found; and also to the north, where, however, we did not do more than sample certain patches. Professor Petrie continued the work in this direction, and recorded many more graves. See ppl. iii and iv.

Cemetery 400, between the fields and the village (pl. i), was completely turned over by us, with one small exception. Beginning at the south with our backs to the fields, we cleared right up to the walls of the houses. Then a fresh line was started from the east driving over to our first clearance, as shown in the plan (pl. v). It was only in the low area where are the graves marked 800 that we left some ground incompletely explored.

The Northern Cemetery is entirely Professor Petrie's work. Being of the Second Intermediate Period, the plan appears in Volume III.

14. At Badari we completely cleared Spur 6 and Spurs 15 and 16. Cemeteries 4800, 5100, and 5300-5800 were also exhausted. 5200 was only sampled and found to be very badly plundered. This was also the case with Cemetery 6000. All the other spurs were tackled as they came, but very little was found.

CHAPTER III

METHOD OF RECORDING

15. THE student who has not worked in the field is probably unaware of how the work of recording is carried out. It may not be out of place, therefore, to give a few details of how my conclusions were obtained at Qau and Badari.

In the first place, the workmen were never working without one of the staff on the spot, although the diggings were often over half an hour's walk from the camp. One or two of us would start out before sunrise with the men, taking breakfast with us. To ensure the maximum of supervision, work was never carried on in more than one place at a time. It is the general rule that when the remains of a burial are found, no object or bone is moved until the recorder is on the spot. It is then for him to decide whether the workman shall continue the clearance, or whether he shall do it himself. In the case of undisturbed bodies the recorder invariably examines everything himself. He will also do so if the grave is only partially plundered. But where only a few scattered bones remain, the native digger will be told to turn them over. To ensure that no small objects, such as beads, are overlooked, the contents of nearly *all* graves are sifted. Large canvas sheets are spread out at the grave-side, so that there is no chance of sand from the grave being mixed with sand from the ground around. If the grave is a damp one, the contents are spread out on the sheets to dry before being sifted. We employed special children, generally girls, to do the sifting; their sharp eyes and neat fingers ensured the finding of the tiniest gold beads, while a share of the *bakhshish* stimulated their honesty. It was in this way that we found so many very small objects, such as amulets, and the early scarabs. The latter often came from the most unlikely-looking plundered graves, and

fully justified the continuous use of sieves for every grave, however unpromising it might appear. To prevent all possibility of a workman getting his beads mixed from different graves, each has a supply of small paper bags, into which the beads are put direct from the sieves. Everything found is marked temporarily at the grave-side, and again permanently in camp, if it is to be packed up.

16. One of the chief difficulties in excavating a cemetery is the proper recording of the pottery. It is obvious that where common types occur constantly, it is waste of time and labour to draw them afresh year after year. When dealing literally with thousands of pots, it is undesirable to carry them all back to camp. Mr. Bach and the writer therefore prepared copies of all the British School drawings of pots which had been given *corpus* numbers in recent years, and arranged them on sheets loosely bound in hard spring-back covers, one set for each of the principal periods. These sets were always taken to the work; and where it was found that a type had been drawn before, its *corpus* number was put down on the tomb-card, any variation in ware, make, or decoration being noted. Unless it was required for packing, the pot was then *put back* in the grave. All new types were taken to camp and, unless in large numbers, drawn the same evening, the drawings were then and there inserted in the field *corpus*, and numbered, ready for the next day's work.

17. In addition to new varieties of pottery, practically every object was drawn; and in cases of special interest, photographed as well. The beads and amulets were treated in the same way as the pottery, each one being either typed or, if new, drawn, on the day following its discovery. It was only possible to do this by keeping the drawing in general strictly up to date. Many days my wife was hard at it until well after tea-time.

To prevent mistakes in records, numbering of objects, entering of numbers on drawings, and those of the drawings on the tomb-cards, everything was checked over each evening. Mistakes could then be rectified. Details being fresh in the minds of all, questions could be answered with certainty, or, if necessary, the grave visited again before being filled in. To check is always a *sine qua non*; to do it even a day late is to find that small points are forgotten.

18. The planning of the cemeteries was done mainly by the prismatic compass and tape method,

measuring to various poles placed where most convenient, and afterwards tied on to the general map. This is a quick and handy way of plotting graves, and quite accurate enough for all practical purposes. Professor Petrie's and Mr. Wheeler's plan was by cross-bearings to two or three fixed points. The orientation of graves was also determined by prismatic compass.

The sexing of skeletons is not always an easy matter. The presence of the pelvis is almost essential; and some previous experience or tuition is necessary, otherwise the record may be unreliable in this respect. We were fortunate enough to be visited in camp, soon after the work at Qau started, by Professor Douglas Derry. He very kindly gave detailed instruction on sexing to my assistants on the spot; and I think that the determinations of sex given by them in the Tomb Register are therefore accurate in the main.

CHAPTER IV

THE DATING

19. THE dating of the majority of the graves at Qau and Badari, which were later than the Protodynastic period and earlier than the Middle Kingdom, was a problem of some complexity. There were a great number of graves. There were practically no inscriptions. But there was a very general and evident change of fashion in the funerary objects used, and also in the type of tomb, which indicated, if not the actual date, at least the date-sequence of the graves. It is of course possible to compare objects with similar ones from other work where they may have been more or less well dated; but this course is open to objection. In all study it is obviously better to draw inferences from internal evidence, and then to compare them with conclusions from previous excavations. If these conclusions do not agree, either may be wrong. It is always possible that former work may be an unsafe guide; to build on what may be erroneous is merely to perpetuate the error and make matters worse. Then again it is most undesirable to date one tomb in a series by one object, for instance an alabaster vase, and another tomb by something different, say a string of beads. There is always the possibility that an object is not really contemporary with the burial, but has been inherited or even plundered from an older cemetery. I have seen Predynastic beads on the neck of a Roman mummy,

and a Predynastic polished red pot in position with half a dozen Ptolemaic ones. Further, there is a possibility that the style in vogue near the capital of the country may continue in fashion considerably later in distant parts of the country. The poorer classes, too, are more conservative than the wealthy.

20. What, then, is to be our guide? The type of tomb is at first sight a good criterion of date; but this depends to some extent on the nature of the ground and the status of the individual. The attitude of the body, again, cannot be taken as a good proof of date. The three bodies in grave 3195 were all in different positions. The position of the grave in the cemetery does not help us much. At the present day the graves are dug in a cemetery without any order: a new grave may be made near the cultivation or far back in the desert. In ancient times this was also the custom. We must then fall back on the objects found in the graves. Stone vases are not satisfactory: they are not sufficiently common; they were used and re-used in daily life, and very often buried only when worn out. The beads and amulets are found in profusion; but here the common beads are not distinctive, while the finer ones are less likely to be contemporary. Seal-amulets and scarabs are not found in sufficient quantities, and have been hitherto the subject of too much dispute to be taken as dating material.

21. It is sometimes argued that because fine specimens of, let us say, amulets are found in one grave, and bad or debased examples in another, that the latter grave is later in date. This, however, is a very unsafe guide. Though good work may not have been done at all times, bad work certainly was. And we find in several cases good and bad together. An instance of this is the group of amulets, 5535, pl. xlviii, where large well-cut stone amulets came from the neck and poor little blue glaze ones from the wrists. Another point that cannot be insisted on is that all good work belongs to the great ages of the history, and the inferior to the troubled times of the Intermediate periods. This certainly is the case with royal monuments; but where small objects of daily use are concerned, it would seem that in the times of weak central government the country districts were not so denuded of their artisans and craftsmen as in the great ages; they were therefore available to produce their handiwork for local use.

22. There remains the pottery. Here at last we reach satisfactory material for dating or rather

sequencing. It is found in profusion; it is easily breakable and of little value, and so cannot be considered an heirloom; it never excited the greed of robbers; and the forms gradually changed with time. Pottery may very rarely be re-used for offerings; and it may be thrown about by plunderers in a cemetery and so be found in a grave where it does not belong. But it is generally found more or less in position in the graves; and for all these reasons it is quite the best class of object by which to arrive at the time-sequence of the tombs.

23. In our sequencing of the Qau tombs by means of the pottery, the following method was adopted at the end of the first season's work. The first thing to be seen clearly was that there were three main classes of the commonest form of pot: (1) those with a shoulder or bulge above the centre and a more or less pointed base (types 69-71, pl. lxxx); (2) those with bulge at centre and more rounded base (types 62, 63, pl. lxxxvi); and (3) the drop-shaped pots, with the bulge below the centre (type 30, pl. lxxxix). It was obvious, from a great variety of considerations, that (1) were the earliest in date and (3) the latest. The tomb-cards were then sorted out into four groups, three according to these types of pots, and one where such were absent. The three groups accounted for some half the total number of cards. Where two of the main pot-types occurred in one grave, the cards were placed in intermediate groups. There were very few indeed of these, and no case at all of (1) and (3) in combination. Next the fourth main group or residue was dealt with. Various types of pots other than those already considered were found in the combinations which had been sorted out into the three main groups of cards. Cards with such pots were then taken from the residue and placed in the main groups where they belonged. This process was repeated until very few cards with pots remained, the pots on them being unique specimens. These were then placed where allied types were to be found. The residue of cards then consisted of those with no pottery at all; these had to be dealt with later.

Many other things had now to be considered. Were cognate types too widely scattered? Proto-dynastic forms, the fine sealing-wax-red ware, the forms of squat toilet vases, the buff pots with flattened bases, the characteristic Sedmenti forms, the *hes* vases, and others, were all taken into account. The pulling together of these necessitated the formation of a fourth big group, intermediate

between (2) and (3), containing both the oval and drop pots which formed the basis of the main classification; but this was not done until the second year's results were incorporated.

24. Finally, a list of all pot-types was made, in a vertical column, and the sheets divided vertically into eight other columns. Four of these were for the main groups of graves, and four for intermediate or uncertain groups. The occurrence of each pot was then marked in the appropriate column. This involved between two and three thousand entries. This was done to check the results, as it could then be seen at a glance whether a type had too wide a range to be likely. It was possible to make a certain number of further adjustments, and the tomb-cards were moved from one group to another accordingly. The periods of each type, and the number of examples of each period, have been placed against the drawing in the *corpus*. It will easily be seen how very limited is the range of each, hardly any extending over more than three contiguous groups, and most over two only. The reliability of such an arrangement naturally depends on the number of combinations of types in the graves. Many large groups will give an almost perfect sequencing, while solitary pots are useless. We found few graves containing large groups; but small ones were sufficiently numerous to render the results trustworthy.

The tomb-cards without pots were then sorted out according to the types of beads and amulets. Those without either pots or beads, according to the stone vases, and scarabs and seal-amulets next. This practically disposed of the whole material. As each class of object was dealt with, the sequence of the graves was reconsidered to ensure that no closely similar objects should be widely separated. Even after the Tomb Register (ppl. 1-lxix) was completed, it was seen that certain graves would be better placed in other divisions. These are accordingly marked to that effect in the Register. The more correct date is added to each drawing in brackets on the plates. In dealing with indefinite material such as this, very exact results cannot be looked for. It is not possible to claim that every tomb is registered in its correct section; but the order of the very great majority is, I think, without question.

The next thing was to settle how each of our subdivisions was to be distinguished. Of internal evidence of date there was none, with the exception

of graves 3202 and 3217, which contained objects with the names of Nefer-ka-ra (Pepy II) and Queen Pepy-ankh-nes of the vith dyn. This then suggested that we should not be far wrong in calling this section of the Register "Sixth Dynasty." The previous sections were then provisionally labelled Fourth, Fourth-Fifth, Fifth, and Fifth-Sixth Dynasty; and the subsequent ones Seventh-Eighth, Ninth-Tenth, Tenth-Eleventh, and Eleventh Dynasty respectively. The iv-vth, v-vith, x-xith, and xiith are extremely small groups of tombs which are rather doubtful in position and may belong to either earlier or later groups.

25. It has been objected that where our knowledge of the actual history is so slight, as in the vii-xth dyn. period, it is misleading to use the dynastic numbering at all for dating purposes. But in these volumes I have retained these numbers solely as a matter of convenience, preferring them to the clumsy terms Early First Intermediate Period and Late First Intermediate Period. In all this dating it is to be understood that a term such as "Sixth Dynasty" merely implies that the grave in question is so dated by objects which in most cases belong to that dynasty. It is a well-known fact that styles change *after*, and often some time after, the commencement of a dynasty, as for instance in the xviiiith dyn. It would be absurd to maintain that new types appeared in general use throughout the country at just the same time as a new family occupied the throne.

26. The correctness of our dating of the various groups of tombs may be tested by a comparison with facts established elsewhere. Eighteen of the small square tomb-shafts fall in the iv-vth dyn. sections of our Register, while one only comes in the vith. Such square shafts are dated to Khafra by a sealing (GARSTANG, *Third Egyptian Dynasty*, pl. xxxi, tomb R. 92); to Unas by a sealing (Abydos, in Dr. Frankfort's work 1926, not yet published); and to Pepy I, by a cylinder (Abydos, 1909, Tomb 913, unpublished: copy of record kindly lent me by Professor Garstang. See *Annals of Archaeology II*, p. 127).

The alabaster vases, types 12, 13, 16-21, 24, 26, 27, pl. xxvi, with a curving out but not flanged foot, and inclined to be tall and slender, are dated by us to the vth dyn. (seven examples) and vith dyn. (four examples, three of which are small). Other dated examples of this form of vase are of Khufu (Univ. Coll.); of Queen Hetepheres (REISNER,

Illustrated London News, 26th March 1927, p. 538); of Sahura (Brit. Mus. 29330, *Guide to Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Egyptian Rooms*, 1922, pl. ii, p. 15); and of Ne-user-ra (Berlin Mus. 13111, SCHAFER and ANDRAE, *Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte*, II, p. 252, and PETRIE, *Abydos II*, pl. xiv, 289).

The cylinder seals, pl. xxxii, 1 and 2, seem to bear the bungled names of "Sa Ra Userkaf" and "the Horus Dad." The latter may be intended for the full Dad-khau Dad-ka-ra. These come from two tombs which both fall into the section of the Register which we have labelled "Fifth Dynasty."

The round buttons with loop backs, nos. 55-98, ppl. xxxii, xxxiii, fall half in the vith and half in the vii-viiiith dyn. One such is dated to Pepy II or thereabouts (PETRIE, *Denderah*, p. 10); another, oval with loop back, has the name of Teruru of the vii-viiiith dyn. (PETRIE, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, pl. x, p. 17).

The circular copper ornament, pl. xxix, 18, which had originally been inlaid, is dated to the ix-xth dyn. period. I found precisely similar ornaments in the cemeteries of that age at Sedment and Mayana (PETRIE and BRUNTON, *Sedment I*, pp. 11, 15); also another in the Cairo Museum from Saqqara found by Firth, who dates it to exactly the same period (FIRTH and GUNN, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I*, p. 50).

Doubtless other precise dating links could be found with further research. The pottery agrees closely with results from other sites; for instance, the types 58 and 66, pl. xc, are to all intents the same as types 63, 64, and 86 (PETRIE and BRUNTON, *Sedment I*, ppl. xxxii, xxxiv) of perhaps a slightly earlier date; and many other resemblances might be quoted. But the consistency of the results, in that so many similar objects fall into the same date divisions, is the best proof that the sequencing is trustworthy. All the round button-amulets are to be found in two of the divisions; the rectangular shafts with chambers on west are two-thirds vith dyn. and one-third vii-viiiith dyn., never later. The gold bangles are all of the vii-viiiith dyn. with one vith and one (a poor example) ix-xth. The boxes with the copper hooks are all vi-viiiith dyn. with one later. A glance through the *corpus* of amulets will show how many types have a very small date-range. This range of the objects in general will be fully dealt with in the summary, and it is not necessary to go into further detail here.

Each of the three great divisions of the vith, vii-viiiith, and ix-xth dynasties represents a period of from 170 to 200 years, possibly less. The number of burials recorded is 497, 392, and 384 respectively. This indicates that there was little numerical change in the population of the district from the vth to the xith dynasty, a fact which agrees with the change in style of the burials being gradual only. There was no disturbance due to a marked influx of peoples or ideas.

27. It would be possible to pick out many graves from the three main divisions of vith, vii-viiiith, and ix-xth dyns. and classify them as early or late in each; but where the evidence is, in individual cases, so indefinite, it seems better to leave the classification broadly outlined only, and not to indulge in over-refinements. It cannot be too much insisted upon that the results are only of value because they are based on a mass of material; the greater the number of graves dealt with, the greater the certainty of the deductions.

CHAPTER V

ROBBERS' METHODS

28. A FEW remarks on tomb-robbing may not be out of place here. Those observers who have not had much experience in clearing graves are a little inclined to interpret the conditions they may find in a rather fanciful way. A wider knowledge would make the more prosaic explanation evident to them. We may also glean a few facts of interest by noting the habits of the ancient plunderers.

Every now and then in a robbed grave a sherd is found with its edges well worn down by use. This is the implement used by the robber to turn over the sand or other filling of the grave. But it is evidence of modern rather than ancient plundering. A modern workman will often use a sherd for this purpose; and we sometimes used them ourselves. Moreover, the graves were probably robbed in early times long before they had filled up with sand, graves, or tombs, that is to say, where the burial had been placed in a chamber, or covered over to keep it clear.

29. We have good evidence that the early plunderer was at work soon after the burial was made. In 789 an untouched interment lay 2 ft. above the floor of the shaft, while the body in the chamber had been thoroughly ransacked. Both

were of the vith dyn. Again, in 4856, a body with an alabaster vase lay undisturbed on the floor of the shaft, while the room had been plundered; both burials were also of the vith dyn. That the robbing was done soon after the interment is also indirectly, but quite clearly, shown by the knowledge that the robbers evidently had of which graves were of value to them, and which not. Over and over again a good bricked-up chamber was discovered quite intact. When opened it was found to contain nothing of any worth. Gold of course was the robber's great desire. We may infer that this was almost always on the bodies, just as at the present day a fellah woman will wear all her wealth rather than leave it at home unprotected. And so we find in many cases that the toilet boxes were not touched unless they interfered with the operations; the head is disturbed to allow the necklaces to be removed; and in four cases we found that one arm had been taken for its bracelet, while the rest of the body had every bone in position. In 1022 and 1045 the right arm was removed, leaving the hand in place. In 1140 the right arm with the hand, and in 3422 the left arm had gone. Such discrimination shows a very exact and intimate knowledge of the burial, and the pilfering must have been done very soon after the chamber had been bricked up, if not indeed before. Sometimes perhaps grave sinkers were the culprits, for we find that a shaft may collide with a previous chamber, or one chamber may cut into another, thus affording a good opportunity to dishonest persons. Very likely this bad digging was done deliberately on occasions. Thus the shaft of 1639 gave access to the chamber of 1641, and the chambers of 1691 and 1693 communicated. The marvel is that the Egyptians should have gone on from century to century placing their precious possessions in graves when they must have known the fate that was so soon to overtake them.

30. Robbers leave graves in all sorts of conditions; they may be completely emptied, or they may be only just touched, as in the cases mentioned above, where the arms only had been taken. In 565 the head and shoulders had been torn off and thrown on to the pelvis. In 1030 the body became divided at the waist as it was being pulled out into the shaft, leaving a gap of nearly 2 feet. But here the robbers were disturbed, as the gold bracelets and gold amulets at the neck were not taken. In 3313 the body was rolled into the shaft, but the necklace of black glaze

ring beads was left as worthless. Whether anything of value was taken we cannot say, but the body was intact. This rolling over by plunderers may account for some of the bodies lying on their right sides instead of on the usual left. In 548 the three alabasters were *above* the offering pots; the bones were all in position, but there were no beads. Perhaps in this one case a toilet-box had been searched for valuables and the contents thrown on one side. In 712 there was an untouched body in a coffin, but there was no lid. This had possibly been removed and put on one side when the robbers were disturbed. Or perhaps a glance at the body was enough to tell them they were wasting their time. In 618 the body was pulled out into the shaft, but this was done by the undertakers in later times. The bones of the second burial lying in the room were like those of the xviiiith dyn. in condition, while the bones in the shaft were like those of the ix-xth dyn.

The absence of arms mentioned above can be easily explained; but in 892 there were no legs below the knee, and in 1627 no feet. This is most likely the result of subsequent surface digging, as they were both shallow graves. Harder to explain is the complete absence of skulls in several graves, apparently untouched otherwise. These were eleven in number, eight of males, three of females. Of the latter, one, 425, had a head-rest, but it was in the shaft, and no beads were left. Another, 636, had a few beads remaining. The third, 1603, still had a quantity of beads but none of value. The dates of all eleven vary from vith to xth dyn., and the tombs are of various types. The removal of the heads was probably due to more than one cause; there are not sufficient examples to suggest the possibility that the heads were buried separately. In one case only was the walling up intact, in 908 (see Section 80). The eight graves of males referred to above are 430, 441, 783, 825, and 863, vith; 1594 and 2069, vii-viiiith; and 967, ix-xth dyns. In another, 643, the cranium was wanting but the mandible was in position.

The opposite state of affairs was seen in 706, 711, 713, and 1004, where the heads only had been left. In 7539 an extra skull had somehow got into an unplundered coffin.

We did not notice any case of burials being burnt by plunderers, at least not in the cemeteries which we explored. On the hill-side at Qau, however, in the large cemetery below the great rock-tombs, there

were burnt fragments lying about. We need not suppose, then, that the robbers of this part of Egypt were in any way different from their *confrères* elsewhere.

CHAPTER VI

PROTODYNASTIC PERIOD. INTRODUCTION

31. THE term "Protodynastic" is used in this volume to refer to the age between the end of the Predynastic Period and the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty. It would admittedly be better, in the light of recent discoveries at Saqqara, to use the term Protodynastic for the First and Second Dynasties only. The forms of the pottery and stone vases of the Fourth Dynasty are more closely akin to the earlier types than to those of the Fifth. But the term "Old Kingdom" has hitherto been conveniently used for the period of the builders of the great pyramids at Gizeh and of their successors, and so it has been retained in the present volume.

32. The Protodynastic cemeteries which we worked at Qau, Hemamieh, and Badari were all small, and the ground had generally been re-used at one or more later periods. At Qau these graves were all, with the exception of 669, in that part of the cemetery close to the cultivation and adjoining the Ezbet Ulad el Hagg Ahmed. In fact the ancient cemetery runs under the modern village. We call this cemetery 400, and the graves numbered 400, 500, 700, and 800 are situated in it. The general date is Second and Third Dynasty.

At Hemamieh the cemetery was mainly south of the *wadi*, and the graves are numbered 1500-1800. Only three were found to the north, 1964, 2048, and 2071. The date of all these is about S.D. 77-80, or roughly First Dynasty.

Farther north the only true Protodynastic cemetery was close to the camp, and just south of the great *wadi*. It is referred to as Cemetery 6000, and is likewise of the First Dynasty. This was terribly plundered, and we did not work it out completely. On Spurs 5 and 6 lay several large stairway tombs (3100-3200) of the Second and Third Dynasties. They were not, however, surrounded by graves of dependents.

33. The details of the graves are very fully set out in the Tomb Register, ppl. x, xi. Dimensions are all in inches. The azimuth or orientation of the graves was measured roughly with a prismatic compass. The sex of immature bodies is often

indefinite, and is therefore given as C (child). The new forms of pottery are drawn on ppl. xiii-xvi, and previously known forms recorded by means of the *corpus* in PETRIE, *Tarkhan I, II*. A list of these known types is given on pl. xvi. The word "patt." refers to the types of rope-pattern round the cylinder jars in the *corpus*. The small numbers in circles placed over the type numbers of beads and amulets indicate the number of each found. Where there were more than two or three, the letters F (few) and S (string) are used. The sequence dates are all taken from the pottery types in *Tarkhan*, and only approximately give the date of the grave. In the column headed "Disturbed" the letter N means "Not," P "Partly," and Q "Quite." It is important to state this, as it is often found that some of the objects in a grave remain in their original positions though part of the grave may be rifled. Thus pots are found in place at the feet of a body which has had the head and neck robbed.

A few antiquities were found in the cemeteries, though not actually in graves. These when single are given the number of the cemetery, a round hundred. For instance, take the pot pl. xiv, 81e, numbered 1700; or the flaying knife pl. xx, 66, numbered 3200. When groups of objects were found loose they have been numbered in the usual way; such is the group of beads 5536.

CHAPTER VII

DETAILS OF PROTODYNASTIC GRAVES

34. THE following graves of the ist-iiird dynasties call for special comment. These notes are supplementary to the Register ppl. x, xi.

403. The date of this grave is uncertain. Most of the pottery is clearly Protodynastic, with the exception of the rimmed bowl 12c, which is like a late form of the polished bowls of Medum style, such as 13r, pl. lxxvi. The dog-head amulet, 16f, pl. xvii, is common in the vith dyn., but not known to me earlier. It seems that either the bulk of the pottery has been re-used, or that the amulet and perhaps one bowl are intrusive. The latter supposition is much the more probable.

406. Burial of a small child 18 months old in a disused spouted cooking-pot covered by a bowl. Two offering pots placed outside the "coffin."

408. The pottery ring-stand was round the right forearm. The date is not certain. The contracted

attitude is found as late as the ixth dyn. (Sect. 118); the ring-stand too may quite well be later (see 97n, pl. lxxxviii).

416. Rough pottery coffin with rounded angles and slightly curved lid. The pot 3k was inside the coffin.

418. Woman's skull, one pot, and a quantity of beads in a rough hole. The beads therefore need not be contemporary with the pot.

419. Remains of a brick superstructure, rectangular, 28 × 37 ins. and 18 ins. high. Only the side walls remained. Round the base and at the edge of the grave underneath had been placed a number of pots, 37 complete and at least 20 in fragments. The grave itself was roughly rectangular with rounded corners; it contained an untouched contracted burial, probably male.

35. 429. The existence of this tomb was known to the villagers, a fact which made us decide to clear completely the ground close to the houses which we called "Cemetery 400." Natives had discovered and cleared one large stairway tomb, obtaining from it many alabasters and copper vessels, according to the tale. The *omdeh* told us they had found a second tomb, but had abandoned it as it went down to below water-level. Such stories are usually incorrect, to say the least; but this one proved to be true. We found the robbed tomb, and then 429 alongside of it. The entrance from the north began with two brick steps, then dropped over 2 ft. to a slope running steeply down to a depth of over 20 ft. The floor was some 3 ft. below the water-level at the time. The chamber, a large one, had caved in all round to some extent. The actual burial-place was probably a recess on the west (see plan pl. xii). There seems to have been a recess on the south as well. It was a matter of great difficulty to fish out small objects from the thick muddy water in the chamber. The larger vases were found and taken out easily enough, but broken fragments were another matter altogether. We bucketed out all the water, and then cleared out the stiffer mud in baskets. This was next spread out on the surface to dry out in the sun. It was then carefully broken up where necessary and the whole mass passed through sieves. In this way about fifty fragments of the fine hard limestone bowl (pl. xviii, 6) were recovered, and it is now practically complete. The case was different with the little slate and alabaster lotus vase (xviii, 4); many of the petals are still missing.

The objects from the chamber of this tomb are shown as a group on pl. xviii, and in photograph pl. xxii. The pottery mostly comes from the filling of the entrance; it was very fragmentary. The small pots 37n and 99y were in the room. The large alabaster cylinder vase (xviii, 1) was ground out so thin on one side that it has practically worn through. The lotus vase (4) is composed of slate sepals and alabaster petals stuck on to a core of a greyish white composition which resembles the gritty base used in glaze-work. The neck and upper part of the body is of alabaster. The table (11) is of very fine quality alabaster and rings musically when struck. The copper ewer (xviii, 10) was in an almost perfect state of preservation, the corrosion being quite thin and flaking away easily in places. The surface then has the appearance of dull tarnished silver. When rubbed it becomes more silvery, and if scratched, the underlying metal is seen to be more or less copper-coloured. In this way the inscription near the rim was revealed. It gives the name of the priest 'Anti-hetep. The spout is inserted in a hole in the body, and the edges hammered over flat inside. At the shoulder the metal, a copper alloy, is a tenth of an inch thick. (See Sect. 169.) The toggle (14) is of glaze, very decayed, possibly originally green. In addition to the objects shown on pl. xviii, and the pottery, there were: 8 rectangular flint flakes (pl. xxii), 25 long flakes (pl. xxii), 2 saw-edged flakes, 3 broken and 4 rough flakes, part of a glaze plaque for inlay (?), scraps of copper needles or pins, and some shells, 3 *Spatha rubens*, 1 *Nerita polita* (pierced), and fragments of two others.

The dating of this tomb is a matter of interest owing to the various types of objects found in it. The pottery indicates a s.d. 80 (reign of Zet), but very little is characteristic. The lotus vase is precisely like the other found by the School at Bashkatib in an open grave, of a type which, Professor Petrie states, "vanishes after the iind dynasty" (*Lahun II*, p. 22; pl. xlv, 4). The stone vases found in this grave were of s.d. 80-81. The glaze toggle (14) is like others of the reign of Perabsen or earlier (PETRIE, *Abydos II*, ppl. i and viii, 141-143; p. 22). On the other hand, the type of tomb with deep stairway entrance is iind or iiird dyn., and Mace states that no stone tables are known before the very end of the iind dyn. (*Naga ed Dêr II*, 46). The bowl with recurved rim (6) of hard fine limestone is of the same form as certain

iiird dyn. pots, the ancestors of the Medum style of bowls. The copper ewer (10) is of the same shape as that from the tomb of King Hen-nekht, iiird dyn. (GARSTANG, *Mahâsna and Bêt Khallâf*, pl. xx), though in that case the spout is double. Our cylinder jar has a very faintly marked rope pattern round the neck; and this pattern is also found in the tomb of King Neter-khet (*ibid.*, pl. xiii, 9). The evidence can be discussed in much greater detail, and is very contradictory; but enough has been said to show that the last reign of the iird or the first reign of the iiird dyn. should be the date of this tomb. The objects which can be "sequence dated" are too few to be given much weight as evidence.

36. 470. The chamber was closed by two brick walls touching but not bonded.

483. The two alabaster vases and the two pots were found in position outside the brickwork on the north. The body had been thoroughly plundered.

484. Irregular shaft; chamber floor 18 ins. lower than floor of shaft. The pots were arranged along the north and south ends of the chamber, four in each row. The alabaster vase was before the face.

485. Floor of shaft sloping down into chamber; pots at north end.

504. Pottery coffin, $\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick; the lid projecting slightly and covered with bricks. Male body, with one long blue glaze cylinder bead, no doubt from the neck. Rough pot against south end of coffin.

507. Deep, well-cut stairway tomb; chamber doorway close by large blocks of fine limestone. Quite plundered, only one whole pot, 86b₂, of rather doubtful date, but many sherds of regular Protodynastic type. The form of the whole pot is of late First Intermediate date, but it is covered with a buff slip, and is therefore probably contemporary. One limestone cylinder jar, scraps of three small alabaster vases, and seven flint flakes came from the chambers. A flint knife was found lying on the last step but two of the stairway.

514. Mud coffin with a wall of bricks against its north end, presumably to reinforce it. The body inside the coffin was covered with mud. One pot to south of coffin.

518. Pit nearly 8 ft. deep, walled and roofed with bricks at a height of 31 ins. Three pots, 68n₂, above the vaulting. Two pots, 68n, at feet; one, 91g₂, at

west; two, 91g₂, one, 68p, and the tiny bowl of black and white limestone (pl. xx, 55) at the head. Tightly contracted female, head south.

534. Body of a child in pot, 41t, covered with 24l.

544. A very unusual pottery coffin, the lid (6 in. high) having four handles (photograph pl. xxii). The pottery bowl, 24k, shown in the photograph at the side of the grave, was found 15 ins. above south-east corner of coffin, and may not be contemporary. For a similar coffin see REISNER, *Naga ed Dêr I*, p. 86.

551. Pottery coffin $\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick, with lid fallen in. Two jars, 57c, outside the east or head end.

552. Burial of a small child with one pot, 68n₃. The grave was covered over with three old cooking-pots, 99w₃.

561. Body of an adult male covered by an inverted pot, 40j. The face was downwards, and the spine lay in three sections, the central section being at right angles to the other two. The pot, quite intact, was almost filled with clean sand. Two small vases, 9k and 37f₂, remained in position against the east side of the inverted pot, and there was no sign of disturbance. It seems as if the burial pot had been filled with sand, the corpse placed on the top in its contracted position, and then the whole inverted when the grave was reached. This would account for the dislocation of the vertebrae, and explain the presence of the sand over the body inside the pot.

562. This large tomb was of the stairway type. It was not completely cleared at its northern end, as a house of the modern village had been built over it. The three other sides of the approach had been bricked round at the top. The upper part of the pit had been used in the xixth dyn. as a receptacle for disused objects of hippopotamus ivory, and for a great quantity of mineralized bones, mostly hippopotamus but including some other animals and a few human. Another such deposit was found by Professor Petrie in the following season near the Northern Cemetery. The ivories will be described in Volume III. The mineralized bones will form the subject of a special memoir.

From the original interment come a few pots, for which see the Tomb Register; two alabaster vases (pl. xviii, 15, 16); part of another with loose ring neck; and part of a very fine thin diorite bowl.

37. 669. An unusual tomb, of very solid brick-

work, with an offering chamber on the north, and possibly a "serdab" to the west of that. This was bricked over; and so was the tomb itself, at a height of 30 ins. The six pots (four of type 63 o) had been placed outside the north-west angle of the offering chamber. The burial was apparently multiple, as both male and female bones were found, all probably contemporary.

714. Untouched burial wrapped in reeds, with three pots, 54j (one) and 54p (two), just north of the head. The body was in an attitude with knees flexed (pl. xxv, 6d). It is difficult to suppose that this attitude was used in Protodynastic times; probably the pottery is really of a later date, perhaps vth dyn. when other burials in reeds are found.

820. Burial of an adult female, contracted and upright. The upper part of the body was covered by an inverted pot, 40g, 21 ins. in diameter and 15 ins. deep, resting all round on a ledge. Placed round this were six vases, two of type 9k and two of 68l.

38. 1520. An undisturbed burial in a bricked-up chamber. The attitude was type 5b₆, pl. xxv. The bowl, 3n₂, was at the east side of chamber; the spouted jug, 99x, in the south-west corner. Three regular Protodynastic pots were at the bottom of the shaft, in the filling, and therefore not necessarily contemporary. It is difficult to date this tomb. The dimensions are unusual; the attitude should be later than the vth dynasty; the jug and basin certainly seem to be of earlier types than those of the ivth and vth dynasties, ppl. lxxvi, lxxxi. See tombs 1561, 1562.

1561. Similar to 1520 in plan and proportions, but rather smaller, and with chamber on south. The attitude of the body was also very much the same. The one pot was in the north side of the shaft and just possibly not contemporary.

1562. Burial in a similar attitude. This tomb was more like the usual Protodynastic in form than the previous two; but there was no pottery by which to date it.

1592. Grave lined with bricks at the sides and mud plastered. Floor mud plastered only. Pots in north-east and north-west angles.

1699. Child about three years old, untouched. Three beads at neck. Malachite and galena in the little bowl, 1w, close to the head. The other two pots just behind the back.

1784. Young girl (?) undisturbed. Ivory hair-

pin. Two ivory bangles at wrists; nine ivory anklets on legs. Beads at neck and wrists.

1785. Limestone saucer in south-east corner of grave; row of five pots along west side, with plain rectangular slate palette (5 × 3 ins.) in the middle of the row. The rest of the grave had been completely cleared out.

1786. Undisturbed brick-lined grave of a girl. One pot, 91d₆, in south-west corner; three saucers, 1n and 1n₂, the slate palette, pl. xxi, 37, and a brown jasper grinding pebble near the north-west corner; small triangular slate and pebble in north-east corner; pots 93r₂ and 50g in south-east corner; and the three other pots along east side. Galena and malachite which had probably been in the saucers. String of black paste beads at neck. Finger ring and bangle of very decayed copper. Ivory needle and copper needle close to head.

1795. At the west end of the spur south of the Hemamieh *wadi* we found traces of a brick mastaba (?) with one scrap of fine limestone sculptured with the hieroglyph z. The pit was over 25 ft. deep, and went down below the January water-level. We accordingly left it alone till the end of the season, and managed to bucket out what remained of the water just before we closed down the camp. The tomb had been a rich one as the chamber was lined and floored with limestone blocks. It had been completely rifled, only three pots remaining.

1964. Pottery coffin with rounded corners and flat lid. The body was male, with small beard, and was wrapped in linen of two qualities. At the hands was a goat-skin (?) bag containing the copper flaying knife, pl. xx, 67, two hard black pebbles for whetting, and one softer pebble. A report on the linen, by Mr. T. Midgley, is given in *Badari*.

39. 3112. A tomb of some importance, as one of the alabaster vase fragments is inscribed with the name of King Hetepsekhemui, the first king of the iind dynasty. Unfortunately the tomb furniture had been so completely smashed that none of the alabaster vases could be restored, and only four or five were even drawable. These are shown, pl. xix, 22-27. The inscription is photographed pl. xxii. The tomb was entered by a steep stairway descending to the south. At the surface a line of bricks was traceable, forming a rectangle 315 × 602 ins. surrounding the entrance. The main chamber has a smaller one opening out of it on the west, no doubt for the actual burial; see plan pl. xxiv. The main doorway was closed by a huge roughly

dressed block of limestone, but there were no grooves in the sides of the shaft to guide it when being lowered. We found this block practically in position. The interior of the chamber could be seen over the top of it, but there was no room for even the smallest boy to enter until the stone had been levered away. Our hopes were high that the tomb was intact; but as usual they were not fulfilled. We must suppose that the stone was pressed back into position by the great weight of sand when the entrance filled up again. The blocking stone measures $70 \times 39 \times 17$ ins.

No pottery was found with the exception of a few sherds in the filling of the stairway. The alabaster fragments were all lying on either side of the blocking stone. In addition to the bowls drawn there had been three large cylinder jars without rope pattern; small bowl in grey and yellow shelly marble; an alabaster bowl (?) with spout; two thick vessels with rope pattern; a very large flat dish and four other dishes in wavy, pink-veined, or "pudding" alabaster; and nineteen dummy limestone cylinder jars of various sizes (two drawn). We also found fragments of the bones; a flat piece of steatite (inlay?); and a few scraps of copper, almost certainly from model vessels.

40. 3227. A very deep stairway tomb surrounded at the surface by a line of bricks in the form of a rectangle. The chamber was very roughly cut, none of the rock surfaces being at all flat. It was quite empty. A few broken pots were found in the filling of the stairway. A later extended burial in a plain wooden coffin without objects had been laid in the south-west angle of the stairway at a depth of 64 ins. This was undisturbed, showing that the tomb had not been plundered in modern times. Close to the north-east corner of the line of bricks, and under the bricks which were in actual contact with the skull, lay the skeleton of a young person about 12 years old, head south, face west, hands down, knees sharply flexed. There were traces of clothing, and the remains of leather sandals on the feet. A hurried and informal interment is indicated, though one must hesitate before suggesting a foundation sacrifice. The infant burial, grave 3183, was near the north-west corner of the "mastaba."

3228. Another stairway tomb, with two chambers at different levels. Seven and a half feet deep over the stairway (see plan pl. xii, 6) was the contracted body of a young man, undisturbed, with traces of

linen. In the upper chamber were the bones of a child of 12, buried apparently before the lower chamber was made. The remains of seven alabaster vases, one carnelian bead, a glaze pendant in the form of a shell, bracelets of ivory and shell, and a model chisel (?) of copper, were found with the bones. In the lower room all that remained was one broken alabaster bowl. All the pottery found came from the filling. In addition to the forms given in the register, there was also a piece of a grooved spout in black pottery, probably from a ewer. Most of the filling of the entrance to the tomb was in its original state, the robbers having entered the chambers from the adjoining tomb 3229.

3229. Stairway tomb alongside 3228. Very irregular, roughly cut chamber, with a hole leading through into 3228. On the third step of the approach lay the burial of an infant. The cup of alabaster, pl. xix, 39, photograph pl. xxii, is of a type found in the tomb of King Neter-khet (GARSTANG, *Mahâsna*, pl. xiv, 21). The date of these three tombs 3227-9 is no doubt iird dynasty.

41. 6001. Plundered grave with pottery, a few beads, a gazelle's skull, a flint flake, and a flint pebble, 3.6 ins. long, the tip naturally coloured deep red.

6019. Brick-lined rectangular grave of an adult male, contracted, head south. Four pots at north end of grave, two being of type 60j. One pot, 94e, before face. Slate palette, plain ovoid, under head. Fragments of ivory hair-pin, and a shell armlet. Various beads, probably from neck.

7324. Underneath a disturbed burial lying north and south, a group of three fine flint adzes was found in Professor Petrie's work, photograph pl. xxii, together with some small flints, a large shell, and a pounder (?); these are probably of about the 1st dynasty.

CHAPTER VIII

PROTODYNASTIC SUMMARY

42. *The Types of Tomb.* The earliest type was the rather neatly cut brick-lined rectangular grave of Dynasties O and I. These were probably roofed over in some way with sticks or some perishable material, though we found no evidence of it. The dimensions of the bricks are usually about $11 \times 5\frac{1}{2} \times 3$ ins., but vary from 9 ins. up to 13 ins. See Register. The depth of the graves varied from 3 to 7 ft.

In the Second and Third Dynasties the finer tombs are all of the stairway and chamber type. Reisner considers all large stairway tombs to be of the Third Dynasty (*Naga-ed-Dêr I*, p. 137). But we have here at Badari one such tomb with the name of Hetep-sekhemui on a vase; and though this may have been handed down, we can hardly suppose it to have survived the whole of the Second Dynasty. On the other hand, the tombs at Sedment with long stairways and containing stone tables are considered by Professor Petrie to be of the Second Dynasty (PETRIE and BRUNTON, *Sedment I*, p. 2); and he dates the shallow stairway tombs at Bashkatib to s.d. 80, 81, or the reigns of Zet and Den (*Lahun II*, p. 24); but the deeper ones are probably later.

The surface area round the entrance to the stairways was surrounded by a brick wall in the cases of 3112, 3227, and of two others on Spur 5, not here published in detail, as they contained no objects whatever. The other stairway tombs may have been similarly surrounded, but all traces of brickwork had vanished owing to the constant re-use of the ground in later times. Only one, or at best two, courses of bricks remained; the wall of one (unpublished) was 28 ins. thick. The width of the rectangles enclosed was very slightly more than half the length of the sides. Probably the purpose of these brick walls was merely to surround the tomb, as seen in modern cemeteries at Badari to-day, and not to retain a *mastaba* of rubble. The area enclosed is far too great for that to be likely, being in one case (3227) 73 ft. long in the side.

The stairways are generally uninterrupted, and widen gradually with the depth. Some, however, had only a few steps at the top (429 and 438), leading to a steep slope. The burial-chamber was in all instances except one (507) to the west of the main room.

There were only a very few tombs with shaft and chamber which could be assigned to this period. All these were of small dimensions. The Hemamieh examples were rather doubtful in date. The chambers were on the south in eight cases; on the west in six; on the north in two; and on the east in one.

43. *Attitudes of Bodies.* All the burials were more or less tightly contracted on left side with the exception of 714, 1520, 1561, and 1562, the dates of which are uncertain. See Sections 37, 38. The

body under the brick wall of 3227 was also not contracted; but this was not a regular burial in a grave. The direction of the head was to the south in 8 graves at Qau, 6 at Hemamieh, and 3 at Badari; to the north in 27 at Qau, 11 at Hemamieh, and 3 at Badari. The south position was almost if not quite universal up to s.d. 79. After that the direction is reversed in most cases. Two bodies were found lying head east, and 5 head west.

44. *Pot Burials.* In half of these the pot was inverted over the body, as was usually the case in the Old Kingdom; in the other half the pot was right way up and sometimes covered by another pot or pots. As to sex, 5 burials were male, 3 female, and 4 children. The evidence is too scanty to be of much weight, but one is led to believe that the burials *in* pots are found only in the earlier Protodynastic and possibly late Predynastic times, while the burials *under* pots gradually became the only method. A point worthy of note is that we found no pot burials associated with cemeteries of Dynasties O and I, thus agreeing with the remark of Mace (*Cemeteries of Abydos III*, p. 20). For the later pot burials, see Chapter X.

45. *The Pottery.* Plates xiii-xvi. There is very little to be said about the pottery forms, which are mostly well-known types or variants. The "bread pots," 5c, 4b, and 9k, pl. xiii, perhaps show a degradation. The first is well baked and carefully finished inside; the next is only half-baked, but fairly well shaped; the third is the rough form with unfinished base. Both these last two continue in use into the Fourth Dynasty and possibly later. The basin, 3n₂, found with a spouted jug, 99x₂, is of a fine orange-pink ware; it is apparently an early form of the polished red basins found with ewers in the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties (pl. lxxvi, 4). The jars with strainers, 92l₂, 92l₃, and 99x₃, are noteworthy. The round-bodied jar 87h₃ is of very fine hard pink ware, with an extremely smooth surface. Another interesting form is type 37. These bowls, similar in shape to the stone vessels (pl. xviii, 9; xix, 35) of late Second or Third Dynasty, are probably the earliest forms of the well-known Medum style of bowls of polished red ware, which run on into the Sixth Dynasty. They are generally of a fine orange-red pottery, not apparently polished as a rule.

46. *The Beads and Amulets.* Plate xvii. The amulet 1p₂₁ is like 1p₂₁ (pl. xciii) of vii-viii dyn. It is probably a human figure. The lion's

head 16b₃ is very like that figured in PETRIE and QUIBELL, *Naqada*, pl. lviii, grave 1289, of s.d. 80. Another of closely the same date was found at Gurob in 1920. The date of the Hemamieh example is s.d. 77-79, by the pottery. All three are of carnelian. It is interesting to see such widespread examples agreeing closely in form, material, and date. The dog's head or jackal's head 16f₇ is so like the many examples of vi-viiith dyn. (pl. xcv) that it seems probable that this example is really of that date. See Section 34. The ox-head 24a₃, very carefully cut in black steatite, is an unusual type; the amulet is known in Predynastic times (PETRIE, *Amulets*, p. 19). The "bull's head" 32a₃ is another Predynastic amulet of which many examples are known. It varies much in form; that it represents the head of a bull with down-curving horns is perhaps the most likely suggestion; but the long snout in this late example is difficult to explain. Other, and possibly debased, forms are shown in PETRIE, *Abydos I*, pl. li, 4, *Abydos II*, pl. xiv; REISNER, *Arch. Survey of Nubia*, 1907-8, pl. lxx, a7; 1908-9, pl. xxxvii, a17. The "snout" may be intended for a pole. The horizontal grooves are something like the markings on what is probably a pole in the amulets of the head of Hathor (PETRIE, *Amulets*, pl. xxx, 171a, b, f; BRUNTON, *Lahun I*, pl. viii). The idea of the pole suggests a connexion with the bucrania on poles. The large steatite fly, 36p₆, was found loose in the sand in Cemetery 1500 (Hemamieh). Large flies such as this are known in the xvith and early xviiith dyns.; but there was no cemetery of this period at Hemamieh, and the large flies of that period are all of bone, as far as I know, while this is of steatite. I have therefore taken it as contemporary with the Protodynastic graves of the district among which it was found. The fly is well known as an amulet in the Predynastic period (PETRIE, *Prehistoric Egypt*, pl. ix, 14, 15; *Naqada*, pl. xviii, Q23). The snake's head amulet, 43p₃, is not found in the Old and Middle Kingdoms; but examples of rather different form occur in the Predynastic age (PETRIE, *Amulets*, p. 26). The limestone shell 56d₇ (probably *Nerita crassilabrum*) is only known as an amulet in the Predynastic period and in the Middle Kingdom (*Amulets*, p. 27). The glaze 56e₂, *Cardium edule* (?), is also not found until later in the First Intermediate Period (*Amulets*, p. 27). The hour-glass or dumb-bell bead in carnelian and amethyst, 73m₂, is particularly interesting, as I believe it has not been found except

in the bracelets from the tomb of Zer at Abydos (PETRIE, *Royal Tombs II*, p. 19). The s.d. 80 assigned to grave 1742 is just what would be expected. It will be noted that these beads are pierced, while those from Abydos are not. The flat triangular pendant of serpentine, 89n₃, reminds one of the model stone celts used as charms against lightning ("thunderbolts") in Japan and South Italy, and also found of neolithic times in Malta.

As to materials used for beads, it will be noticed at once what a large proportion are made of stone, often hard. The carnelian is often of a rather distinctive coral-pink colour, and only slightly translucent. There are also beads of porphyry (?), felspar, olivine, lazuli, quartz, amethyst, garnet, and haematite. These last three stones are not found at all in the Old Kingdom, nor in the First Intermediate Period until the xith dyn. is reached; in fact haematite does not occur again until the xith dyn. Quartz is found sporadically from the ixth dyn. onwards, but rarely in the Old Kingdom. Briefly, the use of hard stones in the middle-class graves of the Qau district continues from the Predynastic period into the First Dynasty, and then dies out (carnelian always excepted), the few examples being probably survivals. Hard stone beads gradually come into use again just prior to the Middle Kingdom. Active trade with Nubia and the South was probably the determining factor. Glaze, of course, is found at all times. In the Protodynastic period there is dark and pale blue, green, black, and white. The pale blue is striking, and seems to be confined to the Third Dynasty, or about that time. The white glaze is remarkable; both graves in which beads of this material were found are of the First Dynasty. There is also one case of a "crumbed" bead of the same date, a spheroid of blue glaze with white crumbs.

47. *Stone Vases*. Plates xviii-xx. The majority of these are of late Second or Third Dynasty, and call for little comment. They have been arranged in groups throughout, and are all of alabaster unless stated otherwise. It will be noticed that there are none of the stone dishes so common in the First Dynasty. In tomb 3112, dated to the reign of Hetep-sekhemui or soon after, we found the fragments of several, all undrawable. Their use had quite died out in the Third Dynasty; none was found by us, nor by Garstang at Bêt Khallaf and Reqaqnah, in tombs of that age. The continued use of fine cylinder jars with rope pattern is noteworthy. They

occurred side by side with coarse dummy cylinder jars of limestone in tomb 3112 (pl. xix, 23, 24), a fact which contradicts any suggestion that these dummies were late and debased survivals. Probably they represent offerings made at the time of the funeral by the poorer members of the household or estate. One cylinder jar, pl. xx, 48, shows the outward curve at the foot which became the characteristic type of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties. The hard limestone bowls, very finely worked (6, 35), were copied in pottery (pl. xiii, 37m); this form is probably the ancestor of the well-known red polished bowls with recurved rim of Medum style, the deeper forms of which are the earlier.

48. *Copper Objects.* The ewer, pl. xviii, 10, has been discussed in Sections 35, 169. Other examples are shown on pl. vi of GARSTANG, *Third Egyptian Dynasty*, and, rather taller, on pl. iii of QUIBELL, *El Kab*, of the time of Sneferu. Of the same date is that of Queen Hetepheres (REISNER, *Ill. London News*, 26th March 1927, p. 538). Such ewers are generally accompanied by basins (PETRIE, *Sedment I*, pl. i). The flaying knives, pl. xx, 66, 67, and pl. xxii, are of about the First Dynasty; the pair in gold found by Reisner in the tomb of Queen Hetepheres (*Ill. London News*, 26th March 1927, p. 538) are really razors, having only one edge sharpened. For their use see PETRIE, *Tools and Weapons*, p. 22. Remains of what were probably model vessels in copper were found in tomb 3112, early Second Dynasty; for others of about this date or rather later, see MACE, *Naga-ed-Dêr II*, pl. xviii, tombs N4376 and N4506. The use of these continued throughout the Old Kingdom, see pl. xl, 18. We also found a scrap of a model tool in tomb 3228; these are of frequent occurrence from the time of Kha-sekhemui (PETRIE, *Royal Tombs II*, pl. ixA). Copper needles were found in graves 429 (late Second) and 1786 (First Dynasty); also pins in 1762 (First Dynasty). A finger-ring and bangle of copper occurred in grave 1786; for others of the first two dynasties, see REISNER, *Naga-ed-Dêr I*, p. 119.

49. *Other Objects.* The slate palettes, pl. xxi, are nearly all more or less shapeless. The hawk slate, 38, is included in error, being late Predynastic. The circular form with wavy border, 33, is probably the latest degradation of the fish (PETRIE, *Prehistoric Egypt*, pl. lvi, 59-61). The "Oxford frame," 32, is a common late form (*ibid.*, pl. lix, 96, 97). The objects shown on pl. xx, 61, and pl.

xxi, 3, marked 3000/3, both come from the temple site on Spur 3, and were lying in a layer of rubbish outside the walls of the building, associated with Protodynastic potsherds. The blue-glazed cup, 61, and the pottery figure were found together. The cup is particularly interesting as the same form, but in copper, was found in the tomb of King Kha-sekhemui at Abydos (PETRIE, *Royal Tombs II*, p. 28, pl. ixA). For a comparison of this form with cups found in Crete, see EVANS, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute LV*, p. 214. Our cup is unique in having a cord decoration round the rim. The glaze is a deep rich blue. The figurine, pl. xxi, 3, is unfortunately much broken. The broad face and the treatment of the hair are curious. Mr. Winlock has suggested that the lump on the left side of the face is the remains of the left hand, and that the figure represents a male singer, drumming with his fingers on his cheek to make his voice vibrate. For instances of this, see BLACKMAN, *Meir II*, pl. xxi, 2; ROSELLINI, *Mon. Civ.*, pl. xcv, 5. In both of these the left hand is used. The stone hawk, pl. xx, 63, comes from the actual temple area (see Chap. IX), and may possibly be a Predynastic cult object, though we have no evidence that a shrine of that date ever existed here. The two holes are intended for the insertion of legs (of wood?); they slant inwards so that the back of the bird when set up would slope in a natural way. The eyes were doubtless originally inlaid, probably with shell. The stone is a green ash-slate (durite) such as is found in conglomerate in the Wadi Hammamat. The other object found in the temple, and possibly of Protodynastic date, is the bird's head in pink pottery, pl. xx, 62. This has little lumps of pottery added to represent the eyes.

50. *The Inscriptions.* The name on the copper ewer, pl. xviii, 10, according to Gunn, very likely reads "the priest 'Anti-hotpe,'" and probably gives us the earliest mention of the god of the district, known to the classical authors as Antaeus. The royal name Hetep-sekhemui on the vase fragment, pl. xix, 25, is accompanied by what may be a "palace name," Ha-sa-ka. The remaining signs may be the *akh* or *ba* bird under inverted arms, with a horizontal sign (*kheru*?) above. An almost identical inscription on a crystal vase from Abydos is figured by De Morgan (*Ethnographie Préhistorique*, p. 253, fig. 851); but here the "palace name" reads Sa-ha-ka. The bird under the inverted arms is found

on early sealings (PETRIE, *Royal Tombs I*, pl. xx, 12, 13, 15, 16; *II*, pl. xv, 111; pl. xvi, 119; pl. xvii, 134; pl. xx, 157, 160; *Tombs of the Courtiers*, pl. iii, 14); and also on small black limestone cylinders (Brussels Museum, E.5035; PETRIE, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, pl. iv, 94, 95). The ivory (?) cylinder, pl. xx, 68, was found by Miss Caton-Thompson in the settlement north of Hemamieh. The inscription, pl. xxi, 2, was roughly scratched on one of the thin slabs of local limestone which presumably paved part of the temple on Spur 3, Badari. It is obscure in meaning: Hor-mery or 'Anti-mery may be a personal name; above it is the seated man and *maa kheru*; and at the top the *per* sign of *per kheru* (?) and *ka*.

The Pot-marks. Pl. xxi, 5-28. In most cases it has been stated whether the marks have been made on the pot before or after baking. In the former case, the marks are more or less deeply incised; in the latter, lightly scratched through the coloured slip. The former are marked "Potter" on the plate; the latter "Owner," at the left top corner of the drawing. Each mark has the pottery type number added at the bottom right corner. The tomb number is at left bottom, as usual. The owner's marks are: 5, a crocodile (?); 9, a bow and arrow with an animal, the connecting line indicating the flight of the arrow (?); 10, a square; and 14, a cross. Probable owner's marks are: 6, the signs *mery neter*; 7, two birds and a quadruped (cp. 9); 11, a bow and arrow; 12, 13, crosses; 19, 20, 22, lines. The potter's marks, including 16, 23, and 27, seem often to indicate a measure of capacity; 14, 15, 16, 21 (?), 23, 24, may read "two"; 18, may be "three"; 25, "one"; and 17, "a half." But the actual sizes of the pots do not bear out this suggestion, except in the cases of marks 15 and 23, "two," both on pots of type 940g.

CHAPTER IX

THE TEMPLE

51. ON Spur 3, Badari (see map pl. vii), were various layers of construction, mostly of brick, which eventually proved to be the foundations and floors of two successive temples built over a thin layer of Protodynastic potsherds, which again overlay the deep remains of a Predynastic settlement. The continual re-use of the site had so disturbed the lower deposits that there was in general no very

clear stratification. Moreover, the extent of the later walls precluded us from making a thorough examination of the underlying débris. A plan of the whole is given on plate xxiii, where the different shadings show the various layers.

The ground slopes gently upwards towards the cliffs on the east, and the various floors were made at different levels in consequence of this, as shown in the section through C-D. The ground has been denuded so that there was at best only a foot or two of wall standing above the later floors; and in parts it was difficult to tell whether we were actually on a floor or not. In examining the site we were faced with the problem which is always present where superimposed buildings are concerned, and that is, how much of the upper constructions it was permissible to remove to find out what lay beneath. Eventually it was decided to disturb nothing except some parts of the later brick floorings. Photographs of all the more important features were taken at the various stages, but most unfortunately nearly all the negatives were stolen from the house before prints had been made from them, and the records are therefore lost. Three only can now be published, two on plate xxii, and one on plate xxxi; while three more will be reproduced in the volume on the Predynastic remains (*Badari*). When the work on the site was finished, the whole of the débris was put back so as to preserve what was left of the walls as far as possible. I fully expect, however, that as soon as our backs were turned the neighbouring villagers raked the place over to see what they could find. Even though a guard was always left on the work, a party went out one market-day to dig on the site and broke up a plaster threshold.

It is obviously desirable to reproduce the plans on one plate, although the different levels vary widely in date. The later temple was built probably at the beginning of the xviiith dynasty or just before; but the plans have been included in this volume on account of the earlier foundation, the second being merely a rebuilding. The lowest or Predynastic remains will be described in *Badari*.

52. In addition to these are a few constructions which we rather uncertainly ascribe to the early Dynastic age. These are a couple of small rectangular enclosures, built of brick, with a detached fragment of wall, 8 ins. high, to the south-east. They are shaded with dots on the plan. The walls run down to rather below the level of the Pre-

dynastic mud floors, and may be contemporary with them. The top of the little loose wall is finished off with the long Predynastic fire-bricks used in pottery kilns. These give a roughly rounded finish to the wall which reminds us of the tops of stone walls known in later times. It is just visible to the right of the photographs. The re-use of the Predynastic material suggests an early dynastic date for the walls; the enclosures, too, are rectangular, not round like the Predynastic huts we know in the vicinity. And it was in the rubbish just to the south of this that we found the blue glaze cup and the pottery figurine (pl. xxii, Section 49), in a bed of Protodynastic sherds. The first temple is shown in the plan by cross-hatching. Very little of it remains, as the walls were cut down when the rebuilding took place. They are carried down through the Protodynastic layer into the Predynastic. The fact that the two buildings were differently oriented made it possible to decide to which of them the various walls belonged, for the later walls often went below the level of the earlier in places where they were not available as foundations. The lengths of the bricks used in the various parts of both temples are shown in the plan. It will be seen that they give us no clue to the date of any wall, a length of 13-14 ins. being used throughout, with a few of 11, 12, and 15 ins. here and there. The earlier bricks were also re-used for the second temple.

53. The plan of the first building is remarkable for the carelessness shown in the lay-out, especially in the front part where no wall is at right angles to another. The two eastern halls are, however, much better built. The long fragment of cross wall on the west was probably part of the temenos wall; the remainder has disappeared. Roughly in the centre of the first court is a squarish erection of brick, of which only a few courses remained. It was clearly a walled enclosure, not solid; in it were sherds and rubbish, but no brick. The inner faces of the walls were quite clean all round. It is about 6 ft. square, and the outer faces were whitewashed. We called this the "altar," but I can make no suggestion as to its real significance.

In the east wall of the first court is a doorway flanked by pilasters, leading to a narrow transverse hall. Here the floor was of brick covered with thick white plaster; the walls were mud-plastered and whitewashed. This is followed by a small room with a narrow doorway in its east wall. The threshold is of thick white plaster, and just in front

of it, as shown in the plan, lay a long rough slab of local limestone, which had probably fallen from over the doorway. The small room, or "third hall," was not floored with brick; we found remains of plaster only. Probably it had been paved with irregular slabs of the local yellow stone, 2 to 2½ ins. thick, of which we found a few scraps loose in the ruins. One was roughly incised with an inscription, pl. xxi, 2. This pavement had all been pulled up and most of it removed at the time of the rebuilding, and the ground levelled with brick rubbish and *tibn* (chopped straw). To the east of the third hall lay the shrine; but owing to the rapidly decreasing depth of the deposits up the slope of the spur, very little of the walls remained. The shrine was probably stone-paved like the third hall. Its south wall seems to have been strengthened by the addition of much thicker brick-work. The east wall could be traced sufficiently far to show that the shrine was single, and not divided axially like the later one. It will be seen that, in spite of the irregularities of the building, the centres of the "altar" and of the two doorways fall in a straight line.

54. The second temple was built on a rather larger scale, with walls of greater solidity. The plan is roughly the same as the first in regard to the number and arrangement of the courts or halls. But there is no sign of the altar-like structure in the first court; a brick ramp leads up to the narrow transverse hall; and the shrine is divided into two parts by an axial wall. Round the outside of the third hall and of the shrines runs an ambulatory enclosed by the temenos wall. We cannot say whether this feature existed in the first temple or not.

Turning now to details, we must first note that there were no signs of foundation deposits, nor were the walls laid in a sand-bed, so frequently found elsewhere. The bricks of both first and second temples were well made of mud mixed with sand, but contained no *tibn*. Sometimes small white stones were in the mixture. There was nothing in their composition or dimensions to distinguish them from those of the earlier temple. The enclosure wall is some 5½ ft. thick, over 90 ft. from east to west, and over 56 ft. from north to south. The south-east corner has broken down, and has been carelessly repaired, as shown by the laying of the bricks. There is no sign of an entrance, the western side being denuded below floor-level. The

courses of the north wall are not all horizontal, but at the point where the Predynastic mud floor is shown on the plan they slope up to the east, parallel to the natural slope of the *gebel* (see photograph pl. xxxi). The floors throughout this temple, where visible, are of mud-plastered brick, and there was no sign of stone having been used anywhere. In the second hall the flooring was only a few inches above that of the earlier third hall. The back wall of the two shrines rests on *gebel* which slopes down to the west, so that most of the shrine walls rest on Predynastic deposits. There was no sign of a Protodynastic stratum in this region, but one may have been cleared away by the temple builders. The back wall of the shrines has been strengthened by the addition of brickwork not bonded to the original wall. The bricks at the back of the north shrine are partly old ones re-used; some of the inner surfaces are covered with a thin black deposit like that left by bats or smoke on the walls of rock-tombs.

The corridor or ambulatory running round the third hall and shrines is paved throughout with brick. The upper part follows the natural slope of the spur and rests on *gebel*; the lower rests on Predynastic village deposits. The whole of the corridor and shrine floors were covered with a layer of reddish colour, apparently manure. Probably the ruins were used at some later time for the stabling of animals.

55. The evidence for the dating of the second temple is satisfactory. A few sherds were found above the intact floors, but these were not distinctive. There were no other objects except beads and one scarab. The beads, however, were found in some quantities lying on the surface of all the floors, and sometimes between the bricks. There were also a few under the floors, but these came from the filling up of the holes in the first pavements when the second temple was built. The filling of these holes was quite distinct from the deposits on which they were originally laid in that it consisted partly of well-preserved *tibn*, yellow and clean, loose and free compared with the dark and tight Predynastic deposits. The beads and scarab (which will be illustrated in Volume III) are happily easily dated to the early xviiiith dyn. or just before, and they form good evidence that the building was in use then and was probably built just previously, though hardly as far back as the xiiith dyn.

56. The dating of the first temple is, however, a difficult matter. Under the xviiiith-dyn. floor-level at the north side of the first court were a few characteristic xiiith-dyn. sherds. The "altar" was filled with rubbish, including Predynastic, Protodynastic, and Old Kingdom sherds. Amongst the latter were some scraps of polished red bowls (both early and late types) and pieces of ring-stands. The stratum of Protodynastic sherds extended both to the north and south of the temple area, separated at times from the underlying Predynastic remains by a thin layer of desert wash. The stratum was never more than 18 ins. thick, and generally less; it contained sherds of distinctively early dynastic pots such as type 68, pl. xiv, in great quantities, but no fine ware. The sherds were, generally speaking, in a matrix of mud, possibly the débris of mud-brick.

It is possible that the first temple is of the age of this stratum, and that the two rectangular enclosures described above are really Predynastic. This, however, is improbable; and it seems preferable to refer the stratum of sherds to either an earlier shrine or more probably a settlement following the Predynastic after a short interval. Our first temple would then be of any date from about the vith to the xiiith dyn. It was apparently out of use for a considerable time, if the evidence of the re-used bricks is of any value; the stone floors, such as they were, had been torn up and taken away; and the lintels had fallen to the ground when the second temple was built. We shall probably not be far wrong then if we date it to the vith dyn., or a little later, to the time when the prosperity of the country around was at its height. It was in use up to the xiiith dyn., judging from the pottery found. That there was no pottery, or very little, that we can date to the time of the first foundation need not surprise us. There is none of the xviiiith dynasty either. If the whole site could be stripped clean, all doubts would be set at rest. The most interesting point to notice is that in the second foundation the shrine is dual, though single in the first. Badari is in the nome of "The Two Gods." What the change in the number of the shrines implies, has to be worked out. A coupling of the worship of Set with that of Horus in the New Kingdom may just possibly be the explanation.

57. Only the Protodynastic objects found on the site are described in this volume. Those of the later periods will be referred to in Volume III, while

the Predynastic material is reserved for *Badari*. These objects are all marked 3000/3 or "Temple."

Four of the Protodynastic antiquities are described in Section 49 (pl. xx, 61-3; pl. xxi, 3). In addition to these are a sherd of fine pink ware with cross-burnishing (foreign?); a scrap of a dish in hard pink ware, parallel burnished; pieces of a rectangular slate palette (?); small fragment of an alabaster dish; and a sherd inscribed with rough hieroglyphs, perhaps later (pl. xxi, 4).

CHAPTER X

THE POT BURIALS OF THE OLD KINGDOM

58. BURIALS under, and occasionally in, pots continued to be made in the early Old Kingdom period at Qau. We found a considerable number, though only those with objects are given in the Tomb Register. At Hemamieh we recorded none of this date; while at Badari there were only one or two. At Qau they were principally in the areas nearest to the fields, Cemetery 400 eastward to the depression (800), and southward along the west edge of the 600, 900, and 1100 regions. This was in fact the oldest part of the main cemetery. None was found away to the east, clearly showing that the custom had died out after the vith dyn.

It is obvious that this method of interment was here used for the poorest persons only. The almost complete absence of objects, and the fact that the bodies are hardly ever found disturbed, shows this clearly. Common domestic pots, such as those used for storing grain or brewing beer, were a cheap substitute for coffins; and it is not unusual to find those which had been damaged and were useless for any other purpose placed over the dead relative.

Of the recorded burials, 4 are males, 4 females (in one case with a child), and 25 are children. Not one of these latter was found in the earliest part of the Old Kingdom cemetery, while the males are all in area 400. Taking into consideration the fairly common use of pot coffins for adults in Protodynastic times, it seems evident that the custom, in its later stages, was kept up for children only. It is well known that infants are found interred in all varieties of pots down to the latest periods.

59. As to precise date we have few objects to guide us. The "bread" pots, 6f, 6j, 6p, are late Protodynastic and Fourth or even Fifth Dynasty.

The lipped bowl, 7n, is Fourth. 53k and 71a are late Protodynastic in feeling; while 77n is of a type running on up to the Sixth. Turning to the few beads and amulets, we have the glaze lion-head, 16b₈ (grave 651), known in stone in the vth and vith dyns.; the male figure 1d₁₂ is of a vth-dyn. type; while the *ankh* (?), 66k₈, is different in form from later examples. With 1129 were the sliced shells well known in the vith-dyn. graves. The beads in 627 and 1143 were of the peculiar pale blue glaze found in the iird and ivth dyns. Dr. Frankfort tells me he has found a pot burial at Abydos (1926) intruded in a vth-dyn. bricked grave. The sizes of the bricks, 9½ and 11½ ins. long in 1143, are smaller than the usual vth-dyn. 12 ins.

It seems clear, then, that the date of these burials is mainly ivth dyn., with a few, those of children, running on into the vth and possibly vith dyn., but hardly later. It has been found convenient to group them together in the ivth-dyn. section of the Register; but it must be understood that one or two may be rather subsequent. For a full discussion of pot burials, see GARSTANG, *The Third Egyptian Dynasty*, chap. x; and MACE, *Cemeteries of Abydos III*, p. 20.

60. The following details of pot burials are supplementary to the information in the Tomb Register.

459. The two offering pots were put in the grave with the body which was on its side; the large pottery bin (23 × 15 ins.) was inverted and placed over them afterwards, breaking both the vases in its descent. Large stones were then placed all round to prevent shifting (?) when the grave was filled in.

469. In this case the body lay on its side, and the edge of the bin (23 × 20 ins.) actually rested on the skull.

477. Burial of a child in a spouted house-pot (30 ins. diam.), not inverted.

525. Tightly contracted body covered by an inverted pottery bin (21½ × 17 ins.). Placed around were the three pots, and the alabaster cylinder jar. This was of coarse make, and had the base worn right through by continued pounding or cleaning out of the contents.

543. A small child placed in one pot (26 × 18 ins.) and covered by a similar one (16 × 10 ins.).

622. Small child in an upright crouched position covered by a pot.

623. Another child covered by a domestic pot

which had had a hole knocked in its base and was therefore otherwise useless. With the body was a sherd which had presumably been used to cover the hole in the base to keep out the sand when the grave was filled up.

624. A similar instance, with the sherd in position.

651. A child of about eleven years with a few blue glaze beads at the neck, and the two pebbles on the chest. She was covered by a large bin (21 × 18 ins.), intact. The interior of the pot was clear of sand. Probably v-vith dyns. (See Sect. 59.)

682. Very small child under a large beer-jar. Two large glaze cylinder beads and a scarab were found with it. The scarab (pl. xxxiii, 139) is of the roughest description, only just recognizable as such. It is uninscribed. The burial was undisturbed; and the scarab was found in the sifting of the sand under the bones. It can hardly have come in from the surrounding débris; nor have I any reason to suppose that the workman inserted it himself: the object was not worth the trouble.

61. 819. A carefully made grave, such as pl. xii, 8, consisting of a round hole with a ledge on which rested the inverted pot. Round the pot were a number of large stones, as in 459, evidently to keep the pot in position when the pit was filled. Outside the pot, more or less on the ledge, were two fine polished red vases, 6b and 71a, the former being particularly thin and well made. The body was crouched and upright, facing north.

837. Another case of so-called "killed" or damaged pot. An adult woman with a rough pottery head-rest.

905. Young child covered by a pot with the spout broken off. One crumb and one paste bead. Grave bricked over immediately above pot.

1129. A very young child covered by a pot with the base missing. Two amulets, a cowry, and two sliced *Nassa* shells.

1143. A more elaborate burial. Large pot, not inverted, containing the body of an infant. Bricked round and covered with bricks. Outside, against the bricks, a good lipped bowl 7n, and the pot 72w. With the bones a few beads of carnelian and the characteristic pale blue glaze of the period.

7346. Burial of a child in a small pot (20 × 18 ins.), placed in the same excavation as the brick substructure of a woman's tomb of the vth dyn. No objects.

7545. Woman and child together under an

inverted pot (28 × 20 ins.), with one rough jar, 77m. The woman was contracted upright, facing west. Child's body to the south. Both in linen wrappings.

CHAPTER XI

DETAILS OF GRAVES OF THE FOURTH AND FIFTH DYNASTIES

62. THE following chapters record details of graves which could not be expressed in the Tomb Register, such as the position of the objects and the order of the beads. They are also intended to give a general idea of the salient characteristics of the burials of each period, and to indicate, to some extent, the condition in which they were found.

FOURTH DYNASTY

Qau, Southern Cemetery

606. The body was surrounded by a rectangle of brickwork roofed with bricks. This type of grave was most commonly met with in the vth dyn. Two pots at the head, and a couple of beads probably at the neck.

671. Grave lined with large stones, and the pit filled up with them.

677. Young female in a reed coffin, surrounded by brickwork and not disturbed. Before the face one pot, small copper mirror, and a *Spatha* shell. A great variety of beads, mostly stone, with a few paste and glaze. One amulet, the very curious and unique ichneumon (?) 31p₃. This burial may equally well be of the vth dyn.

678. A small pit divided by a brick wall at the bottom, and the western half roofed with bricks to form a chamber. Three pots placed on the roof.

904. Body of a closely contracted young female, bound round with fibre rope, and placed in a wooden coffin. Two pots resting on body probably fallen from above the lid, one a "bread-pot," the other very fine polished red. A few beads in pale blue, deep blue, and black glaze. Group pl. xliii.

969. Very small loculus on north, 20 ins. deeper than the floor shaft. Loosely contracted adult female. A badly made globular pot behind the head. A string of miscellaneous beads, mostly of stone (including lazuli, turquoise, and green jasper), with two gold.

972. A large tomb with stairway approach from the east, not from the north as usual. The stairway

consists of two parts: deep and wide steps succeeded by shallow and narrow ones. Probably the chamber at the foot of the deep steps fell in, and a second chamber was made at a lower level. This has now also completely fallen in. Pottery, mostly in fragments, of various dates, came from the filling. A number of these are of the ivth dyn. and agree well with the form of the tomb. It shows the last form of stairway, with the chamber on the west instead of to the south.

1085. Undisturbed adult female partially contracted. Coffin, if any, quite disappeared. Burial bricked round and over in a rough pit 7 ft. deep. On the body were a "bread" pot, 6e, containing bread (?), and two polished red ewers, 90l and 90m, containing grain. In front of the face the toilet pot 88x, also unexpectedly filled with grain, and two *Spatha* shells for mixing ointment. At the neck a string of various black paste and steatite beads, with a few carnelian, and the two curious stone seals, with a lizard or crocodile, pl. xxxii, 4, 5. Group pl. xliii.

For details of the pot burials see Chapter X.

Badari

63. 5528. Shaft with floor sloping down into loculus on west, walled up with rough stones and quite intact. Coffin of plastered wood, but gone to powder. Body of an adult male, one hand at face, the other down; one knee slightly flexed, the other straight. In front of the face the bowl 13q; in front of the hands the spouted ewer 90j and the tall stand 96x; at the knees the flare basin 4t; and against the centre of the walling the globular pot 61l. The pottery may have fallen from a position on the lid of the coffin. The bowl has two nicks on the bulge; the stand three nicks on the base; the basin three on the rim; and the ewer four on the rim.

Qau, Southern Cemetery. Professor Petrie's work

7335. Small pit with loculus on south. Contracted male, head to west. One spouted pot, and a carinated bowl, not typed.

7366. Group pl. xliii. Small square shaft, chamber on west, quite plundered. Two alabaster vases, mirror, shell for mixing *kohl*, beads of carnelian and black, blue, and green glaze.

FIFTH DYNASTY

Qau, Southern Cemetery

64. 626. Coffin surrounded by vaulted brickwork. One pot at right of body.

643. Body of an individual about fourteen years old. The cranium had been removed, leaving the jaw in place. Only one bead remained, a steatite rhomb, 86r₁₂. Close to the neck was a pyramidal seal-amulet, base inscribed with a hare. Although there were no pots, this grave is well dated by its type of brickwork, its one bead, and the seal-amulet, which are all vth dyn. or early vith.

654. Coffin placed in a grave in the floor of the pit, and covered with a vault of bricks. In it was the body of a young female. Red polished bowl at the head. A single glazed cylinder bead at the neck. Not disturbed.

657. The room contained a secondary burial of the xviiith dyn. laid on 9 ins. of sand. The pot 61w was on the *gebel* floor and had remained over from the first burial.

661. Undisturbed male adult, knees only slightly flexed, in wooden coffin, surrounded by vaulted brickwork. To the east of knees the pointed buff pot 71y. On the lid of the coffin a fine set of polished red ewers, basin, bowl, and toilet pot; also a second pointed buff pot, and a red polished dish containing the bones of a calf or some young ruminant.

664. Extended body, hands before face, untouched. Before face in N.E. corner of grave the pot 71l. At the feet in a rush basket two alabaster vases, pl. xxviii, 135, 215, with two toilet pots, 80h and 89w. A few beads were found in the sifting. The body is described as male, but in other cases these toilet outfits in boxes and baskets are exclusively female.

978. A bricked grave, from which the body had been entirely removed by robbers. The only objects we found from the coffin area were a few beads, including a short string of the brightest blue little ring beads, and a crouched-man amulet. In a niche at the south end of the grave, however, had been placed a box containing the four unusual and very interesting alabasters, two in the form of granaries (pl. xxviii, 156, 157). Group pl. xxxi. In the box were also a quantity of blue and black glaze tubular and ring beads, two small blue glaze "cups" (pl. xxix, 19) pierced for threading, and a number of *Mitra* shells. This proved to be the

remains of a bead network, either attached to linen or worn over the garment. The "cups" are coverings for the breasts; and the shells probably hung round the bottom of the network to rattle when the wearer danced. See further, Section 153.

65. 1070. A disturbed burial of an adult male (?) with knees flexed, upper part gone. The vth-dyn. pot 71h remained in the north-east corner; a couple of blue glaze and carnelian beads came from the sifting. The tomb itself and the pot give the date of the interment; the attitude and the beads are not discordant. Yet the grave produced a very small scarab of a well-known xviith-dyn. type with concentric circles; and, what interests us most, a small poor couchant lion seal-amulet in glaze with "maze" pattern. Almost identical ones are dated in our work to the ix-xth dyns., while finer examples in steatite were found in vii-viii dyn. graves. It must therefore be concluded that this animal seal-amulet is intrusive, just as the scarab undoubtedly is.

1080. Adult male, head resting on the wooden head-rest with three legs, pl. xli, 26. One pot, 71h, over the body.

1089. Small square shaft, with chamber on east, bricked up and untouched. Adult, partially contracted, and male by the skull; the pelvis too decayed for determination. Over the chest, deep polished red bowl; over the legs, another; at feet, the toilet vase 80p, and two pots for offerings; and in front of the body, a pottery ring-stand. At the neck was a large calcite barrel bead, and two steatite cylinders. Close to the face and wrapped in linen, the mirror pl. xxxix, 23, and the copper awl pl. xxxviii, 14.

1090. A very young child in a wooden coffin $22 \times 7 \times 5$ ins., surrounded by brickwork measuring $27 \times 13 \times 21$ ins. inside. String of blue glazed steatite cylinders at neck.

66. 1108. Bricked-over grave 80 ins. deep; brick vault 35 ins. above floor. Adult male with knees flexed, undisturbed. Traces of wooden coffin. On the lid had been placed: over chest, the bowl 13f, and the pointed buff pot 71s; over the pelvis, the flare basin 4s, and the ewer 90r; and over the feet, the dish 8n₂. The bowl, ewer, and basin were all of fine sealing-wax red polished ware.

1113. Brick roof 23 ins. above floor. Only lower part of male body remaining. At feet, leaning up against south wall, the bowl 13k.

1114. Chamber on west, re-used in the xviith

dyn. Two of the older pots remained, the frequent combination of the red polished bowl with recurved rim 13f, and the pointed buff 71h.

1116. Brick vault 33 ins. high inside. Upper half of a body resting on the bones of another also plundered. A fine basin and a toilet pot, both of polished red ware.

1126. Bricked grave, 20 ins. from floor to roof inside. Wooden coffin measuring $66 \times 16\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ ins. Adult female with a toilet pot at head, of polished red ware; mirror in front of face; a few odd beads and the button seal-amulet pl. xxxii, 32, of ivory, with the early form of back, the pierced ridge. All indications point to the date being vth dyn. Untouched.

1127. Bricked grave, 19 ins. high inside. Wooden coffin, $26 \times 10 \times 7$ ins. Body of a small child. Pot with potter's mark.

1130. Bricked grave, 26 ins. high inside. Wooden coffin, $26 \times$ about 16 ins. Child of twelve, probably female. Shell ring beads at neck. Vth dyn., red polished toilet pot at head. Skull disturbed.

1138. Bricked grave, 24 ins. high inside. Contracted young female lying on right side. *Spatha* shell at feet.

1140. Partially disturbed female body; head, shoulders, and right arm removed, showing where the robbers expected to find valuables.

1141. Brick grave, 40 ins. high. Traces of reed coffin. Upper part of body disturbed. At the feet, in south-east corner of grave, a small lipped pottery bowl, seven toilet shells, and the tall alabaster cylinder jar pl. xxvi, 19. A bead or two came from the sifting.

1142. Bricked grave, 35 ins. high. Extended male body undisturbed. One globular pot in north-east corner.

1145. Bricked grave, 43 ins. high inside. Untouched body of an adult female. An assortment of beads, of stone, with a few of silver and copper, and twenty of gold. Also the cylinder seal-amulet pl. xxxii, 2.

1148. Pit with three courses of bricks round the top, to keep up the sandy gravel. Undisturbed male with two pots, one the characteristic pointed buff 71w, the other a curving-in bowl with ridges round the rim, 15n.

1164. Bricked grave, 30 ins. high inside. Adult male, hands before face. Buff pot, 72j, over the head; toilet pot, 80n, in corner before face. Various

beads, mostly of stone, with a few of black paste, black glaze, and gold. Mis-sexed (?).

1224. Small square shaft with irregular chamber to the east, the roof of which had fallen in. Body plundered. At the north end in east corner three alabaster vases, pl. xxvii, 41, 94, 128, and two offering pots, 61h and 61q. The rough alabaster saucer was at the middle of the east side, and the flare bowl middle west. One or two beads, stone, blue paste, and gold, came from the rubbish at the north end.

Badari

67. 3137. Chamber on west, with slight recess in north-west corner. Coffin of wood 1 in. thick, painted white, 64 × 14 × 13 ins. Undisturbed adult female, contracted. Polished red bowl in the recess, with a few animal bones laid carefully between it and the coffin.

4846. Undisturbed adult female in wood coffin, 62 × 13 ins. Hair dressed in long plaits. At the neck a few shell beads threaded on vegetable fibre. Inside the coffin near the head two toilet pots, 80k and 88e. In north-east corner of the grave the drab pot 72r, and the set of model pots pl. xl, 19, including ewer, basin, ring-stand, and bowl with recurved rim.

4862. Chamber on west, roof fallen. Remains of coffin, 55 × 18 ins. Legs of young girl (?). One pointed buff pot and one toilet pot in chamber. Also a couple of *Spatha* shells. In one of these were some odd beads, almost certainly of New Kingdom date. Left by robbers (?).

5320. Chamber on west, stone walling intact. Young male, loosely contracted. Polished red bowl, and buff pot at head.

5330. Chamber on west. Adult male in wooden coffin. At head end of grave two offering pots. On coffin a few bones of a calf (?). Not disturbed.

5524. Square shaft, chamber on west; floor of shaft partly level with floor of room, but mostly 30 ins. higher. Room walled up with rough stones. Contracted adult male with polished red bowl on chest. Intact.

5530. Irregular shaft; room to east, 30 ins. lower; very sloping roof. Untouched contracted male, with bowl before face.

5531. Chamber on west lower than floor of shaft. Old female (?), disturbed. A pointed buff and a toilet pot. Very small toilet shell, and a few beads. One amulet of a crouching man, and the black steatite cylinder seal pl. xxxii, 1, which just

possibly may give a blundered version of the name of King User-kaf.

5533. Square shaft with chamber on east. Undisturbed adult male, knees almost straight. Pointed buff pot, 71t, in front of face; large offering pot, 61n, behind knees; polished bowl, 13n, inverted over chest, with animal bones underneath. In the north-east corner some teeth of a ruminant.

Qau, Southern Cemetery. Professor Petrie's work

7341. Simple grave with two recesses 15 ins. wide and 18 ins. deep, cut in the east wall in front of face. In the corner one were the alabaster vase pl. xxx, the polished red pot 60w, the toilet pot 88m, and a jug; also a shell containing the remains of black eye-paint. In the other recess were three more pots, but for offerings only, the polished bowl 13n, a pointed buff pot probably 71h, and another vase, sealed. The wooden coffin contained a young female with flexed knees, but hands down. She wore beads of carnelian, glazed steatite, and crumbed glaze; also green glaze amulets (lions?).

7346. Bricked grave, 15 ins. high. Only legs and arms of body remaining. Under the fingers of the right hand a cylinder jar of alabaster, pl. xxx. A rough "bread" pot was among the bricks. For the group see pl. xliii.

In the same pit, in the north-west corner, at a higher level, was the burial of an infant in a pot, 18 × 20 ins. This may or may not be of the same date as the main interment.

7526. Simple grave. Adult male, untouched, hands at face. Behind head a large diorite (?) ointment jar. In front of the face the polished bowl 13u, with the pointed buff 68f inside it. To the north and south of the pots was a single brick. These had probably formed part of a little receptacle of brickwork.

7728. Untouched burial of a young female in a grave surrounded by plastered brick; gable roof 36 ins. high. One pot like 72g before the face.

FIFTH-SIXTH DYNASTIES

Qau, Southern Cemetery

68. 660. Grave containing untouched adult male, in wood coffin plastered white. The two pots were close to the head and protected by two bricks.

680. Adult female in wooden coffin. The two pots were outside its north-east corner. In the north wall of the pit 12 ins. from the floor was a

small recess containing a wooden box, stuccoed white inside and out, wood $\frac{3}{8}$ in. thick. No sign of lid. In it were the four alabaster vases, a *Spatha* shell, and a lump of fossil coral. The woman's head lay on a block-rest of wood. She wore a few beads, mostly of stone, with three amulets in glaze, Hathor-head, beetle, and one unidentified.

690. Adult in a coffin one brick thick. No amulets, but many varieties of beads in various stones, blue and black glaze, blue paste, and gold.

Hemamieh

1917. Mouth of shaft bricked round to a depth of 29 ins.; room on east originally bricked up. Only a few bones remained. The two mirrors lay against the bricks of the walling up. The pottery was mostly at the north end of the chamber; there were two specimens of 68b, and five of 63f.

Badari

3155. A group of pots and beads found together; grave quite destroyed.

6502. Grave 40 ins. deep, found by Miss Caton-Thompson in the early settlement north of Hemamieh. The body, that of a female, was lying in a wooden coffin 64 × 22 ins., which had been tied up with rope. A set of unusually good amulets were at the neck. See group pl. xlviii. One toilet pot, 89l₂.

CHAPTER XII

DETAILS OF GRAVES OF THE SIXTH DYNASTY

Qau, Southern Cemetery

69. 423. THERE was no room, strictly speaking, only a widening of the shaft at the bottom on the west side. The mirror lay at the north end.

425. Partially plundered, the head being removed in order to take the necklace. Pottery head-rest in the filling of the shaft. At the feet was the untouched toilet outfit; two alabaster vases, one with no neck, the small polished pot 86n, and a piece of quartzite on which to grind the galena for eye-paint. The mirror was against the chest.

475. An undisturbed male burial, the wall of bricks closing the chamber being quite intact. There was a gap of 12 ins. between the last lumbar vertebra and the rest of the spine, which was in position as regards the head. Both humeri were disarticulated from the scapulae. We found no

trace of coffin, though that is no proof that there had been none.

548. Adult female in western chamber, all bones in position. At the north end of the grave three pots, type 62s; mirror at right hand. There were no beads at neck, and the three alabaster vases were together in the filling above the pots. Apparently the burial had been tampered with anciently.

679. Grave with undisturbed body in a wooden coffin, 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ ins. thick. At the feet inside the coffin a basket containing two alabaster vases and two spare carnelian beads. On the body was a string of steatite and carnelian beads with four rough-pierced pebbles, mottled brown with knobby surface.

713. Skull only in chamber with four pots at north end.

731. Male adult with one pot. The head still bore traces of moustache and small beard.

732. Most of the burials round this grave were of the vith dyn.; there was nothing to date it otherwise. The attitude, heels under pelvis, is found from the vith to the xth dyn. The body had been placed in a sun-dried clay coffin with rounded corners, and covered with bricks instead of a lid.

749. Body completely removed. In north-west corner of the room two pots had been left, and close to them in the west wall was a recess 13 × 17 × 18 ins. containing the three alabaster vases.

767. A good example of a vith-dyn. burial, undisturbed. Chamber on west with walling intact. Adult female, extended, hands down. Scraps of pinkish plaster at the south end showed that there had been stuccoed wood, either a coffin or toilet box. Round the right arm was a short string of green glaze ring beads, with one carnelian barrel and one steatite cylinder. The absence of valuables on the body accounts for this not having been robbed. At the north end of chamber were three pots, 68s, and one, 49m, for offerings. Mirror behind the head, pl. xxxix, 22. At south end three alabaster vases, pl. xxvii, 82, 87 (containing loose galena), and 122; the ivory comb, pl. xl, 14; quartzite grinding block; and above these, two large offering pots, 41m and 49j.

789. Disturbed burial in chamber; two pots left at the north end. At 94 ins. down the shaft (26 ins. above the floor) was an undisturbed adult male with one pot, 63y. Both burials are of vith-dyn. date.

810. Group of three vith-dyn. pots scattered in a grave with the disturbed bodies of an adult and child of late date.

814. Untouched adult female with the head upright, looking south-east.

815. Later burial in the shaft at 70 ins. down, with three pots at the head, two of them xviiiith dyn. and one of the vith, 23x.

817. Undisturbed male body in the chamber with three pots. In the shaft at 108 ins. down, an intact burial of late date, young girl with a few beads and copper earring.

834. Chamber re-used in the xviiiith dyn. One of the original pots still in position.

839. Contracted male body in a rough grave 60 ins. deep. Just above it a supine extended male, head west, with a pot, 63r, at the left hip. It may have been taken from the lower burial and re-used in late times.

881. A very unusual case of a pit with chambers on both east and west. Possibly one of them is an addition in much later times.

70. 927. Button-amulet at neck of body with hands before face; sex determined as male. A very rare case of a male with a button, unless mis-sexed.

956. Small grave with the burial of an infant in a wooden box, $25\frac{1}{2} \times 20 \times 8$ ins. The wood was painted red, and had a copper fastener in the lid, mid north edge. Evidently a toilet or clothes box used as a coffin. One pot, 63r, in north-east corner of grave.

970. Adult female in simple grave unplundered. Pots at north end 15 ins. higher than body. Alabaster vase and quartzite grinder close to head. Round the neck three button-amulets, several crumb beads, blue and black glaze ring beads, and four amulets, including the strange rw₉, bald-headed (?) man with forked tail, probably a form of the *peshken* amulet.

971. Plundered chamber, no bones remaining. At north end two pots, 54s and 63y. The other pot, 49l, was at the north end of shaft. At the south end of chamber were the remains of a wooden box, 17 ins. wide by 11 ins. high. In it were two alabaster vases, mirror, and lump of quartzite. One button-amulet was found in the sifting. Group pl. xlv.

1007. Undisturbed grave of adult female. Traces of wooden coffin. Two pots in north-east corner. Mirror to north of head, and with it a few green glaze cylinder beads. Alabaster vase in front of

face. At neck the hippopotamus seal-amulet, and a string of mixed beads of carnelian, shell, blue and black glaze, gold, silver, and stone; also amulets, mostly of carnelian. No doubt from the ankles came the two carnelian legs and *Conus* shells, though their position was not actually observed. Anklets of these shells with the leg amulets were frequently found.

1013. All the offering pots in the chamber still had their conical mud sealings. There were sixteen in all: two of 43b, six of 63r, and six of 77d. Three dishes, 3k, were on the top of the others. 77g was out in the shaft filling, as was also the alabaster, pl. xxvii, 92.

1019. The chamber had been re-used in the xviiiith dyn. The body and two pots were in position. At the north end still remained the two pots of the older interment. On the floor of the shaft we found the bones of the original owner; the plunderers had dragged them out for examination, and the re-users had not troubled to remove them. With the bones in the shaft were the mirror, quartzite grinder, a few beads, and part of an ivory scoop or spoon, inscribed with a funerary formula, unhappily illegible, pl. xl, 1.

1023. Simple grave with unbaked clay coffin, painted red inside. Extended body of young female, hands at sides. Large bowl on coffin over head; smaller bowl over feet inside coffin. Long string of blue and black ring beads from waist, with a few silver. Blue glaze button, pl. xxxii, 67. Intact.

1029. Undisturbed adult female. No pottery. One alabaster at feet. A carnelian leg amulet 6 ins. above each ankle. A couple of carnelian beads at right wrist.

1036. Re-used and twice-plundered chamber. One vith-dyn. pot, and a blue glaze scarab of the xixth dyn.

1037. Shaft grave. Wooden coffin containing undisturbed young female. A few gold beads, and a string of carnelian at neck. Blue and black glaze ring beads at wrists and chest. At ankles, leg amulets with *Conus* shells, and a few stone beads. Two alabaster vases and a mirror at hands before face. Two copper fastenings showed that they had been in a small toilet box.

71. 1066. Adult female in chamber on west, untouched. On neck and chest a variety of beads, all of stone, with amulets in carnelian and ivory, and an ivory button, pl. xxxii, 66. Just behind

the head an alabaster vase, pl. xxix, 206, old and broken, a piece of quartzite, and some of the galena to be ground on it. A copper hook showed there had been a box to contain these objects.

1072. All the plunderers had left were the legs, at the bottom of the shaft. On the ankles the leg amulets in carnelian remained, each with a string of ten *Conus* shells.

1084. One of the few cases where the coffin was sufficiently well preserved to be examined. Size 71 × 23 × 15 ins. Wood 1½ in. thick. Mitred corners joined by diagonal pegs of wood. Three pots along east side. Untouched adult male within.

1096. The shaft was bricked round down to a height of 43 ins. from the floor. The burial was covered by a brick vault. At the extreme south end a small hole had been left in the crown of the vaulting. This was covered on the outside by a loose brick laid across it. We must suppose that this aperture was desired for the admission of incense, or for the exit and return of the *ba*. It was not observed in other brick roofings, but these were very rarely intact. Wooden coffin, with burial of a male (probably), as no objects were with it, except six pots in the south-east corner, three being of type 77a.

1154. This grave may be rather earlier, the shaft being of the square type. No trace of body. Mirror lying in the large dish 7h, which had probably originally held the calf's bones which were scattered in the chamber. Scraps of model vessels were also found: ewer, basin, tall stand, and bowl. Those which could be sufficiently reconstructed are shown on pl. xl, 18. There was also a piece of carved bone, pl. xl, 2, perhaps part of a cylindrical vase. We found nothing similar to it elsewhere.

1201. Partly plundered body, probably female. Long string of black and blue glaze ring beads wound round body (?); a few carnelian and gold beads. Alabaster vase pl. xxvii, 105. Pots thrown out into shaft.

1203A. Chamber broken into by tomb 1203, 36 ins. lower. Only north end remained. In it the two vith-dyn. pots in position. Tomb 1203 is of the next period, vii-viii dyns., by its pottery.

Hemamieh

72. 1536. Pot 89m came from the filling of the shaft. Pot 29c was at the north end of grave, 15 ins. above head. Body intact.

1585. Untouched adult female in wooden coffin.

String of black glaze ring beads with a few shell. Pot 20d in north-west corner. Toilet pot (?) 6y close to the face.

1598. Unusual in many ways. The shaft was not of the usual dimensions, more square; the floor sloped into the chamber on west. In the chamber and shaft were five bodies, all plundered: two adult, two young, and one child. One pot, 65g, in north-east corner of shaft. The multiple burial seemed more like a later xviii-dyn. re-use, but a string of blue glaze and white glaze ring beads with three usual amulets of the vith dyn. (hand, Hathor-head, and Anubis?) came from the chamber. These had presumably belonged to the child.

1923. Shaft lined with mud-plastered bricks to a depth of 42 ins. Thickness of lining 19 ins. At the north end there was a little step in the brickwork 7 ins. wide and 8½ ins. deep from the top. There may have been the same along the east side. This might have been to take some sort of plank roofing. Chamber on east. Intact supine adult. North of head two pots, 49k.

1935. Small child placed in an irregular hole with two pots.

1959. Untouched adult male in wooden coffin plastered white inside. In front of the knees the pot 35w. At right elbow a flint flake and crocodile plate. These probably belong to the early village rubbish in which the grave was dug, and had dropped in with the filling. We constantly found scraps of charcoal in the graves which had come from the same source.

1960. Adult female in plastered wooden coffin. North of coffin four pots. Alabaster vase, pl. xxviii, 142. Copper mirror laid on lid of coffin. Unplundered.

1976. Coffin plastered inside, with semi-contracted body of young woman (?). Alabaster vase, pl. xxvii, 90, between legs. String of black glaze ring beads at neck, with two blue glaze barrels, and two amulets, one a lion's head. One pot, pink ware with buff slip.

1991. Young female, disturbed, feet missing, probably the result of later grave digging. Two pots north of and above head. Beads from neck: string of steatite barrels, with a few cylinders, black glaze rings threaded with copper rings and a few carnelian, and two amulets, a man with palms in copper, and couchant lion in cobalt-blue glaze.

73. 2001. Chamber on west, roof fallen in and so protecting the burial. Male adult, almost supine,

hands down. Pots in a row along the east side. Two of 49q. At north end of row, 35s. Copper spear-head, pl. xxxviii, 6, over face. In north-east corner the bones of the leg, and in the south-east corner the skull of a calf. Intact.

2023. Toilet pot 82k in front of face, so probably a female burial. The two offering pots south-east of coffin. Untouched.

2026. Toilet pot 89b over feet; other pots north of head.

2034. Quite plundered; remains of two bodies in the one grave.

2057. Walling of chamber in two sections, one, 22 ins. long at north end, 12 ins. farther from west wall than the other, thus giving more room for the seven pots grouped round the head. The tall pot 95t (*hes*-vase?) 20 ins. down the shaft in the filling, with fragments of other pottery.

2058. An interesting find, unique in many ways. A very rough hole only 11 ins. deep had been dug in a tomb shaft, and in it had been placed the body of an adult male. He lay face downwards, legs slightly bent, right arm along side, left arm twisted round over the back. The legs were at a rather higher level than the head. Under the face was a group of bone implements consisting of two spatulae (?) and seven small polishers (??), pl. xl, 13. No pottery. Round the neck an assortment of beads which can, fortunately, be certainly dated to the vith dyn. Such are the large steatite cylinders, and the long steatite beads with square section (77f₃, f₆). With them were a hawk's head on a cross-bar in carnelian, a very detailed grasshopper, and a cow being milked, the last two of green glazed steatite. All three were well worn, and the last considerably broken. All the circumstances point to the man having been hurriedly and carelessly interred. The grave is very shallow, not much more than a chance hole scooped out in haste. The body looked as if it had been flung in anyhow. There were no offering pots of any kind. The man's tools (?), perhaps once in a bag suspended from his neck, had fallen close to his face. And the amulets are totally unlike any that we found in a regular burial. In fact I know of no similar ones at all except perhaps the grasshopper, and that only in later times. It seems certain that the man's body was, for some reason, put away without any of the proper ceremonial, and that his necklace and charms were what he was wearing when he met a probably violent death. The skull was not injured.

2062. Chamber on west with male body and four pots at head. Another chamber to the north, collapsed, with a second male burial; one pot, 43b, at entrance. Not plundered.

2083. Bodies of two children, side by side, supine, hands down. Various beads, including some carnelian rings and serpentine cylinders, probably Predynastic re-used. Various amulets and two filed cowries.

2097. Alabaster vases in the filling of shaft. Two carnelian legs, but only one *Conus* shell recovered.

2099. Disturbed male body, with very small child on chest. Pot north of head. Beads and amulets round child's neck.

2103. Body of adult, plundered, in chamber Over it a small child. Two pots north of the head of the first. Two pots over child's head, and one, 70, just underneath.

Badari

74. 3111. Recess at north end of grave to receive the three pots, 22 × 15 × 28 ins.

3125. Bricked grave, with flat brick roofing. Wooden coffin with lid 1½ in. thick. Adult female, hands at sides. One pot in north-east over coffin. At feet, small wooden box, 8½ ins. cubic, wood ¾ in. thick, inside painted white, copper fastenings. In the box, four alabaster vases, pl. xxvii, 68, 81, 136, 144; the button pl. xxxii, 36; some eleven varieties of amulets in blue glaze (one of ivory); sliced shells; blue glaze, black glaze, and crumb beads. The alabaster vases are of an early type, some having flat bases; the button has the earlier form of ridge back and is of ivory; the sliced shells are early vith as a rule; and the form of grave is like those of the vth dyn.

3128. Burial of full-grown female, head and arms removed. One pot in south-west corner of grave. Alabaster cylinder vase, pl. xxvi, 13, in north-west corner of coffin.

3136. Plundered grave. West side lined with bricks, 20 ins. up, plastered and whitewashed. Coffin measured 70 × 19 × 11 ins. At north end of grave, pots 8u and 8s; in south-east corner, 60k, covered by 8j; centre of south side, 63y.

3143. Chamber on west running somewhat beyond north end of pit. Small separate recess to the south in line with south end of pit, 30 ins. cubic. A few broken bones only, and three pots scattered in chamber. A few beads in the filling of the shaft.

In the recess, traces of plastered box with copper fastenings, containing three stone vases, pl. xxvi, 5, 127, 155. The diorite vase, 5, is probably an old one of the iind or iiird dyn.; 155 is very finely worked, with a separate neck.

3150. Coffin wood, 2 ins. thick.

3160. Loosely contracted female in shallow hole. Five strings of beads at neck. Two of blue glaze rings, larger ones at intervals, with one small lion amulet and one small crumb bead; two of black glaze rings with occasional larger ones; one string of very minute black rings.

3166. Bricked grave; walls 40 ins. high, but vault, if any, gone. Burial undisturbed. Coffin wood 1 in. thick, with mitred joints. Whitewashed in and out. Skull resting on a brick as pillow. Two pots in north-east corner, both 65l.

3172. Coffin wood 1½ in. thick, joints mitred. Holes in wood filled up with plaster. Painted white inside, brown outside. Two pots to north of coffin. Untouched adult male.

3173. A bricked grave with an intrusive burial of an infant inside a two-handled pot of late date, about xxvith dyn. This was intact. In the filling of the grave were the three large and unusual beads, copied from open metal-work, 80d₄, 80d₁₄, and 80d₁₆. Professor Petrie found a similar one in grave 7925 (80d₁₂). This tomb had a chamber on south with two pots of late vith-dyn. date. Our grave was of early vith-dyn. type. This evidence is sufficient to justify the inclusion of these beads in the *corpus*.

3188. Semi-contracted immature body in wood coffin lined with stucco. Separate strings of blue and black glaze ring beads at the neck. String of ivory lion amulets at ankles, with one blue glaze ichneumon. The other eleven amulets, all of blue glaze, in nine varieties, were at the wrists. Anklets with amulets other than legs were most unusual.

3191. Grave in loose early *sebakh* (village rubbish), 25 ins. deep. Young female in wooden coffin. Small globular alabaster under head. Copper mirror. Beads at neck including copper rings, steatite cylinders, and small spheroids, and fifteen carnelian barrels; one blue glaze cylinder, and a shapeless broken drop bead of dark blue glaze.

3195. Three bodies side by side in one grave dug in loose *sebakh*. All of one date, but in very different attitudes. For details see Register.

75. 3202. One of the very few graves with a royal name. Chamber on west fallen in. Adult female, knees flexed, left hand down, right fore-arm bent

at right angles. One pot at the head, 68p. Two alabaster vases at the feet, pl. xxvi, 28, 197, the latter broken at the top. Vase 28 is inscribed with the name of King Nefer-ka-ra, beloved of Khnum lord of Sesh (pl. xli, 17). At the neck one cylinder bead of steatite. The burial was quite intact. The king is no doubt Pepy II, though there were other kings Nefer-ka-ra. The type of pot is generally found in earlier graves, seven examples being placed in the v-vith dyns. division; and the single cylinder bead is also generally rather earlier. The burial with the name of Queen Pepy-ankh-nes, of the same reign, was found close by. For the group see pl. xlv.

3217. The most interesting group of this date that we found. Shallow grave, 41 ins. deep. The northern part of the grave had been entirely cut away by a Roman burial. Of the body nothing had been left above the knees, so that we have no necklaces or offering pots. Traces of wood coffin. In the south-west corner of the grave were a toilet vase, 89q₂, in polished black ware. Two alabaster vases, pl. xxvi, 29, 80, the one a wide cylinder with flanged rim and foot, inscribed with the name of Queen Pepy-ankh-nes, the other a collar-neck combined with ring-stand, in pink-banded alabaster; for the inscription see pl. xli, 16. An elaborate natural shell (*Strombus tricornis*?) was with these, carved with dog's head and monkey, and having a ram's head added in clay and limestone. The spout is of thin bone. In it was a large circular button-amulet of bone, with shank back, pl. xxxii, 60. Bone spoon, handle ending in hand with bent fingers, and bone spatula, pl. xl, 7, 8. With these objects a few beads, steatite cylinder, steatite barrel, and two copper rings. Also one amulet (a blue glaze cowry) and two sliced shells. The group is shown in photograph pl. xlix.

3230. Young female, plastered wooden coffin. Two pots near head. Untouched. At neck, string of small carnelian ring beads; also long string of black glaze rings, with occasional large carnelian rings; one calcite spheroid, and a quartz pebble cylinder. At the ankles, a pair of carnelian legs, but not other beads or shells.

3232. Young girl with one pot and various necklaces; one of these was of small ring beads, alternately black and white glaze; the others of larger blue and black rings, mostly black, with a few carnelian; steatite cylinders and barrel as centre-pieces.

3250. Old man with heels under pelvis, untouched. In north-west corner of grave, covered by three bricks, the spout pot 92a. The date of this is doubtful, as we found no other like it. The attitude also is found at any time from the vth to the xth dyns. The vith dyn. seems the most likely date.

3298. Plundered grave. Plastered coffin. Pot 89a with two holes in the rim, clay stopper in position. Copper mirror. Pyramidal seal-amulet, pl. xxxii, 10. Date uncertain. The pot cannot be intrusive, as the sealing was intact. The other example of the type was found in a ix-xth dyn. grave. The best pyramidal seals are vth and vith dyns. This is degraded in design. Possibly vii-viii dyns. would be a better date for the interment.

76. 4823. Old male, head resting on two half-bricks placed at right angles to each other.

4830. Adult female; string of steatite cylinders at neck; copper mirror at hands.

4837. Disturbed female; one steatite cylinder bead, probably the only one; bracelet of horn or possibly tortoise-shell.

4850. Untouched adult female, four pots north of head. Two necklaces of blue glaze and black glaze ring beads, each with a button-amulet, pl. xxxiii, 41, 86. One of these has a ridge back, the other a wide shank.

4851. Chamber on west not disturbed. Coffin of wood 1½ in. thick, stuccoed both in and out. Two pots at north end. Inside the coffin two alabaster vases, pl. xxix, 199, 211, both worn and old. Adult female; no beads or amulets.

4853. Adult female; north end of chamber cleared out, no bones left above pelvis, no pots and no beads. Inside the coffin by the feet, small box, 6 × 9 ins., with copper fastening, painted pink inside and brown out. In it three alabaster vases, pl. xxvii, 67, 96, 112, all with more or less flat bases, the early type of collar-necked vase.

4856. Another case of intact burial in a shaft, and plundered body in chamber. Pot in chamber, type 43n, vi-viii dyns. Quartzite grinder, same range of date. Alabaster vase, pl. xxvii, 65, in shaft, near head of body, of vith dyn. or a little later. Like 789, the burial in the chamber seems to have been robbed when the interment was made in the shaft.

4885. Chamber on west, empty. On floor of shaft, untouched burial of adult female in wooden coffin. Three pots north-west of head. One carnelian cylinder bead at neck.

4904. Only legs left in position with pair of carnelian leg amulets. One pot in north-east corner of grave.

4916. Remains of two bodies in chamber on west. A few carnelian, steatite, and gold beads.

4930. Young child in wooden coffin. One toilet pot, polished red ware, before face. Pair of leg amulets from ankles, *Conus* shells at wrists, an unusual position.

77. 5316. Old female lying extended, hands down, in wooden coffin, apparently on a bed of fine grey ash. This may have been the remains of linen bandages. Two pots at head. Old small collar-necked alabaster vase (not drawn). A few poor glaze beads at neck.

5328. Chamber on west walled up with rough stones. Young female, knees flexed, hands down. At neck one barrel carnelian. At feet five pots: the model ewer, 90y, roughly made; the small basin, 4m, of poorly polished red; the deep carinated bowl, 13r, in pinky drab, not surfaced; the ring-stand, 97p, roughly made, covered with a red slip; and the buff pot, 72t. This tomb is probably rather earlier than vith dyn. The blocking of rough stones is like that of the earlier graves close by, and the pot, 72t, is of a series usually found in the vth dyn.

78. 5523. Young male with two pots, one hand at face, the other down. Alongside this grave were two others exactly similar, containing male bodies but no pots. One had both arms down, the other both hands before the face. Knees flexed at the same angle in all three.

5534. Shallow grave of mature female. The legs had disappeared, as the south part of the grave had been cut into by a Roman burial. Round the neck were various amulets and beads threaded on three strands of vegetable fibre. These are shown as a group on pl. xlviii. The amulets were of bone and blue glaze, the beads of blue glaze, black glaze, and steatite. An excellent example of roughish amulets of an early date. The spiral cylinder beads, the crumb beads, and the sliced shells are all characteristic of the vith dyn.

5535. Burial of another female in grave close to 5534. Reed coffin. Box at feet with five alabaster vases, pl. xxvii, 43, 44, 54, 112, and 107. None of them are of the long collar-necked type. With them was the carefully treasured scrap of a small alabaster cylinder jar of earlier date, pl. xxvi, 39, with a bone spatula, pl. xl, 6. The box also contained a few odd beads, including the broken

half of a carnelian barrel, two crumb beads, lion, Hathor-head, dog amulet, and a sliced shell. At each wrist was a bracelet of tiny blue glaze amulets, of almost identical composition; and at the neck, a set of amulets in carnelian and other stones, with beads in the same materials. Another clear case of very good and very poor amulets being found on one body and so probably of the same date. Each string is shown separately in the group, pl. xlviii.

5542. Undisturbed adult, perhaps male. Two pots, 33l, at north end of chamber. One cylinder bead in steatite. Steatite button-amulet, pl. xxxii, 37, with ridge back. Close to left elbow an old battered Predynastic barrel vase in grey marble.

5544. Young female in reed coffin, mostly cut away by a Roman burial, only the head, forearms, and a few vertebrae remaining. Eight necklaces of amulets threaded on fibre. The fibre was covered with buttonholed thread to keep the amulets spaced; see pl. xlviii. We had often wondered previously how this was done. The strings, as far as could be ascertained, were as follows: (1) human heads in bone; (2) the larger blue glaze amulets; (3) smaller blue glaze amulets, bone lions, and spiral cylinders; (4) short steatite cylinders; (5) copper ring beads (omitted from Register); (6) sliced shells; (7) long cylinders and crumb beads; (8) small blue glaze amulets and barrel beads. The strings were all welded together in decayed bandages, and it was difficult to be sure of the exact arrangement. In dissecting the mass two kinds of fine net were found; one, mixed with strands of hair, was extremely delicate, almost like tulle; we preserved a scrap with celluloid. The other, rather coarser, was at the neck with the necklaces, under the wrappings.

Qau, Southern Cemetery. Professor Petrie's work

79. 7333. Chamber on west, with untouched burial of a young female, extended, hands down. Traces of wrappings. Mirror wrapped in cloth. Two alabaster vases, together with a pebble and sherd of buff pottery, under the right elbow. Group pl. xlv.

7334. Untouched burial of a young female in chamber probably on south. Three pots. One long collar-necked (?) alabaster vase with the neck missing. Copper mirror. Two gold bangles and gold amulets of lion and double crown. Small black and white glaze ring beads. String of carnelian ring

beads. Tiny gold beads. Group pl. xlv. This tomb may very well be of the next period. All the other seven tombs in which gold bangles were found are of the vii-viii dyns., or even later.

7356. Chamber on west with disturbed male (?) body, and pots, also copper model tools; two axes and two adzes. At a depth of 60 ins. in the shaft a disturbed child burial with carnelian and glaze amulets and beads.

7373. Plundered; traces of wooden coffin. At the head, pot 68q. Above coffin in south-east corner (?), pot 77v. Three collar-neck alabaster vases, and carnelian amulets. Group pl. xlv.

7525. Intact burial in chamber on west. Contracted male. Two pots; vase of red-veined limestone; quartzite grinder; two leg amulets, and button-amulet in carnelian; shells (*Conus* ?); string of ring beads, black glaze, green glaze, and carnelian. Group pl. xlv. Mis-sexed?

7539. Two bodies, lying one above the other. The lower had the head tilted right back, but was not otherwise disturbed, apparently. There was another skull in the south-west corner of the coffin, but nothing to indicate if it had been placed there at the same time as the body, the wood of the coffin having quite perished. One pot in north-east corner of grave, 63r. Female. The upper coffin also contained a female, partly disturbed. Pot in north-west corner, 68n. A necklace of green glaze beads, amulets, and shells. The upper coffin was not immediately over the lower one.

7540. Chamber on west; un plundered female; two pots, two alabaster vases, one with no neck; sandstone grinder, mirror, button with eye; hand amulet, black glaze ring beads at neck, carnelian and glaze beads at wrists. Infant laid over legs. For group see pl. xlv.

7568. Simple grave of plundered female. Three pots in position. On shelf, 18 ins. up at north end of pit, wooden box containing one alabaster vase.

7755. Intact chamber on west. Body with knees flexed, face up. At north end of room, group of five pots; five collar-necked toilet vases, four being of alabaster and one of hard limestone; a cup of black stone and a cuplet. Group pl. xlv.

7763. Female and child; wooden coffin, 1½ in. thick, covered with painted plaster. Pot and two bowls to east of coffin, also box of stuccoed wood containing one alabaster vase. Pyramidal seal of steatite. Hand, lion, and crocodile amulets in carnelian, blue, and green glaze respectively; blue

glaze and steatite cylinders and crumb beads. Group pl. xlv. Undisturbed.

7785. Intact burial of a female. Coffin wood $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. thick. Two small toilet pots, one black, one red, together with alabaster vase in box at north end of grave. Box measures $9 \times 8\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ ins.; stuccoed and painted red; wood $\frac{1}{4}$ in. thick. Large button and pyramidal seal-amulets. Various amulets and beads, including crumbed. Group pl. xliii.

7828. Pit with bench on west side, 12 ins. wide, a feature not seen in other graves; perhaps unfinished. Disturbed male burial. Pots at north end of bench.

7835. Plundered shaft tomb. Glaze and carnelian beads; leg and eye amulets in carnelian. Unusual form of alabaster toilet vase. Group pl. xlv.

7848. Simple grave. Adult female, head only disturbed. Four pots, alabaster vase, button-amulet, and carnelian beads. Group pl. xlv.

CHAPTER XIII

DETAILS OF GRAVES OF THE SEVENTH-EIGHTH DYNASTIES

Qau, Southern Cemetery

80. 590. MOSTLY disturbed. Mirror at hand; four alabaster vases at south end.

616. Floor of shaft sloping down to chamber on south. Three pots in north-east corner of chamber; one, 4k, a large dish, at feet. Probably a male burial.

737. Young child with leg amulets at ankles and a necklace of carnelian, and blue glaze, ring beads, strung one red, two blue, with a few steatite and copper.

739. Shaft with sloping floor; pots in a row all along east wall of chamber, including the toilet pot 82p. Mirror in front of face. Lump of galena.

761. Pot, 22f, from south end of shaft. Others 55 ins. higher in the filling.

772. Date uncertain; the garnet beads may be xith or xiith dyn.

908. Entrance to room bricked up, and bones in position, but no skull; removed by undertakers? The burial was male and is not likely to have had a necklace. See Section 30.

941. Two alabaster vases at south end.

980. Two pots in position in north-west corner.

The bowl 8n was not in position, and may either be intrusive or a re-use.

998. Floor of shaft sloping into room on north. Room too short for body, an adult male. Legs protruding into shaft. Not robbed. In front of face, pot 26l. At feet, 49l.

1018. Group pl. xlv. Plundered grave with bones apparently male.

1022. Chamber on west with body of adult female. Head and right arm removed, but right hand and other bones in position. Pot 43n in north-west corner of room with 7k, which had been used by the robbers for scraping out graves. Beads in position on neck and ankles. We may suppose there had been gold on the right wrist. Alabaster vase, mirror, and quartzite grinder. This burial may equally well be dated to the vith dyn.

1030. Young female in room on south, floor of shaft sloping. The body was partly disturbed, the head, vertebrae, and ribs being 20 ins. from the rest of the body. Necklaces of carnelian, blue, black, and white glaze ring beads. String of tiny gold beads and amulets. Over 70 minute amulets in openwork blue glaze, most of them with core dissolved in the glaze. On each wrist a gold bangle, with overlapping ends. At the ankles carnelian legs with beads of carnelian and other stones, and *Conus* shells. Perhaps there were two pairs of anklets, one of legs and shells, the other of the beads. There had been a wooden trinket box, as one copper fastener was found. In the north-east corner were the two alabasters pl. xxviii, 145, 148; in the north-west corner three mirrors of different sizes, pl. xxxix, 5, 6, 7, placed together vertically. No pots. For the group see pl. xlv; anklets and bangles, photograph pl. xxxv; group of amulets from neck, pl. xlviii.

1059. Coffin plastered white inside.

1086. Pots arranged in a row along the east side of room, except 49m, which stood at the entrance. The animal bones were with the dishes.

1103. Steeply sloping floor. Mirror at face. Pots in north-east corner: wall slightly recessed to take them.

1115. A similar burial; untouched adult female. Mirror in front of face, and four pots in a row. At feet, two alabaster vases, pl. xxviii, 114, 205; quartzite grinder; and the toilet pot 81b in polished red ware; also three little copper hooks and nail (from box). Necklaces of carnelian, blue, and black

glaze ring beads. The amulets and button-amulet are probably from the neck or wrists; the carnelian legs and *Conus* shells from the ankles.

Hemamieh

81. 1522. Chamber on west, but not whole length of shaft. Untouched adult female. One pot at head. Long necklaces of blue and black glaze rings, one *ankh* amulet, and the shank only of a button-amulet. This suggests that it had been worn during life.

1533. Pot in shaft, not in chamber. Traces of stucco mask.

1556. Body completely covered with bricks.

1572. Both pots in position at north end of chamber; an obvious re-use of a Protodynastic pot 99x₄.

1578. Alabaster, quartzite grinder, and toilet pot 83p inside coffin at feet.

1594. Chamber on north, pots in south-west corner, the most convenient position for the burial party.

1680. Undisturbed young female in south chamber, supine, with hands at sides, but face east. Sandstone grinder and toilet pot, 82s, close to head; two pots in north-east corner. Necklace of carnelian with a few glaze beads and two scarabs. Carnelian beads at each wrist, carnelian legs at ankles. The scarabs, pl. xxxiii, 156, 167, are, one of the early flat kind, the other with a design such as is found on button-amulets.

1751. Chamber on south, with rough walling of big stones. Young girl, not disturbed. Toilet pot, 80n, at head. Two dumpy alabaster vases. Necklaces of small blue and black ring beads, and of large carnelian, with ibis amulet in gold-plated copper. Large black ring beads round chest and waist. Oval with maze pattern. See group pl. xlvii.

1936. Shaft recessed on the east for the coffin. Three pots north of head. Dumpy alabaster vase, pl. xxviii, 170, in front of face, and quartzite grinder behind head. The grinder shows traces of black paint on one side and of red paint on the other. Very long string of black glaze and shell ring beads round neck and waist, crossing over on chest.

1940. Shaft with a recess cut away along half the west side and all the south. A small worked flint and small pieces of charcoal found with the body no doubt belong to the Predynastic village rubbish in which the grave was dug.

1950. Sides of shaft bricked to a depth of 42 ins., but not plastered. Chamber on south, roof fallen in. Seven pots in a row along west side.

1975. An inner and outer coffin. Toilet, 87k, at head: pot, 28q, under the body, which was not disturbed. Long string of beads and amulets at neck and down to pelvis. Legs of light cobalt-blue glaze with *Conus* shells at ankles. Some of the amulets, among them one or two of carnelian, were broken when placed on the body.

1977. Adult female with toilet pot 60r, mirror, and quartzite grinder between right hand and face. Pot 43b at knees. Anklets of *Conus* shells with carnelian legs. Necklace of carnelian beads; also long string of black glaze ring beads with amulets, and the button-amulet pl. xxxiii, 98, in ivory. This burial may equally well be dated to the vith dyn.

1981. Simple grave, undisturbed. Female adult with two pots, 49m, to west of legs. Long strings of black and blue glaze ring beads; short string of blue glazed steatite barrels; short string of gold ring beads with a gold *uzat*. Five gold amulets (kneeling man with palm branches) were on the skull, one being in each eye-socket with some of the small gold ring beads. Perhaps they had formed a head-band. From the neck probably came the button and the frog seal-amulets ppl. xxxii, 87, and xxxiii, 116. Pair of carnelian legs at the ankles.

2007. Room all round south-east corner of shaft; floor of room 7 ins. higher than floor of shaft. Disturbed adult burial. Three pots, 54b, and one pot, 49q, at head; 21d and 49k at feet.

2017. Secondary burial in the shaft of tomb 2032. Both untouched and of the same date. Wife below, husband above?

2039. Shaft bricked round and mud-plastered to a depth of 32 ins.

2040. Adult female, supine, hands at sides, face east. Three pots, 28k, east of head. Mirror, pl. xxxix, 25, under head. Long necklace of black glaze ring beads with one carnelian barrel, and frog seal-amulet. At feet two grinders of quartzite, *Spatha* shell, short string of black glaze ring beads, and the two copper fasteners of a trinket box.

Badari

82. 3105. Bricked grave with arched roof, 31 × 79 ins. inside, 35 ins. high to crown of arch outside. The arch is formed of two layers of bricks. The centre brick of the lower layer is shaped to form

a regular key-stone, all the bricks being laid as stretchers. Plundered remains, probably female, with alabaster, pl. xxvii, 79, at south end, a bead or two of carnelian and steatite, and the copper loops from a casket. At the north end were the jaw and leg bone of a calf (?), unusual with female burials.

3106. Shaft with chambers on north and south. Both were bricked up, and probably untouched; but the upper part of the south wall had broken down. In the north chamber a female with necklace of black glaze ring beads and a few blue. Four pots east of feet. In the south room a male apparently, with the alabaster pl. xxix, 183, behind head, and three pots at north end.

3114. Chamber on north, plundered. In the shaft were the globular vase of pinkish limestone pl. xxviii, 146, and the toilet pot 81p. Seven pots in south-east corner of room. From the remains inside we gathered a few beads, one being of gold, and the copper loop from a trinket box.

3147. Shaft and chamber of unusual dimensions, both being only half the usual length. Untouched, partly contracted, young female. Three pots in a hollowing-out of west side of room. Necklaces of black glaze ring beads with a few blue, and of steatite barrels. Carnelian legs on ankles with a few blue glaze rings.

3175. An unusually well-made tomb. Shaft, with sloping floor, entirely lined with bricks. Room on south lined, and roofed with bricks forming a gable. Two coffins, the outer 1½ and the inner 2 ins. thick. The space between the coffins, 1½ in. wide, was filled with mud. Row of eight pots along east wall, there being five of type 77f. This was the only case in which we found anything like a *hes*-vase (995n, 95s) in position. The incense-burner, to hold in the hand, 98d, is interesting. A couple of beads were all that was left of the ornaments.

3211. Alabaster, pl. xxvii, 72, and green glaze pot, pl. xxix, 2, together in shaft.

3220. Undisturbed adult female, contracted, and untouched. In north-east corner of grave regular late O.K. toilet pot 81r. From neck to waist long strings of black and blue glaze ring beads, with a few steatite cylinders, and amulets of blue glaze. Three *Spatha* shells, a quartzite grinder, and a fish spine (*Lates niloticus*).

3270. Grave of a young woman, not plundered. Pot 54t and the toilet pot 89o at head. Alabaster, pl. xxviii, 165, and mirror with part of its wooden handle, pl. xxxix, 24, in front of face. Long strings

of blue and black ring beads at neck; also necklace of carnelian and an ivory lion amulet. The pyramidal seal-amulet pl. xxxii, 14, was no doubt at the neck.

3289. Group pl. xlvi. Simple grave, undisturbed. Adult female. Three pots in north-eastern corner outside coffin, two being 350. Two alabaster vases and sandstone grinder in front of face inside coffin. Necklaces, carnelian rings, big black rings, and small blue and black glaze ring beads. Short string of gold rings with one gold cylinder. Three amulets of blue glaze. Also two leg-amulets of blue glaze.

83. 3306. Tightly contracted immature body, probably female; untouched. One pot, 48p. Seven necklaces: short one of gold rings; black rings; blue rings; string of black and white alternately (86n₁₄); smaller blue rings (86n₆); black and white alternately (86m₂₀ and 86b₆) with a few carnelian; also two amulets. At waist long strings of blue and black glaze rings of four sizes, and the two seal-amulets pl. xxxiii, 128, 134, with hippopotamus heads. On each ankle two anklets: one of a carnelian leg with fourteen *Conus* shells; the other of a blue glaze leg with fourteen flat blue glaze two-holed oval disks (95c₉) threaded to lie flat and end to end.

3313. Body on floor of shaft, partly disturbed. Pots at north end of room, also the vase of mottled limestone pl. xxviii, 163. Long string of black glaze ring beads at neck; a few of carnelian; one of crystal; and the square button pl. xxxii, 52.

3424. Chamber on south blocked with rough stones. Woman, in coffin plastered white. Pots along east side. Quartzite grinder and galena on chest. Necklace of black glaze ring beads and circular seal-amulet with boss back, pl. xxxiv, 221. Intact.

3425. Group pl. xlvi. Girl in coffin, white inside, in chamber on south. Two pots in the filling. Alabaster behind head. Necklace of green glaze ring beads with centre pendant, and small gold ibis. Not disturbed.

3513. Very small chamber to north. Coffin of thin wood whitened inside. Pot 23r east of coffin. Bowl 8q in shaft inverted over what may have been bread or cake.

3747. Simple grave. Adult female on right side; much long black wavy hair, not plaited. One pot. Necklaces of green and of blue glaze ring beads; colours quite distinct.

3748. Grave bricked all round, and perhaps over. Group pl. xlv. Female adult, linen wrappings still visible, plundered from waist up. Alabaster vase at feet, filled with red powder (ochre?), and loose hair. Bone pin or awl. Loose in the rubbish was the fine frog seal-amulet pl. xxviii, 115, with design of four ibexes conjoined.

84. 4842. Head resting on half a brick. Necklet of gold, carnelian, and steatite beads, with one of glazed quartz.

4863. Small chamber on west, containing contracted child of about ten. Wavy-mouthed pot, 91rw, with black band inside rim, in shaft. Collar-necked alabaster vase, three amulets of carnelian and ivory, and one steatite cylinder. Untouched.

4865. Burial in shaft of 4864.

4866. Coffin painted deep cream outside. Adult male with head resting on brick. Two pots, 33h, at head.

4870. Chamber on west, quite plundered. Bones of adult female. Part of an alabaster cylinder jar with the cartouche of Nefer-ka-ra pl. xxvi, 30, inscription pl. xli, 15. Two *Conus* shells. The shells on the ankles are most common just after the vith dyn., so the grave has been included in the vii-viii dyns. section. The vase may well have been handed down for a generation or two.

4903. A simple grave, 6 ft. deep, with the untouched burial of a young woman, knees flexed, hands before face. In north-east corner of grave, pot 33h. Mirror in front of face. Close to pelvis, toilet pot 8ot and box with copper fastener. Vase of black and white marble, pl. xxvi, 3, probably a much earlier one re-used. With the vase, apparently in a leather bag, some galena, a bone pin, a green jasper pebble, traces of red haematite, a *Conus* shell, a broken blue glaze amulet, and some human hair. Six different strings of beads from the neck and waist: black glaze rings; blue glaze rings; carnelian rings; small black glaze rings threaded in groups with gold and blue glaze cylinders; blue glazed steatite and gold cylinders; and black glaze and gold cylinders. Also a spiral cylinder of cobalt-blue glaze, one or two crumb beads, and four gold amulets (man with palms). Two button-amulets, pl. xxxii, 84 from neck, and pl. xxxii, 92 from waist. A very varied outfit. At each ankle the usual string of *Conus* shells with a carnelian leg.

4947. Chamber on south with the walling-up intact. Adult female on left side, hands at sides,

in wooden coffin. Pots west of coffin. Copper mirror close to head. Two gold bracelets, pl. xxix, 17. Long strings of black glaze and shell ring beads. String of gold ring beads. Various carnelian, steatite, and turquoise beads. Amulets in carnelian, turquoise, lazuli, and gold (the vulture and uraeus 65c₃), with one only in green glaze, 34f₃. Hemi-cylinder seal-amulet in steatite with figure of Set (?) pl. xxxii, 23, and the gold scarab pl. xxxiii, 137, with a crocodile on the base.

4948. Deep shaft with chamber on south containing the burial of an adult male, supine, extended, hands at sides, face east. Head resting on alabaster pillow, pl. xli, 31. Fifteen pots and bowls, there being four of type 47l, three of 50m, and two of 7x. In the latter were a calf's skull and leg bones.

4951. Chamber on south walled up with bricks and stones. Pot 53k, toilet pot 83h, quartzite grinder and alabaster vase pl. xxviii, 164, all in front of face. Mirror at hands. Plaster mask on head. At neck short string of gold beads, string of carnelian, odd beads in serpentine and steatite, with a few garnet and olivine ring beads (probably Predynastic) and a gold ball-bead in two halves. Also seven amulets in carnelian and blue glaze.

4961. Child with necklet of tiny blue glaze and carnelian ring beads, threaded in groups of ten or twelve blue and two red.

4964. Chamber on north, fallen in. Adult male on left side, hands down; mask over head of cartonnage painted white and grey. One pot, 23j, at feet, and a crucible of clay, pl. xli, 25, strengthened on the outside with plaster. The inside shows traces of copper; in it were two large grey pebbles.

4982. Simple grave, not disturbed, containing the body of a man, supine extended, hands down, face east. On the head what the observer records as "faint trace of plaster mask, painted blue and white." At the feet a pot, 29p. From the body came the green glaze monkey pl. xxix, 16. It is very hard to believe that this object is of the vii-viii dyns. If it is not, we must suppose that the burial is of late date, that the skull had turned in some manner from face up to face east, that the observer mistook a late painted anthropoid coffin for a cartonnage mask, and that the pot remained in the grave from a previous burial. All of these things are possible. In any case, the pot was not in the north-east corner of the grave, as it should have been.

85. 5004. Group pl. xlvi. Chamber on west;

adult female, unplundered. Four pots. Mirror before face. Alabaster vase before chest. Necklace of black glaze beads, with three odd beads, and three amulets in carnelian and felspar.

5203. In the filling of a shaft, chamber below empty.

5211. Group pl. xlvi. Shaft with floor sloping south into chamber which also slopes. Adult female. Two pots, 28k, and five others; 26d is not shown in the group. Dumpy alabaster vase, quartzite grinder, and black glaze button with running man. No beads, and not disturbed.

5233. Toilet pot 81m, with grinder before face. Blue glaze bead necklace.

5269. Chamber on south with recess on north-east for the pots, five of 47h, and three others. Male body; no beads or toilet objects.

5313. Chamber on west. Body of a pregnant woman, with black wavy hair, not plaited. Two pots at head. Collar-necked alabaster, mirror, quartzite grinder, and *Spatha* shell, but no toilet pot. Necklaces of carnelian rings with two gold barrels, and of blue and black glaze ring beads. Bracelet of tiny blue glaze beads with hand, hawk, and "mace" amulets. Anklets of carnelian legs with ten *Conus* shells each. Rectangular button-amulet probably from necklace of blue and black beads, pl. xxxii.

5314. Toilet pot 81m at knees. Long string of blue and black glaze ring beads, threaded together without any order, and black glaze button-amulet pl. xxxii, 68.

5324. Pots along east side of chamber on south, except toilet pot 82t, which was west of head. Separate strings of blue and black beads. Steatite button-amulet pl. xxxii, 76.

5326. Plundered burial in the shaft of 5327 (vith dyn.). Various beads including crumbed beads, and the button-amulet pl. xxxii, 35, with ridge back. These may possibly be dated to the vith dyn. also.

Qau, Southern Cemetery. Professor Petrie's work

86. 7309. Group pl. xlvii. Chamber on south. Adult female, knees flexed, one hand before face, the other at side. Two pots at head; also alabaster vase and quartzite grinder. No beads; not disturbed.

7514. Chamber on south. Female burial, supine extended, face up. Two pots in the north-east corner of grave. The relative positions of coffin and pots

make it possible that the body belongs to a re-use of the tomb. The bricks are also unusually long. The scarab, pl. xxxiii, 140, cannot therefore be certainly dated.

7695. Chamber on south, not disturbed, containing the body of a man, feet crossed, hands down, facing east. In the north-east corner of the room three pots, all before the ixth dyn. Behind the head, red pottery bowl covered inside and outside with hieratic. A translation of this inscription by Dr. Alan Gardiner is given in Chapter XXVI, and it proves to be of exceptional interest. The brick walling of the room was not recorded as being intact when found, and we have, therefore, no evidence as to whether the tomb was re-opened after the burial to allow of the inscribed bowl being deposited. But it seems unlikely that the shaft would have been emptied and the wall below broken and repaired to allow this to be done. The bowl was therefore probably placed in the tomb at the same time as the body. There was no trace of, nor was there room in the chamber for, a second body.

7837. A good case of the re-use of a tomb. Chamber on south with intact supine body along west side. In the room were two vii-viii dyn. pots, a mirror, and the skull and some bones of the original burial. No cleaning out of the chamber was considered necessary for the second interment.

7892. Group pl. xlvi. Shaft with sloping floor. Chamber on south; body plundered; only a few beads in the filling. Three pots, an alabaster vase of unusual shape, and a sandstone grinder.

7893. Group pl. xlv. A simple grave; body plundered, but sufficient remained of the coffin for it to be measured (70 × 15 × 13 ins.). A globular alabaster vase, slightly pointed, grinder, beads, and a steatite button with frog design.

7923. Group pl. xlvi. Chamber on south, undisturbed. Sex and attitude uncertain. Five pots of the same type, some red, some drab, at north end of grave. Dish in front of face. Four stone vases, two of limestone, two of alabaster; one of the latter broken, having no neck. Large mirror (7'6 × 8'1 ins.). Gold overlapping bracelets. Green and black glaze ring beads. Gold cowries with two holes threaded with fine gold ring beads as shown in the drawing pl. xlvi. These may have come from the ankles. Cp. the similar blue glaze oval disks in 3306, threaded in the same way.

7930. Group pl. xlv. Untouched chamber on south. Young girl extended on left side. Four

pots north of head. Two alabaster vases north-east of head, and a blue glaze toilet vase. Copper mirror. Gold overlapping bangles. Necklet of fine gold beads with double crown amulet in gold. String of black glaze ring beads, with a few carnelian, agate, and steatite barrels. Small button seal-amulet.

793I. Plundered chamber on south. Two pots. South of the feet, a square wooden box containing two alabaster vases and a sandstone grinder.

CHAPTER XIV

DETAILS OF GRAVES OF THE NINTH TO ELEVENTH DYNASTIES

NINTH-TENTH DYNASTIES

Qau, Southern Cemetery

87. 30I. NAME of deceased, Hesu, daughter of . . .

308. Copper dagger in shaft. Part of a pottery *hes*-vase in the filling.

309. Fragment of inscribed *hes*-vase in filling, pl. xli, 1, 2. Name of deceased, Sepui (??), son of Seneb-im.

310. Parts of seven *hes*-vases in shaft.

312. Foot of a *hes*-vase in filling.

314. Name of deceased, Khenti-kheti-em-saf.

321. Chamber on north, floor 8 ins. below that of shaft, closed by wall two bricks thick, not bonded. Pottery in filling of shaft, including at least nine *hes*-vases, some inscribed, pl. xli, 6, 7, 13, 14. Name of deceased, Nekht, son of Chau.

327. Parts of two *hes*-vases, one inscribed.

328. Fragments of three *hes*-vases.

426. Pot 15 ins. above body; perhaps not contemporary.

533. Chamber on north, after two attempts at making a chamber on south. Fragments of two *hes*-vases, and scraps of pottery offering tray.

618. Chamber on south inclined to the shaft in a westerly direction. Re-used in xviiiith dyn. Pot and bones of original burial left in the shaft.

634A. In shaft. 634B and 634C in chamber 30 ins. lower. Pot 86s in front of face of B. Two other pots at bottom of shaft. Pot 28s was in the north-west corner of the room above the feet of body C. B was a woman extended on left side, head north, with silver barrel beads round the neck. C was male, supine extended, head south. The two bodies lay side by side.

667. Untouched burial in chamber on south, fallen in. One pot in north-east corner. Body apparently male, supine extended, but with a string of green glaze ring beads and one amulet, a rough glaze crown on basket, 63p₃. Room closed by a wall two bricks thick.

711. Pot 30b in chamber; pot 49m built into the brick walling of the room; bowl 8r in shaft. Pot 49m is only found otherwise in the vii-viiiith period, and that is more likely to be the date of this tomb.

776. Mouth of shaft lined with bricks to a depth of 60 ins., flush with *gebel* wall below. Small yellow sandy bricks 10 × 5 × 3 ins. As there was a later interment of a child in the shaft (xixth dyn. ?), the bricks probably belong to that age. We never found sand bricks used in the early period.

914. As doubt has been thrown on the scarabs found in this tomb, it is as well to give the fullest details. Chamber on south entirely collapsed, the burial being quite undisturbed. Adult female extended, face east, lying in a position between supine and on left side. One pot, 37d. Mirror east of chest. At neck two strings of beads, one of blue glaze rings, the other of steatite barrels, with a few others of carnelian and glazed quartz, and one scarab, pl. xxxiii, 187. Other beads from the region of the feet included black glaze rings, and one amulet, a blue glaze crocodile. South of the feet there had been a box or basket containing two alabaster vases pl. xxvi, 34, 35, small breccia vase pl. xxix, 189, ivory pin or *kohl*-stick, grey stone palette like pl. xl, 15, copper knife and model tools pl. xxxviii, 19, and three scarabs pl. xxxiv, 184, 188, and 220. The whole burial was intact, and, apart from the copper knife and ivory pin, everything about it is characteristically pre-xiith dyn. The date is xth or possibly xith dyn.

949. This group of pottery comes from different levels in the filling of the shaft. Part of a *hes*-vase was also found. The chamber below was completely rifled.

968. Small room on north. Pots at south end. Body of a child of ten, with one steatite cylinder bead, and a silver amulet (man with palms). Undisturbed.

88. 1025. Untouched chamber on south containing supine extended adult female. One pot, 30g, in north-east corner. Another, 30j, close to it, but outside the chamber. A third, 89t, at the bottom of the shaft. Toilet pot 85q and quartzite grinder

close to the head. Two necklaces of carnelian and blue glaze ring beads. On right arm bracelet of carnelian beads, and another of six beads in felspar, amethyst, steatite, and blue glaze with two gold ibises. Coffin white inside.

1042. Necklace of blue glaze ring beads, varying sizes, in groups of twenty, divided by six groups of three carnelians each.

1045. Bricked-up chamber on south. Female almost untouched, but right forearm removed, leaving humerus in position, and fingers on pelvis. Two offering pots at head. Also toilet pot 83l and grinder in front of face. Beads at neck and left wrist.

1074. Intact chamber on south. Burial of young girl, epiphyses not joined, but pregnant. Coffin plastered inside. Pots 23l and 30b in north-east corner, with toilet pot 80c underneath the first. Sandstone grinder and galena. Necklaces of black glaze and shell ring beads, with a few odd carnelian and steatite. Similar beads on right arm.

1083. Chamber twice bricked up; second walling 32 ins. inside the room, with smaller bricks $8 \times 7 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. Pots left in north-east corner against first and outer wall.

1107. Untouched chamber on south. Coffin whitened inside. Child of about 12, supine extended, painted mask over face. One pot, 35l, 30 ins. above foot of shaft. One steatite cylinder bead, one spiral cylinder of blue glaze, an oval carnelian pendant, and one blue glaze conical bead at neck. Round the head was a copper circlet, pl. xxix, 13, with three rows of little bosses. Actually resting on the skull was the unusual monkey-backed seal in copper pl. xxxiii, 111. The base is worn almost smooth, but the two hawks and *ankh* and the sacred eyes are still plain. We may imagine that the father's worn-out seal had been given to the child as a plaything.

Hemamieh

89. 1509. Intruded in a Predynastic grave, 1517. One pot 30t, ring beads of blue and black glaze and carnelian, and the little blue glaze pot pl. xxix, 11.

1569. Group of beads and amulet found 54 ins. above floor of a shaft.

1595. 72 ins. down the shaft of 1602. The body was a male, untouched, with scarab on left hand, pl. xxiv, 201. The bowl 7r and the pot 30l were both 15 ins. above the body, and both broken. But they were together just above the right humerus,

and are probably contemporary, though the evidence is not conclusive. The burial in the chamber below was not disturbed.

1614. Chamber on south with brick walling-up. Plundered. The scarab pl. xxxiii, 174, was found in the filling of the room. Twenty-seven pots were counted, partly in the shaft and partly in the chamber. They include parts of eight *hes*-vases (seven from shaft), and two large stands such as 96h. In the room were also a pair of ram's horns.

1635. Child of eight, undisturbed in wooden coffin. Two necklaces, one of blue and black glaze rings threaded in groups of from six to ten beads each; the other of black spheroids. These latter when moistened became slightly sticky, and when drying in the hot sun gave out an aromatic smell. This smell resembled that of the scented fat from Predynastic graves. The warmth of the living body would possibly have had the same effect on the beads as the sun.

1638. Intact chamber on south. Burial probably female. Two pots, 30j and 43g; the latter, close to the head, might have served as a toilet pot. Grinder at feet with galena, and the circular seal-amulet pl. xxxiv, 227. At neck, string of black and blue glaze ring beads, with a scarab pl. xxxiii, 153, a man amulet, and a double crown in gold.

1653. Simple grave. Feet and lower legs removed by later burial. Rest of body untouched. Toilet pot, 83f, at head, the other pot, 23h, behind back. Grinder before face, with traces of red paint on it. Long string of blue and light blue glaze ring beads, with a few cylinders. The strings appeared to cross over on the chest. The scarab and plaque, pl. xxxiii, 162, and pl. xxxiv, 228, were at the back of the waist.

1658. Child of eleven in room on south. Offering pot, 30n. Toilet pot, 81v. Sandstone grinder. Two dumpy alabaster vases and a neckless vase of the collar-necked variety, pl. xxviii, 172, 180, 204. Also four blue glaze vases, pl. xxix, 5, 6, 7, 9. All these objects near the head. Long necklaces of carnelian and blue glaze ring beads; carnelian ball beads. Bracelets of small carnelian beads with carnelian hands. Anklets similar, with leg amulets.

90. 1706. Chamber on south with adult female, knees flexed, hands before face, untouched. One pot in north-east corner, the other, 39b, behind pelvis. Two little pendants of amethyst and carnelian. This burial is interesting, as it gives a clear case of the use of amethyst well before the xiith dyn.

1715. Simple grave containing the un plundered body of a girl, supine, hands over pelvis, face west. Plastered coffin of wood. One pot, 30j, in north-east corner of grave. Close to the head a little green glaze vase, pl. xxix, 8, with the usual sandstone grinder. In the vase was a string of blue glaze ring beads, with a few others in black glaze and steatite, and one "melon" bead in blue glaze. This is, therefore, a well-established example of an early date for this type of bead. Two necklaces: one, fine gold beads with a gold ibis; the other, carnelian ring beads with two double crown amulets in carnelian. At right wrist a bracelet of various ring beads with five little blue glaze amulets, mostly broken, two crowns, two Anpu (?), and one unusual female amulet. Three little copper rings may be from the fingers.

1725. A much plundered grave, 36 ins. deep, containing a few bones, and the interesting seal-amulet with two human heads back to back in blue glaze with the eyes in black glaze, pl. xxxiii, 125. There is, therefore, no evidence of date; but the maze pattern on the base, the ornamental back, and the combined use of blue and black glazes, like the vases pl. xxix, 1, 3, all point to the date which has been suggested for it.

1735. Group pl. xlvii. Unplundered chamber on south, the roof having collapsed. Adult female, knees flexed, hands at face. Pot 30l in north-east corner, with bowl 7s inverted over it. Alabaster cylinder jar at north end, obviously a re-use, pl. xxvi, 14. At the neck long strings of fine carnelian ring beads, and of larger rings graded in size; string of blue glaze rings; one or two beads in calcite, quartz, and mottled limestone; and three fine gold amulets, the ibis, *uzat*, and the lotus, which may once have been inlaid. At the right wrist was a bracelet of dark carnelian barrel beads. Some carnelian rings may have come from the necklace and a few carnelian and quartz spheroids from the neck or wrists. When the hands are close to the face it is difficult to say exactly where the beads belong. Anklets of black glaze ring beads, each with a carnelian leg amulet. Two scarabs, pl. xxxiii, 157, 176, probably belong to the blue glaze necklace.

1749. A grave of rather uncertain date. Two coffins, the outer 1½ in. thick, the inner 1¼ in., stuccoed in the usual way. A body, probably male, plundered, the bones of the trunk being scattered, but the arms and legs left in position.

Both extended. No pots. One carnelian barrel bead. On the left hand the large grey-blue glazed steatite scarab pl. xxxiii, 164. Along the side of the coffin, west of the feet, the copper axe-blade, pl. xxxviii, 12. Probably its wooden handle had ended close to the right hand. The scarab is unlike all others that we found, except in its being engraved with the beetle, as 165, 166, and 167, pl. xxxiii. It may, therefore, be of the same age. The coffins were quite usual, and all the graves in this particular region at Hemamieh were of pre-xiith dyn. date.

1758. Group of pots found together. No grave.

2076. A plundered body, 10 ins. down, the skull and ulna only remaining. String of blue glaze ring and other beads, seven blue glaze amulets, and the scarab pl. xxxiii, 181, all strung together. The other scarab, pl. xxxiv, 194, came from the sifting, and it is possible that it is not contemporary.

Badari

91. 3108. Chamber on north, skewing to west. Plundered and very damp. Two pots in filling, 350 and 74n (?). In room, 4b and 87l with the small collar-necked alabaster vase pl. xxvii, 88. From the sifting we got one carnelian leg. The robbers had also left one gold bangle. The pots in the room indicate the date pretty clearly; otherwise the previous period, vii-viii dyns., would have seemed more satisfactory.

3222. The ram-headed seal-amulet, pl. xxxiii, 127, was found inside a little Predynastic pot lying loose under the sand.

3323. Child's grave of no special interest, chamber (?) on north, but fallen. Against the south end of the shaft, on the floor, a line of bricks sloping on end, overlapping each other, flat to flat.

3405. Burial of a very old woman intruded in a shaft. The main tomb was plundered out. Heels to pelvis, hands at face. Round the neck a long string of black glaze ring beads, a few varieties in blue glaze, and forty-eight amulets mostly different in type and almost all in blue glaze. Also one scarab, pl. xxxiii, 151. This burial is interesting because it shows that amulets were not entirely used for young females, though that is generally the case.

3423. Shallow grave with contracted male body. In north-east corner, pot, 89v, covered with a stone.

3428. Shaft with loculus on east for the body, but the *gebel* was very sandy and everything had fallen in. Adult female (?). Pot 83l at head,

92k at right hand. With 83l a quartzite grinder. Two necklaces: one, black glaze ring beads, with the scarab pl. xxxiii, 169; the other, green glaze ring beads, with a little green glaze pendant.

92. 4806. Adult male, with brick for head-rest.

4814. Chamber on south. Adult male, hands down, knees flexed, on left side. Coffin wood 1 in. thick with mitre joints. One pot in north-east corner.

4897. Simple grave, untouched. Adult female, head and right hand resting on half a brick. No beads, but one crown amulet in carnelian.

4906. Shaft 20 ft. deep, with chamber on south, not plundered. Coffin painted white inside and light brown outside. Woman extended on left side, hands over pelvis. Three pots, 23h, 30n, and 30s. At wrists, strings of pale blue glaze ring beads. Necklace of large ball beads of carnelian and gold, the latter made in two halves.

4909. Shallow grave of a very young child in coffin painted white. Decayed remains of one pot, a black vase of the toilet class. At the head was a group of small objects: a tiny copper mirror, pl. xxxix, 18A; a grinding palette, pl. xl, 16; the little blue glaze vase with black spots, pl. xxix, 3; and the blue glaze figure of a dwarf or infant (Ptah-Sokar?), pl. xxix, 15. A variety of types of beads from neck and wrists, mainly blue glaze rings, with twelve amulets; also a string of graded carnelian spheroids.

4935. Robbed grave, with remains of coffin showing traces of white and blue paint. Pot 87c in south-west corner of grave, and 54p north of coffin. From the north end of the grave came a string of blue glaze floral disk beads, type 58g₂₁.

4949. Intrusive burial in the shaft of an earlier robbed tomb.

4950. Re-used in the New Kingdom.

4962. Plundered chamber tomb. The pots 23h, 95k, 95l, and 95q were all in the shaft, with parts of several other *hes*-vases.

4968. The roof of the chamber had fallen in, and the three *hes*-vases 95a, 95s, and 95v were all in the filling above the chamber, so not necessarily contemporary.

4975. Chamber on south; adult male in heavy wooden coffin, plundered. Two pots type 23p and two 39s; a couple of beads. From the filling of the shaft came all the rest of the pottery, and the scraps of copper dagger pl. xxxviii, 4.

93. 5009. Unrobbed chamber to north. Adult female lying on right side, knees flexed, hands on

pelvis. In the south-west corner another body of a very young child. One pot, 28k, in the south-west corner. North of the head there seems to have been a casket. It contained the four stone vases pl. xxvi, 31, 40, 131, 149; the inlaid copper circular rosette pl. xxix, 18; the blue glazed vase pl. xxix, 12; the ivory spoon with openwork spiral handle pl. xl, 12; the two bone spatulas pl. xl, 10, 11; and strings of bright blue glaze ring beads with one man amulet. The mirror was in front of the face, and another alabaster vase, pl. xxvi, 32, on the chest. Necklaces of carnelian, and black glaze rings, with various other odd beads, one lion amulet, and one scarab, pl. xxxiii, 159. The vase pl. xxvii, 40, of diorite very thinly worked, with collar neck, is a very clear case of re-use; both in form and material it is obviously early, quite likely of the ivth dyn.

On the child were at least four strings of beads: dark blue, large and small, pale blue, and black; all glaze ring beads. The main objects from this tomb are shown together in the photograph pl. xlix.

5010. Date rather doubtful. Pot 30n in north-west corner of chamber which was on south. Beads from the plundered body. The scarab pl. xxxiv, 198, from high in the filling of the shaft. The globular beads of whitish glaze with brownish black spirals may be from a later re-use. The large size of the bricks used in the walling-up suggests this.

5207. Group pl. xlvii. Chamber on south, body completely disturbed. One pot in north-east corner. In north-west corner small box containing the three stone vases, galena, and malachite, a bone needle, three fish spines, piece of polished stone, three shells, a carnelian leg amulet, two Predynastic (?) pierced pebbles, a short string of black glaze ring beads, various odd beads, a number of small blue glaze amulets, and two tiny scarabs with the characteristic high backs of the period, one with a beetle on the base, and the other with a lizard or crocodile.

5209. Unplundered chamber on south. Body of woman on her right side, knees flexed, hands at sides. One pot, 23l, in north-east corner. String of black glaze ring beads with a few blue; also one ornamental black barrel bead and a scarab and plaque, pl. xxxiii, 161, 219, all at the neck.

5219. Untouched burial of a woman in chamber on south. Coffin coloured pink outside. One pot, 37d, in corner. Toilet pot, 86p, with quartzite

grinder, and the remnant of an old alabaster vase, pl. xxix, 212, inside the coffin. Necklaces of blue glaze, black glaze, and shell ring beads, with scarab and hemi-cylindrical seal-amulet, pl. xxxii, 24, 148.

5263. Date uncertain. The sliced shells suggest a date nearer the vith dyn.

Qau, Southern Cemetery. Professor Petrie's work

94. 7276. Group pl. xlviii. Simple grave of a woman, undisturbed, lying on left side, hands down. Two pots, 30g, with clay sealings. Alabaster dumpy vase. Black and green glaze ring beads, with green glaze barrels and cylinders. Scarab and hemi-cylindrical seal-amulet.

7278. Chamber on south. Floor of shaft horizontal, but room sloping to south. Undisturbed male burial extended on left side. Four pots 24p, 37d, and the two bowls 13c.

7300. The three *hes*-vases (two of type 95u, one of 95j), all from the filling of shaft.

7311. Group pl. xlvii. Chamber on south, not disturbed. Woman extended on left side. Two pots, and an alabaster vase, the broken neck being ground smooth. Sandstone grinder. Black and green glaze ring beads and amulets. Small scarab and hemi-cylinder with maze pattern.

7357. Group pl. xlvii. Chamber on south with untouched female burial, supine, face east. One buff pot in north-east corner. Toilet pot, 81j, at left elbow, with the remains of grain in it (?). Black glaze ring beads, green glaze cylinders, an animal's head amulet (dog?), and a hemi-cylindrical seal-amulet, pl. xxxii, 21.

7701. The observer records this tomb as unplundered. The two pots and the position of the body, with a string of green glaze ring beads at the neck, are quite pre-xiith dyn. in character. Yet a scarab of Men-kheper-ra was said to have come from below the coffin.

7791. Group pl. xlvii. Unplundered female in chamber on north, on her left side, hands down. One pot in position outside the room (that at top left of group). The other three at the bottom of the shaft, but scattered. Two alabaster vases, one tall and one dumpy, with mirror in front of chest. Green glaze beads inside the larger vase. Leg and other amulets, and carnelian ring beads. See photograph pl. xxxvi.

7847. Disturbed grave containing two pots, a few beads, and a *Spatha* shell with *kohl* still in it.

7899. Group pl. xlvii. Intact extended body, face north-east. Dumpy alabaster vase, and a black glaze button. A late example of the use of buttons.

7944. Simple grave of a young female, not robbed, supine extended, face west. One pot, 58d, in north-east corner of grave. In south-west corner a stone grinding palette. On the body, beads and an ivory bird amulet (goat-sucker?) like that from Sedment (PETRIE and BRUNTON, *Sedment I*, p. 6, pl. xii, 3, 4). Also a silver scarab.

TENTH-ELEVENTH DYNASTIES

Hemamieh

95. 2004. No grave, only a collection of pots in a hole, perhaps from a tidying-up of the cemetery. Ten of 39n, four of 39j, three of 30w, three of 7p, and five others.

Badari

3516. A similar group found high up in the filling of a shaft.

4953. Contracted female, almost upright, in a very small grave. Four pots. 37d contained organic matter, and the bowl 8u the bones of a small ruminant.

Qau, Southern Cemetery. Professor Petrie's work

7654. Robbed chamber on south. The burial had probably been male. Pot 66h and bowl 8u, the latter containing the model tools. Outside in the shaft were animal bones.

7806. Grave with the body of a man on west, a woman on east, and an infant in front of the woman's chest. Man's legs straight, woman's flexed. Two pots at feet of woman. Model tools before face of man. Blue glaze beads and amulets on woman's neck.

7830. A similar multiple burial, man (?) to west, knee almost straight, woman on east, facing east, knees well bent. One pot at feet of each. Cylinder alabaster vase, with the wide flanged neck and foot typical of the period, close to the woman's face. Green glaze beads at her neck.

ELEVENTH DYNASTY

Qau, Southern Cemetery

96. 303. Lion amulet from filling.

306. Simple grave. Traces of coffin painted yellow. Bones of trunk and femora in position, rest gone. Small recess on west (10 × 25 ins.)

containing the bowl 3j. In the bowl eight copper model tools, pl. xxxviii, 27.

324. Chamber probably on south, but fallen in, and plundered. Pot 58n in north-west corner of room. Two bowls, copper axe-head, pl. xxxviii, 15, and one model tool, pl. xxxviii, 21, loose in filling of chamber. Calf's bones in shaft.

640. Shaft floor sloping, but not chamber. Adult female with mirror at chest. Pot 58c in north-west, two bowls 8e in south-east corner of room.

665. Unplundered grave. Woman with mask of cartonnage painted yellow, blue, and black. String of dark blue glaze ring beads, with one steatite cylinder. One pot.

977. Intrusive burial in a shaft. Very small child, head east, supine. String of beads, a mixture of carnelian, amethyst, and garnet spheroids, with seven silver ring beads, a few other beads of glaze, and three *Conus* shells. At the hands four little rough slate scarabs uninscribed. This grave cannot be dated with certainty.

1054. This child burial is also doubtful in date.

1077. A group of beads found in sand, no grave.

1122. Untouched burial of a woman in room to north. White plaster mask. Coffin white inside. Pot placed in small recess in the walling, in south-east corner of chamber; probably because there was no room for it between the coffin and the bricks.

Badari

4927. Simple grave for child of about seven years. One pot, and a paint palette at head. Armlet of carnelian ring beads at left elbow.

5301. Head and part of body cut away; hands raised. Pot at feet, covered with finger-nail impressions. Scarab on right hand, pl. xxxiv, 202.

5311. Young woman, supine extended, hands over pelvis, face west. Straight black hair in coarse plaits. Mirror at left hip, wrapped in linen. Paint palette well worn, with piece of manganese. String of bright blue glaze ring beads with one steatite cylinder, and a pierced brown pebble.

CHAPTER XV

THE TYPES OF TOMBS OF THE FOURTH TO ELEVENTH DYNASTIES

97. THERE is a great variety in the forms of the tombs of the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period at Qau and Badari. Besides stairway

tombs which possibly survive into this age, there are (1) the simple graves, which of course may be of any period; (2) tombs with small square shafts and chambers; (3) oblong shafts and side chambers; (4) oblong shafts and end-on chambers. Simple graves include pot burials and graves with brick sub-structures; the square shaft tombs may have their chambers on any side; the oblong shafts with side chambers have a number of rare varieties, but are otherwise very constant in type, and the chambers are almost always on the west. The tombs with end-on chambers, which may be to the north or south, sometimes have sloping floors, and also have a number of other rare variations.

It is often impossible to make accurate measurements of graves owing to the loose gravelly nature of the soil in which they are dug. In fact, in some cases of shapeless graves where the soil is very sandy, the expression "Holes" is used in the Tomb Register. The depth of a grave is also a matter of uncertainty; but this is for another reason. Owing to the accumulation of deposits on the surface, either from natural or artificial causes, we are often at a loss to tell where the original surface was at the time the grave was dug. This, however, is not a matter of very great moment. On the other hand, the surface may be denuded, and we sometimes found the bricking round the mouth of a pit actually visible at the present surface. Again, the chambers have occasionally fallen in completely, and it is hard to say whether there had ever been one or in what position it may have been. Here the place of the bones or objects found is our only guide.

The bricking round the mouths of the shafts was made necessary by the very friable nature of the rock or gravel, especially near the surface. The bricking might descend to a depth of 4 or 5 ft.; in rare cases the whole shaft might be bricked from top to bottom. This was especially the case with the small square shafts. The bricks were laid as stretchers, and mud-plastered, though the plaster has mostly disappeared. One grave, 671, 70 ins. deep, was lined with rough stones to prevent the sides from caving in.

98. The closing of the chambers was almost always effected by a brick wall. This was generally of two bricks thickness, laid alternately headers and stretchers. In one case the bricks were all laid sloping diagonally from left to right (308, vii-viii); but this was a secondary walling after re-use in the xviii dyn. In 321 (ix-xth) there were no headers

used; but the size of the bricks ($14 \times 7 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) implies this later date also. In 4926 (ix-xth) the walling was never finished, apparently, only two courses being laid. Very rarely the walling was of rough stones, either dry or plastered (tombs 3424 vii-viii, and 5524 vth).

In the cemetery plans the type of each grave is shown by a convention, a key to this being given on pl. ii. Thus the area of distribution can be seen at a glance. The graves with brick sub-structures, for instance, are mainly in the western portion of the great South Cemetery at Qau. The rectangles on the plans are of the dimensions of the mouths of the pits only; the underground chambers are not planned, only indicated by the convention. Tombs containing no objects, and therefore undatable, are not shown in the plans.

99. (1) *The Simple Graves.* These may be of any size according to the dimensions of the coffin, which naturally depend on the age or stature of the deceased. The depth might be anything up to 14 ft. or so. Deep pits such as these were probably intended to have chambers, the original idea being abandoned owing to bad rock or for some other reason. The pot burials included in the category of simple graves have been dealt with in Chapter X. The only other graves of this type which require further description are those with a sub-structure of brick around and over the coffin. These are called "Bricked Graves" in the Tomb Register. On pl. xxiv the principal varieties are shown in section (nos. 6-11) and one, grave 532 (vth), in both section and plan. This latter was made to represent a sarcophagus with the rounded top and straight raised ends, and was the only one of the kind that we found. Nos. 6 and 7 are merely a form of roofing or chambering at the bottom of the pit. No. 8 is unique in having a flat roof, two bricks' length in width, stretching from wall to wall of the grave. The rest are free-standing structures at the bottom of the pit, which may or may not be further dug out to receive the coffin (10, 11). The roofs are generally arched, but are also gabled. Some forty of these sub-structures are not typed, as they were too broken for the exact construction to be certain. One of the latest examples, 310 (vith, type 11), had the centre brick of each course of the vaulting cut into the form of a key-stone. In another a small hole had been left in the last span of brick arching at the south end, with a loose brick covering it (grave 1096 vith, type 9). This may have been for

the use of the *ba*; it could hardly have been for the use of relatives as the top of the vault was 3 ft. below ground-level, as far as it could be ascertained. The sides of the pits were almost always some distance from the walls of the sub-structures. It is obvious, therefore, that these buildings were not made merely on account of the treacherous nature of the ground in which the graves were sunk, as a support to the sides, but merely to provide an underground chamber for the coffin and offerings which would keep them from contact with the filling of the pit. From the very earliest Predynastic times the better-class graves show signs of roofing to keep the burial clear.

100. (2) *Chambered Tombs with Square Shafts.* In this category are included tombs with shafts which are not actually square, but nearly so. This class was rare at Qau, owing to the loose nature of the gravel. They are more common in sites where they can be cut in hard rock; here they had to be brick-lined for part of the depth and sometimes for the whole. The shaft may be as deep as 20 ft. The chambers in two are to the north; in one, to the south; in five, to the east; and in thirteen, to the west. The western part of the large chamber in stairway tombs was reserved for the burial; and the chamber of the usual vith-dyn. tombs was almost invariably to the west of the shaft. Varieties of square shaft tombs are nos. 1-5, pl. xxiv. The rooms vary very much in size. They may be just a scoop out of the side of the pit, or they may project past the shaft at either or both ends. The chamber was made according as the body was to be contracted or extended. In the latest examples (1154 vith, and 1063 vii-viii) the chamber is the eventual normal size, some 7 ft. long. In the earliest examples the small room is often at a lower level than the floor of the shaft, and in two cases the floor of the shaft and of the room form a continuous slope to facilitate the insertion of the heavy coffin (5528, 5529 ivth).

101. (3) *Oblong Shafts with Side Chambers.* Pl. xxiv, 12. The great majority of these are of the one type; the dimensions vary within narrow limits, both shaft and chamber measuring about 24×80 ins. The chamber is almost invariably on the west side of the pit, a very few being on the east. One or two have rooms on both sides. Some 300 tombs were of this regular type; 26 were variations of this (nos. 13-22, pl. xxiv). The nature of these can be seen from the plans. In one tomb the floors of

the shaft and chamber sloped from east to west (1598 vith); in another the shaft wall was only slightly cut away on the west to form a rough loculus (423 vith); while in a third the *west* side of the chamber was strengthened by a wall of bricks built against it (710 vith).

102. (4) *Oblong Shafts with End-on Chambers*. Pl. xxiv, 34, 37. These call for little comment. The dimensions vary somewhat, but are on the whole the same as those of class (3) as regards the shafts. The chambers are almost always of the same width as the shafts, but rather less long. Their height is sometimes so small that they are more tunnels than rooms, and it is a matter of great discomfort to examine the burial, especially when it was put in head foremost. This, however, was not often the case, happily. The rooms were to the south in some 300 tombs, and to the north in 81 (including tombs with two chambers, south and north). We came across no tombs with chambers at different levels, as often found at Abydos. Probably the spaciousness of the cemetery made such crowding unnecessary. One chamber had been walled and vaulted with bricks to keep it from falling in (3175 vii-viiiith). The varieties of this type of tomb are shown on pl. xxiv, 23-30, 35, 36. The most interesting are the pits with sloping floors (31-33). One case was noted of a tomb with two chambers, north and south, both sloping away from the shaft (1639 ix-xth).

103. It is easy to see how the changes in the types of shaft tombs arose. Two causes were at work. The first is the change in the attitude of the body from contracted to full length. A contracted body could be comfortably lowered down a square shaft and housed in a small chamber. With the extension of the attitude, the chambers became longer, though the shafts at first remained square or squarish. It was, however, obviously undesirable to end up a coffin when lowering it, and so the shaft was made rectangular, the chamber being to the west as had mostly been the case in previous ages. But now a new difficulty arose. The rock was soft and crumbly. The long chambers, open along the whole length of one side, were continually collapsing, even before the brick walling which closed the chamber could be built. Various expedients were occasionally tried to counteract this. A pillar might be left projecting from the west side of the room (type 16). More frequently the chamber was made at the corner of the shaft (types 24, 25, 26); or irregular

forms were adopted (types 17, 19). A better idea was to shift the whole chamber along to the north or south until half only of its length was opposite the shaft (types 18, 20, 21, 23). Eventually the west position for the chamber was reluctantly given up, and the room shifted to the north or south of the shaft entirely. The maximum of safety was thus provided by narrowing the opening and reducing the width of span. A difficulty again arose in handling the coffin at the bottom of the shaft. To obviate this the old plan was reverted to of sloping the floor of shaft and chamber so that the burial could be inserted with greater ease. Only a small proportion of the graves, however, show this peculiarity. The south position for the chamber was evidently the favourite one, from the numbers given above. In one tomb (533 vii-viiiith) there are two obvious attempts to cut out the room on the south, and the north room was made subsequently. It may be imagined that it was preferred that the deceased should lie with his head near the entrance. North chambers were made where a second body had to be interred, or because the rock was better, or because there was less chance of driving into another tomb. Probably it was a matter of little concern either way.

104. The sequence of tomb types being as clear as it is, it would seem to give one of the best bases for sequencing the burials as a whole, better even than the pottery. From different types of tomb having similar vases (at Bashkatib), Professor Petrie is of opinion that in early dynasties different tomb types were contemporary, and I have, therefore, hardly considered them in my classification of the tombs. They depend a good deal on the nature of the ground, and possibly on the fancy of individual families. We find, however, that the tomb type is a guide to date which can be depended on fairly well. The following table gives the percentages of each type to the total number of graves in each period. The ivth dyn. is omitted as the number of graves is so few; these are all of the simple type, or with square shafts, and one has a stairway.

	vth, v-vith.	vith.	vii-viiiith.	ix-xith.
Graves (simple) . . .	48.4	55.2	36.5	48.6 ✓
Bricked tombs . . .	30.3	1.5	.2	—
Square shafts . . .	7.1	.2	.2	—
West chambers . . .	14.2	39.5	22.0	2.0
Sloping floors . . .	—	.6	3.1	2.7
South chambers . . .	—	2.6	30.6	35.6
North chambers . . .	—	.4	7.4	11.1
No. of examples . . .	155	496	418	405

The figures tell their own tale. Bricked graves and square shafts are usual in the vth dyn., rare later. Chambers on west begin in the vth, are by far the commonest type in the vith, are being superseded in the vii-viiiith, and become very rare in the ix-xth. South chambers are hardly known in the vith, north even less so; but they both gradually increase in numbers to the exclusion of other types. Simple graves account for half the number at all periods except in the vii-viiiith, which seems to have been the most prosperous time. A very little rearrangement of the ranges of pottery types would make these figures even more striking than they are; but they show quite clearly enough the ranges of the various tomb types. The high percentages are to be considered, not the low ones.

105. The size of bricks is sometimes considered to be evidence of date; and this is so in a general way. The purpose for which the bricks are intended must, however, be taken into consideration. The bricks from the cemeteries of the iv-xith dyns. at Qau and Badari were all used for either the walling-up of the chambers or the casing of the shafts, and are therefore good material for comparison. We have to guard, however, against the possibility of re-use. In the Protodynastic period the size was generally from $9\frac{1}{2}$ up to 11 ins. long. A few of these smaller bricks will be seen in the early parts of the Tomb Register, e.g. 1143 (ivth), a pot burial. The vast majority of bricks of the v-xith dyns. from our tombs are of an average size of $12 \times 6 \times 3$ ins. They may vary from $11\frac{1}{2}$ to 13 ins. long. The bricks which we find in the Second Intermediate Period and New Kingdom tombs vary from 13 to $14\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long, with $14 \times 7 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ as the standard size. This difference is a useful indication as to whether a grave has been re-used. For instance, in tomb 5010 (ix-xth), where the contents were few and very much scattered, the bricks prove a re-use, though the objects *might* just possibly have been left over from the first plundering. On the other hand, the smaller bricks are not absolutely conclusive proof of the earlier date, as they could in some cases be re-used, though this no doubt very rarely happened. The later bricks are sometimes entered in the Tomb Register, not to imply that they are contemporary, but to show that the tomb had been re-used. The date of the objects found in it is, therefore, open to question. In most such cases the pots, etc., evidently belong to the first interment.

We found no evidence to decide when the change

from the 12- to the 14-in. brick took place. It may have been a gradual one. The Protodynastic brick seems to have increased gradually from $9\frac{1}{2}$ to 12 ins.

The width and thickness of a brick were intended to be a half and a quarter of the length respectively; but they vary considerably in these respects.

Sand bricks occurred in one or two cases, such as 776 (ix-xth). These are known to be much later in date, and the graves had evidently been re-used.

CHAPTER XVI

THE COFFINS OF THE FOURTH TO ELEVENTH DYNASTIES

106. VERY little information as to the make and size of the wooden coffins could be obtained, owing to their complete decay in most tombs. In no case could their decoration or inscriptions be made out, if indeed there ever were any. This was due mainly to damp. There was no sign of white ants; but as the wood had, as a rule, completely rotted away to a mere brown stain, they may have been to some extent responsible for the damage. The measurements mostly come from shallow graves; sometimes they could be taken from the discoloration in the deeper tombs; but the heights of the coffins were rarely ascertainable in any case.

All the measurements have been worked over to see if there was any standard size at any period; the results are strongly negative. Naturally the size of a coffin would depend firstly on the size of the body, and secondly on the attitude. Children's coffins, and also those containing contracted burials (attitudes types 2 and 3, pl. xxv), were therefore put in a separate list. To see if the other attitudes, partly and completely extended (types 4-8), affected the size of the coffins, their average lengths, in inches, were tabulated in each period, as follows:

	Type 4.	Type 5.	Type 6.	Type 7.	Type 8.
vth, v-vith	—	60	59	66	—
vith	63	62	58	64	60
vii-viiiith	—	—	65	70	69
ix-xth	—	—	58	67	69

Evidently the length bears very little relation to the attitude. Perhaps rather shorter coffins were used for type 6; the few examples of types 4 and 5 (three and five respectively) render those averages of little value. One interesting point is that the vii-viiiith dyn. coffins are longer than those of the other periods.

107. The next enquiry was whether there was any regular or normal size for the coffins taking both length and breadth into account. Hardly any two coffins are exactly the same dimensions; but we must bear in mind that the measurements could not be very accurate. To simplify matters I have put the lengths in groups with a variation of 5 ins., and the breadths with a variation of 2. The number of examples of each works out as follows:

Lengths in Inches.	Breadths in Inches.								Total.
	10, 11.	12.	13-14.	15-16.	17-18.	19-20.	21-2.	23-4.	
35-9.	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	2
40-4.	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
45-9.	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	3
50-4.	1	1	3	1	2	—	—	—	8
55-9.	—	—	—	4	1	1	—	—	6
60-4.	—	4	9	6	7	1	2	1	30
65-9.	2	4	5	5	5	2	1	4	28
70-4.	—	1	2	8	9	3	—	1	24
75-9.	—	—	1	3	6	3	—	—	13
80-4.	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
Totals	5	10	24	28	30	10	3	6	116

This table gives a good idea of the great variety of sizes. We may suppose that a coffin was made more or less when wanted, and that a supply was not kept in stock. The common sizes vary between 60 and 74 ins. long, and between 13 and 18 ins. in breadth.

The height might be a few inches more than the breadth (7 coffins); it might be the same (2); or it might be less (8 coffins).

Coffins for children and contracted burials vary even more. In fact we know that an ordinary household box might be used on occasions, as the toilet box painted red with a copper hook in 956 (vith). On the other hand, one contracted body (type 2) was buried in a coffin 64 ins. long (grave 3137 vth).

108. In four graves we were able to distinguish double coffins (1101 vth, 1975 viiith, 3175 viiith, 1749 ixth). In 3175 the space between them had been filled with mud, which reminds us of the similar filling with pitch or plaster at Lahun (PETRIE and BRUNTON, *Lahun II*, pp. 29, 31, 38). The outer coffins were of rather stouter planks. The wood used in general varied in thickness from 2 to 1 ins. or rather less. Possibly the timber used was poorer in the later periods. Angles and bad places were filled in with a pinkish plaster, and the corners mitred (three cases noted).

In the Tomb Register the expression "Stuccoed Coffin" is used for those where the thin white coat

of plaster was still visible. "Wooden Coffin" does not imply that the coffins were not plastered, only that the plaster was not visible. Probably the majority of them was covered with a thin coating of stucco, or else whitewashed. This whitening was definitely observed on the *inside* in 21 graves (mostly ix-xith dyns., but all periods); on the *inside and outside* in three (two vith). Two were white inside and brown out (3172 vith, 4906 ixth); one cream outside (4866 viiith); and one pink (5219 ixth). Another showed traces of grey paint (752 vith).

109. Various materials other than wood were employed for coffins. A tiny baby was surrounded by four bricks and covered by three (693 vith). A child of about 7 lay in a coffin of bricks $38 \times 9 \times 10$ (911 ixth). Sun-dried clay formed a cist with rounded corners for a woman in 732 vith ($45 \times 18 \times 14$). Another woman was buried in a similar one, but painted red inside ($58 \times 12 \times 16$, grave 1023 vith). Baked pottery coffins were used in 7529 and 7554 (both vith), and a third well-made one was near 1085, with scraps of a polished red bowl of Medum style, like 131. The date of all these clay coffins is therefore vith dyn. or earlier. One poor female, with a bead or two and no pots, was wrapped in matting (638 viiith); a man, with one pot, was covered with a reed mat bound with rope (4899 vith). Cases where there seems to have been no coffin of any kind are 4875 (ixth), an old woman with one pot; and 7888 (viiiith), also a poor burial. More interesting were the reed coffins. These are known in the later periods, such as xxiind dyn., but I can find no other examples in the Old Kingdom. We had one of the ivth, four of the vth, five of the vith, and one of the vii-viiiith. The date of the last is doubtful. They were used for either sex, and not necessarily for the poorest people. The young lady in 5535 owned five alabaster vases and a good set of amulets and beads.

The coffins were sometimes covered with bricks (3125 vith); and one quite undisturbed burial lay in a coffin with no lid (712 vith).

CHAPTER XVII

THE BODIES OF THE FOURTH TO ELEVENTH DYNASTIES

110. THE treatment of the bodies was apparently the same in all cases; that is to say, there was no evidence of mummification as the term is generally understood. There was, as a rule, nothing but the

bones remaining, so that it was impossible to say whether preservatives had been used. But it is to be expected that some salting or drying was carried out. In 567 (vith) the bones were covered in places with a resinous-looking layer. The child in the pot burial 652 (ivth) looked as if it had been treated with pitch or something of that nature. Both these appearances, however, may be natural. We know that the brain was not extracted, as it frequently remained in the form of a solid brown mass, loose in the skull. When we required to pack a skull, it often took a long time to get this broken up through the foramen so that it could be extracted. In 7704 (vith) the observer noticed what he describes as "solid masses of dark hard substance" in the region of the lower abdomen. These may have been organs, or possibly faeces; but in either case it shows that the entrails were not removed. In another grave the bones of an unborn child were in position, indicating the same thing. Further, there are definitely no canopic jars.

III. Probably all bodies were more or less wrapped; the linen was sometimes distinguishable, but very rarely owing to the bad conditions. In other cemeteries that I have worked in even the poorest burials show signs of linen wrappings, provided the soil was dry enough. The limbs must have been wrapped separately; this is obvious from the attitudes in which they were often found. Again, a robber might remove a right arm without disturbing the other bones (1140 vth), implying separate bandages. When the body was extended, with the arms down, the bandages were no doubt finally wound right round.

Remains of masks of cartonnage, like those well known at Beni Hasan and Sedment, were noted in some eleven graves, all vii-viii or ix-xith dyns. These were with males and females, and the bodies were always extended (two type 6, one type 7, eight type 8, pl. xxv). One was coloured yellow, blue, and black (665 xith), one partly grey (4964 vii-viii), and another blue and white (4982 vii-viii). This last may, however, have been an anthropoid coffin of much later date; see Section 84.

II2. We found no evidence of dismemberment. In all the many cases where the bones were displaced (save three) it was obvious that robbers had been at work. Many cases were noted of skulls not in conjunction with the spinal column. This was either the result of natural decay, or caused by the efforts of the robbers to get at the necklaces.

Over and over again the necks were robbed, and the waists and ankles left untouched. In pot burials the bodies were often placed crouched upright, and the skeletons had naturally fallen apart in various ways. One very curious case, however, is worthy of note. 475 was a vith-dyn. tomb with west chamber. The bricking of this was quite intact from floor to roof. The body was male, and therefore offered no attraction to robbers. The six pots were all in position in a row. Yet the pelvis and the last vertebra were separated by 12 ins. from the rest of the spine; and the heads of the humeri were not articulated with the scapulae. With our want of knowledge as to how the bodies of this period were treated before burial it is idle to hazard an explanation of these conditions.

Another case deserves special mention. In 5528 (ivth) the walling of rough stones was quite intact. The burial was again that of a man, with five pots in various positions. The whole skeleton, except the head, was covered to a depth of 3 ins. with fine dark dust. Two of the pots were clean and above this dust, which was probably mainly decayed wood. The bones were dark and damp. All vertebrae were in position, including the axis and atlas. Yet the skull, detached, was above this layer of dust, clean, yellow, and dry. The appearances suggested that the skull with the two pots had been placed on the lid of the coffin.

Another noteworthy case was 908 (vii-viii) with a bricked-up chamber containing the body of a male quite undisturbed, but having no skull. Such isolated examples amongst many hundreds of normal burials cannot be taken as evidence that dismemberment was practised.

II3. The almost grotesque attitudes of some bodies (see pl. xxv) are difficult to account for. We can hardly believe that the corpse was deliberately laid out in such ways. It must rather be due to the position in which the person was lying when death occurred, *rigor mortis* having set in before any treatment could be effected. Bodies, however, were attended to very soon after death (PETRIE and WAINWRIGHT, *The Labyrinth and Gerzeh*, p. 7); the tightly contracted bodies of the early dynasties must have been tied up when still pliable; and the extended corpses of later times were no doubt laid out in the way usual to us. The fantastic positions seem then to appear when customs were changing, customs not only of actual position, but also of treatment. The extended position and the complete wrapping both

form part of the process of mummification which was gradually being perfected as time went on.

114. A remarkable case of accidental preservation is worth placing on record. Cemetery 3400 contained graves of the vii-xth dyns., dug partly in old village rubbish. This contained a large amount of wood-ash, especially at the edge where the spur sloped. A shallow horizontal grave had been dug in this slope so that the northern half was in the natural gravel and the southern half in the ash layer. It contained the skeleton of a woman without objects. Down to the pelvis the bones were in the usual condition, light, dry, clean, loose, and friable. The legs, pelvis, and one hand buried in the ash, were heavy, dark, and covered with skin. The legs were separately bandaged. The ligaments were all strong and sound. The knees, when an attempt was made to bend them, showed that the sinews were still elastic. The utterly different condition of the lower part of the body was evidently due to the preserving properties of the ash.

115. Women's hair was observed in a few cases. In 3747 (vii-viiith) it was black, thick, long, and wavy. In 4846 (vth) and 5311 (xth) it had been worn in plaits; but this fashion was certainly not general. One man at least had a small beard and moustaches (731 vth).

CHAPTER XVIII

THE ATTITUDES OF THE BODIES

116. THE examination of the tombs dated to the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period revealed a striking variety in the attitudes in which the bodies had been interred. In the past it has been generally considered sufficient to record bodies as contracted, flexed, or extended, or in the five positions figured in *Tarkhan II*, pl. x. But there was now an excellent opportunity for making a study of the exact positions; and, if possible, discovering the history and causes of the changes, changes which were so obvious and so interesting to an enquirer.

The first necessity was to decide on some system of classification. Two ways were possible. One was to take the position of the arms as the main factor, the other, that of the legs. A general survey of the material made it quite clear that the legs were the more important factor. Next the question arose, should the leg be considered as a whole, or the

thigh only? A very acute angle at the knee is found through the whole of the period from the ivth to the xth dyns. So it seemed best, in order to get an historical sequence, to take the angle between the *thigh* and the spine as the deciding characteristic. These angles have been divided into groups as follows: (2) 30 degrees or rather less; (3) about 60 degrees; (4) right angles; (5) about 120 degrees; (6) about 140 degrees; (7) about 160 degrees; and (8) straight. These numbers form the first part of the type denomination. Where the two thighs differ, the lesser angle is taken.

Before considering the arms there were now various points for attention, such as the angle at the knee; the angle between the thighs, if any; and sometimes the position of the head with regard to the spine. For the second part of the *corpus* notation a letter is used. It was obviously impossible to have one letter reserved for all the possible combinations of these. Those used therefore are purely arbitrary, and do not always denote the same variety of position in each primary group. Thus, 6E means "thighs angle 140 degrees with spine, head at right angles to spine," while 8E means "legs straight, head turned left." The important point as to whether the body is lying on its left side or supine is also indicated by this letter. A glance at the plate (xxv) giving all the principal varieties of attitude will make the use of the letters clear. The same letter is used in each primary class for the same position (excluding the arms), but not necessarily the same in different primary classes.

The next question was the position of the arms. The third part of the *corpus* or type number was arranged to indicate this consistently in all classes. 1 (not actually written out) is used for both hands at face; 2 for a few rare varieties of position where the arms are not together, but both more or less raised; 3, one hand at face, other fore-arm at right angles to body; 4, one hand at face, other arm down; 5, both fore-arms at right angles to body; 6, one fore-arm at right angles, other arm down; 7, both arms extended in front of face; 8, fore-arms crossed over pelvis; 9, hands at sides; 10, one hand over pelvis, other at side; 11, both hands over pelvis.

117. Except in very rare cases, the heads of the bodies lay to the north. Where the head is to the south, two dashes are added to the type number, thus 2A"; head east, three dashes, 8F, ""; head west, four, 8F, ""'. All the types on pl. xxv show the

bodies on their left sides or supine. If the body was found on its right side, the type number is underlined. To simplify the drawing of the types, two arms (or two legs) are shown only when they differ in position. In the occasional cases where knees are bent up vertically, though the body is mainly on its left side, they are drawn as bent to the left.

It is not claimed that this system of classification is a perfect one. But the student who wishes to investigate the varieties of attitudes in this great period of change from the tightly contracted to the supine extended can now do so quickly and easily; he has only to run his eye down the attitude column in the Tomb Register, and pick out any he may wish.

118. Let us now see what is the prevalence of the various positions in the different periods. The percentages are given in the following tables:

Position.	LEGS				
	ivth.	vth.	vith.	viiith.	ixth.
2 . . .	40.00	7.84	6.04	2.49	4.15
3 . . .	12.00	5.88	6.79	1.49	1.84
4 . . .	12.00	12.75	4.91	2.99	1.38
5 . . .	12.00	9.81	8.30	.99	.46
6, 7 . .	12.00	53.92	52.45	52.74	38.71
8 . . .	12.00	9.80	21.51	39.30	53.46
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Examples .	25	102	265	210	217

Position.	ARMS				
	ivth.	vth.	vith.	viiith.	ixth.
1 . . .	68.00	45.10	36.98	15.92	15.24
2, 3 . .	8.00	2.94	7.93	4.97	5.06
4, 5 . .	—	5.88	5.66	10.45	10.13
6, 7, 8 .	4.00	19.61	15.09	20.40	14.74
9, 10, 11 .	20.00	26.47	34.34	48.26	54.83
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

These figures are based on all the attitudes recorded, omitting children. Small children are found huddled up in graves of all periods, and cannot therefore be brought into consideration. The total number of examples of the ivth dyn. is too few to be of value. Certain positions are lumped together, being very closely connected. Where the percentages are small, their increase or decrease with date cannot mean much. But the tables give a very clear picture of the main changes. In the vith dyn., thighs at 140-160 degrees are the rule; they gradually decrease in number, but are still common in the ix-xth dyns. Extended legs are rare in the vth dyn. and rapidly increase to become predominant in the ix-xth dyns. Contracted legs, though rare, are found at all periods, with a slight and unexpected increase in the ix-xth dyns.

Turning to the positions of the arms, we see in the vth and vith dyns. a marked preponderance of hands before face; and this feature is fairly common even in the last period. The position of both arms down becomes increasingly frequent. Combining the two tables, we see that in the vth dyn. the commonest position is hands up, knees bent; in the vith dyn. hands up or down, knees bent; in the vii-viiith dyns. hands down, knees bent; in the ix-xth dyns. hands down, knees straight. The most sudden change is the high figure for flexed knees in the vth dyn. after the common contracted position in the ivth dyn. All other changes are very gradual, and show a consistent development.

119. The other matter of immediate interest is how the changes occur with relation to sex. This has been worked out in percentages as before, the number of examples being rather fewer owing to the sex of some burials being undecided. See p. 51.

From this it is evident that there was not much difference in the treatment of the sexes. The increase of contracted burials in the ix-xth dyns. is almost entirely of males. The sudden increase of flexed knees in the vth dyn. applies equally to both sexes, but was always used slightly more for females than for males. On the other hand, the straight-legged position is consistently more common with men, as much as 14 per cent. more in the vth dyn. and then dropping to 8 per cent. or 9 per cent. more later. The same result appears at the end of the "Arms" table. The position with one arm at right angles (6) is more common consistently in all ages; while the reverse is the case with the hands-down attitude. The hands-before-face position, generally associated with the contracted knees, increases in the ix-xth dyns. with males only. It is evident, speaking generally, that the women are the more conservative: where a custom is going out (flexed knees), they are to the front in numbers; where a custom is coming in (straight legs), the males are to the fore.

120. There are many other points which can be worked out. I have, for instance, calculated the percentages of the occurrences of that very peculiar position 6A, 6B, 6C, with the heels under the pelvis, but not otherwise contracted. One would have expected a very limited range of date, but the results are as follows:

	vth.	vith.	viiith.	ixth.
Males . .	2.4	12.6	6.3	3.9
Females . .	9.3	7.1	8.5	11.5

LEGS

Position.	Sex.	ivth.		vth.		vith.		viiith.		ixth.	
2	M.	45.46		2.38		5.83		1.59		6.58	
	F.		30.00		11.67		4.73		2.57		3.28
3	M.	18.18		11.90		1.94		—		1.31	
	F.		10.00		2.31		9.45		2.57		.82
4	M.	—		9.53		4.85		—		1.31	
	F.		30.00		18.57		5.51		4.27		1.64
5	M.	9.09		7.14		7.77		3.18		—	
	F.		10.00		11.67		7.09		—		.82
6, 7	M.	18.18		52.38		53.40		50.79		31.58	
	F.		10.00		53.47		54.33		53.84		42.62
8	M.	9.09		16.67		26.21		44.44		59.22	
	F.		10.00		2.31		18.89		36.75		50.82
		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Examples		11	10	42	43	103	127	63	117	76	122

ARMS

Position.	Sex.	ivth.		vth.		vith.		viiith.		ixth.	
1	M.	72.73		42.86		38.84		14.29		18.42	
	F.		60.00		48.84		30.71		13.68		13.11
2, 3	M.	9.09		4.76		5.83		3.17		3.95	
	F.		10.00		—		10.24		6.84		4.92
4, 5	M.	—		7.14		3.88		4.76		9.21	
	F.		—		6.97		7.09		14.53		11.48
6, 7, 8	M.	—		16.67		13.59		19.04		9.21	
	F.		10.00		20.93		19.68		22.22		16.39
9, 10, 11	M.	18.18		28.57		37.86		58.74		59.21	
	F.		20.00		23.26		32.28		42.73		54.10
		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

An entirely different enquiry is whether the attitude varies with the status of the individual; that is to say, whether there is any distinction be-

tween rich and poor. But how is the status to be measured? It might almost be true to say that the more robbed a grave, the richer the deceased

Position.		ivth.		vth.		vith.		viiith.		ixth.	
2	Grave	45.00		7.41		8.83		7.25		8.03	
	Chamber		20.00		10.00		2.00		—		—
3	Grave	10.00		4.94		10.59		2.90		2.68	
	Chamber		20.00		10.00		—		.75		.94
4	Grave	10.00		13.58		5.29		4.35		2.68	
	Chamber		20.00		10.00		4.00		2.26		—
5	Grave	10.00		8.64		10.59		1.45		.89	
	Chamber		20.00		15.00		4.00		.75		—
6, 7	Grave	10.00		54.32		51.76		53.62		40.18	
	Chamber		20.00		50.00		53.00		52.63		38.68
8	Grave	15.00		11.11		12.94		30.43		45.54	
	Chamber		—		5.00		37.00		43.61		60.38
		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Examples		20	5	81	20	170	100	69	133	112	106

had been. One feature, however, is not affected by plundering, and that is the type of grave. It seems fair to consider that shafts with a chamber were made for persons of better standing than the owners of the shallow simple graves. The result of this enquiry is given in the third table on p. 51.

This table shows how the contracted position 2, and the partially contracted positions 3-5, lasted longest amongst the poor: this was to be expected. The points of interest lie in the numbers of flexed and extended. The great rise in numbers of flexed bodies in the vth dyn. is found equally among rich and poor, and they remain very equally distributed between the two classes in later periods. On the other hand, extended burials are more often of poor in the vth, but the rich are in considerable majority afterwards. This result is unexpected as to the vth dyn.; the number of examples is so small, however, that we perhaps get a wrong impression. Summing up, it seems evident that a *constant* proportion of poor were buried contracted all through; half both rich and poor are flexed from the vth to the viiith dyns., and rather less than half in the ix-xth dyns.; while the extended burials are considerably more usual among the rich from the vith dyn. onwards. Lumping together all the positions 2 to 5, more or less contracted, we see that in the vth dyn. the percentage is higher among the rich, but never afterwards. In fact it dies out in the ix-xth dyn. chamber tombs (only .94 per cent.), while the poor are still 14.28 per cent. The fact that the attitude was a matter of some indifference is shown by none of the three bodies in 3195 (vith) being laid in the same way. And adjoining the grave 5523 were two others, all of males and of the same period, which show the same thing.

CHAPTER XIX

THE STONE VASES OF THE FOURTH TO ELEVENTH DYNASTIES

121. THE classification adopted for the stone vases is as follows: (1) 1-9, Protodynastic types; (2) 10-39, cylinder jars and their derivatives; (3) 40-119, the large class of collar-necked vases; (4) 120-141, a variety of forms with single rims; (5) 142-150, flange-rimmed globular vases; (6) 151-157, a few very specialized types; (7) 158-189, little flat-bottomed jars; and (8) 190-219, mostly broken or cut-down examples.

The stone vases from Professor Petrie's work are all shown in photograph pl. xxx, where they are arranged in groups. My own are all drawn on ppl. xxvi-xxix, and five groups are given in photograph on pl. xxxi. The date is placed against each vase or group of vases, so that the details of the tombs from which they come can be looked up in the Tomb Register without it being necessary to hunt all through the different sections. The dates given are approximately correct; but they are only intended as guides to the sequence. Thus, vii-viii dyns., generally entered as viii, merely means "Early First Intermediate Period"; and ix-xth dyns., entered as ix, "Late First Intermediate Period." Where one date is followed by another in brackets it means that the tomb is entered in the one section of the Tomb Register, but that the second (bracketed) date would have been more correct. The dating of several tombs was revised after the Register was completed. All vases are of alabaster unless otherwise stated.

122. *Class 1.* Nos. 1-9, pl. xxvi. Forms like the Protodynastic. These are of little interest and hardly call for comment. Most are of hard stones; 1, 3, and 5, were possibly dug up by the Egyptians and re-used, being of iind or iiird dyn. date. 2 may have been handed down to the ivth dyn. 6, being of slate, looks like a case of re-use in the vith dyn., but I do not know of other examples of the form. 8 may be contemporary, but I should doubt it. 9 is a cylinder jar thoroughly worn out in the ivth dyn.

123. *Class 2.* Nos. 10-39, pl. xxvi. The cylinder jars. Here we get a series of types forming a sequence. The general shape changes from tall and slender in the vth dyn. to broad and squat in the vith and later. The earlier vases have at times curving sides, the later ones are much straighter. The rims project more and more. The foot gradually develops from a slight swelling out, with a gentle curve, to a more or less sharply projecting flange. Dated examples of some of these types are referred to in Section 26. A vase of Dad-ka-ra, like 29 of Queen Pepy-ankh-nes, was bought in 1923 by the British Museum (*Ill. London News*, 27th Oct. 1923). This shows how a form may have continued in use for a long period, in this case over seventy years. A still more striking case of this persistency is 28, where the tall and slender vth-dyn. form bears the name of Nefer-ka-ra (Pepy II). A similar vase with the same inscription is now in a dealer's shop

in Luxor (1926). Mention may here be made of the cylinder vases of vth-dyn. shape found in foundation deposits of the xviiiith dyn. This was a ritualistic survival, and indicates the date when such vases began to be used in this way. The many vases like 30 with the names of Unas, Pepy I, Mer-en-ra, and Pepy II in museums are well known. One of Pepy I is at University College.

A curious point which emerges is the complete absence of cylinder jars in the vii-viiiith dyns., with one exception of 14, which seems to be a case of re-use as it is of an early type. In the ix-xth dyns. several examples occur, 31-35, and 7880 pl. xxx. These are all small, with flanged rims and feet, often very delicately worked. It looks like a revival, copying the late vith-dyn. forms, but in miniature. The little green glazed steatite vases, 7329 pl. xxx, are closely like 35, and are probably of the same date. 36-38 are re-worked or broken-down vases. 39 is a scrap of a little alabaster cylinder jar found in a toilet box. It was probably used as a spatula or ointment spoon.

124. *Class 3.* Nos. 40-141. These well-known little collar-necked vases, almost always of alabaster, form a large proportion of the vases to be dealt with, some 150 having been found. So far these have always been called vith dyn.; and that is their general date. But examples of the ivth dyn. are known (unpublished); we have here eleven of the vth and eight of the v-vith dyns.; also eighteen of the vii-viiiith, and one of the ix-xth dyns. So we see that their date-range is considerably longer than was supposed. Seventy-four of our examples are, however, dated to the vith dyn., so that was certainly their flourishing period.

No classification of these vases has ever been attempted; and a definite one is a matter of great difficulty even with our large number of examples. The forms merge one into the other with no clear dividing lines. Some are obviously made to stand, such as 46; others are acutely pointed, such as 78. Some are long and narrow, as 57; others almost globular, as 118. The necks vary from those with lower rim projecting farther than the upper, as 40, to those where the opposite is the case, as 78. As the class as a whole is that of "collar-necks," it seems the best plan to subdivide them according to that character. They have, therefore, been divided into sub-classes, first, with projecting lower rim, 40-56; tall rims only slightly indented, 57-66; then projecting upper rims, 67-93; lastly, inter-

mediate ones, 94-119. But in these sub-classes I am afraid there are one or two out of place. Next, the vases are arranged in each sub-class with the flat bases first and the globular forms last. Finally, tall forms are placed before short forms. There are several inconsistencies in this arrangement; but this is due occasionally to the mechanical difficulty in arranging the drawings on the plates.

125. The general order of dates can now be examined. Here we must notice that 40, found in a ix-xth dyn. tomb, is of very finely worked diorite, the clearest possible case of re-use from the vth dyn., and more probably the ivth. In the first sub-class, 8 are of vth or v-vith, 8 of vith, and 1 of vii-viiiith dyns. In the second sub-class, 1 is vth, 8 are vith, and 1 is vii-viiiith dyns. In the third sub-class, 19 are vith, 6 are vii-viiiith, 1 is ix-xth. In the fourth and rather indefinite sub-class, 4 are vth or v-vith, 15 are vith, and 6 are vii-viiiith dyns. There is therefore good evidence that the projecting lower rim is the prototype, and the projecting upper rim the later form. In fact we can take the diorite vase, 40, as the best and earliest example in every respect. The vases on pl. xxx are not considered in this dating, as they were largely dated from these results.

Looking at the dates of the flat-based or definitely standing forms, we have 4 in the vth or v-vith, 6 in the vith, and 1 in the vii-viiiith dyns. If this is converted into percentages, we get 31, 12, and 7 per cent., showing clearly that the *flat-bottomed* collar-necks are the earlier forms.

We have four cases of collar-necks combined with ring-stands, 41, 42, 80 pl. xxvii, and 7306 pl. xxx. Three are vth, and one dated to Pepy I. They are known in the early ivth dyn. at Gizeh; so that their range is Old Kingdom and cannot be more closely defined. I know of none in the Intermediate Period.

The dates of the globular vases 54-56, 81-93, 114-119, are 2, or 15 per cent., in the v-vith; 13, or 26 per cent., in the vith; and 6, or 43 per cent., in the vii-viiiith dyns. The one case of a collar-neck in the ix-xth dyns. is globular. These figures give a clear indication that this shape became more and more popular, just as the flat-based type became less and less so.

Lids were never found with these vases. In fact the form of neck seems to have been intended for the tying-on of a linen cover. One case of a mud seal was noted, 74. Here there was clear proof that the

vase was an old broken one when buried, and therefore an object of ordinary use, not purely funerary. In fact we found defective vases over and over again, but never the missing pieces, showing they were broken by their use before burial.

126. *Class 4.* Single-rimmed types with high shoulders and splay necks, 120-124, all vith dyn.; a curious unique form of neck, 125, and group 548 pl. xxxi; standing vases 126-129; and types which fall into no other class, 130-141. Here again we see that small standing vases are generally of the vth or v-vith dyns. One, 130, had a mud sealing.

Class 5. A very well-defined group of globular vases with wide flanged necks, 142-150. They are occasionally of limestone, and are as a rule of very careful work. A distinct development is here again noticeable; the pointed styles are earliest, vith or vii-viii dyns.; the forms become more rounded in the vii-viii dyns.; and eventually almost bag-shaped in the ix-xth dyns. This sequence would be more reliable if there were a greater number of examples.

127. *Class 6.* Certain special forms. 151 is the prototype of one form of squat toilet vases in pottery (type 81, pl. lxxxvii), which are mostly of the vii-viii dyns. 152-154 with bevelled rim, of the vii-viii dyns., were copied in glaze in the ix-xth (pl. xxix, 12). 155 is a light very delicately cut vase, with a separate piece for the neck. 156 and 157 form part of an interesting group of four vases (photograph pl. xxxi, 978). In this the cylinder jar, and the collar-necked vase with its flat base, are of vth-dyn. date in all particulars. The other two have separate pieces for their bases; one is decorated with a plait pattern round the bottom, and a window with shutter on the side, all the lines being incised and coloured blue. The form is evidently derived from a granary with an opening at the side. An allied form is 7835, pl. xxx; see also PETRIE, *Denderah*, pl. xxi, in an early-vith or possibly vth-dyn. group. For model granaries in clay of the First Dynasty, see PETRIE, *Tombs of the Courtiers*, pl. xi, 123, 124.

128. *Class 7.* 158-189 form a long procession of types which have been classed together as they seem to form a series changing from tall to flat. The dating of these does not seem quite consistent, the very flat forms not all being ix-xth dyns., as one might expect them to be. Possibly a few of the graves in which the flatter vases are found should be dated a little later. These vases are often made of the pink-banded alabaster, the rim being

generally pink. Such are 185, 187, 7276 pl. xxx, and one or two where the colour has not been noted in the drawings. These vases are also found in blue glaze of the ix-xth dyns. (6, 7, 8, pl. xxix).

Class 8. 190-219 are mostly broken or badly worn vases and call for little comment. The lid 196 was found with the group 978 (pl. xxxi), but came from the northern part of the grave which had been plundered. It was the only lid found, with the exception of 18, pl. xxvi, from the same grave.

129. Vases of alabaster or other stone are almost exclusively confined to the graves of women. In the vth dyn. we found only 3, in the vith 2, and in the vii-viii 3 occurrences with probable males, against 13 in vth and v-vith, 32 in vith, 31 in vii-viii, and 13 in ix-xth and x-xith, with probable females.

The percentages of burials with alabaster vases to all burials recorded, works out at:

14.9	in the vth and v-vith,
14.2	„ vith,
14.9	„ vii-viii,
5.3	„ ix-xth.

Taking simple graves only, the percentages to total simple graves are:

17.2	in the vth and v-vith,
12.7	„ vith,
12.7	„ vii-viii,
3.3	„ ix-xth;

while for the shaft tombs with chambers we get:

6.3	in the vth and v-vith,
16.1	„ vith,
16.1	„ vii-viii,
6.9	„ ix-xth.

The sudden drop in the figures for the ix-xth dyns. after the constant percentages before is very remarkable, and agrees with the results from Sedment, where no alabaster vases were found in graves of this period. This is difficult to explain. The alabaster itself was not imported; but it may be that some of the ingredients used in the making of the perfumed ointments which they probably contained were of foreign origin, and not available at the time. Possibly it was due to poverty.

The number of vases in each tomb-group works out at 2.22 in the vth and v-vith dyns., 1.91 in the

with, and 1·28 in the vii-viiith, again showing the gradual decrease in their popularity. A slight rise to 1·45 in the ix-xth dyns. is due to one rather large group among the few solitary examples.

130. The vases are found in a variety of positions in the graves: at the head, at the hands or middle, and at the feet. When at the head they may be in either corner of the grave, before the face, behind or under the head. At the feet they are occasionally found in the corners, but generally close to the body, and in one case between the legs. They are rarely near the hands; two were at the right hand, another under the right elbow. Sometimes the vases, generally when more than one, were buried in little boxes, with other toilet articles; sometimes in baskets. Twenty-five such were noted, 4 in the vth and v-vith, 14 in the vith, 6 in the vii-viiith, and 1 in the ix-xth dyns. Probably more passed unnoticed owing to the disappearance of the wood through decay. Of these, 14 were at the feet and 9 at the head. It will be seen that the use of these receptacles died out in advance of the disuse of the alabaster vases. They are almost confined to the vith dyn. or just before. Very occasionally a special recess or shelf was cut in the wall of the grave to receive the toilet outfit. It was hard to say definitely in most cases whether the vases were inside or outside the coffin; they were probably more often outside, but were on occasions clearly within.

The actual positions and dates work out as follows:

	Head.	Hands, etc.	Feet.
v th and v-vith	9	2	12
vith	28	2	20
vii-viii th	22	4	13
ix-x th	11	2	1

These figures show that the head position, from being less favoured in the v-vith period, gradually became practically the only one. This was no doubt due to the change from the side- to the end-chamber type of tomb; the coffin was first put in feet foremost, and the vases then placed at the head.

131. There is not much to be said as to the material of the vases. The collar-necks are all of alabaster, except one in diorite. Limestone of different kinds, pink, shelly, and mottled, was used for a few types, especially the globular forms with flanged necks (142-150) and the simple standing vases (158-171). The pink-banded alabaster of types 85-87 has already been referred to.

There is no evidence as to the contents of the

vases. In one only was anything found. They did not contain *kohl*, as traces of that would have remained. One or two were found with mud sealings; probably most were covered with a linen cap. It is possible that they were often buried empty by the economical Egyptian. But it would seem that they were intended for scented ointment of various kinds, to be extracted with a spoon, spatula, or finger. It is to be inferred that these perfume vases were more especially of the collar-necked variety. A few of the other types are found in conjunction with the rough pieces of quartzite used as rubbers or grinders (see Section 149) and may have contained grease for mixing with the triturated matter. This was galena apparently in most cases (see Section 171). But we found one vase, 194, containing a red powder (oxide of iron?) and a lump of hair for applying it to the face. This was in a robbed grave, 3748, vii-viiith dyns., with no grinder; but grinders were found in other graves bearing a red stain as well as the usual black. In 4903 (vii-viiith) in the trinket-box together with other things were galena, red ochre (?), and hair, evidently for the same purpose.

CHAPTER XX

THE SEAL-AMULETS OF THE FOURTH TO ELEVENTH DYNASTIES

132. The three plates xxxii-xxxiv contain drawings of all the objects which can be classed under the one heading of "Seal-amulets." They were found during my three seasons' work at Qau, Hemamieh, and Badari, in graves and tombs of the iv-xith dyns., and include a number from Professor Petrie's work at Qau (numbered 7000). A few others of his are shown in the plates of tomb groups, xliii-xlix.

The use of the term "seal-amulet" needs some explanation. It is a matter of difficulty to find a name which will cover the whole group of objects comprising buttons, conoid and pyramidal stamps, forms with animal backs, oval, hemi-spherical, and hemi-cylindrical plaques, and scarabs. These are all alike in two respects, and in two only: they are all inscribed on the base with designs and figures of various kinds, and they are found on the bodies in the same position, i.e. with the bead necklaces. They are clearly intended for amulets, just as much as the other uninscribed ornaments, figures of gods,

hands, legs, and so on. But the presence of the designs on the bases gives them an entirely distinct character of their own; and as they are in many cases of seal-like form they have been classed together under the one heading of "Seal-amulets." Scarabs we know were occasionally used as seals; and a sealing from a button or plaque with a geometric pattern is in the Berlin Museum (No. 20378). But many of the examples are impossible to use in such a way; the material is too fragile; some of the backs, such as the pyramids and ridged buttons, cannot be conveniently held in the fingers; and occasionally the engraving is more or less filled up with glaze. "Seal-like amulets" would be a more accurate description, but is rather clumsy. "Inscribed amulets" is a term which, while quite accurate, scarcely differentiates the class sufficiently from the great number of amulets representing gods, holy objects, and so forth. Professor Petrie uses the convenient term "badges" for the buttons proper; but this can hardly be used to include scarabs.

The backs are the most important feature for the purpose of sequencing, and each seal-amulet is shown in at least two views, sometimes three, or even four. The scarabs are mostly shown in three aspects, as the side view is of primary importance; both the very flat variety without legs, and the tall type with the legs cut *à jour*, are characteristic. The material is given at the bottom right, and the grave number at the bottom left corner. After this grave number follows a Roman number giving the period. To simplify matters, the periods vii-viii dyns. and ix-xth dyns. are expressed by viii and ix respectively. These "dates" must not be taken too literally: they are only intended to indicate the sequence of the various changes, though no doubt most of the examples are of the actual dates specified. Thus it must be understood that viii means "Early First Intermediate" and ix "Late First Intermediate Period" only.

133. The arrangement of the seal amulets has been made primarily according to *forms*, the oldest form coming first. Thus we have the cylinders at the beginning, 1-3. Next come the little pyramidal seals 7-16, which appear to develop into the well-known rectangular hemi-cylinders 21-28; these are, therefore, shown together, with the *square* hemi-cylinders, 17-20, intermediate. The dates and the designs both bear out this derivation, but I do not wish to insist on the point, as there is an

insufficient number of examples to make the matter certain.

Next comes the large class of buttons. Here there is a difficulty in classifying the backs. The low ridge, from edge to edge, pierced transversely, makes a fairly well-marked class (29-36). Next follows a higher ridge, also from edge to edge, but more like a shank (37-45). Finally, we get the great mass of buttons with a true shank, not from edge to edge, but always leaving a more or less flat rim round it. These are subdivided again into square (46-54) and circular (55-108). The square forms are arranged according to designs, as also are the circular. Men (55-58), couchant lion (59), crocodiles and lizards (62-72), bird (73), jackal (74), unintelligible (75-87), swastika (88), criss-crosses (89-98). The backs of 99-108 are all probably shanks.

Following these are the backs of animal forms, hippopotamus (110), monkey (109, 111, 112), frog (113-117), lion (118-124). Next in order are the animal-head backs, human (125), double hawk (?) (126), ram (127), and hippopotamus (128-133). These last may be confused with the beetle backs, so I have placed that class next (134-137). It is a difficult matter to decide the difference between a beetle seal-amulet and a true scarab. 137 is practically a scarab. 138 is a beetle amulet in scarab form, but with a plain base. 139 is a nondescript scarab from a pot burial, and may be as late as the ixth dyn. 140 should not have been included; it is certainly later than the xiith dyn.

134. We now come to the scarabs proper. Earliest in date are the flat backs without legs (141-154, and 157). 155 and 156 are of a similar style, and all have debased maze patterns, except the last two, one of which has the triple lotus. All have two lines down the back, except 141-143, which have one only. These curious flat scarabs bear a marked resemblance in their form to some of those which have well-cut signs on the base, occasionally bear kings' names, and are attributed to the vth dyn. by Professor Petrie. The dating of the two classes of scarabs is thus confirmed to some extent.

The next class of scarabs are the high-backed with well-marked legs, often very beautifully cut. Some have one line down the back (158, 159), some have three (169, 184, 198, and 199), the majority two. The designs on these consist of various elements. The seated man (158, 162, 163), the crocodile (168), and the two birds and *ankh* (170),

which are found on the buttons; the man with arms raised (169), as on the plaque (208); the beetle (159-161, 164-167, 177); the curious patterns divided into two parts (172-176, 178-182, 184); the small cross-hatched pointed ovals (158, 168, 169, 171, 185, 186, 190, 197); one regular maze only (183); the triple lotus (157, 163, 186-191); and a few others.

Following the scarabs are the curious *uzat*, 203; the two prisms with regular button designs, 204, 205; and the series of plaques, rectangular, 206-210, and oval, 211-220. Lastly come the non-button circular seals with various backs: the bell-shaped with pierced knob, 221, 222; the floral boss, 223, 224; the flat, 225, 226; and the plain boss, 227-229.

135. A study of all the various buttons and other kindred amulets found at Qau and Badari brings out the following points:

(1) *Form*. The earliest form is the rough truncated cone in the ivth or early vth dyn. Next comes the little pyramid, with or without an acute apex, beginning in the vth dyn., and found as late as the vii-viiiith. This degenerates into the square hemi-cylinders, vii-viiiith dyns.; and these again into the rectangular hemi-cylinders, nearly all of which come into the ix-xth dyn. period. The patterns change to some extent with the form, hares first, then monkeys, men, and seated men. These last turn into maze-patterns in the latest hemi-cylinders.

The true buttons begin with the cross-perforated ridge back (29-44). One of these (32), oval in shape, may be as early as the vth dyn. Of the others, ten are of the vith and five a little later. Next come the large class with a more or less clearly marked shank back. The bases are generally circular, but sometimes square. Of the circular, we have twenty-four in the vith dyn., twenty in the vii-viiiith dyns., and one only in the ix-xth. This latter has early characteristics, and is quite possibly not contemporary. Of the nine examples of square base, two are vith, and seven vii-viiiith dyns., so that this form appears to be rather later. The examples are too few, however, for the point to be stressed.

136. The next form of back with animals or animals' heads is almost confined to the post-vith period. One ivory monkey, an ivory double hawk head, and a hippopotamus are the only ones dated to the vith dyn. Against this we have thirteen examples in the vii-viiiith, and twelve in the ix-xth. The frogs are all vii-viiiith, so are the hippopotamus

heads. The lions of good work are vii-viiiith, while the smaller ones with maze patterns are all ix-xth.

Four other classes remain: the four-sided prisms, the flat rectangular plaques, the ovals generally with flattened ends, and the circular plaques and bosses. The prisms (204, 205) are both of the ix-xith dyns. The plaques and the ovals, with one exception, belong to the same period. The circular plaques and bosses are found as early as the vii-viiiith, and continue into the xiith dyn. and later.

137. (2) *Material*. Steatite is the most favoured material through all periods for all forms. It is almost exclusively used for pyramids, animals, plaques, and ovals. The buttons with ridge backs are usually of stone or ivory, less usually of glaze; the buttons with shank backs are half of glaze and half of steatite, ivory, or other materials. Ivory or bone is practically confined to the vth and vith dyns. One example was found of the vii-viiiith, and one very doubtful one in the ix-xth. Blue and green glaze diminishes from fourteen examples in the vith to nine in the vii-viiiith and seven in the ix-xth. Black glaze, on the other hand, is markedly vii-viiiith; eighteen cases are so dated, while one is previous and two subsequent. Carnelian or sard, limestone, shell(?), pottery, and metal are rarely used.

(3) *Design*. The designs are so varied that little can be said of them here. The maze patterns are practically confined to the ix-xth dyns. Quite unintelligible patterns are found equally in the vith (12) and vii-viiiith (15). Simple criss-crosses, with variations, are mostly vith. The seated man with one arm raised is the most persistent of all *motifs*, and is used even on scarabs.

138. (4) *Position*. The almost invariable position of all such amulets, including the scarabs, was at the neck, generally threaded on the necklaces as a centre-piece or alone on a string; 66 such cases were noted. In one grave, 1126 vth, the button may have been on the wrist, but the hands were before the face, and therefore the wrists were close to the neck. In another, 3306 vii-viiiith, the seal-amulet was at the waist. In 4903, vii-viiiith, it may have been at the pelvis or in the box close by. The copper seal in 1107, ix-xth, was found resting on the skull. Two amulets were on the hands, left in 1595 ix-xth, right in 5301 xith; and one in 3411 ix-xth was probably on a hand. All these three were scarabs. Some six examples were in the toilet boxes, and not on the bodies. The only other

records of the position of buttons are: (1) GARSTANG *Mahâsna*, p. 33. There the more usual practice was to wear the button on a finger or hold it in the left hand, but we found no such usage at Qau and Badari; (2) PETRIE and MACKAY, *Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar*, and *Shurafa*, p. 14, grave 28 (on a string at the neck); (3) PETRIE, *Denderah*, p. 10, (near the throat); and (4) NAVILLE and PEET, *Cemeteries of Abydos I*, p. 18.

It must be borne in mind that in speaking of the periods vii-viiith and ix-xth dyns., only "Early First Intermediate" and "Late First Intermediate" are implied. It is obvious that customs did not change with a sudden abruptness when the first king of a new family ascended the throne.

139. Another question that arises is whether these seal-amulets were purely funerary or also used during life. It is almost certain that the latter was the case. They are found damaged (39, 55, 75, 113, 119, for example); the copper monkey (111) is so worn that the signs on the base have almost disappeared; in two cases the shank has been broken, and a fresh hole made, in 87 right through the base, and in 94 through the shank. On one necklace the shank only remained, 1522. In graves 3125, 3217, the button-amulets were placed in the trinket boxes; in 3217 it was inside the carved shell. In 1638 and 4903 they were also probably in the boxes; while the ram-headed seal, 127, was put away in a Predynastic pot. The evidence is not so clear for the scarabs, but there is no reason to suppose that they were funerary.

Next comes the question whether both sexes used them. Here a surprising state of affairs is seen. Of the whole series of 229 buttons and scarabs, only 5 buttons, 1 animal, 4 scarabs, and 1 plaque are found on male bodies. We may wonder whether in those cases an error has not been made in the sexing. The five graves of presumably male bodies with seal-amulets are 436, 591, 676, 927, and 5542, all of the vith dyn. 436 is noted by the observer as doubtful; so is 5542. 676 was not disturbed, and contained in addition amulets, beads, and alabasters found almost exclusively with females; 591 was quite disturbed. But 927 was untouched, and in it was the burial with offering pots only. It seems fair to say, therefore, that they were extremely rarely worn by men, and then only in the early time of their general use among the middle and lower classes. These remarks apply

equally to the scarabs which came into general use after the buttons had gone out of fashion.

In this connexion it is interesting to note the cases where more than one seal-amulet occurs in a grave. We find cases of two and of three buttons, of button and pyramid, of button and animal, and of two animal seals. We also find graves with hemicylinders and scarabs, with plaques and scarabs, with two plaques, and with two or more scarabs. There are eleven cases of combinations in the first group, and twenty-two cases in the second; but we never find a button or an animal with a scarab or plaque. There seems to have been a fashion of wearing two seal-amulets in the ix-xth dyns., twenty-one graves showing this at Qau, Hemamieh, and Badari. In fact, of the sixty-two scarabs shown in the plates, thirty-two were found in combination with another scarab, plaque, or hemicylinder. Apparently the new fashion of wearing scarabs as charms did not prevent people clinging to their older forms of amulets for protection. Cp. the Christian cross with a Bes amulet on a necklace (vol. iii).

If we consider un plundered graves only, the percentages containing (1) no seal-amulets, (2) buttons, animals, pyramids, (3) scarabs and plaques, are as follows:

Date.	Tomb.	None.	Buttons, etc.	Scarabs, etc.
vith	Simple .	84.9	15.1	—
	Chamber .	78.0	22.0	—
viii th	Simple .	67.8	26.8	5.4
	Chamber .	68.8	20.4	10.8
ix th	Simple .	70.8	7.0	22.2
	Chamber .	68.5	4.1	27.4

These figures show (1) that the use of button and animal-backed seal-amulets increased in the vii-viiith dyns.; (2) that there are rather more seal-amulets in chambers than in simple graves in the vith dyn.; (3) that the proportions are nearly equal afterwards; (4) that scarabs are more usually found in chambers. In other words, it was the ruling class or the wealthier persons who adopted the new fashions, as might have been expected.

It has been pointed out that the earliest scarabs found in our work, of the Early First Intermediate Period, are of a distinct type, thin and flat, without legs. This agrees with the style of the scarabs which Professor Petrie would date to the vith dyn. (in the collection at University Coll.). It is true that no scarabs are found in graves of that age; but their use may have been confined to a higher

stratum of society than that of the occupants of a general cemetery. Or, possibly, their amuletic value grew with time, until they were considered efficacious for the well-being of the dead. Probably a long time elapsed before the wearing of scarabs either in life or death became a common fashion.

CHAPTER XXI

THE WEAPONS AND TOOLS OF THE FOURTH TO ELEVENTH DYNASTIES

140. The weapons and tools are all described as of copper, but the metal has not been analysed in any case, and is doubtless more or less impure. They consist of long daggers, a spear-head, and four different forms of axes. Four of the daggers, 1-4, are of an unusual type without midrib, and with a tang widening out more or less at the end. The tang must have been covered in some way with wood to give a longer and more comfortable grip, but this has entirely decayed away. The other dagger, 5, is of quite different and more usual form, with midrib. The handle was made of wood riveted to the blade, and ended in a butt of copper, with a ridge all round to prevent the hand from slipping. These all date from the vii-viii or ix-xth dyns., a period of weak central government when there was a considerable amount of disorder in the provinces, and it behoved a man to go armed. For similar daggers see MACE, *Naga ed Dêr II*, pl. lvi, d. On pl. xlii are photographs of the three tanged and the one riveted dagger. Alongside the dagger 974 is the photograph of a smaller dagger of similar shape, but of iron. This was found loose in Cemetery 200, a small piece of ground jutting into the fields south of the main cemeteries at Qau. See pl. i. There had been graves here of the latest Predynastic age; also Roman graves, and an early Arab village; but no remains of any other date. The ground had been thoroughly ransacked and we found little of interest. The shapes of these two daggers are remarkably similar, though one has a much longer tang, and it has been suggested that therefore the iron one is of the same date as the other, vii-viii dyns. This is not absolutely impossible; but iron bangles of the Roman age found here were eaten away with rust, while the dagger is almost clean. It was

found near the Arab rubbish, and had possibly been dropped by the villagers.

The spear-head, with dyn. (6, and pl. xlii, 2001), is the oldest of the weapons we found. It has a midrib and tang. Spear-heads usually have sockets (PETRIE, *Tools and Weapons*, pl. xl); for similar spear-heads see MACE, *Naga ed Dêr II*, pl. lvi, d.

Next come four different forms of battle-axes. Nos. 11 and 12 are two varieties of the scalloped axe, the long and straight with rivets, and the curved with ferrules: the first is well known in the xiith dyn.; the latter may be the earlier form. Nos. 13 and 15 are plain blade axes with holes for the leather lashings by which they were fastened to their handles. No. 13 is the earlier shallow type with lugs turned down to engage in the sockets or ferrules; this form seems to have died out before the xiith dyn. No. 15, on the other hand, had a long range of use; but this is a carpenter's tool rather than a weapon, and occurs in most of our groups of model tools dating from the viith dyn. onwards.

The eight daggers and battle-axes were found with male burials in six cases; in the other two the sex could not be determined. Three were extended with hands down, four were quite disturbed, and one, 974, was in the 7b attitude (pl. xxv). The spear-head, 6, was lying on the face; the axe, 12, was at the feet; and the dagger, 3, from grave 974, was lying with two jars and a dish on the floor of the shaft just outside the bricking of the chamber.

141. Turning now to the tools, we have 7, a single barb harpoon (photograph pl. xlii, 3251) of the viith dyn.; 8, a borer of the vii-viii; a fine adze, 9, of the vii-viii; and 14, a large awl of the vth. The harpoon is the only one of the Old Kingdom that I know of, and its form is unique. I can also find no counterparts of 8 and 14. The adze, 9, is of the type with round head referred to the viith dyn. (PETRIE, *Tools and Weapons*, pl. xv, 48). It is again unique in being attached to a copper angle-piece by a strong lashing of copper tape, the lashings running both round and up and down. The vertical lashing shows that there must have been horizontal projections on both the blade and the angle-piece; but the corrosion prevented a proper view. This tool was most unfortunately stolen from my house at Badari; but it was the only antiquity taken, and the drawing of it had been made, according to the very necessary routine, the day after it had been found.

The tools were buried with males in both cases where the sex was determinable; and it is probable that all actual weapons and tools come from male burials.

142. The case is different with the sets of model tools, 16-27. These were intended for the use of the spirit servants of the deceased, and we found one set with a female, 914, while four were with males (330, 2061 drawn; 7356, 7806 not drawn). In two cases they had been placed just in front of the chest (914, 7806); in another they were laid in a dish west of the head (7654); while yet again a little recess, 10 × 25 ins., in the west wall of the tomb, was made for them.

These models include the hatchet and adze, which are easily identified; the saw, in 20, 25, and 27; a variety of forms of chisels or gravers; a large kind of knife in 19, which may, however, be an actual tool; and also, rather unexpectedly as models, two daggers (20) and a mirror (26). Many show traces of their wooden handles. Nos. 17, 18, may be spear-heads, as also possibly 16, but these last three do not necessarily belong to sets of model tools at all. With 23 is a little copper cap or ferrule with two rivet holes, rather crushed. An interesting point arises with regard to the forms of hatchets and adzes. Most of the hatchets have lugs more or less pronounced, except one with no lugs at all (20). The adzes all have the rounded top without ridge except two, one of which again is in 20. In this set is the model dagger, much like 2 and 3, but with wider shoulders. Possibly the set 20 (tomb 4973) should be placed earlier than ix-xth dyns., but the pottery forms will not well agree with this. A saw was found loose in Cemetery 3400.

The sets are mostly from robbed graves, so that we cannot be certain whether there was ever supposed to be a standard outfit. There are never more than two adzes or two hatchets or one saw. The chisels of one kind might number three, but they are not well defined and might be intended for different tools.

143. There remains one drawing on pl. xxxviii to be noticed. This is 10, the reconstruction of a box-fastening. In many tombs we found one, or more generally a pair, of little copper hooks, bent in various ways, pointed at one end, and the other rather thick and bent over. They are entered on the Tomb Register as "hasps." They were for a long time a great puzzle, until we found one actually remaining in a tiny scrap of wood. Their purpose

now was clear. Instead of the more usual knobs, these copper eyes were used for fastening the trinket boxes. The thick end was first bent round into a little semicircle, and the pointed end then hammered into the lid or side of the box, leaving a projecting point which was hammered over on the inside of the wood to prevent the withdrawal of the eye. When it was desired to secure the box, the two eyes were tied together with string, and the knot sealed. In one case, grave 3143 (vith), the hook still had remains of string adhering to it.

We found traces of 28 boxes, all, where sexing was possible, with females except one. The one case recorded as male, 471 (vth), might easily have been mis-sexed, as the skull and pelvis were both wanting.

The sizes of the boxes could be determined to some extent in five cases: in 680 (vth), 9 × 9 × ? ins., $\frac{3}{8}$ in. thick; in 971 (vith), 17 × ? × 11 ins.; in 3215 (vith), $8\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ ins., $\frac{3}{8}$ in. thick; in 4853 (vith), 6 ? × 9 × ? ins.; in 7785 (vith), $8\frac{1}{2} \times 9 \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ ins., $\frac{1}{4}$ in. thick. A 9-in. cube was, therefore, the usual size, as far as our information goes. In 3134 (vith) a cubic recess was cut to receive the box, 30 ins. each way. The large box in 971 contained the mirror, a quite exceptional state of affairs, as the mirrors were generally before the face, while the boxes were either south of the feet (60 per cent.) or north of the head (30 per cent.). They were covered with a thin layer of painted stucco, white inside and outside in 680 (vth), 3125 (vith), and 7931 (vii-viiiith); pink in and brown out in 4853 (vith); and red in and out in 7785 (vith). At the present day in Egypt it is usual to see little store-boxes painted bright red.

The copper eyes were generally but not always present; they may have been sometimes overlooked. Thus from 680 (vth), 5535, 7763, 7785 (vith), 5207, 7880 (vii-viiiith), and 914 (ix-xth), all undisturbed, none was recovered. Possibly they were not used in the vth or ixth dyn. In only a single instance were more than two found; in grave 1115 (vii-viiiith) there were parts of three and a copper nail (?) possibly implying two pairs.

144. These boxes contained the toilet outfit, spare beads and amulets, and knick-knacks. The following list will give an idea of this:

vth dyn.:

471. 3 alab. vases.

680. 4 alab. vases, *Spatha* shell, fossil coral.

v-vith dyn. :

2050. Contents gone.

vith dyn. :

- 412. 6 alab. vases.
- 971. 2 alab. vases, mirror, grinder.
- 1006. Contents gone.
- 1037. 2 alab. vases, mirror ??
- 1066. 1 alab. vase, grinder, galena.
- 3107. Grinder, mirror ??
- 3125. 4 alab. vases, beads, button.
- 3143. 3 alab. vases.
- 4853. 3 alab. vases.
- 5535. 5 alab. vases, beads, spatula, scrap of cylinder jar.
- 7763. 1 alab. vase.
- 7785. 1 alab. vase, 2 squat pots.
- 7807. 2 alab. vases, squat pot.

vii-viiiith dyn. :

- 1115. 2 alab. vases, squat pot, grinder.
- 1132. Contents gone.
- 2040. Shell, 2 grinders, beads.
- 3105. Contents gone.
- 3114. 1 alab. vase ?
- 4822. Grinder ?
- 4903. 1 alab. vase, bone pin, shell, amulet, galena, red ochre, hair, squat pot, button.
- 5207. Needle, 3 fish spines, pebble, shells, 2 buttons, beads, galena, malachite.
- 7880. Squat pot ?, 2 grinders ?, 2 *Spatha* shells ?
- 7931. 2 grinders.

ix-xth dyn. :

- 914. 2 alab. vases, paint palette, pot, beads, knife, model tools, 3 scarabs, *kohl*-stick.
- 1602. Grinder ?

One other case of a box with copper eyes may be added here. This was in grave 956 (vith), where it was used as a coffin for an infant. Its dimensions were $20 \times 25\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ ins.; it was painted red, and one copper eye remained at the centre of one edge of the lid.

CHAPTER XXII

OTHER OBJECTS OF THE FOURTH TO ELEVENTH DYNASTIES

145. *The Mirrors*. Pl. xxxix. These are all nominally of copper; but the metal has not been

analysed, and it is not known how much tin or other alloys it may contain. Very often the corrosion could be split off, showing the still polished surface bright underneath; but in some cases the metal had oxidized right through. In two cases only were parts of the handles recovered; they were of wood, which in other graves had completely rotted away. No. 24 shows the usual papyrus head to the handle, with the tang fitting into it. No. 26 shows the reeded stem of another handle, with the lines of binding at the top, and the projection to fit into the papyrus head which was made in a separate piece. The mirrors were carefully kept wrapped in cloth; this is generally evident from the impress of the fibres remaining on the corroded surface. The forms vary from the almost circular (a very few small specimens) to the more or less flattened oval. One, 25, an upright oval, is the trimmed remnant of a larger one; it came from a poor shallow grave with no alabaster vases and only one pot. The tangs vary from the straight parallel-sided type, as 9, to that with sloping sides, as 1 and 2. The tang may end in a straight cross-line, or in a curve, as 12. The tang may also be thicker than the blade, or the same thickness. No. 27 shows a new tang riveted on to replace a broken one. Perhaps the tang with sloping sides is the earlier form; little else can be said as to development of type. Varieties of which there are several examples such as 18, 20, and 23, have a wide time-range; 22 and 6 are, however, practically confined to one period each, i.e. vith and vii-viiiith dyns. respectively.

146. Mirrors older than the vith dyn are very rare. These five examples, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 22, are therefore of interest. For other early mirrors see PETRIE, *Objects of Daily Use*, pp. 44, 48.

The percentages to all tombs in each period works out at :

	Per cent.
ivth and iv-vth dyns.	3.3
vth and v-vith	1.3
vith	5.5
vii-viiiith	6.4
ix-xith	2.1

These figures may be compared with those for the alabaster vases in Section 129. It will be seen that they are much rarer than the stone vases, but they increase in numbers up to the vii-viiiith dyns., unlike the alabaster vases, which remain constant. In the ix-xith dyns. there is the same drop to about

one-third of the previous percentage. Their absence is not due to robbers, as we several times found them in graves which had been well ransacked, while many untouched graves of women did not contain them. Either poverty or a difficulty in obtaining the metal is indicated. The same absence of mirrors was noticeable at Sedment in the ix-xth dyn. cemeteries, where four only were found (*Sedment I*, p. 6).

147. Where sexing was possible it was seen that the mirrors were all in graves of women, generally young ones, except in one case, tomb 1089; here the pelvis was too decayed to be of use, but the skull was strongly male, and the copper awl would agree with this. There is no reason to suppose that men did not use mirrors or other toilet articles; but it is to be noted that the graves of men containing such are all early.

The regular place for the mirror was before the face or chest (24 cases); it might be above, under, or behind the head (5 cases); it was at the hand, with arms at the sides (2 cases); it was on the coffin-lid once; in a box at the feet once; and the three mirrors of grave 1030 were standing together in the north-west corner of the chamber.

Two instances of more than one mirror in a grave are 1030 (vii-viiiith) with three; and 1917 (v-vith) with two. On the other hand, a model had to suffice in 859 (vii-viiiith).

148. *The Pillows or Head-rests*. Pl. xli, 26-31. These were rarely recovered; being mostly of wood they had completely rotted away. One rough three-legged one, 26, survived; and scraps of another in 1098 (vith) showed that it had been of an ordinary type, in three pieces much like pl. xiv, 1, in *Sedment I*.

In harder materials, three of alabaster were found, two drawn (30, 31; photograph, pl. xxxi, 616), and one not (tomb 7908), all of the vii-viiiith dyns. There was also a rough one in limestone (grave 895, vith), and eight of pottery, 27, 28, 29, and four not drawn (graves 1541, 3200, 5335, 5346).

These were no doubt always placed under the head. In eight cases we found bricks used, and there were probably more of these disturbed by plunderers. Sometimes only half-bricks were used; in one case two halves were placed under the head at right angles to each other; in another, one half was under the head, and the other half under the right hand. The pottery head-rests and the bricks are found right through from vith to xth dyns.

Eleven head-rests were probably with males, nine with females. The alabaster pillows were all in men's graves.

149. *The Sandstone Grinders*. In 115 of the graves small rough pieces of sandstone, or rather quartzite, were found. These varied in size, but averaged about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, and 1 in. thick. One of the large faces was generally rather smooth, and sometimes both. They were probably sometimes overlooked by the workmen as not being "antikas." We supposed them to be whetstones at first, but they showed no discoloration from copper, and eventually their use became clear. They were sometimes in the toilet outfits; several times galena (or manganese) was found with them; once the galena had a flat, polished side to it showing that it had been ground; and the grinders occasionally showed a black stain on one side. Twice we found black stain on one side, and red on the other (graves 1936 and 5313, vii-viiiith); one had a red stain only (grave 1653, ix-xth). See Section 131. There can be no doubt that their purpose was for grinding down the eye and face paint; this was mixed with grease of some kind, kept in a pot or other receptacle. What this receptacle generally was is obvious. Twenty-seven of the graves were badly plundered or contained no toilet objects except the grinders. Of the remainder, sixty-seven contained a squat pot (types 80-89 in the *corpus*), fifteen no squat but alabaster vases, four no squat nor alabaster but *Spatha* shells, and one a little glaze pot only. The figures can be tabulated thus:

	vith, v-vith.	vith, vii-viiiith.	ix-xth.	x-xith.
With squat pots . . .	1	4	24	37
" alabaster vases . . .	—	7	7	2
" shells . . .	—	1	3	—
" glaze pot . . .	—	—	—	1
" nothing . . .	—	5	4	6
Plundered . . .	—	4	6	2
Total . . .	1	21	44	48
Percentage to total graves	.6%	4.2%	11.3%	13.5%

The grinders were more often than not found close to the squat pots, and it is obvious that the latter contained the grease, or possibly the mixed product occasionally. One squat pot in grave 4812 (ix-xth) was provided with a rough lid of slate. Alabasters might be used, but no special form was adopted for this use. In other words, there are certainly no alabaster *kohl*-pots in the period under review

Spatha shells were used to mix the powder and grease from the Predynastic age onwards, as cheap and convenient; but the palm of the hand was always available.

The absence of grinders in some graves where they might have been expected can be accounted for by carelessness of ancient or modern Egyptians, or youth, old age, or poverty of deceased. Further, a more well-to-do person would have had her paint ground for her by a servant.

The grinders are all with female burials; the two or three apparent exceptions are almost certainly mis-sexed. They are sometimes found at the feet, but were more usually placed in front of the face or, at any rate, near the head. In the ix-xth dyns. they are all, with one exception, in the latter position.

Grinders were buried in pairs in two graves (2040 and 7880, vii-viii), presumably for red and black paint.

150. *The Palettes*. Pl. xl, 15-17. These are of quartzite, and are carefully shaped in a form which is generally dated to the Middle Kingdom. This occurs also in the tomb of Queen Hetepheres (REISNER, *Ill. London News*, 26th March 1927, p. 538); while another example bears the name of King Dad-kara of the vth dyn. (PETRIE, *A History of Egypt I*, p. 92.) These, however, may have been intended for some other use. Only 7 examples were found in our cemeteries, 4 in the ix-xth period and no doubt to the latter end of it, 2 in the xth dyn., and 1 loose in Cemetery 1800. Two are associated with Late First Intermediate scarabs. One was with galena, one with manganese, another with a small blue glaze vase; but there was still no trace of the usual alabaster *kohl*-pot. There was, however, an ivory *kohl*-stick in grave 914 (ix-xth).

151. We can now review the history of eye-paint as shown us by objects placed in graves. In the earliest Badarian and Predynastic times slates were used on which to grind the eye or other paint with brown jasper pebbles. The paint was almost exclusively malachite, until Protodynastic times, when galena superseded it almost entirely. Oxide of manganese is also found (see Section 171), also hornblende, but it seems impossible that this hard mineral could have been ground up for eye-paint. The slates then also gradually disappear, none being known after the 1st dyn., and hardly any then. The use of this cosmetic seems to have been of less importance during the first four dynasties; there is little trace of it in the graves of the

time. Our little grinders appear in the vth dyn., and become increasingly general up to the ix-xth period, when they reach their greatest popularity. With them the squat pots, for holding the grease or the ground and mixed paints, likewise increase in numbers. After the ix-xth dyns. there is a very sudden drop, in fact the grinders may be said to disappear, their place being taken by the little shaped palettes which are of Middle Kingdom date, though they are not at all common objects in the graves of that age. The Middle Kingdom, too, saw the commencement of the vogue of the regular little alabaster *kohl*-pots, such well-known objects in graves from the xiith to the xviii dyns. These, in the reign of Thothmes III, gave place to the *kohl*-tube. I think we can safely infer that up to the xth dyn. it was the custom to grind the paint at home. After that date the powdered mineral was purchased, the *kohl*-pot being taken to the shop to be refilled from time to time. This is much like the grinding of paints by artists in the Middle Ages compared with the habits of the present day.

The paint was first applied with the finger, as far as we know; it is only in the xth dyn. that *kohl* sticks begin to appear.

At the present day *kohl* is applied as a dry powder, and it may be questioned whether it was not so used in ancient times. That it was mixed with some medium such as grease is suggested by the very frequent occurrence of the grinders and squat pots (or small alabaster vases) in close combination; and a *kohl* paste was actually found in a toilet-shell. In modern Egypt the material used is soot derived from the very oily *qurtum* plant, which is much more adherent than a ground-up mineral such as galena or malachite.

152. *Blue Glaze Objects*. Pl. xxix, 1-12, 15, 16, 19, 20. Blue glaze vases were very rare, and generally small. Two are of the vii-viii dyns. (2, and pl. xxx, 7930), and ten of the ix-xth (3-12). The forms show little variation; but the vases tend to increase in size. The shapes are often like those of the alabaster vases which they superseded; 7 and 8 are like 169, pl. xxviii; the rim of 12 like the rims of 153 and 154; the sharp shoulder of 10 and 12 like that of 154, which, however, has no projecting foot. The multiple rim of 5 is curious; a similar style of work is shown in the rilled cups from Kerma of the early xiith dyn.; but these are generally decorated on the inside. (REISNER,

Kerma IV-V, p. 155, fig. 182, 15.) Blue glaze vases of this period are almost unknown. There is a small indigo-blue glaze pot at University College, London, with gold and other beads of the vii-viii dyns. (PETRIE, *Diospolis Parva*, pl. xxviii, p. 39, grave X59.)

The colour had become in most cases very poor, owing to the damp. One, 8, was almost certainly originally green. The best-preserved example, 1, is of a deep rich blue; as is also the vase 7930, pl. xxx. These two, and 3, are all decorated with blobs of black glaze. No. 1 was found loose in Cemetery 5200; there was no exterior evidence of date, and there were graves in the cemetery of later periods; but I think that the decoration is sufficient to date it to the general age of the cemetery, vii-viii dyns. The use of black decoration on blue glaze is also seen in 19 (vth), and in various amulets such as 1d₁₂ (ivth), 1d₁₅ (vth), 1p₁₂ (vith), all pl. xciii; and a bead 76x₃ (vith) pl. c, so that there is no objection to the early date.

There is no precise indication of the use to which these vases were put. One grave, 1658 (ix-xth), contained as many as four.

153. The two figures 15 and 20 are not classed with the amulets as they are not pierced for suspension. The first is apparently a figure of Ptah-Sokar. It comes, with 3, from the grave of a very young child, and, being with a shaped palette, dates from the end of the ix-xth period. The last, 20, represents a panther, and was found in a very plundered grave, chamber on east, with only one pot. The colour seems to have been green; the style of it does not suggest any later date. The case is different with the monkey 16. The question of its date has been discussed in Section 84.

The object 19 from grave 978 (vth dyn.) is of considerable interest. It is of blue glaze, the tip coloured black, and it is pierced by four small holes as shown in the drawing. A pair of these was found at the foot of a grave with four fine alabaster vases (photograph pl. xxxi), and a mass of blue and black glaze tubular beads and *Mitra* shells. These, I think, formed a bead-work dress, and the shells were hung round the bottom (to rattle? Cp. the *Conus* shells often found as anklets). The two glaze caps were threaded in position to cover the breasts. The statue of the wife of Sapunikau, Fifth Dynasty, from Saqqara, in the Cairo Museum, shows the lady wearing bead-work with breast-caps of light blue and dark blue concentric rings, evidently

objects such as ours. (MASPERO, *Guide au Musée du Caire*, 1915, p. 73, no. 166.) What are probably similar pairs of caps were found in tombs of the First Intermediate Period near Assiut (*Annales du Service II*, pp. 35, 38).

For shells on bead network see PETRIE and MACE, *Diospolis Parva*, pp. 40, 41, tomb Y90. The dress of beaded net reminds us of the tale in which we are told how King Sneferu was rowed on a lake by young girls dressed in nets.

154. *Carved Toilet Shell*. Pl. xl, 4; photographs pl. xlix. This remarkable shell was found with a group of objects, one of which, a vase, bore the name of Queen Pepy-ankh-nes, wife of Pepy I. There is no reason to suppose that the objects are not all contemporary. The grave, a shallow one, had been robbed, but the group of toilet objects at the foot were all in position (grave 3217, vith), in spite of the fact that a Roman burial lay across the northern part of it. This fact deprived us of the pots which had no doubt been placed at the head, and which would have been invaluable as being well dated.

The shell is cut away at the top to form a bowl. One end is grooved to receive a little open spout of bone which is carefully fitted in. At the other end the natural projection is shaped into a dog's head, the eyes coloured black. At one side is a monkey, carved *à jour*, tail extended; its ribs are marked in a way which reminds us of the monkey seal-amulet pl. xxxiii, 112. On the rim of the bowl, facing inwards, is a ram's head. This is not carved, but attached. The horns are of clay, and the head of limestone (?), with the eyes marked in black. The mouth has been broken off.

The purpose of this shell can be conjectured. The spout implies that it was for mixing liquids such as oils. In the Louvre is a somewhat similar shell, of unknown provenance. I am unfortunately not allowed to publish the photographs which were most kindly sent me by the late M. Bénédite. In this example the spout is part of the shell. There are no carvings on the shell itself; but at the end is attached a hippopotamus head in ivory, looking back over the bowl, thus forming a handle. It will be noted that the animal heads used as decoration are all those which so frequently occur among the amulets of this period, especially the dog and ram.

155. *The Spatha Shells, or "Nile Oysters."* Thirty-four graves contained these shells, which were associated in most cases with the usual toilet objects, such as squat pots (11 graves), alabaster

vases (8 graves), or grinders (7 graves). Four were found smeared with black. In them the ground galena and grease were mixed when wanted. They are nearly always found near the face or head. They are generally single, but are found in pairs (4 times); and there were cases of 3, 4, and even 7 in a grave. The 7 were in a grave of the vth dyn. (1141). One very small one came from the burial of an ancient dame (5531 vth), who was not supposed to require much adornment. They occurred in 3 graves of men. *Pecten* shells sometimes served the same purpose; one came from grave 1123 (vth), the other, with black paint in it, from 7755 (vith). These toilet shells were more popular in early times; the percentages to the total number of graves of each period are:

	Per cent.
vth and v-vith . . .	7.2
vith	1.6
vii-viiiith	2.1
ix-xith9

156. *Split or Sliced Shells (Nassa gibbosula)*. These are difficult to describe and will be best understood by reference to the drawings on pl. xliii, 7785, and pl. xlviii, 5534 and 5544, also photograph pl. xxxvi, 7785. Numbers of these, varying from one to half a dozen, were strung on necklaces. For the method of stringing see pl. xlviii, where they are spaced by buttonholing the thread in between the shells. They were generally at the neck, but in two cases were in the trinket-boxes (3125, 3127 vith), and so were probably used during life. They are of interest as being mainly of the early vith dyn. (fifteen examples, one being of Pepy I). Four are perhaps earlier, 1217, 5531 (vth), and 2050, 3141 (v-vith); while three are later, 3234 (vii-viiiith, but possibly vith), and 1754, 5263 (ix-xth). In this last grave the amulets agree too well to the dating given for there to be any chance of its being earlier. Otherwise all the examples might be considered to be of the vith dyn. or just before. Nine of the graves are those of children or young women. They were also found with the aged female in 5531 referred to in the previous paragraph.

157. *Conus Shells*. See photograph of anklet 1030, pl. xxxv. These shells again have a considerable value as dating material. They are found on the bracelet of a young child (4930 vith); three are on the necklace of an adult female (1983 vii-viiiith); a solitary one is with a child (4865

vii-viiiith); and three are at the neck of another child (977 xith). In every other case, however, they are associated with leg amulets; and they formed the anklets of which the legs were the chief feature. Beads as well may have been strung with them, as shown in the photograph pl. xxxv; but this is the only grave where this may have been possible. The number of shells on each ankle varied from ten to twelve, and they were carefully graded by the more meticulous. In one case a "spare" was put in the trinket-box (4903, vii-viiiith). A pair of these anklets was, of course, the general rule; but in three undisturbed graves only one leg amulet was discovered (1037 vith; 1977, 3220 vii-viiiith). Twelve anklets are of the vith dyn. and seventeen of the vii-viiiith; none is earlier or later. Nine are in tombs with side-chambers; two in end-chambers; the rest in simple graves. I think that these anklets were in fashion for a comparatively short time only, extending from late vith to early vii-viiiith dyns. The attitudes of the bodies wearing them varied from tightly contracted (3305 vii-viiiith, and 7525 vith) to supine extended (613 vith).

158. *Spoons and Spatulae*. Pl. xl, 1, 5-12. The toilet spoons were generally of bone; two end in a hand with the fingers bent over, and the thumb extended (both vith dyn., one Pepy I); another, 10, is a very rough little object; but the fourth, 12, is of ivory, and a fine piece of work. It is all of one piece, with the handle delicately cut out to form two long interlacing spirals, an achievement showing great skill (ix-xth). This style of carving is paralleled by the duck toilet-dish of the First Dynasty carved in two halves but out of one piece of ivory, with the tails interlinked (PETRIE, *Royal Tombs I*, pl. xxxvii, 1, p. 27). All the spoons have long narrow bowls to dip the scented ointment out of the vases. These vases seem to have been the fine flat-bottomed alabaster, pl. xxviii, 151; the queen's cylinder jar, pl. xxvi, 26; the little cylinder jar, pl. xxvi, 31; and the tall blue glaze pot, pl. xxix, 12. For photographs of all four spoons with their jars see pl. xlix. These jars are all wide-mouthed. The five spatulae (one from grave 5229 not drawn) are, on the other hand, always associated with collar-necked alabaster vases, which have narrow necks (except one from a robbed grave, 4925, ix-xth). The spatulae may have various forms of handle, such as the girdle-tie, 11; and are sometimes pierced for suspension.

The imitation shell in ivory, 1, has been inscribed with a regular funerary formula. This, rather inexplicably, has been almost worn away by use. Similar shells are one of wood with titles, from Kahun, xiith dyn. (PETRIE and BRUNTON, *Lahun II*, p. 41, pl. lxx, 6), of ebony from Ekhnim at University College (PETRIE, *Objects of Daily Use*, pl. xxiii, 14), and another in ivory with a hawk's head from Mayana, xvith dyn. (*Sedment I*, p. 18, pl. xlii, 6).

159. *Other Toilet Articles*. Three combs were found, two drawn, pl. xl, 3, 14, and one not (tomb 7897). This last is rather like 3, but has a much more pronounced shoulder. They are of ivory or bone; the length of the teeth is not known, as they are all broken.

A bone hair(?) - pin, 7835, pl. xlv, and a bone picker in 3748 were solitary objects of their class. Spines of the *Lates niloticus* occurred in 451, 634, 3220, and 5207 (three); these were probably used for the ears or nails. One example of a bone needle was in the trinket-box of 5207. The *kohl*-stick in 914 has already been referred to, Section 151. The occurrences of galena can be seen from the Tomb Register.

A curious fragment is the piece of carved bone, pl. xl, 2, apparently part of a cylindrically shaped vase. We found nothing else at all similar. It was with the copper model vases, pl. xl, 18, in a badly plundered tomb, and its age is therefore not certain, though everything else found there agreed with the date of the vith dyn.

160. *Jewellery, other than Beads and Amulets*. The only articles of gold jewellery left by the tomb robbers were the bracelets; and these were possibly neglected only on account of their small intrinsic value. We found them in eight tombs, 7334 (vith, but easily later), 1030, 3114, 4947, 7762, 7923, 7930 (all vii-viiiith); and 3108 (ix-xth, but possibly earlier). All these had end-on chambers, which we have supposed to have belonged to the more wealthy, as compared with the shallow graves. The bodies were, in the five undisturbed tombs, all extended with hands down, either on the left side or supine. This attitude also would seem to be the more aristocratic one. The bangles were generally taken from the wrists. In two cases the observers describe them as "anklets"; these, however, were disturbed burials, but with toilet articles at the feet; they may therefore have been placed in the trinket-boxes, or, as I think more likely, are merely

misnamed, and are really bracelets like the others.

They are all very light and hollowed; the sections are rectangular (pl. xlv, 7334), curved with straight sides (pl. xlvi, 7923), or semi-circular (pl. xxix, 17, pl. xlviii, 1030). Two had traces of copper inside them (3108, 3114), and probably all had had a core of some kind, as they are far too flimsy for wear otherwise. They may, however, be purely funerary. Four show the holes at the ends for the rivets attaching them to the core, or for tying on to the body (7334 vith, 3114, 4947 vii-viiiith, and 3108 ix-xth). The core, if any, was of metal, as they are pliable to pass over the hand; the ends overlap in some cases. They have a very short date-range.

One other bangle, of the vith dyn., was a plain one of horn, or quite possibly tortoise-shell (grave 4837).

161. The copper ornament, pl. xxix, 18, was originally inlaid with carnelian, and with black and blue glaze in segments forming two concentric circles, to judge from similar specimens from Saqqara and Mayana (see Section 26). The central boss is plain copper. There are four eyes at the back for sewing on to linen (?). Those from Mayana had two only (PETRIE and BRUNTON, *Sedment I*, p. 15); but possibly the others had decayed away as the metal was in very bad condition (ix-xth). Mr. Firth tells me that the Saqqara specimen when found lay against the skull of the woman, and seemed to have been sewn on to a head-band of linen.

The head-band, pl. xxix, 13, was found in position round the skull; it was of thin copper almost corroded away. It is decorated with three rows of little bosses, and the ends are bent over to stiffen them. The silver circlet of Nub-kheper-ra Antef at Leyden is punched with holes for threading in little strings of different coloured beads (WINLOCK, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, X, p. 231); but no such beads were found in this tomb. With it was the fine copper monkey seal-amulet, pl. xxxiii, 111 (ix-xth).

Ear-rings are probably unknown at this age. In 4865 (classed as vii-viiiith from the four beads) was a lead ear-ring, pl. xxix, 14. The body was that of an infant, supine extended, face west; it is almost certain that the burial is of much later date, with re-used beads. Another ring, of thick gold-plated copper, comes from a plundered grave (3737, ix-xth). Apart from the fact that we have bracelets (3108)

and an amulet (1751) of about this period in gold-plated copper, there is no clue to its date, and it may be dismissed from consideration.

Finger-rings, however, occur in three graves. In (5009 ix-xth) five or six simple little rings of silver and copper were on the hands; in 1715 (ix-xth) there were three little copper finger-rings, and in 4925 (ix-xth) one. The presence of finger-rings is not surprising, as they are known in Protodynastic times. See Section 48.

162. *Miscellaneous Objects.* A set of little model pots, pl. xl, 19, come from 4846 (vth), the grave of a young girl. They comprise the ewer and basin, a spouted dish, ring-stand, and two bowls with well-marked rims. These are models of ewers and basins, and the Medum style of bowls, in fine red ware, which come from other graves of this period, such as 661, 1146, vth, and 7756, v-vith. They are interesting as indicating a standard set of vessels at the period. The fine polished ware was probably not of local make, and the family of the deceased girl, being poor, could only supply substitutes. Another model ewer and basin were found in 5328 (vth), also the grave of a young girl; and two model ewers were found loose in Cemetery 600 (pl. lxxxviii, 90x, 90y).

Model vessels in thin copper, a rimmed bowl and tall stand, and a long-spouted ewer were in the robbed grave 1154 (vith). Three tall red polished pottery stands of this form were found at Mayana, with two bowls of Medum style close by (PETRIE and BRUNTON, *Sedment I*, pl. xlv, 66, and pl. xlv, 6), all of the vth dyn. Our copper ewer, however, is of a iird-dyn. type. It may have lasted on for ceremonial use, as it is frequently shown in relief on the stone *hetep*-tables of the vth dyn. from Saqqara. For copper model of an offering table and vases of vith dyn. see PETRIE, *Denderah*, pl. xxii, pp. 7, 25.

The set of bone slips, pl. xl, 13, were lying close to the face of the man in grave 2058, who was so irregularly buried (see Section 73). It is difficult to say for what purpose they were intended.

163. A very unusual object, the crucible (pl. xli, 25), comes from grave 4964 (vii-viiiith) with chamber on north. This contained the untouched burial of a man with one pot. Over the head were traces of a cartonnage mask, painted white and grey. At his feet was the crucible, and in it were two large grey pebbles. The vessel is of rough grey clay or ash; the inside surface is vitrified in places and shows

traces of copper slag. Outside it is coated with some kind of plaster. The opening is half-way down the side, and it has no spout. The height is about 5 ins. With it were some fragments of grey clay (?), which might possibly be small moulds of some kind. A similar crucible is figured in PETRIE, *Tools and Weapons*, pl. lxxvii, 247.

164. *Offerings.* We know that actual food was sometimes placed in the burial-chambers, as in fourteen of them the bones remained. But this number is small compared with the total number of untouched burials, and we must suppose that the relatives in most cases did not consider it necessary that the meat offering was placed at the surface, or that a pottery one was substituted. The offering was generally the leg of a calf or similar animal; the unjoined epiphyses show that it was a young beast that was chosen. Occasionally the head or jaw was also buried (2001 vith, 3105, 3948 vii-viiiith). In one case the teeth only were found (5533 vth, undisturbed). The meat was usually placed in a pottery dish or bowl. These dishes were present with the bones in all untouched burials except two. In one of these the meat was placed on the coffin lid (5330 vth); in the other, the leg was in the north-east and the head in the south-east corner (2001 vth). For a similar example of meat in a dish, ix-xth, see PETRIE and BRUNTON, *Sedment I*, p. 11. All these offerings were made to males, with two exceptions. One, 3137 vth, was sexed as female but had no beads. The other, 3105, was probably female, judging from the rest of the tomb furniture.

The large ox-skulls shown in photograph on pl. xxxi were found in the mouth of a small, deep, bricked, square shaft of the Fourth or Fifth Dynasty in Cemetery 900. They are of interest as showing the different types of horns. Nothing was found in the chamber below, it having been completely plundered.

Pottery offering trays, with the haunch in relief, were used as substitutes for the actual meat and other offerings. They are well known in the ix-xth dyns. from the quantities found at Rifeh, to the west of Qau across the Nile. We found only a few fragments loose, and two scraps in plundered shafts, 326 (xith) and 533 (ix-xth). These trays or soul-houses had been placed on the surface at the grave-side; and in the continual use, re-use, and plundering of the cemeteries they have almost completely vanished.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE FOURTH TO
ELEVENTH DYNASTIES

165. THE inscriptions dating from the period of the ivth-xith dynasties are extremely few, generally a sign or two only. They are mostly incised on vases of pottery or alabaster; there is a fragment of one stele. All are shown on pl. xli.

The inscribed pottery all comes from Cemetery 300; the pots are either the *hes*-vases or the tall stands (types 95 and 96, pl. xcii), with one 54t. These *hes*-vases and stands were rarely, if ever, placed in the graves. They were found loose in shafts as a rule, almost always in fragments, and very much weathered. There is no doubt that they were originally placed on the surface at the side of the grave.

Nos. 1 and 2 read, "Sepui (??), son of Senb-im"; no. 3, "the revered lady Hesu, *maa kheru*, daughter of Redu (?)" ; no. 4 is "the revered lady Hesu, *maa kheru*"; no. 5 reads, "the revered Khentikheti-em-saf"; no. 6, "Nekht"; no. 7, "Nekht *maa kheru*"; nos. 8, 9, and 14 are too broken to be read; no. 10 is "... nti-kheti-em-saf ..."; no. 11, "... em-saf ..."; nos. 12 and 13, "the revered Nekht *maa kheru*, son of Shau."

Mr. Battiscombe Gunn, who has translated these for me, remarks that the reading Hesu is not quite certain. The name occurs as that of a man on a stele where the name Uah-ka also appears (LANGE and SCHAEFER, *Grabdenk. Mittleren Reichs*, No. 20388). This links the form of *hes*-vase (dated here to ix-xth dyns.) with the Uah-ka family who made the great tombs at Qau. The name is also found as that of a woman on Cairo Stele 20244. The name Redu is also doubtful. It is that of a woman on an Early Middle Kingdom stele from Abydos, Cairo Stele 20575 b/2. It may be suggested that the name Shau is connected with Set who was called Sha in early times; and the town of Shasehotep (Shotb) is only a few miles north of Badari.

166. The royal names on the alabaster vases are: 15, Nefer-ka-ra, doubtless Pepy II; 16, the royal mother Pepy-ankh-nes; and 17, Nefer-ka-ra, beloved of Her-shefi (?) lord of Sesh. On the vase at Luxor (Section 75) the name Sesh is followed by the hieroglyph *per*. This town is named on sarcophagus D.11 of the Louvre (BRUGSCH, *Dict. Geog.*, pp. 1135, 1136); in the *Book of the Dead*, chapter cxlii; and in chapter xvii, two great Seshes in

the town of Henen-nysut (Heracleopolis Magna) are mentioned; in the Labyrinth Papyrus A.10 a sanctuary is connected with the worship of Hershefi of Heracleopolis Magna (BRUGSCH, *Dict. Geog.*, pp. 754, 755); on a door-jamb from the Fayum, which also mentions Henen-nysut (DARESSY, *Rec. de Trav.*, xiv, 28); also see BRUGSCH, *Dict. Geog.*, p. 1330. For these references I am indebted to the kindness of M. Gauthier. Our vase inscription then almost certainly refers to the ram-god of Heracleopolis. But on a diorite bowl in the Brussels Museum, E.552, is the inscription of a high-priest of Heliopolis which mentions Sesh of the "Two-Gods" Nome (WIEDEMANN, *P.S.B.A.*, 1898, xx, p. 120, and WEILL, *La Deuxième et la Troisième Dynasties*, p. 194). This bowl is certainly as old as our vase, and probably of the Protodynastic period.

167. No. 18A is a fragment of a stele with parts only of the three lines of inscription. When complete it must have been a longish narrow stone like others of the early xith dyn. Gunn remarks that the *n*-sign is a common mistake for the cubit, owing to the resemblance of the signs in hieratic.

Nos. 18-23 are a few scraps of painted limestone from a mastaba which crowned an isolated hill east of Qau or Etmanieh. The pit had been re-used in the xviiiith dyn., and turned out in modern times. It was difficult to realize that an Old Kingdom mastaba had ever stood there; but the fragments found are significant. No. 18 is quite unintelligible, but the rest come from scenes with wild plants and birds, and with women bringing offerings of wheat.

No. 24 is another little scrap of a mastaba from the ivth-dyn. sculptured tombs at Hemamieh. It comes from the chips surrounding one of them, that of Ka-khent. The sign represents a brasier, and is the determinative of the feast of *Rekeh*, "heat," in the vith dyn. (Gunn).

168. The potmarks are shown on pl. xxxiv. Considering the enormous number of pots found, the marks are distinctly rare. They may be either incised before or scratched after baking, that is, either potters' or owners'. The former are most common in the early periods. In fact, more than half the marks are of the iv-vth dyns., agreeing with the frequent use of marks in Protodynastic times. Almost any form of pot might be marked, with the notable exception of the squat toilet pots (types 80-89). Two types seem to be specially favoured, the bread-baking pots type 6 (all potters' marks), and the pointed buff-coloured jars type 71.

Four different marks were incised on the bread pots from tomb 999 (nos. 6, 9-11, 15, and 21); the cross appears twice in 475 (nos. 18 and 34); and the square twice in 1212 (nos. 22 and 25).

The marks are arranged according to form, squares, crosses, and so on. 1 is a man, 2 a bird (sideways), 3 a branch; 9-11, a bow and arrow, or bird-trap (like 9 and 11, pl. xxi); 15, 16, the noteworthy pentagram used in quite different ways and at different periods; 22-24 are like 10, pl. xxi; 39 may be just childish scratchings (upside-down on the pot) like 9, pl. xxi, in that an animal is drawn on each; 43 is probably "*mery neter*," like 6, pl. xxi.

Nos. 6-7, 9-11, 17-18, 22-24, 30-31, and the squares and crosses all occur among the potmarks at Kahun (PETRIE, *Illahun*, pl. xv).

CHAPTER XXIV

IDENTIFICATIONS AND ANALYSES

169. THE following reports and identifications have been most kindly sent by various experts.

Metal Ewer, Tomb 429, Second Dynasty. Pl. xviii, 10. Professor Thompson, of Manchester University, writes:

"The material of which the ewer is made contains tin. Whether this is present in sufficient quantity to constitute a bronze cannot be determined without destroying the sample. The material is cold-worked and appears to have been hammered to shape from a sheet. There is a definite coating of either silver or tin on the outside of the ewer. The former is the more probable, though one cannot be sure without spoiling the vase. There are indications that this plating was done by hammering the other metal on the copper or bronze before the ewer was made. The spout appears to have been hammered on to the rest of the body."

Professor H. B. Dixon has further examined the ewer and states that silver is certainly present on the surface of the copper, as a very thin layer. The silver was put on as a coating to the copper vessel either in the pure state or alloyed with copper to a certain extent. Tin was not detected on the surface of the vessel.

Mr. A. Lucas tells me that the metal thread used in Cairo for covering the "embossed writing" on the Holy Carpet is a silver thread covered with gold. The work is started with a thick bar of

silver; round this are doubled thin sheets of gold; the whole is heated in a charcoal furnace and periodically taken out and well rubbed with a thick agate rod; eventually the gold adheres to the silver, forming a thin uniform coating. It seems probable that the silver coating of the ewer might have been applied to the copper in the same way before the ewer was made. This would fit in quite well with Professor Thompson's suggestion of hammering.

For small objects of copper covered with gold (of the First Intermediate Period), see Sections 160, 161. Eight gilt copper feathers of the vith dyn. were found in the Osiris temple at Abydos (PETRIE, *Abydos II*, p. 32, pl. xxi, 11). Here the copper was first coated with stucco on which the feathering was engraved.

170. *Metal Vulture Amulet, Grave 685, Fifth Dynasty.* Pl. xcvi, 46c₃. This was the subject of many tests at the Royal School of Mines, South Kensington. Mr. C. Harold Ridge reports as follows:

"As the object only weighs about 4 grammes it is very difficult to obtain a sample large enough for analysis. Filings were taken from the base and back showing a metal of a faint pink colour. The metal was hard and brittle. The base was polished and etched by silver nitrate and examined under the microscope. The alloy appears to be in the cast condition, some cold work having been done upon it. Three constituents are shown. A qualitative analysis fails to reveal more than copper, iron, and traces of arsenic. Quantitatively:

	Per cent.
Copper	77.0
Iron	6.5

As only very small amounts of the alloy were available, Professor Fowler, of the Royal College of Science, kindly examined a spark spectrum and found copper, iron, arsenic, and calcium. (The presence of calcium is not confirmed on analysis; it is probably due to surface dirt.) If I had enough material for a proper determination of the arsenic I think it might be found in appreciable quantities. My opinion is that the object is the result of the crude reduction of an arsenical copper ore. I am quite sure of the absence of the common metals which might normally be expected, and also of gold, silver, platinum, and iridium. Negative tests were made for sulphur and silicon."

171. *Minerals for Toilet Use* were identified by Mr. A. Lucas, O.B.E., F.I.C., of the Department of Antiquities, Cairo.

1028 vith dyn. Oxide of manganese (stain on sandstone grinder).

1066 vith dyn. Galena.

1074 ix-xth dyns. Galena.

1115 vii-viiiith dyns. Galena.

1621 Proto. Galena with some carbonate of lead.

1638 ix-xth dyns. Galena.

1765 Proto. Malachite, and a variety of hornblende.

5311 xith dyn. This is a natural mixture of manganese oxide and coarse quartz sand. Manganiferous sandstones are known from near Assiut; this seems to be part of one.

172. *Specimens of Plaster from Coffins* were reported on by Mr. Lucas as follows:

476 Proto. Poor-quality clay containing a large proportion of sand and a fair proportion of both calcium carbonate and calcium sulphate, coloured with iron oxide.

531 vith dyn. A variant of previous sample. Essentially calcium carbonate containing a small proportion of clay and coloured with iron oxide.

767 vith dyn. A variant of the previous sample. Calcium carbonate containing a large proportion of sand and a small proportion of clay.

Other samples reported on by Mr. Lucas are:

1747 ix-xth dyns. This is a true resin. The botanical source has not been identified.

1028 vith dyn. Filling of sealed pots. Hardened clay (i.e. shale) coloured with oxide of iron.

173. *Textiles and Matting*. Mr. Thomas Midgley, of the Chadwick Museum, Bolton, writing on a sample of cloth from grave 1964 (Protodynastic), says:

"The Protodynastic pieces (1964) are peculiar in certain structural features. There are twenty threads per inch in both warp and weft. Instead of being at right angles, as when woven, the two sets of yarn are at an acute angle to each other, the angle varying within the space of quite a small fragment. A number of pieces were examined and this slipping was seen, to a greater or less degree, in all. The space between the weft (?) threads is fairly uniform and slightly more than their diameter. There is no pronounced bending or flexure in either yarn at the point of intersection. These indicate that the cloth was produced in a loom with a device—either

lease rods or primitive heddle—for keeping separate the odd and even warps so that a shed for passing the weft could be formed, but that no "sword" or contrivance for "beating up" the weft was used. The alternate closing and opening of the warp shed served to keep the weft parallel and at a fairly regular distance each to each, but no compact interlocking of the yarn, giving rigidity to the fabric, occurred. The cloth, as produced, would sag out of shape under the slightest strain, just as does an open wire-meshed sieve when its edges are unbound. The yarns are all single and their smooth surfaces offered no resistance to this slipping.

"Sample 1. Linen. Plain weave. Picks 20×20 . Ratio warp-weft 1—1. Colour dark brown. The fabric was adhering to a bit of leather. When placed in water for floating this became very pulpy and a great amount of a deep yellow dye came from it. The yarn is all single. In some the twist has been excessive and has opened, the yarn in these places seeming to be doubled. Owing to the nature of the cloth it is impossible to define warp or weft. These strands are diagonal, each to each, leaving a diamond-shaped opening. An examination of several fragments shows that this structure is general, but that the angle of intersection varies considerably.

"Sample 2. Linen. Plain weave. Picks 40×28 . Ratio warp-weft $1\frac{1}{2}$ —2. Colour yellow. A fragment about $\frac{1}{2}$ in., not heavily stained. There is not much distortion of angle in weft and warp. The use of more warp yarns per inch results in a closer type of fabric, but there is no indication that the weft has been beaten up in weaving. The yarns are very irregular in thickness, and in both warp and weft there are places where by uneven twisting during spinning the warp or weft appears doubled."

Of the two fragments of matting from grave 4899, vith dyn., Mr. Midgley writes:

"Sample 1. Matting made of thin flattened rushes interwoven between strongly twisted doubled strings of fibre.

"Sample 2. Rush matting. Fragment showing border of such a mat as sample 1; the 'weft' of doubled string is bent over parallel with the 'warp' and interlaced." See PETRIE and WAINWRIGHT, *Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar, and Shurafa*, pl. xxxvi, 6, and p. 37. "No. 6 represents an ancient mat which was found in one of the xxiii-xxvth dyn. graves, photographed for comparison with a modern mat

(hasyra) bought in the market for use in the house. The technique is exactly the same in both, the whole being woven on cords, which are afterwards plaited together forming a kind of selvedge, and then the loose ends are tied in a knot at the right-hand corner. The material of the two differed, for the ancient mat was made of rushes, while the modern was made of a strong hard substance like halfa grass." (G. A. Wainwright.)

"The two fragments 4899 show quite clearly that exactly the same technique in the making of these mats was practised in the vith dyn. as obtains to-day."

Micro-photographs of this linen and matting will appear in *Badari*, with other specimens.

174. *The Shells*. All of those which were sent to the Museums of Manchester and Hull have been identified by Mr. J. Wilfred Jackson, M.Sc., of the Manchester Museum, as follows:

400 vith. ?	<i>Nassa</i> (<i>Arcularia</i>) <i>gibbosula</i> L. (rubbed down).
	<i>Cypraea annulus</i> L. (rubbed down).
429 Proto.	<i>Tridacna mutica</i> Lam.
	<i>Nerita polita</i> L.
	<i>Fusus</i> sp.
542 Proto.	<i>Cypraea caurica</i> L.
600 O.K.	<i>Columbella</i> (<i>Mitrella</i>) <i>ligula</i> Duclos.
630 vth.	<i>Spatha rubens</i> Lam.
1028 vith.	<i>Aetheria elliptica</i> Lam.
	<i>Nassa</i> (<i>Arcularia</i>) <i>gibbosula</i> L. (rubbed down).
1093 vith.	<i>Conus minimus</i> L.
1115 vii-viiiith.	<i>Conus</i> (<i>Chelyconus</i>) <i>pusio</i> Lam.
1123 vth.	<i>Petunculus</i> , cf. <i>lividus</i> Reeve.
2109 vii-viiiith.	<i>Conus</i> (<i>Chelyconus</i>) <i>pusio</i> Lam.
1714 Proto.	<i>Conus minimus</i> L.
	<i>Ancillaria</i> sp. (juvenile).
	<i>Natica</i> sp. (juvenile).
1754 ix-xth.	<i>Nassa</i> (<i>Arcularia</i>) <i>gibbosula</i> L. or <i>Nassa</i> (<i>Arcularia</i>) <i>circumcincta</i> Adams.
1755 Proto	<i>Clanculus pharaonius</i> L.
3189 vith.	<i>Spatha rubens</i> Lam.
5534 vith.	<i>Nassa</i> (<i>Arcularia</i>) <i>gibbosula</i> L. (rubbed down).
	<i>Ancillaria cinnemomea</i> Lam.
5536 Proto.	<i>Clanculus pharaonius</i> L.
	<i>Oliva inflata</i> Lam.
7334 vith.	<i>Conus erythraeensis</i> Beck.
7335 ivth.	<i>Conus erythraeensis</i> Beck.

7363 vith. ?	<i>Nerita polita</i> L.
	<i>Nassa</i> (<i>arcularia</i>), cf. <i>thersites</i> Brng.
7525 vith.	<i>Conus erythraeensis</i> Beck.
7943 vith. ?	<i>Cypraea annulus</i> L. (rubbed down).

Others which I have compared with named specimens at University College are:

811 vii-viiiith.	<i>Conus</i> sp.
978 vth.	<i>Mitra maculosa</i> .
1030 vii-viiiith.	<i>Conus</i> sp.
3217 vith.	<i>Strombus</i> (<i>tricornis</i> ?).

All these shells are found in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, except the "oysters," *Spatha rubens* and *Aetheria elliptica*, from the River Nile. The "sliced shells," *Nassa gibbosula*, occur in the Mediterranean as well as the Red Sea. The three varieties *Spatha*, *Nassa*, and *Conus* form the great bulk of the shells from the v-xith dynasty graves. I am very doubtful whether the two cases of "rubbed down" cowries (400 and 7943) are really vith dyn., and would prefer to consider them late burials of the time when such cowries were extremely common, and when a few old beads, which had been grubbed up, might have been worn with them. The *Nerita* and *Ancillaria* are very rare in the Old Kingdom; *Nerita* is common in Badarian, Predynastic, and Pan graves; *Ancillaria* is also common in Badarian and Predynastic, but not Pan; both are occasionally found in the Proto-dynastic age. In 451 (vth) and 634 (ix-xth) were dorsal spines of *Lates niloticus*, identified as such at the Natural History Museum, South Kensington.

175. *Botanical Specimens*. These have been examined by the Director of the Egyptian Government Horticultural Department at Gizeh.

3000/10. Found in the filling of the shaft of tomb 3331, and may be of vii-viiiith dyn. date.

"Two small specimens of a tuber or corm. They may be the corms of an arum, probably *Biarum*, which grows wild near the Mediterranean, or the tubers of an *Erodium*. Both are eaten by shepherds owing to their slight sweetness."

4899. "Ropes. Examination of the fibres shows that they belong to a monocotyledonous plant. One of the plants used for this purpose is *Imperata cylindrica*, known as Halfa; and it is likely that the ropes have been made from it." This rope came from a contracted burial of the vith dyn.; the body was tied up with it.

CHAPTER XXV

SUMMARY OF THE FOURTH TO ELEVENTH
DYNASTIES

176. It may be useful to summarize here the chief characteristics of each of the five main periods.

FOURTH DYNASTY.

Tombs. Square shafts. Pot burials common.
Attitudes. More or less contracted.

Pottery. Best polished red ware. Ewers and basins. Medium style of bowls. Bread pots. Well-made toilet pots.

Beads. Few. Mostly of hard stones and steatite. Paste.

Amulets. Rare.

Seal-amulets. Conoid stamps.

The graves in this section number only 61 (mostly pot burials), and are therefore too few for the results to be of much value. For the drawings of three Tomb Groups see pl. xliii.

177. FIFTH DYNASTY.

Tombs. Brick substructures. Square shafts. Oblong shafts with side-chambers just begin. A few pot burials.

Attitudes. Legs, positions 4, 6, and 7 commonest. Arms, position 1 commonest, 6-11 common.

Pottery. Red polished ewers and basins and Medium style bowls. Bread pots. Buff-surfaced ware usual, especially pointed and blunt-pointed types. Fine necks to polished toilet pots. Model pots.

Beads. Not abundant, but often of the finer stones. Clear pink sard. Steatite cylinder and barrel forms commonest. Crumb beads. Very pale blue glaze. Paste.

Amulets. Rare. Crouched men typical.

Seal-amulets. Inscribed cylinders. Pyramidal form begins. Ridge-backed buttons begin. No scarabs.

Alabaster Vases. Common. Tall slender cylinder jars. Collar-necks with projecting lower rim; flat bases.

Other Toilet Objects. Few mirrors. *Spatha* shells usual. Few boxes.

Offerings. Actual meat occasionally.

The graves in this section number 155. The four

Tomb Groups on pl. xliii give some idea of the pottery basins, toilet pots, and bread pots; the typical pointed buff-coloured pots; the cylinder-shaped and collar-necked alabaster vases. The Group on pl. xlviii, grave 6502, shows fine amulets and is probably late vth or early vith.

178. SIXTH DYNASTY.

Tombs. Brick substructures end. Square shafts end. Side chambers on west very common. End-on chambers very rare. Very few pot burials.

Coffins. Pottery and reed coffins occasionally.

Attitudes. Legs, positions 6 and 7 commonest, 8 usual. Arms, positions 1 and 9-11 commonest, 6-8 usual.

Pottery. Few Medium-style bowls. Angle-sided bowls begin. Rough egg-shaped pots very common and typical. Oval forms. End of rough Protodynastic form 76. Taller red polished toilet pots, with poorer rims. Jugs with round bottoms and spouts. Buff slip ends.

Amulets. Common, both fine and bad. "Kilted" men. Carnelian heads. Fists typical. Hands and legs. Lions and dogs. Lions' and dogs' heads almost typical. Hathor-heads. Rams' heads. Crocodiles. Fish. Flies rare. Beetles. Hawks. Duckling typical. Man with palms rare.

Beads. Prism beads typical. Blue and black glaze rings becoming common. Small dark sard rings.

Seal-amulets. Pyramidal. Ridge-back buttons. True buttons with shank begin. Animal seals in ivory just appear. Ivory and bone typical. Blue glaze. Steatite commonest. Good and bad examples. No maze patterns. Criss-cross typical. No scarabs.

Alabaster Vases. Common. Broader, squatter, and flanged cylinder jars. Collar-necks with lower or upper rim projecting; tall collars; few flat-bottomed; some egg-shaped. Pointed flanged globes.

Other Toilet Objects. Many mirrors. Boxes commoner. Grinders in 4 per cent. of graves.

Ornaments. Sliced shells typical. Anklets of *Conus* shells begin.

Model Copper Vases.

Offerings. Meat occasionally.

There are 497 tombs recorded of this age. Seventeen Groups are drawn on ppl. xliii-xlv, and three on pl. xlviii. Six are photographed on pl. xlix. Note the common pots as in 550 pl. xlv; the good and bad forms of amulets together in 5535 pl. xlviii; the sliced shells in 7785 pl. xliii, and in 5534, 5544 pl. xlviii; the rough leg amulets, as in 7525 pl. xlv, and 550 pl. xlv; the criss-cross button in 462 pl. xliii; the bone button in 7785 pl. xliii; and the alabaster cylinder vase in 3217 pl. xlix.

179. SEVENTH-EIGHTH DYNASTIES.

Tombs. Side chambers dying out. Sloping floors and experimental types. End-on chambers common. Simple graves fewest, only 36 per cent.

Masks of cartonnage begin.

Attitudes. Legs, positions 6 and 7 common, 8 usual also. Arms, 9-11 commonest, 1 and 6-8 common.

Pottery. Rough round and oval jars, less pointed than previously. Drop shapes begin. Standing jugs with spouts, dummy spouts, and scrabbles begin. Otherwise much like with dyn.

Amulets. "Hatted" men. Carnelian heads. Small glaze arms. Hands and legs. Lions and dogs. Lions' and dogs' heads rare. Hathor-heads, rams' heads, and crocodiles. Fish cease. Flies. Hornet typical. Beetles. Hawks. Ibis begins. Man with palms common. Crowns, *ankhs*, and *dads* begin.

Beads. Long strings of blue and black glaze rings. Small rings of dark sard. Crumb beads end.

Seal-amulets. Pyramids end. Square hemi-cylinders. Ridge-backed buttons end. True buttons common, the square bases earliest. Animal seals come in, especially frogs and hippopotamus heads, and good lions. Blue glaze used; black glaze typical. Good and bad work. Geometric patterns. Scarabs begin, very flat forms with maze patterns.

Alabasters. Common. No cylinder jars. Collar-necks continue; projecting upper rims and egg forms. Globes with flanged necks not pointed. Taller flat-based grease-pots.

Other Toilet Objects. Most mirrors. Boxes common. Grinders in 11 per cent. of tombs. Blue glaze vases begin. Alabaster head-rests typical

Ornaments. Anklets of *Conus* shells end. Gold bracelets typical.

Weapons and Model Tools.

Offerings. Meat occasionally.

Three hundred and ninety-two graves of this period are registered. Seventeen Groups are drawn, ppl. xlv-xlvii and one on pl. xlviii. Note the pots getting more baggy in 5004, 3331 pl. xlv, and 5211 pl. xlvii; better leg amulets in 3289 pl. xlv; the delicate blue glaze amulets in 1030 pl. xlviii; the gold ibises in 3425 pl. xlv, and 1751 pl. xlvii; the gold crowns in 7930 pl. xlv, 5262, 3331 pl. xlv; the gold cowries in 7923 pl. xlv; and the gold bangles in 7930 pl. xlv, 7923 pl. xlv, and 1030 pl. xlviii. The good frog seal in 3748 pl. xlv is typical. The alabasters include the flanged globes in 1030 pl. xlv, and the tall grease-pots (3289, 5004, 3270, 3425 pl. xlv), with the dumpy ones as well (5262, 3331 pl. xlv, and 1751, 5211 pl. xlvii).

180. NINTH-TENTH DYNASTIES.

Tombs. End-on chambers practically universal.

Masks continue.

Attitudes. Legs, position 8 commonest, 6 and 7 common. Arms, 9-11 commonest, 1 and 6-8 common.

Pottery. Inscribed pots. Large flat dishes. Hemispherical cups begin. Drop forms typical. Deep wide-mouthed 58's. Flare-necked 66's. Toilet pots rarely polished. Multiple vases. Crinkled rims. Jugs with spouts, dummy spouts, and scrabbles. Tall *hes*-vases with narrow necks. Tall stands.

Amulets. Small glaze arms. Hands. Legs rare. Lions and dogs. Lions' and dogs' heads rare. Hathor-heads, rams' heads, and crocodiles. Flies. Beetles. Hawks. Ibis. Chickens typical. Crowns, *ankhs*, and *dads*.

Beads. Melon beads. Green glaze wafers typical. Strings of small pale sard rings. Blue and black glaze rings less common.

Seal-amulets. Rectangular hemi-cylinders. Poor lions. Prisms. Plaques. Ovals. Mostly maze patterns. Few of blue glaze. High-backed little scarabs with designs of the button-amulet type, triple lotuses, and cross-hatched pointed ovals inserted in the field.

Alabasters. Rare; in only 5 per cent. of the

tombs. Small and fine flanged cylinder jars. No collar-necks. Little baggy flanged globes. Dumpy grease-pots.

Other Toilet Objects. Few mirrors. Boxes rare.

Grinders in 12 per cent. of tombs. Blue glaze vases. Stone palettes begin.

Ornaments. Copper rosette from head-band.

Finger-rings occur. No anklets or bracelets.

Weapons and Model Tools.

Offerings. Meat rarely. Pottery tables of offerings.

The graves of this section number 384. Eight Groups are drawn on pl. xlvii, and one photographed on pl. xlix. In the pottery note the long drops in most groups, and the wide-mouthed jar in 7791 pl. xlvii. See also the leg amulets of fair work in 5207, 1658, and 1735 pl. xlvii; the carnelian or sard beads in 1658 and 1735 pl. xlvii; the hemi-cylinder seals in 7357 and 7276 pl. xlvii; the scarabs with beetles, crocodiles, and triple lotus in 5207, 1735 pl. xlvii; the fine little alabaster cylinder jars in 5207 pl. xlvii and 5009 pl. xlix; the dumpy vases in 7791, 7276, 1658, and 7899 pl. xlvii; the blue glaze pots in 1658 pl. xlvii and 5009 pl. xlix; and the copper rosette in 5009 pl. xlix.

181. We are now in a position to glance over the results, and see what light they throw on the changes in the general cultural condition of the middle classes at Qau in the period under review. Let us recapitulate some details. In the religious ideas of the burial customs we see very little change occurring. The bodies were prepared in the same way throughout. Beyond ornaments, toilet requisites, and the provision of food and drink (mostly drink apparently), hardly anything was considered necessary to keep the deceased happy in his new home. The change from the contracted to the extended position was gradually taking place, but the old attitude was given up with evident reluctance, especially by the women, either for religious or more likely for practical reasons. The burial chambers changed from short to long in the vith dynasty; after that the various modifications in the type of the tombs were due to the desire to provide an underground abode which was not likely to collapse. What texts, if any, were written on the coffins we cannot say; judging from the absence of any scraps of steles we may suppose that the people were largely illiterate. A bowl inscribed with complaints by the son of the deceased is almost the only writing

that we have left. The scrawls on the pots of the latest period imply the same want of education.

The provision of amulets is a very noteworthy feature of the period, starting as it does with a great burst late in the Fifth Dynasty. These were worn in real life, and are not essentially funerary, any more than the other objects buried with the dead man. But it was no doubt thought that they were most necessary when the dangers of the underworld had to be encountered. Children and young girls especially had to be protected, the one as most liable to harm, and the other as the most valued members of society. The idea of the preservation of the name by the carrying of a cylinder seal seems to have persisted in a very debased form. Plain cylinder beads are often the only ornament; and in the later periods it is common to find them in the centre of necklaces. A new form of badge comes in at the same time as the great influx of amulets, and that is the "button" in its many various forms. This was a talisman which was considered necessary by every self-respecting woman. Where the idea came from we cannot say for certain; but it was the patterns engraved upon them, not the form, which had the efficacy. These persisted, however the form might change; and they are continued, becoming more and more degenerate, right on to the first scarabs that we find in graves. Scarabs gradually took the place of the buttons and allied amuletic seals. It is their first appearance as a charm among the general populace; men used them as well as women.

182. The jewels and ornaments, other than amulets, are of no special interest. The early beads of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties seem like odds and ends which have been handed down from earlier times. But in the Sixth Dynasty a profusion of beads begins, and soon after that the bodies are decked in necklace after necklace, swathed with strings as far down as the waist. Bracelets and anklets are frequent, but finger-rings are found only at the end, while ear-rings were never worn. The occurrence of crumb beads in the Fifth to Eighth Dynasties, when they are fairly common, is interesting. They rarely occur more than two or three at a time. That they practically disappear at Qau in the Ninth-Tenth Dynasties, while they are common in the Twelfth Dynasty at Kahun, seems to indicate that they were traded up the country, and that the supply was cut off during the civil wars.

Eye paint was considered the most necessary

toilet article, and the apparatus for grinding, mixing, and applying it is most generally found. Rouge was occasionally used by a fastidious female. Combs, however, were not considered essential, and are rarely found. The hair was only occasionally plaited. The fine alabaster vases for ointment and perfume end, for some reason or other, in the Ninth Dynasty, but the sandstone grinders become more and more common until their place is taken by the sandstone palettes of the Eleventh Dynasty. Copper mirrors were general, but fewer in the last period than just before.

183. The pottery consists chiefly of the jars for the provision of drink. This was probably water as a rule. The pots are even then very rarely covered. They may have been also intended for grain or meal, but the former was only found once or twice. In some sealed jars the contents were pure mud, which was considered quite a good substitute. The forms of these jars show a distinct and simple progression from the pointed forms of the Fifth Dynasty with their high shoulders to the drop-shaped types of the Ninth to Eleventh Dynasties. What influenced this change it would be interesting to discover. It indicates a distinct alteration of habit, but we cannot say what. The steady degradation in the aesthetic quality of the pottery forms from the earliest dynasties through the Old Kingdom to the First Intermediate Period is very striking. The old form have a conscious beauty of line comparable with the best Chinese examples. The feeling for fine form extends even to the common pottery used by the poorest classes. This fine standard gradually lapses till by the end of the Fifth Dynasty the bulk of cheap pottery was slipping into vague shapelessness. The universal sense of beauty had died, and mere utility reigned in its stead. The fine polished red ware had practically disappeared by the end of the Sixth Dynasty. The hard pink pottery, covered with a thick buff slip, is usual in the Fifth, but also dies out in the Sixth Dynasty, when a drab wash is used as an imitation. After that there is little but rough, plain, red, orange-red at first with a dark red wash, changing to a brownish red with or without a pinkish slip in the Ninth Dynasty. In the later periods a brownish ware begins to appear.

The pottery forms which were found in such abundance at Sedment hardly occur at all at Qau. The explanation is not that the Qau tombs are not of that period, but that the forms developed rapidly in

the neighbourhood of the capital, Heracleopolis, and never spread far to the south owing to the disturbed and hostile state of the country. Two other differences between the burials at Qau and Sedment are marked. The *usekh* collar with its semi-circular end-pieces is quite absent at Qau, though known as far south as Assiut. The wooden models of servants, the ships, and granaries, are also unknown at Qau though found in numbers at Assiut and to the north at Meir, Beni Hasan, Sedment, and other places. If they had all decayed at Qau, leaving one or two groups of copper models, we must certainly have found some other small trace of them in the hundreds of graves, damp and dry. The only explanation seems to be that one part of the country developed a custom which the other did not. That it eventually spread southward, however, we know from the superb set of models found by Winlock at Dêr el Bahri; and boats and other models were found by Reisner at Naga-ed-Dêr near Girgeh (*Annales du Service*, 1904, pl. iv). A slight indication of the state of the country is afforded by the presence of weapons in the graves, all dating from well after the Sixth Dynasty.

184. Finally, we may observe the difference in the level of prosperity at different periods. The poverty of the graves of the Fourth Dynasty has always been a matter of comment. There are few cemeteries ascribed to that date. This is probably because the better tombs have been dated to the Third Dynasty, while the many others have been too poor to work. Whatever the explanation is, it is obvious that the prosperity of the middle classes was not sufficient for them to afford much furniture for their graves. It is only when we come to the Sixth Dynasty that cemeteries become common in Middle and Upper Egypt. A great change then set in, due to expanded foreign trade, both to the south (Una and Herkhuf) and to the north (Byblos). It is very much like the increase of luxury in the Eighteenth Dynasty after the opening up of connections with Syria. But it is also due to another cause. The great works of the Third and Fourth Dynasty kings, and of their officials, monopolized all the talent, enterprise, and activity of the country; it concentrated all the best of the artists and craftsmen in the capital, the chief towns, and the princely estates. In the Sixth Dynasty the royal monuments are much less sumptuous, while fine tombs of nobles and officials are more frequent up and down the land. With the downfall of the central government after the long reign of

Pepy II, a period of anarchy set in; there was an extraordinary change in general conditions which affected public imagination to such an extent that the memory of it lasted for centuries, and it is the subject of several literary compositions. One of these, published by GOLENISCHEFF (*Les Papyri hiératiques de l'Hermitage*), is dated to the reign of Ka-mery-ra of the Ninth Dynasty, and refers to the state of affairs prevailing just before. Another and more detailed account is to be found in GARDINER's *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, of closely the same date. For a general account of the period and the literature connected with it see A. MORET, *Une révolution sociale en Egypte*, in *La Revue de Paris*, 15 avril 1926, p. 869.

A general result of the upheaval was the impoverishment of the previously wealthy classes, and the transfer of their portable property to those who had very little. In other words there was, to some extent, a redistribution of wealth. In the *Admonitions* we read among many other graphic details: "Forsooth, gold and lapis lazuli, silver and malachite, carnelian and bronze, stone of Yebhet and . . ., are fastened on the necks of female slaves. Good things are in the land. (Yet) the mistresses of houses say: Would that we had something to eat." It is to be supposed, also, that craftsmen, instead of working for the nobles, would work for themselves and their friends, provided the necessary materials were forthcoming.

In the cemeteries at Qau and Badari the tombs with the most objects are precisely those of the vii-viii dyn. period. Here we find the greatest profusion of beads and amulets; no diminution in the number of alabaster vases, and all the alabaster head-rests; the greatest number of mirrors of any period; and the least number of simple shallow graves. The workmanship of the glaze amulets may show great delicacy; the carnelian legs are the best of their kind; and the animal-backed seal-amulets are cut with skill and care.

185. There is one very good test of prosperity that we can apply, and that is the presence of gold in the tombs. What we find is of course only the smallest proportion of what there once was in the graves; for gold was, and always has been, the prime cause of the robbery of cemeteries. But a bead here and a bead there still have their stories to tell; we can at least reckon the number of graves where a trace

of gold is left. The number of tombs containing gold beads and amulets was 58; and they were distributed over the various periods as follows:

Period.	Number of Graves.	Percentage.	Percentage to Number in each Period.
ivth dyn.	1	1.7	1.6
vth, v-vith dyns.	6	10.4	3.9
vith dyn.	11	18.9	2.2
vii-viii dyns.	28	48.3	6.7
ix-xth dyns.	12	20.7	3.0
	58	100.0	

If we consider the different types of gold beads and amulets, the resulting figures are even more striking:

Period.	Number of Graves and Types.	Percentage.
ivth dyn.	1	.7
vth, v-vith dyns.	9	6.4
vith dyn.	30	21.5
vii-viii dyns.	78	55.7
ix-xth dyns.	22	15.7
	140	100.0

It is not a question of juggling with figures or playing with pottery types. A few graves might easily be transferred from one section of the Register to an earlier or later one, but not a sufficient number materially to affect the question either one way or another.

It is unlikely that gold was being imported into the country at the time; in fact the stoppage of imports is actually referred to in the *Admonitions*. But a certain amount was always available from tomb robberies; and unless export of the precious metal was taking place, it must have been available for use and re-use.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE INSCRIBED POTTERY BOWL (7695)

BY ALAN H. GARDINER

THE hieratic bowl from Qau adds a new and unusually interesting specimen to a class of documents the very existence of which was unsuspected until Professor Kurt Sethe and myself together discovered them in the spring of 1914. The treatise which we intended to devote to the subject was delayed by

the war and by the troubled years that followed, but we hope soon to take up the matter afresh. In the meantime two more examples have come to light, namely, the Qau bowl and another recently purchased for the Berlin Museum, and the class now numbers six specimens in all, excluding two the nature of which is doubtful, and an isolated Coptic instance. The documents in question are nothing more nor less than letters called forth by some calamity or injustice, and addressed to deceased parents or relatives who are reproached with neglect of their kindred. As revelations of personal feeling these effusions are strangely at variance with the generality of Egyptian writings, notoriously so conventional in their phraseology and so stereotyped in their sentiments. The Leyden letter from a widower to his dead wife (dyn. xxi ?), long since known from Maspero's translation and edition, now falls into place in the series. The first example to be recognized by us was an inscribed piece of linen from Sakkarah preserved in the Cairo Museum; this dates from about the Sixth Dynasty, and contains the complaint to a dead husband and father of a widow and her orphan son whose property had been taken from them, including their three serving-maids. Our subsequent researches showed, however, that such letters to the dead are normally inscribed on the inside, or if necessary on both inside and outside, of bowls which were then deposited in the tombs of the person or persons addressed. We must imagine, I suppose, that a little bread or corn was placed in these bowls in order to frank them into the other world.

To turn now to the bowl from Qau, this extremely fine example of red ware measures 20 cm. in diameter and is inscribed both inside and outside with vertical columns in a large hieratic hand closely resembling that of the Sixth-dynasty papyri from Elephantine. The ink is faint in places, and even a long and careful investigation has failed to yield a completely satisfactory text. Nevertheless, what meaning can be wrung from the illegible writing and obscure diction is of the highest human interest. The writer was a man called Shepsi; on the inside surface he addresses his dead father and on the outside his dead mother. The nature of his grievance is perhaps to be found in ll. 6-7 of the *recto*, where reference is made to some fields which had been taken away by a man called Henu, in spite of the fact that the father of Shepsi had expressly bequeathed his property to the latter. The villain

of the piece is, however, asserted to be a dead brother of Shepsi named Sebkhotpe, whom Shepsi claims to have buried in very generous fashion, considering that his brother owed him a substantial debt. Shepsi accuses his dead parents of looking on passively, while Sebkhotpe was contriving evil against him, and urges them to grant him legal redress. The following translation must be regarded as provisional only; its renderings will very possibly be improved upon in the book which Professor Sethe and I have in preparation.

RECTO (INNER SURFACE)

"Shepsi addresses his father Inkhenmet.

"A spoken reminder (?) ¹ of thy visit to the prison(?), to the place where Son's son Hotpui was, when thou didst bring the foreleg of an ox, and this thy son came with Newayof, and thou didst say 'Welcome . . . , sit and eat meat.' Am I being contrived against in thy presence—albeit this thy son neither did nor said aught—by my brother? I buried him, I brought him from Y— (a place), I set him in his desert tomb, although 30 (?) gallons of barley were due from him as a loan from me (to wit) a loin-cloth, a . . . , 6 gallons of barley, flax, 1 . . . , and a cup, and although I did for him what had never been done (by any other). He has acted against this thy son very wrongfully, seeing that thou didst say to this thy son, 'All my property is vested in my son Shepsi,' and behold (?), my fields have been taken away by Sher(?)'s son, Henu. Behold, he ² is with thee in one city. Make a lawsuit with him, since thy scribes are with thee in one city. A man who makes . . . is glad (?), whereas his princes (?) are wretched (?)."

VERSO (OUTER SURFACE)

"Shepsi addresses his mother Iyi.

"A spoken reminder of that which thou was wont to say to this thy son, 'Bring me quails that I may eat them,' and this thy son brought thee seven quails and thou didst eat them. Am I being contrived against in thy presence, the children being sore discontent with this thy son? Who pray will pour out water for

¹ Both letters open with an appeal to the dead parent to remember occasions proving that the relations of parent and child were of the very best.

² This pronoun must refer, not to Henu just preceding, but to "my brother" some distance back. We know from the *verso* that the name of the dead brother who thus was proving so malicious was Sebkhotpe.

thee (after this)? O that thou wouldst judge me together with Sebkhotpe. I brought him from another town, placed him in his (own) tomb among his (own) [dead?], and gave him burial clothes. Wherefore does he contrive against this thy son very wrongfully, albeit I neither did nor said aught? Wrong-doing is displeasing to (?) the gods."

From Mr. Brunton's account of the tomb in which our bowl was found it seems likely that the latter was part of the original burial equipment, not a subsequent dedication. Hence the injustice of which Shepsi complains must have befallen him immediately after his father's death. We are ignorant how much time, in a burial of this kind, elapsed between the person's death and his actual interment. Only one corpse was found, that of a male, so that we must assume the mother to have died earlier and to have been buried elsewhere. The fact that the Egyptians should have written letters to their dead strikes one at first as a most remarkable novelty, and indeed it would be difficult to find any exact parallel in other lands. But on reflexion, we realize that this practice was but one more manifestation of the amazing logicity with which the ancient people of Egypt drew out the full consequences of their essential belief in the continuity of human life. After all, if dead men have to be fed regularly, if they are supposed to have the use of their limbs and senses, why should it not be possible to communicate with them by letter? The ideas embodied in the letters to the dead imply the closest and most intimate interaction between those who have already passed into the Beyond and those who still survive upon earth. Thus there is nothing really strange about the notion that dead persons should be able to influence the fate of the living for good or for evil, but it does seem rather perverse to attribute to a deceased brother, as is done in the Qau bowl, the responsibility for wrongs so patently performed by another deliberately specified living individual. The last trait to which we desire here to call attention is the lawsuit which the dead parents are asked to bring against the likewise dead offender. This reference to legal procedure after death is a constantly recurring theme. Egypt was a land of law and order, and to the Egyptian mind redress for injuries done, whether in this life or in the next, was through the medium of the courts of justice. On the walls of Old Kingdom mastabas, the tomb owner states that the great god shall decide between

him and any person who may violate his tomb. This suggests that the notion of a divine tribunal presided over by Osiris existed already in the Old Kingdom, though at that time it may have been conceived of only as serving as a place where the dead could obtain satisfaction for wrongs done, either to themselves or else to the dear ones whom they were bound to protect.

Professor Petrie tells me that he has seen a woman at Amarna go to her husband's tomb, remove a potsherd placed over an aperture, and then sit talking down into the tomb for a long time.

CHAPTER XXVII

NOTES ON DATING

By FLINDERS PETRIE

WHEN considering the suitability of sites for excavation, Mr. Wainwright urged on me the need of securing the antiquities which were often being found at Qau. The possibility of recovering the history of the strange art of the early sculptures from these (now in Turin) added to the prospect of historical dating, and hence the fixing of the British School work in that district. To my surprise I also found that the great tomb of Uah-ka still retained enough fragments of its paintings to show the subjects, and by cleaning the walls of an inner chamber the important name of Senusert was found in the Uah-ka family. These tombs will be dealt with in the third volume of this group.

When the results of Mr. Brunton's and my own work on the Old Kingdom cemetery were brought to London, we placed the distinctive tomb groups into a series, having regard to the pottery, alabaster vases, amulets, and beads as a basis for the relative date. Such a general view can be best grasped when all the actual objects are before us, so that the shades of distinctions strike the eye, and an agreed dating was then reached. For its historical position this series is entirely dependent on the few dated alabaster vases, those of the Sixth Dynasty in this site, and the forms of those of the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Dynasties (Khufu, Teta, and Pepy I) in University College. There is no other absolutely dated material for the historical position of the series of sequences. There are also, however, limitations to be drawn from the apparent prosperity shown by the objects, in relation to the known

history of the art and work, and the condition of the country. The results of this study of the material as a whole are seen in the dated series from the Fourth to the Ninth Dynasties in University College, the objects being kept together in groups as found. This was also the basis of the dating in the volume on *Buttons and Design Scarabs*. As in some respects this dating has since been altered in the preceding pages, it seems needful to state the reasons for the dating set out at University College.

The most marked feature of the alabaster vases is the very broad flat brim which had been reached by the time of the Sixth Dynasty, and is seen here in groups 1030 (pl. xlv), 7893 (xxx, xlv), 7900 (xxx), 7930 (xxx, xlv). In two of these tombs they were associated with more gold beads and bangles than were found elsewhere. This accords with the known luxury of the Sixth Dynasty. In view of the sharp decline of everything in Egypt under the Seventh and Eighth Dynasties of Syrian kings, it appears impossible to date the richest tombs and finest vases to this age. Nubia—the source of gold—was then lost. There were no royal monuments, there were no tombs of officials naming the king under whom they served, and there was a gross decay of style and work in the sculptures, as at Denderah. The whole of the conditions reflect the poverty and decay under alien rule. This external history precludes our supposing that the finest vases and richest gold work were due to a later continuation of those conditions which are known to be of the Sixth Dynasty. In sect. 129 the alabaster vases are shown as being uniformly common till the end of the Eighth Dynasty, and only to have declined after that. This position is highly unlikely, as the country was under disruption and foreign conquest. The drop in production seems plainly to be at the close of the Sixth Dynasty, and the reduced number to be due to the troubles of the Seventh to Tenth Dynasties. The dating shown by the vases and the conditions will not change the sequence set out in this volume, but it involves the dynastic dating of the whole material of this period. Thus much attributed to the Seventh and Eighth Dynasties must be placed before the fall of the Old Kingdom, according to the evidence of form and of history.¹

¹ In accordance with the above reasons the following are the dates as classified at University College, with the material in view, and as published in *Buttons and Design Scarabs*:

Another matter of dating of earlier times is the dependence on the dates assigned to the cemetery of Naga ed Deir. The pottery of the Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty is well defined, reign by reign. In that there are no examples of those types of cylinder jars from Naga-ed-Dêr which have been assigned to the First Dynasty by the finder. Such types were over long before, and their descendants appear in the Royal Tombs. As there were no objects with kings' names at Naga-ed-Dêr, all date depends alone on type, and it seems evident that the whole series should be placed rather earlier in the history. Where any discrepancy exists between a series of tomb types and a series of pottery, the pottery which is being continuously produced in large quantity is less likely to keep up a mixture of archaism than is the type of tombs, which were rarely built.

The sources of the button badges (never used for sealing) is certainly Mesopotamian and Cilician, by the recurrence of the designs that are found there. The buttons first appear in the Sixth Dynasty, and the best class is that of the *onkh heru*, or Life of the King in triumph (not found at Qau). It seems likely that such buttons were the badge of Syrian guards of the king, like the German guards of the Roman emperors, the Varangian guards of the Byzantines, or the Swiss guards of the French kings. Such use of mercenaries is common in a decadent rule, and easily slips into domination. Equally usual with the *onkh heru* (twelve examples)

IVth.	3127	7923	4802	1760	1622
978	3141	7925	4805	2001	1746
1085	3184	7929	4812	2040	3405
1089	3196	7954	4845	2050	3411
1145	3202		4857	3203	3421
1163	3221	VIIth	4915	3253	3504
1742	3222	433	4944	3313	3619
7366	3223	971	5004	3331	3727
7835	3257	1638	5281	3421	4924
	3268	1717	5283	3424	4952
Vth.	3272	1725	5334	3428	4979
2006	3295	1928	5542	3517	4981
3191	3306	1954	7539	4889	5219
4884	3601	2034	7540	4913	7610
7755	4809	2058	7644	4939	7619
7763	4850	3146	7655	5209	
	4852	3203	7761	5219	
VIth.	4903	3206	7848	5262	Xth.
767	5211	3267	7880	5295	1735
971	5284	3273	7887	7347	4981
1030	5287	3279	7889	7899	4998
1165	5313	3291	7906	7900	7121
1990	7329	3293	7948	7950	7362
1999	7341	3294			7606
2003	7572	3298	VIIIth.	IXth.	7882
2014	7674	3301	1622	634A	7885
2040	7694	3330	1653	914	
2092	7777	3405	1658	1021	
3107	7848	3508	1672	1049	XIIth.
3125	7900	3748	1721	1614	1595

is the type of the royal hornet (12), which might also be a guard's badge. The next commonest is the lion subduing an enemy (8); this may belong to the idea of the royal lion, otherwise developed as the royal sphinx. Thus the royalty motives, which are by far the more usual, are all of Egyptian meaning; yet none of these figures show an Egyptian artist, they are every one due to foreign hands. The same crude work is seen in the additions to a

cylinder of Pepy (*Ancient Egypt*, 1926, p. 12). This state of things agrees with the historical evidence of a Syrian domination during the Seventh and Eighth Dynasties, by such rulers as Shema, Khondy, and Telulu, named in the Table of Abydos. But we cannot fathom what ideas of human, or daimonic, or magic influence the wearers attached to the numberless degraded designs which are found upon the poorer class of buttons which developed under Syrian rule.

DISTRIBUTION LIST

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Ab.	. Aberdeen.	Hart.	. Hartlepool.
Bel.	. Belfast.	Ky.	. Kyoto University.
Bex.	. Bexhill.	Lich.	. Lichfield.
B.Mus.	. British Museum.	Linc.	. Lincoln.
Bolt.	. Bolton (Chadwick Mus.).	Man.	. Manchester University.
Bost.	. Boston (Lancs.).	Newc.	. Newcastle.
Bris.	. Bristol.	Ox.	. Oxford (Ashmolean).
Brus.	. Brussels.	Pitt.	. Pitt-Rivers (Oxford).
Cairo, with	<i>Journal d'Entrée</i> numbers.	Ply.	. Plymouth.
Cam.	. Cambridge Ethnological.	Read.	. Reading.
Chic.	. Chicago University.	Res.	. In Reserve at U.C.
Cop.	. Copenhagen (National).	Roch.	. Rochdale.
Dun.	. Dunedin.	U.C.	. University College, London.
Edin.	. Edinburgh (Royal Scottish).	Worth.	. Worthing.
Fitz.	. Fitzwilliam, Cambridge.		

301. U.C.	410. Cairo.	439. U.C.	487. U.C.	541. Lich.	607. Res.
303. Res.	47616	441. Lich.	502. Hull.	542. Man.	608. U.C.
306. Hull.	412. U.C.	447. Roch.	504. Res.	548. Cairo.	609. Man.
308. Ox.	413. Lich.	430A. Man.	506. Ky.	47617-20	612. Man.
309. Lich.	418. Fitz.	451. U.C.	507. U.C.	550. U.C.	613. Ox.
314. Man.	420. Ply.	454. Ox.	513. Roch.	554. Bolt.	614. U.C.
316. Ky.	423. Pitt.	461. U.C.	516. Fitz.	555. Bolt.	616. Brus.
321. Ply.	425. Hull.	462. U.C.	517. Man.	557. Ox.	620. U.C.
324. Hart.	426. Ox.	468. U.C.	518. Ky.	563. Pitt.	627. Ky.
330. Cairo.	429. Man.,	470. U.C.	519. Ky.	585. Res.	628. Fitz.
47633-4	U.C.	471. Brus.	525. Lich.	587. Bris.	630. Hull.
401. U.C.	432. Lich.	473. U.C.	527. Bris.	589. Man.	633. Chic.
403. U.C.	433. U.C.	475. Brus.	528. Ox.	590. Bolt.	634. U.C.
407. Hull.	435. Hull.	479. Lich.	529. Res.	591. Chic.	636. Roch.
408. Roch.	436. Ox.	483. Ky.	531. Roch.	596. U.C.	637. Man.
409. U.C.	437. Pitt.	484. Ky.	533. Res.	606. Ky.	638. Res.

640. Pitt.	762. Ab.	1005. Res.	1104. Res.	1510. Ab.	1631. Roch.
642. Res.	767. U.C.	1006. Bolt.	1105. U.C.	1512. Ab.	1632. U.C.
643. Cairo.	768. Res.	1007. Cairo.	1106. U.C.	1520. U.C.	1633. Ox.
47628	771. U.C.	47629-32	1107. U.C.	1521. Man.	1635. Hull.
650. Hull.	772. Ply.	1009. Lich.	1108. Bolt.	1522. Brus.	1637. Ox.
651. U.C.	781. Bris.	1011. Ply.	1115. Man.	1526. U.C.	1638. U.C.
656. Bolt.	784. Man.	1012. Ab.	1116. U.C.	1532. U.C.	1639. Roch.
657. Man.	794. Ab.	1018. U.C.	1117. U.C.	1537. Res.	1640. Ox.
661. Chic.	805. Res.	1019. Bris.	1121. Bolt.	1541. Pitt.	1648. Man.
662. Pitt.	811. U.C.	1020. Ox.	1122. Res.	1544. Man.	1652. Ab.
664. Bris.	819. U.C.	1021. U.C.	1123. Hull.	1546. Roch.	1653. U.C.
665. Bris.	834. U.C.	1022. Brus.	1126. Ox.	1551. Ky.	1658. U.C.
666. Ply.	856. Roch.	1023. U.C.	1129. Res.	1553. Chic.	Edin.
667. Brus.	859. Hart.	1025. Man.	1130. Res.	1559. Ky.	1661. Res.
669. Res.	895. Ply.	1027. Man.	1132. Cairo.	1566. Hull.	1663. Res.
670. Man.	898. Res.	1028. Man.	47626	1568. Bris.	1671. Cairo.
671. U.C.	904. U.C.	1029. Brus.	1136. Ky.	1569. Bris.	48340.
672. Ky.	906. U.C.	1030. U.C.	1139. Bris.	1570. Roch.	1672. U.C.
674. U.C.	911. Bris.	1031. U.C.	1140. Res.	1571. Res.	1674. Hague.
675. Hull.	914. U.C.	1036. Bris.	1141. Ply.	1574. Cairo.	1675. Res.
676. Ox.	915. Man.	1037. Ab.	1143. Ox.	47627,	1676. Cairo.
677. Ox.	925. Bris.	1039. Roch.	1145. U.C.	47636.	48343.
679. U.C.	926. Ply.	1042. Brus.	1146. Brus.	1575. Brus.	1679. Cairo.
680. Ky.	927. Chic.	1045. Brus.	1147. Res.	1576. U.C.	48335.
682. U.C.	941. Roch.	1048. Res.	1148. Man.	1577. Res.	1680. Newc.
685. U.C.	945. U.C.	1049. U.C.	1150. Brus.	1578. Bris.	1682. Cairo.
686. Man.	949. U.C.	1054. Res.	1152. Bris.	1580. Ox.	48334.
689. Man.	950. Fitz.	1055. Man.	1153. Res.	1582. Hull.	1684. Cairo.
690. Bolt.	955. Cairo.	1060. Pitt.	1154. Lich.	1583. Roch.	48284.
691. Bolt.	47614-5	1063. Lich.	1155. Ky.	1584. Ab.	1686. Cairo.
693. Res.	958. U.C.	1066. Ox.	1156. Roch.	1585. Hull.	48332.
694. U.C.	961. U.C.	1068. Ab.	1157. Res.	1590. U.C.	Worth.
695. Res.	965. Hull.	1069. Roch.	1163. U.C.	1591. U.C.	1687. Newc.
696. U.C.	968. Ab.	1070. U.C.	1164. U.C.	1592. Ky.	1691. Cairo.
712. U.C.	969. Roch.	1071. Ky.	1165. U.C.	1595. U.C.	48337.
718. Res.	970. Cairo.	1072. Bolt.	1166. Brus.	1596. Brus.	Res.
722. Bris.	47624-5	1074. U.C.	1201. Fitz.	1598. Ab.	1693. Res.
726. Bris.	971. U.C.	1076. U.C.	1202. Hull.	1599. Res.	1697. Cairo.
729. Brus.	972. U.C.	1077. Ab.	1205. Ky.	1601. Pitt.	48336.
730. Res.	974. U.C.	1079. Bris.	1206. Man.	1602. U.C.	1699. Cairo.
733. Ply.	975. Res.	1081. Res.	1209. Man.	1603. Brus.	48331.
736. Ox.	977. Ply.	1082. U.C.	1211. Ox.	1605. Ply.	1701. Res.
737. Bris.	978. U.C.	1085. U.C., Ox.	1213. Man.	1607. Fitz.	1705. Res.
739. Bris.	979. Res.	1089. U.C.	1214. Ab.	1613. Ab.	1706. Res.
743. Res.	981. Ox.	1090. Fitz.	1215. Roch.	1614. U.C.	1709. Hague.
749. Cairo.	985. Man.	1091. Fitz.	1216. U.C.	1618. U.C.	1711. Bost.
47621-3	986. Bolt.	1093. Hull.	1217. Ky.	1620. Man.	1712. Res.
750. Lich.	987. Bolt.	1095. Man.	1218. Ky.	1621. Brus.	1714. Hull.
754. Man.	999. Brus.	1101. Bris.	1224. U.C.	1622. U.C.	1715. Ky.
755. Bolt.	1003. Ox.	1102. Res.	1506. Ply.	1626. U.C.	1717. U.C.
756. Res.	1004. U.C.	1103. Ply.	1509. Ox.	1627. Lich.	1718. Ox.

1721. U.C.	1936. Ply.	2061. Ab.	3146. Res.	3226. Ab.	3314. Ab.
1723. Cairo.	1938. Res.	2066. Res.	3147. Res.	3228. Ky.	3321. Bel.
48339.	1940. Ky.	2069. Hague.	3150. Res.	3229. Hague.	3322. Res.
1725. U.C.	1941. Bel.	2072. Res.	3153. Worth.	3230. Res.	3324. Res.
1730. Ply.	1948. Man.	2076. Newc.	3155. Res.	3232. Res.	3330. U.C.
1733. Ab.	1951. Man.	2080. Ox.	3156. Res.	3233. Res.	3331. U.C.
1734. Res.	1952. Ky.	2083. Res.	3157. Res.	3234. Hague.	3401. Res.
1735. U.C.	1953. B. Mus.	2086. Worth.	3158. Bolt.	3236. Ox.	3402. Res.
1738. Roch.	Dun.	2090. Res.	3159. Man.	3237. Ky.	3403. Res.
1739. Dun.	1954. U.C.	2092. U.C.	3160. Res.	3251. Hull.	3404. Edin.
1740. Res.	1958. Ox.	2096. Res.	3169. Res.	3252. Res.	3405. U.C.
1742. U.C.	1959. Man.	2097. Read.	3170. B. Mus.	3253. U.C.	3406. Res.
Bex.	1960. Newc.	2098. Res.	3171. Res.	3255. Man.	3407. Res.
1744. U.C.	1961. Worth.	2099. Bex.	3173. Res.	3256. Res.	3408. Lich.
1745. Res.	1964. Cam.	2102. Read.	3175. B. Mus.	3257. U.C.	3409. Res.
1746. U.C.	1966. Res.	2104. Ply.	3176. Res.	3259. Res.	3410. Res.
1749. Pitt.	1970. Bolt.	2105. Res.	3178. Ply.	3260. Res.	3411. U.C.
1750. Res.	1975. U.C.	2110. Hague.	3180. Res.	3262. U.C.	3412. Ox.
1751. Read.	B. Mus.	2111. Res.	3181. Res.	3263. Res.	3414. Res.
1753. Ply.	1976. Roch.	2113. Bost.	3182. Res.	3265. Res.	3415. Res.
1754. Man.	1977. Bolt.	2122. Bost.	3183. Hull.	3266. Res.	3416. Res.
1755. Hull.	1981. Ox.	3101. Res.	3184. U.C.	3267. U.C.	3421. U.C.
1760. U.C.	1983. Ab.	3102. Res.	3185. Res.	3268. U.C.	3421A. Ox.
1761. Ply.	1990. U.C.	3104. Roch.	3187. Res.	3270. Man.	3422. Ox.
1762. U.C.	1991. Bex.	3105. Ab.	3188. Res.	3271. Res.	3424. U.C.
Hull.	1999. U.C.	3106. Newc.	3189. Hull.	3273. U.C.	3425. Hague.
1765. Hague.	2001. U.C.	3107. U.C.	3191. U.C.	3275. Res.	3426. Res.
1766. Bel.	2003. U.C.	3108. Ky.	3192. Res.	3277. Hague.	3427. Res.
1770. Hague.	2006. U.C.	3110. Res.	3195. Res.	3279. U.C.	3428. U.C.
1782. U.C.	2009. U.C.	3112. Cairo.	3196. U.C.	3280. Man.	3502. Res.
1784. Ky.	2011. U.C.	48280. Roch.	3198. Res.	3282. Res.	3504. U.C.
1785. Bost.	2012. Res.	3113. Res.	3202. U.C.	3287. Res.	3505. Res.
1786. Dun.	2014. U.C.	3114. Ox.	3203. U.C.	3289. Edin.	3508. U.C.
1788. Res.	2016. Res.	3115. Res.	3206. U.C.	3290. Hague.	3511. Res.
1792. Res.	2024. U.C.	3117. Res.	3207. Res.	3291. U.C.	3512. Res.
1793. Hull.	2027. Hull.	3118. Res.	3208. Res.	3292. U.C.	3514. Res.
1794. Worth.	2028. Res.	3120. Ab.	3209. Res.	3293. U.C.	3515. Res.
1802. U.C.	2029. Res.	3121. Ply.	3210. B. Mus.	3294. U.C.	3517. Res.
Read.	2031. Res.	3122. Res.	3211. Bex.	3295. U.C.	3518. Res.
1806. Bex.	2032. Res.	3124. Ab.	3212. Newc.	3297. Roch.	3523. Res.
1808. Res.	2033. Res.	3125. U.C.	3213. Res.	3298. U.C.	3524. U.C.
1809. Man.	2034. Bex.	3127. U.C.	3214. Res.	3299. Bel.	3525. Ky.
1810. Newc.	2040. U.C.	3128. U.C.	3215. Res.	3301. U.C.	3601. U.C.
1915. Res.	2041. Man.	3132. Res.	3216. Ky.	3302. Res.	3602. Res.
1916. Res.	2042. Bolt.	3136. Hague.	3217. Cairo.	3305. Res.	3606. Bolt.
1921. Bolt.	2050. U.C.	3140. Bost.	48266-72.	3306. U.C.	3610. Res.
1927. Res.	2052. Man.	3141. Res.	3220. Ply.	Ox.	3727. U.C.
1928. U.C.	2053. Res.	3142. Res.	3221. U.C.	3307. Res.	3734. Res.
1929. U.C.	2055. Res.	3143. Cairo.	3222. U.C.	3308. Res.	3737. Bolt.
1932. Newc.	2058. U.C.	48276-8.	3224. Ply.	3310. Res.	3741. Res.
1934. Res.	2060. Edin.	Hague.	3225. Res.	3313. U.C.	3746. Res.

3747. Res.	4887. Newc.	4975. Ox.	5316. Fitz.	6502. Cairo.	7516. Ab.
3748. U.C.	4889. U.C.	4976. U.C.	5318. Roch.	49117.	7520. Roch.
3761. Read.	4890. Hague.	4979. U.C.	5320. B. Mus.	7030. U.C.	7524. Newc.
3771. Man.	4894. Res.	4980. Cairo.	5321. U.C.	7120. Lich.	7525. Man.
3838. Ky.	4897. Res.	48341.	5324. Man.	Hague.	7526. Hague.
4802. U.C.	4898. Res.	4981. U.C.	5325. Man.	7257. B. Mus.	7527. Roch.
4807. Res.	4901. Res.	4982. Man.	5326. Man.	Res.	7535. Bolt.
4808. Roch.	4902. Res.	4985. Res.	5328. Ox.	7276. Edin.	7539. U.C.
4809. U.C.	4903. U.C.	4989. Res.	5332. Man.	7277. Bex.	7540. U.C.
4811. Res.	4904. Man.	4991. Res.	5333. Bel.	7279. Ky.	7554. Bost.
4812. U.C.	4906. Hague.	4994. Hague.	5334. U.C.	7285. Ply.	7555. Hague.
4813. Res.	4907. Ky.	4997. Res.	5336. Ky.	7289. Worth.	7560. Newc.
4815. Ky.	4909. Cop.	5002. Bex.	5339. U.C.	7290. Bex.	7563. Hague.
4817. Ky.	4913. U.C.	5004. U.C.	5340. Fitz.	7297. Man.	7568. Bel.
4819. Res.	4914. Roch.	5005. Res.	5344. Ox.	7300. Hague.	7572. U.C.
4820. U.C.	4915. U.C.	5007. Man.	5345. Roch.	7306. Man.	7576. U.C.
4821. Res.	4916. Res.	5009. Cop.	5347. Ox.	7309. Bost.	7577. Lich.
4822. U.C.	4923. Ky.	5010. U.C.	5512. Fitz.	7311. Ox.	7579. Res.
4826. Res.	4924. U.C.	5020. Res.	5513. Ky.	7317. Ox.	7615. Ab.
4827. Res.	4925. Ky.	5102. Res.	5517. Bel.	7324. Cairo.	7619. U.C.
4828. Res.	4927. Res.	5204. Res.	5524. B. Mus.	48233.	7620. B. Mus.
4829. Bolt.	4930. Res.	5205. Res.	5528. B. Mus.	B. Mus.	7623. Ky.
4830. B. Mus.	4931. Res.	5207. Ox.	5529. B. Mus.	7329. U.C.	7639. Bolt.
4831. Res.	4932. Res.	5209. U.C.	5530. B. Mus.	Man.	7644. U.C.
4833. Hague.	4933. Res.	5211. U.C.	5531. U.C.		Bolt.
4837. Roch.	4935. Res.	5212. Ky.	5533. B. Mus.	7331. Read.	7647. B. Mus.
4840. Res.	4938. Res.	5219. U.C.	5534. Man.	7333. Roch.	7648. Man.
4842. Res.	4939. U.C.	5221. Res.	5535. Man.	7334. Man.	7650. Newc.
4845. U.C.	4942. Res.	5229. Newc.	5536. Man.	7335. B. Mus.	7651. Bex.
4846. B. Mus.	4943. Res.	5233. Read.	5538. Ky.	7337. Read.	Hague.
4847. Hague.	4944. Res.	5236. Res.	5541. Roch.	7341. U.C.	7652. Bex.
4850. U.C.	4947. Man.	5238. Res.	5542. U.C.	7343. Hague.	7653. Bolt.
4851. Lich.	4948. Newc.	5262. U.C.	5543. Ox.	7344. B. Mus.	7655. U.C.
4852. U.C.	4949. Res.	5263. Res.	5544. Bolt.	7345. Read.	7659. Hague.
4853. Lich.	4950. Res.	5270. Res.	5547. B. Mus.	7346. Ky.	7667. Bel.
4856. Hull.	4951. Hull.	5272. Res.	6001. Bel.	7347. U.C.	7670. Read.
4857. U.C.	4952. U.C.	5281. U.C.	6006. Leeds.	7356. Ky.	7674. U.C.
4861. Res.	4954. Res.	5283. U.C.	6006A. Man.	7357. Bel.	7680. Ky.
4863. Newc.	4955. Res.	5284. U.C.	6007. Bel.	7361. Hague.	7695. B. Mus.
4865. Roch.	4959. Bolt.	5286. Res.	6008. U.C.	7362. U.C.	7697. Lich.
4868. Res.	4960. Res.	5287. U.C.	6009. Linc.	7366. U.C.	7699. U.C.
4870. Cop.	4961. Res.	5292. Lich.	6010A. Newc.	7373. Ox.	7701. Lich.
4871. Res.	4964. U.C.	5293. Ky.	6011. Ky.	7396. Ky.	7702. Hague.
4872. Res.	4965. Res.	5295. U.C.	6011A. Ky.	7398. Bolt.	7704. Hague.
4873. Res.	4966. Res.	5299. Man.	6012. Ky.	7403. Bex.	7707. Newc.
4874. Hague.	4971. Cairo.	5301. U.C.	6012A. Ky.	7407. Bel.	7710. Ox.
4880. Res.	48342.	5303. U.C.	6015. Bel.	7502. Hague.	7717. Hull.
4881. Res.	4972. Cairo.	5311. Bolt.	6016. Leeds.	7503. Bolt.	7719. Man.
4882. Res.	48338.	5313. U.C.	6019. Bel.	7504. Bex.	7722. Worth.
4884. U.C.	4973. U.C.	5314. Bolt.	6020. U.C.	7505. Res.	7726. Ab.
4885. U.C.	Man.	5315. Man.	6501. Cairo.	7514. U.C.	7727. Hague.
			49118.	7515. Lich.	

7728. Hague.	7760A. Ky.	7803. U.C.	7842. Edin.	7897. Edin.	7930. B. Mus.
7731. Newc.	7761. U.C.	7806. Hague.	7845. Edin.	7899. U.C.	7931. Roch.
7735. Bel.	7762. Ox.	7807. Ply.	7848. U.C.	7900. U.C.	7935. Worth.
7739. Newc.	7763. U.C.	7809. Ply.	7850. Bex.	7901. Hull.	7937. B. Mus.
7741. U.C.	7769. U.C.	7810. Newc.	7855. Ky.	7907. Bolt.	7939. Bost.
7743. Bolt.	7771. Bolt.	7812. Read.	7864. Hague.	7908. Hague.	7940. Edin.
7745. Read.	Newc.	7815. Lich.	7866. Read.	7911. Ab.	7941. Lich.
7746. Worth.	7777. U.C.	7819. Res.	7880. U.C.	7921. Hull.	7942. Bel.
7751. Bex.	7779. Lich.	7830. Edin.	7887. U.C.	7923. U.C.	7944. Man.
7752. Roch.	7785. B. Mus.	Res.	7891. Read.	7925. U.C.	7948. U.C.
7753. Ply.	7786. Roch.	7835. U.C.	7892. Bel.	7926. Ply.	7949. Man.
7754. Roch.	7788. Hague.	7837. Man.	7893. Ox.	7927. Lich.	7950. U.C.
7755. U.C.	7791. B. Mus.	7840. Edin.	7894. Ab.	7929. U.C.	7954. U.C.
7756. B. Mus.	7795. Ply.				

Cemetery 200.

Iron dagger : U.C.

Protodynastic pots : Brus., Ky., Ply.

Cemetery 300.

Hes vases : U.C., Roch., Fitz.

*Cemetery 400.*Pots : Av., Ox. Alabaster : Lich. Beads and
amulets : U.C., Bris.*Cemetery 500.*

Amulet : Lich.

*Cemetery 600.*Pots : Ab., Hull, Ox., Ply., U.C. Beads and
amulets : Bris., Lich., Ply., U.C., Ab.,
Brus., Chic., Fitz., Hull. Alabasters :
Hull, Pitt. Diorite bowls : Roch., Ky.
Paint Palette : Ky.*Cemetery 700.*

Beads and amulets : U.C., Ab., Fitz., Lich.

Cemetery 1450.

Copper knife : Lich.

*Cemetery 1500.*Protodynastic pots : Ab., Ky., Lich. Shell :
Bris. Beads : Brus., Ab.*Cemetery 1600.*

Pot : Roch.

*Cemetery 1700.*Protodynastic pots : Bolt., Dun., U.C. Stea-
tite fly : U.C.*Cemetery 1800.*

Protodynastic pot : U.C. Paint Palette : Bex.

*Cemetery 1900.*Protodynastic pot : Read. Mirror : Bost.
Grinder : Ply.*Cemetery 2000.*

Grinder : Read.

*Cemetery 3000, Spur 3.*Schist hawk : Man. Statuette and blue glaze
vase : Cairo, 48235-6.*Cemetery 3100.*

Model copper spear-head : Ky.

*Cemetery 3200.*Pot : Hague. Alabaster : Read. Pottery head-
rest : Ky. Flaying knife : Pitt. Copper
needle : Ky.*Cemetery 3300.*

Alabaster : Bex.

Cemetery 3400.

Maze scarab : Ox. Model copper adze : Lich.

Cemetery 3900.

Protodynastic pot : Newc.

Cemetery 4800.

Pot : Ky.

Cemetery 5200.

Blue and black glaze dish : Man.

Cemetery 5300.

(1) Beads : Ky.

(2) Beads and alabaster : Linc.

Pot : U.C. Beads : Ky., Roch.

*Cemetery 6000.*Pot : B. Mus. Beads : B. Mus. Slate and
pebble : Hull.

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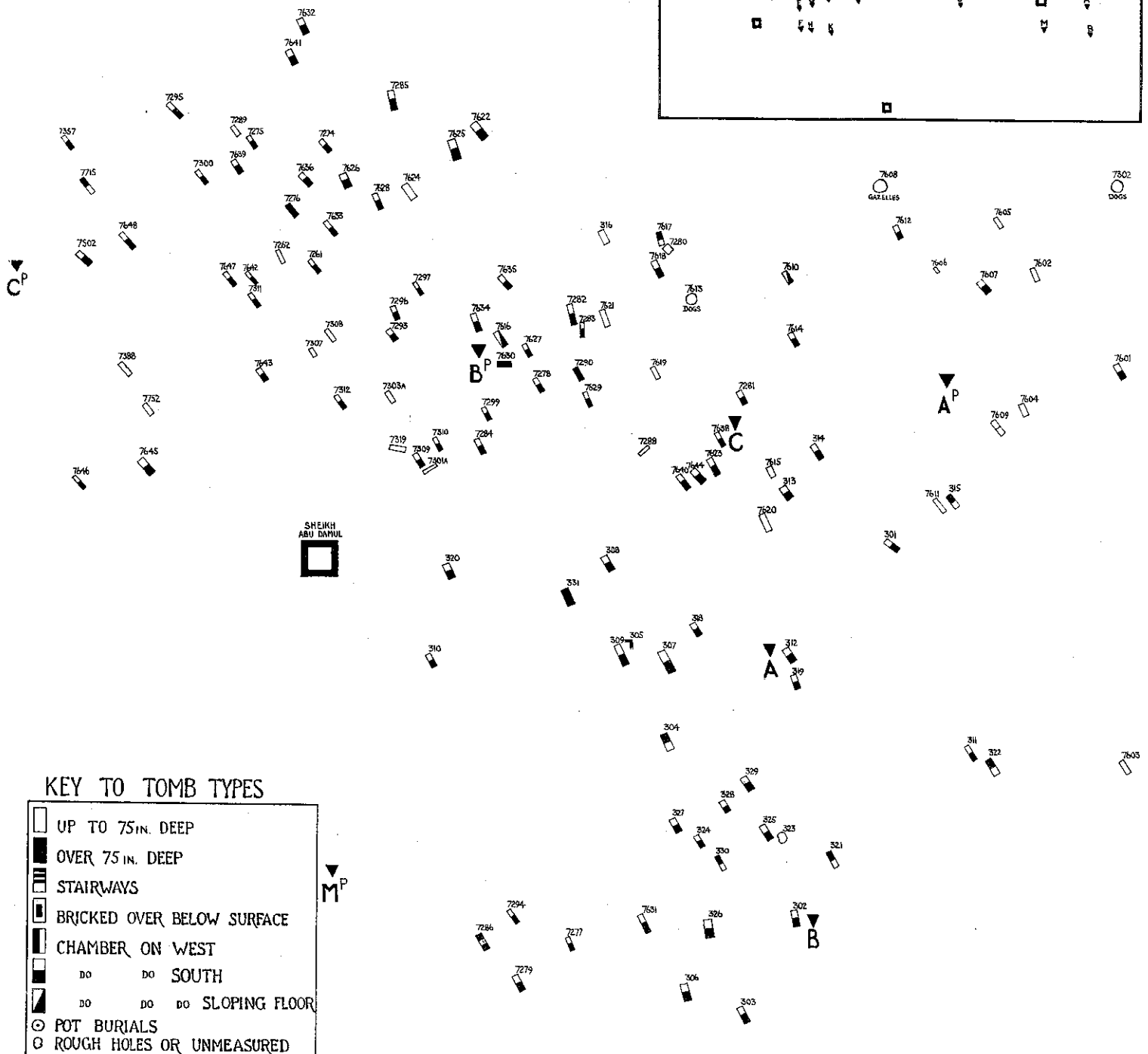
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MAP OF QAU-HEMAMIEH DISTRICT.

I

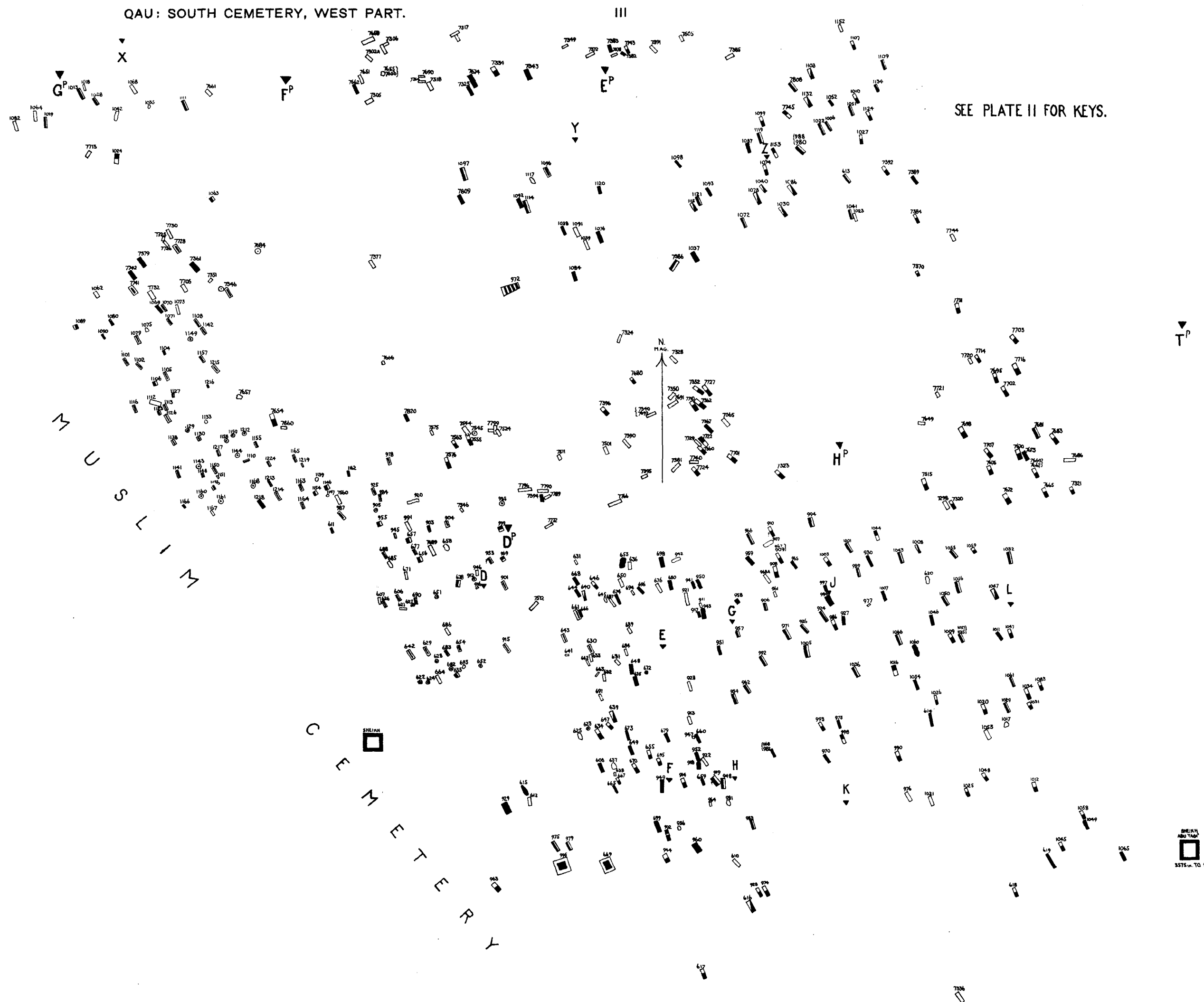


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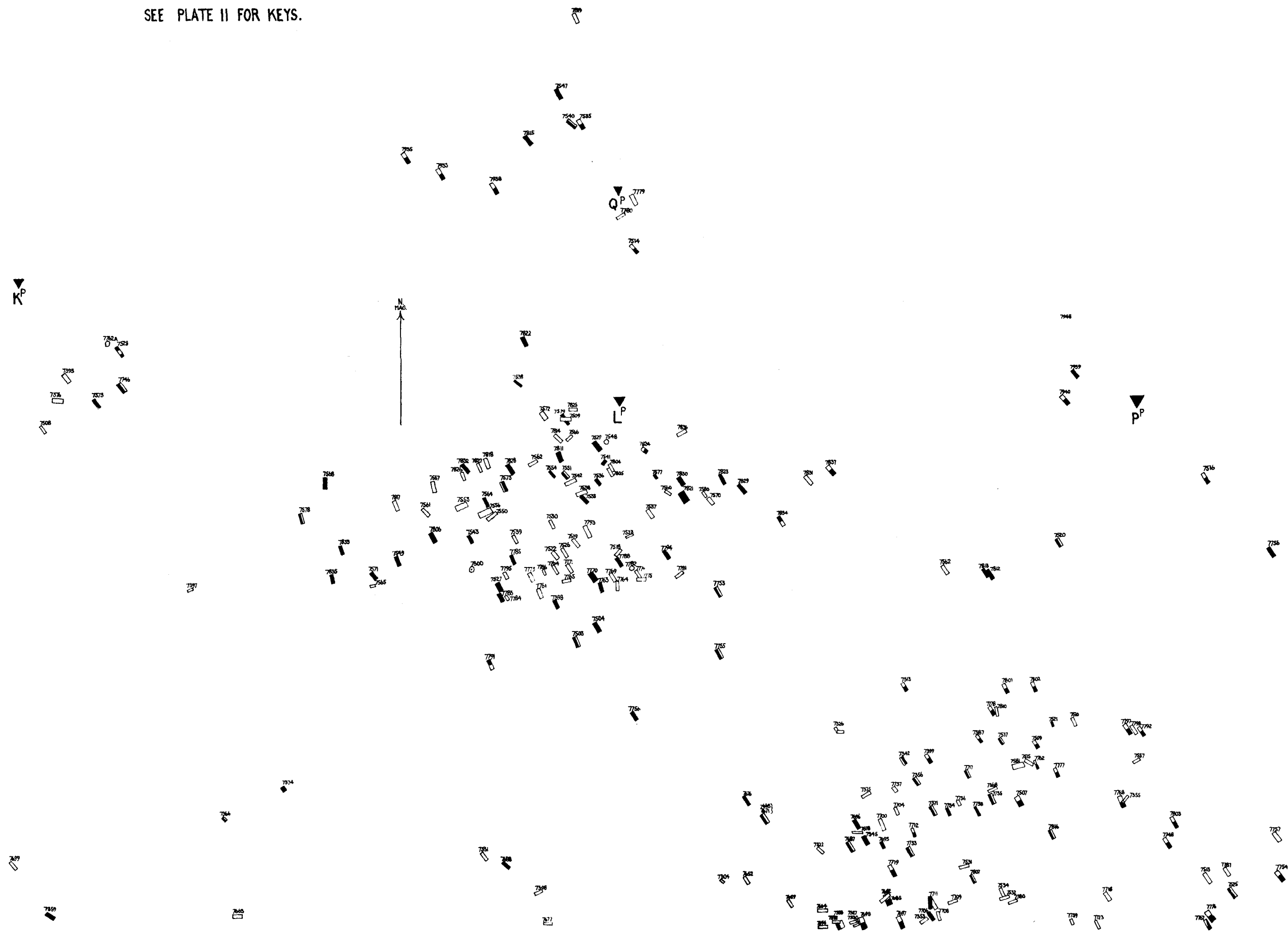


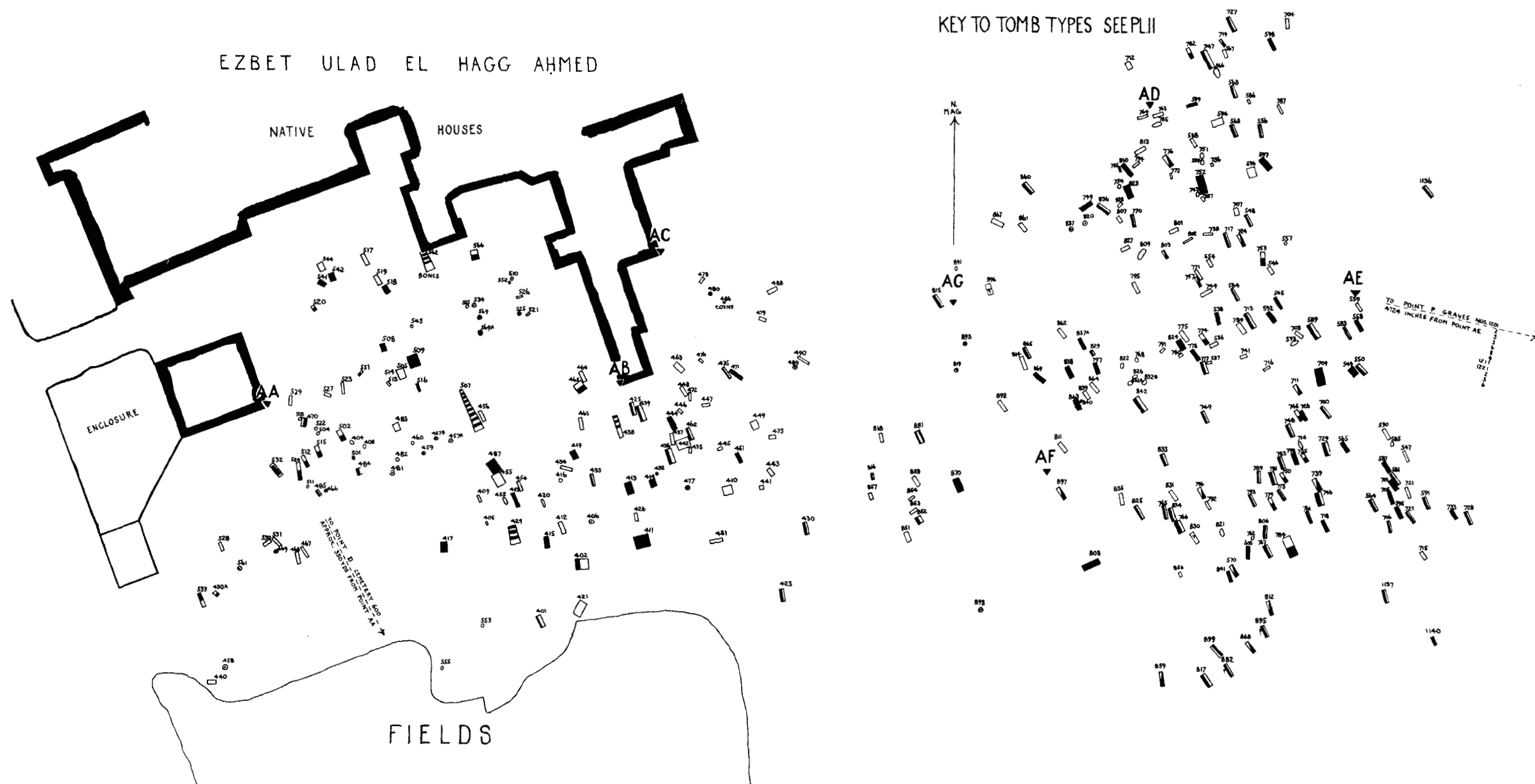
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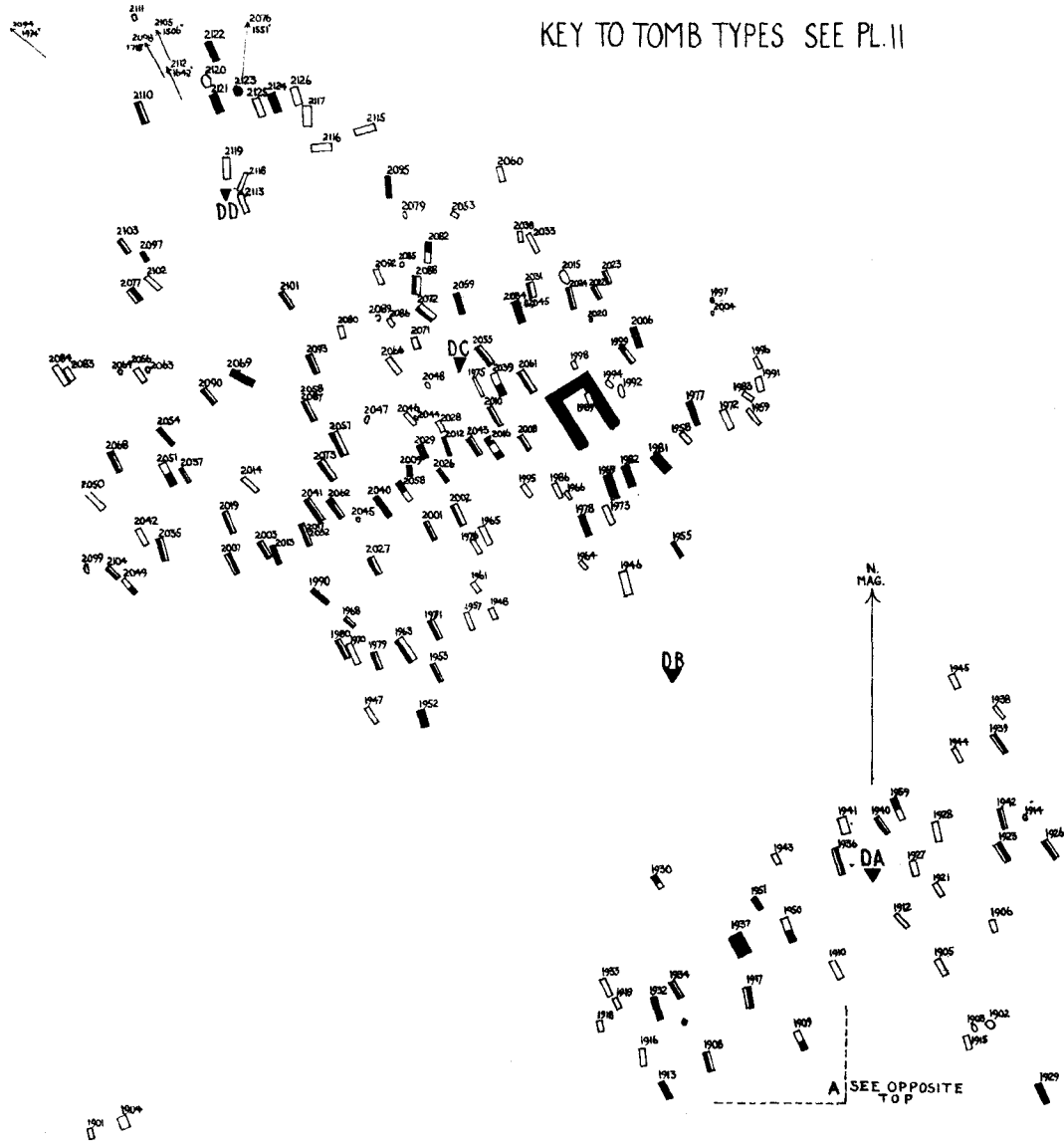
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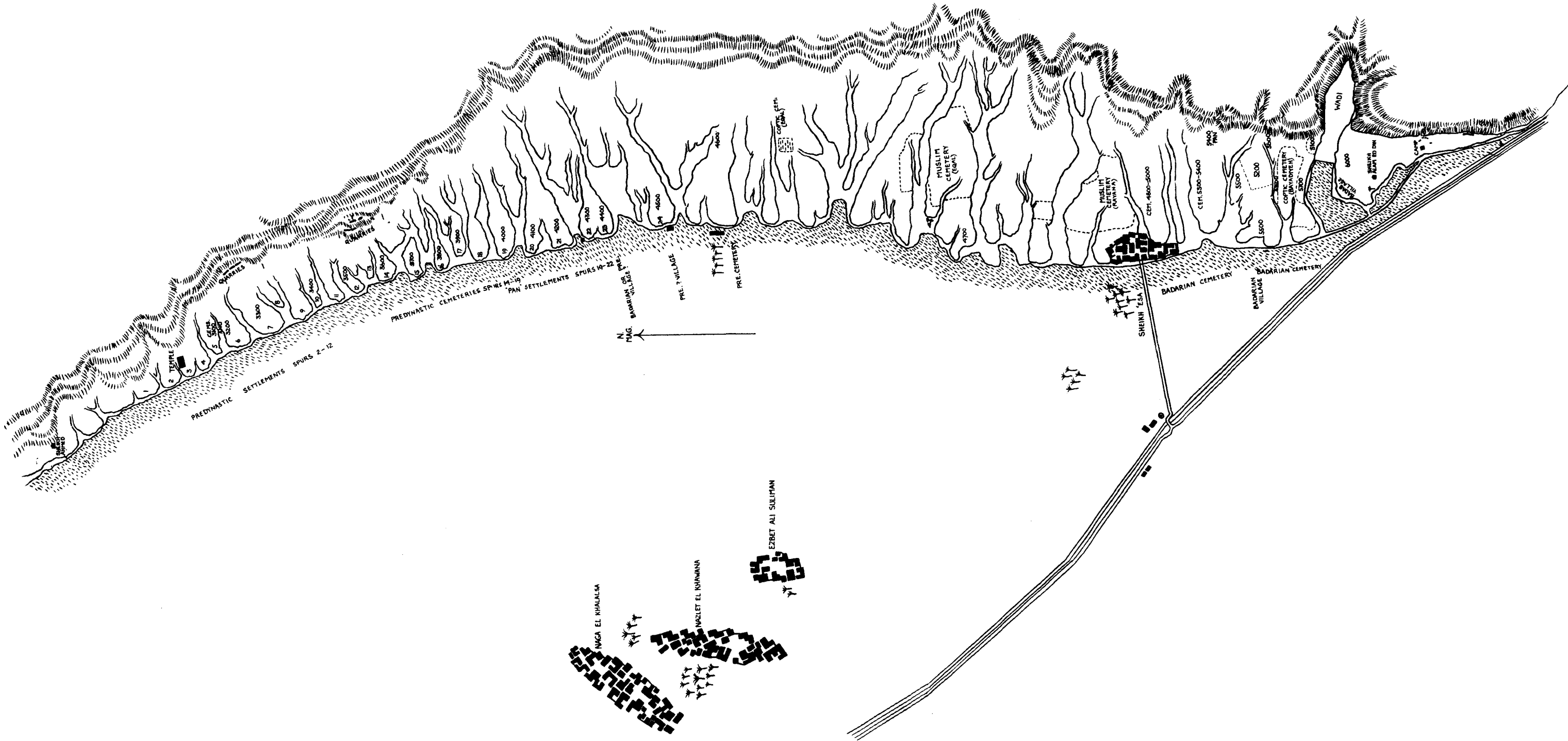


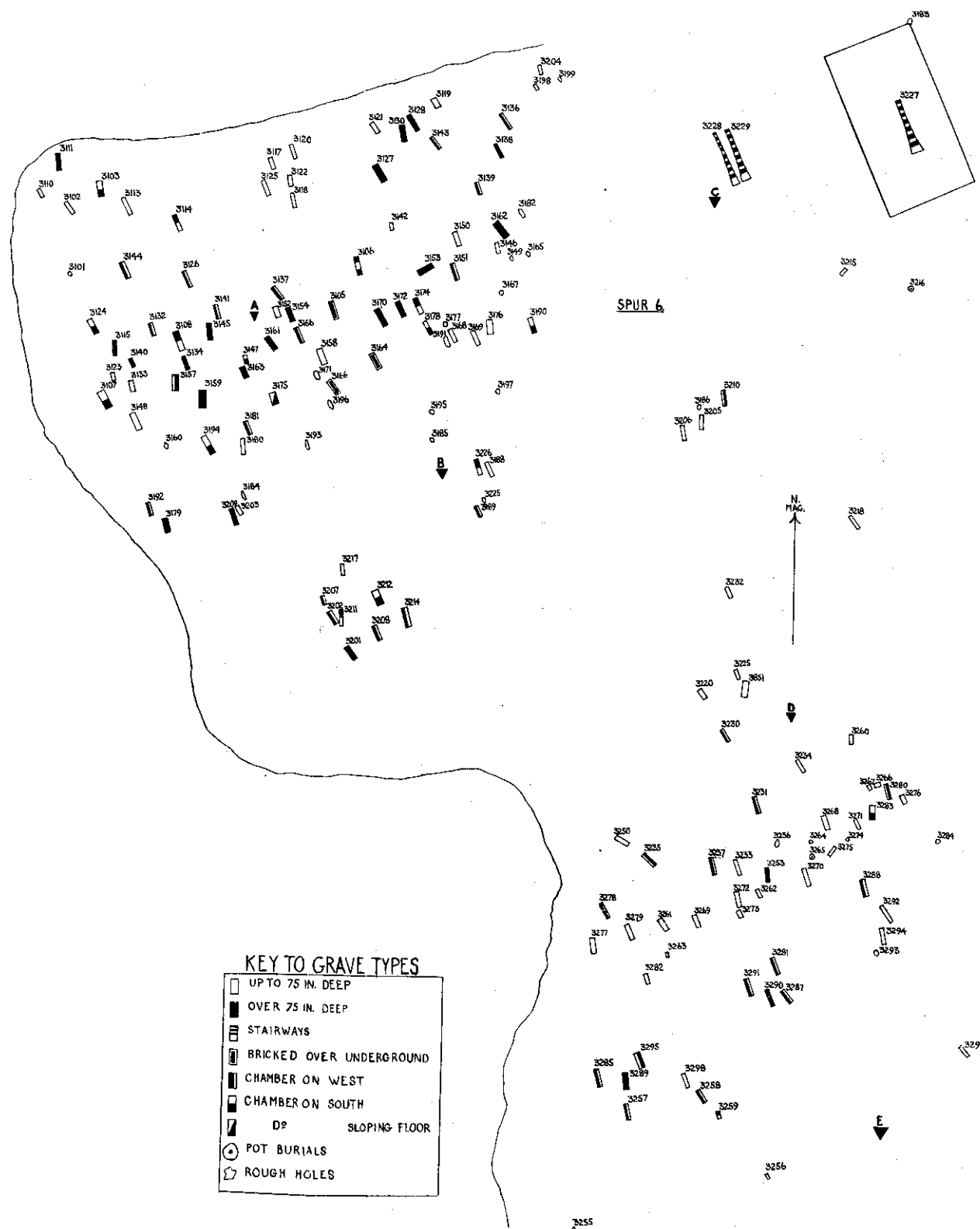
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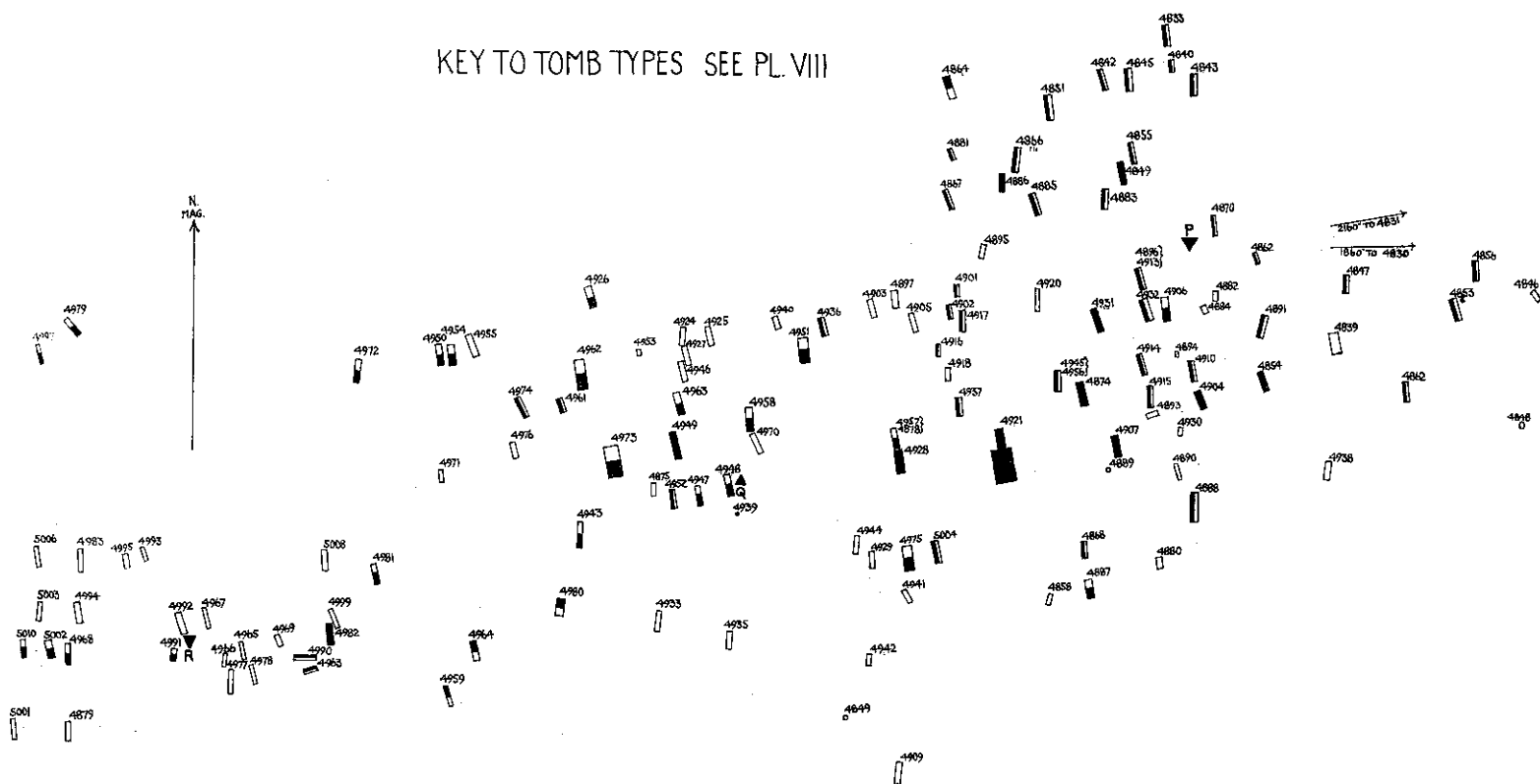




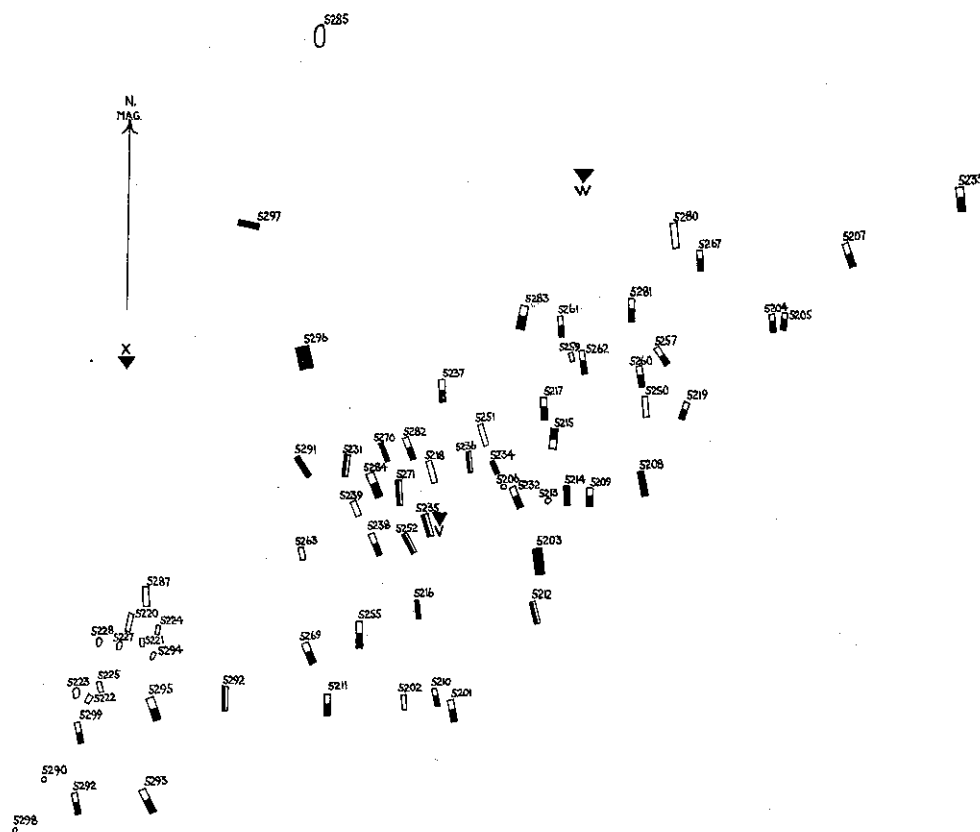




KEY TO TOMB TYPES SEE PL. VIII



CEMETERY 5200.



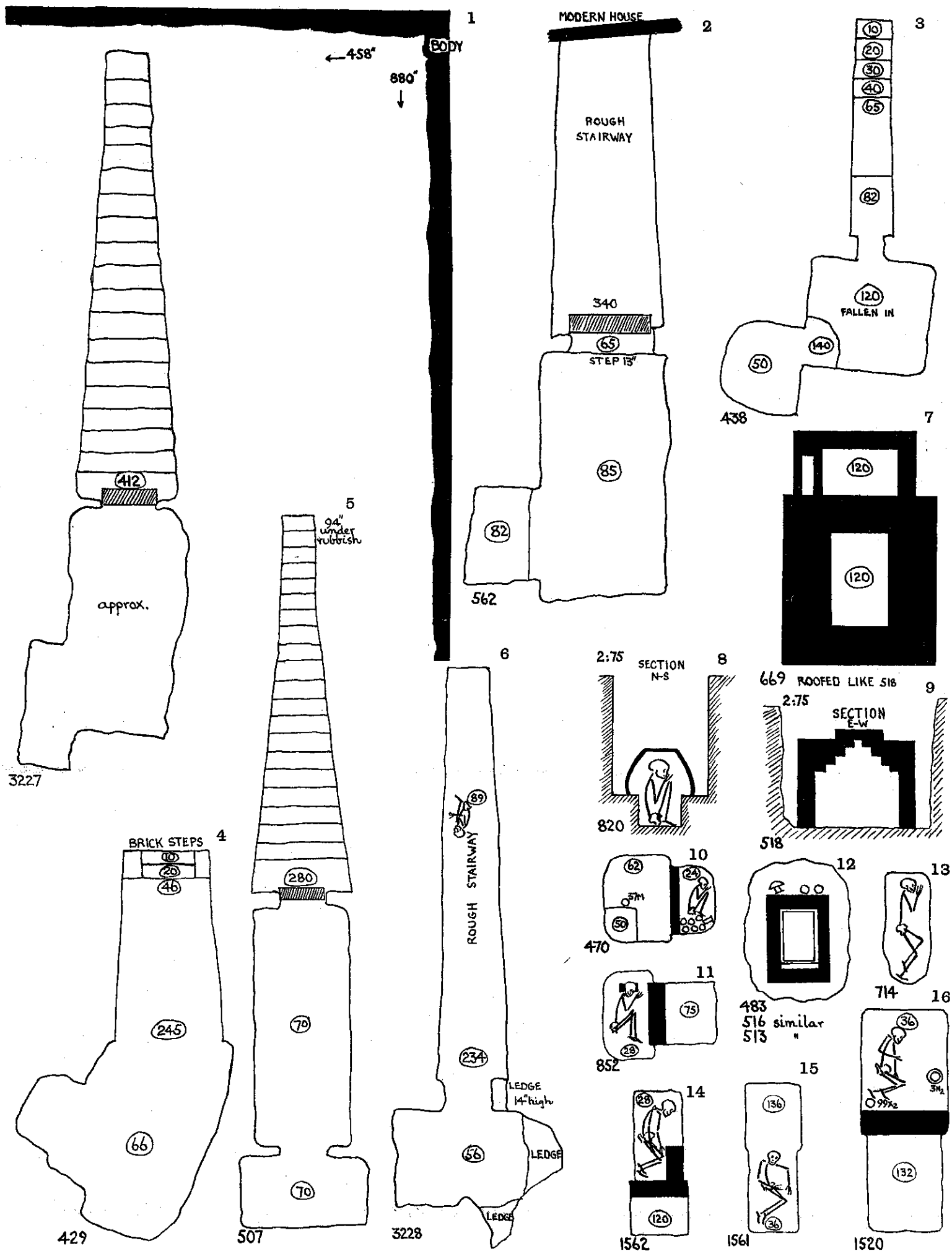
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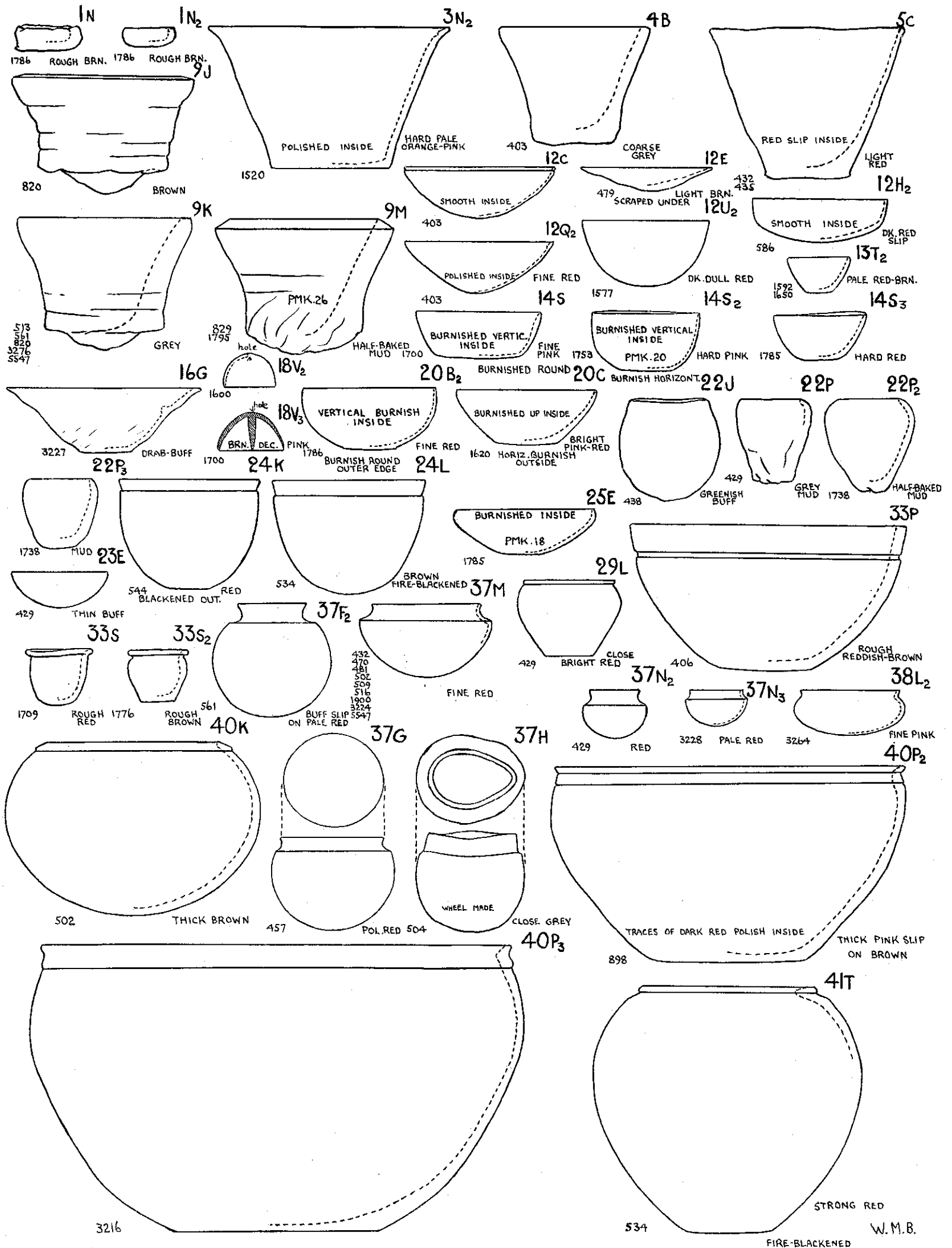
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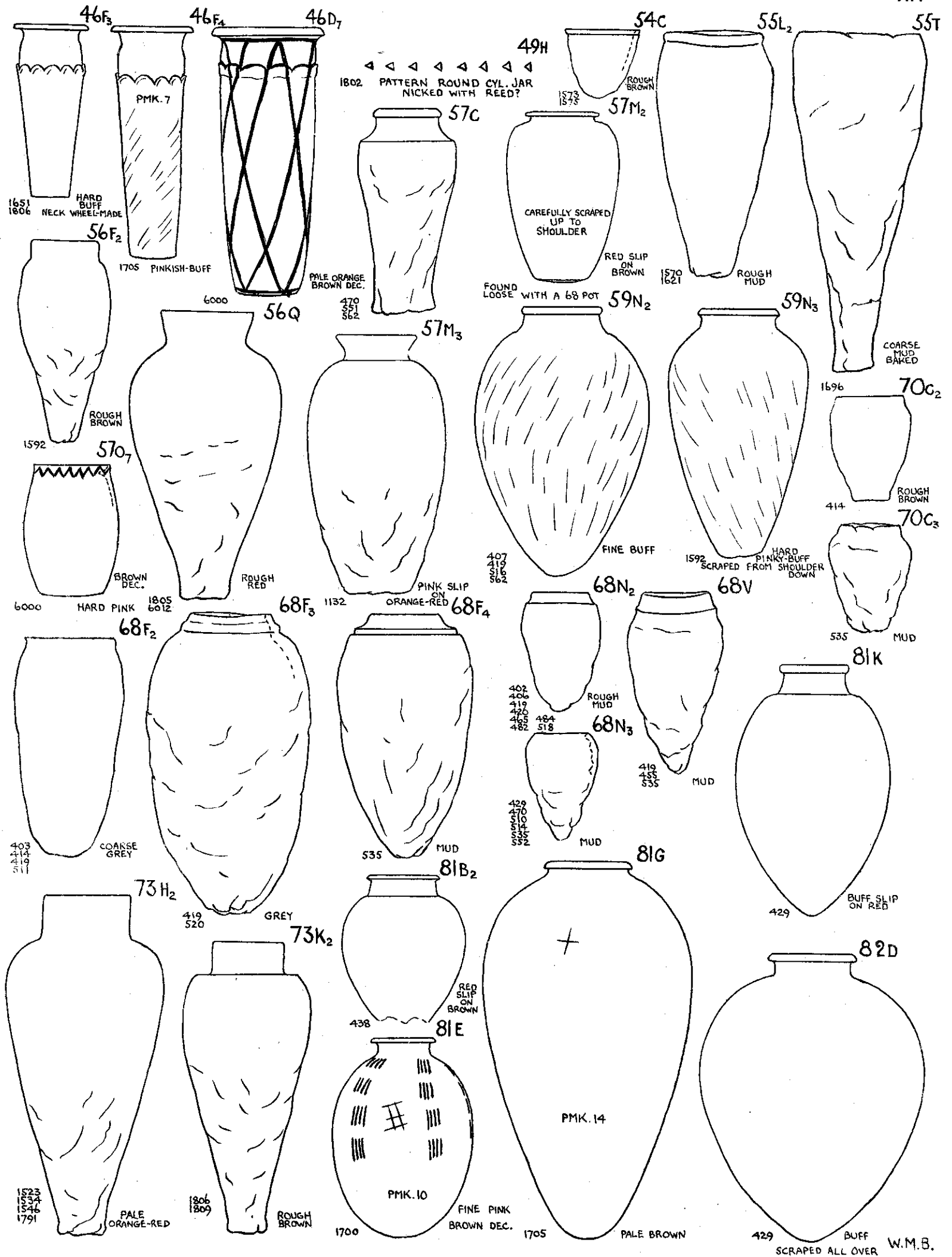
TOMB NUMBER	SHAFT N. E. D.	CHAMBER ON N. E. D.	ASIMUTH	HEAD SEX	POTTERY. Plates XIII-XVI.	STONE VASES, Plates XVII-XX	BEADS & AMULETS. PLATE XVII.	OTHER OBJECTS. PLATES XX-XX	COFFINS, BRICKS, TOMB TYPES. Plate XII	SEQ. DATE	DISTURBED	SEE SECTION	TOMB NUMBER
402	80 60 80	25 42 35	W	85	N F				BRICKED UP: 10x4x3	81	N		402
403	HOLE				N M	4B 12CQ ₂				8182	Q	34	403
406	HOLE				N M				WOOD COFF 30x12x10	81	N		406
407	HOLE 50				C 3E	33P 68N ₂ 99W ₂			POT BURIAL	80	Q	34	407
408	HOLE 54				170	N M				80	Q	34	408
414	36 50 96				160					8081	Q	34	414
416	HOLE 70				130	N M	3K		POT. COFF. 21x33x16	78-81	N	34	416
417	42 66 83				175	S M				81	Q	34	417
418	HOLE					F				77	Q	34	418
419	40 62 90				150	N			BRICKS 9x4x2 1/2	8081	N	34	419
420	HOLE				155					77	Q		420
429	55 120 245	73 120 66	S	163					XVIII 10,14: NEEDLES, FLAKES, SHELLS TOMB PLAN 4	79-80	Q	35	429
430A	30 36 80	30 20 25	S	130	E C				BRICKED UP: 11x5 1/2 x 2 1/2; NO COFF.		N		430A
432	80									80	N		432
433	20 35 55				180	N F				80	N		433
438	28 162 120	75 70	S	165					TOMB PLAN 3		Q		438
443	38 53 58				142	S M			BRICK-LINED 10x4x3	8081	P		443
455	60 78 60				150	N M	9L		BRICKED OVER 10x5x3	6283	N		455
457	HOLE 60								POT BURIAL		Q		457
465	63 66 155	48 63 58	S	140						81	Q		465
466	HOLE 50					UP M			POT BURIAL	80	N		466
470	42 54 62	27 48 24	E	10	N F				BRICKED UP 10x5x2 1/2; TOMB PLAN 10	7980	N	36	470
476	20 30 70				130	N M			STUCCOED COFF.		N		476
479	22 48 50				107	W	12E				Q		479
481	HOLE 75								POT BURIAL	80	Q		481
482	HOLE 55					S			WOOD COFF.	81	P		482
483	HOLE 62				155				WOOD COFF. BRICKED ROUND 9x4 1/2 x 2 1/2	8182	Q	36	483
484	40 43 100	33 52 28	W	165	S				BRICKED UP 10x4x2 1/2	8182	N	36	484
485	27 40 90	33 42 31	W	145	S				BRICKED UP 9x4 1/2 x 2 1/2; SHAFT FLOOR SLOPES	81	N	36	485
489	HOLE					N C			POT BURIAL	7980	N		489
501	HOLE 100	17	S			W F	9L		BRICKED OVER AT ROOM LEVEL	82	P		501
502	35 70 70	35 40	S	150					BRICKED UP 10x5x2 1/2	7980	Q		502
504	HOLE 40					N M			POT COFF. 65x29x13; BRICKS 9x4 1/2 x 2 1/2		N	36	504
505	50 65 72					N F			CLAY COFF. 32x18x12; BRICKS 10x4 1/2 x 2		Q		505
507	15 240 280	60 150 70	S	152					FLINT KNIFE: FLAKES TOMB PLAN 5		Q	36	507
508	35 50 80				165	N M			BRICKED OVER	8182	N		508
509	70 85 80				160	N	15		BRICKED ROUND & OVER 9 1/2 x 4 1/2 x 2 1/2	8081	Q		509
510	32 32 70					N C	3L			78-80	N		510
511	HOLE 35									8081	Q		511
513	HOLE 65				140		9K		POT. COFF. 35x20x15; BRICKED ROUND; PLAN 12	81	Q		513
514	HOLE 60					N F			CLAY COFF. 33x20x15; BRICKS 10x4x2 1/2	7980	N	36	514
516	22 51 96				160	N M			BRICKED ROUND & OVER 9x4 1/2 x 2 1/2; PLAN 12	80	N		516
518	37 93				147	S F			BRICKED ROUND & OVER 9x4 1/2 x 2 1/2; PLAN 9	8182	N	36	518
520	40 31 60				140	W M			BRICKED UP 10x5x2	8182	N		520
534	47					C	24L 41T		POT BURIAL		N	36	534
535	HOLE 35									8182	Q		535
541	32 51 97				125	S F	153K		CLAY COFF. 32x19x15	81	N		541
542	40 48 81				160	N F			CLAY COFF., POT. LID 27x17x14		N		542
544	44 56 61				152	M	24K		POT. COFF. 35x25x18+6 Φ PL. XXII		Q	36	544
551	39 21 76	39 33 28	S	45	E M				BRICKED UP 9 1/2 x 4 1/2 x 3; POT. COFF. 43x28x18	7980	N	36	551
552	14 20 40					N C			POT BURIAL	7980	N	36	552
553	38				4	N M	9L		POT BURIAL	80-82	N		553
561	HOLE 50					N M	9K		POT BURIAL: LINEN	81	N	36	561
562	340	80 153 85	S						BRICKS 9 1/2 x 4 1/2 x 2 1/2; TOMB PLAN 2	7980	Q	36	562
586	28 37 40					N M	12H ₂						586
619	37 60 120				157	M F			TOMB PLAN 7	82	Q	37	619
714	HOLE 18				150	N M			WOOD COFF. TOMB PLAN 13	78	N		714
816	17 33 103	29 44 23	W	170	N F		13H		BRICKED UP 11x5x3	79	N		816
820	HOLE 73					UP F	9UK		POT BURIAL: TOMB PLAN 8	80-81	N	37	820
829	20 33 80	14 40 16	W	150	S		9M		BRICKED UP 9x4 1/2 x 2 1/2	8284	Q		829
832	39 39 75	31 52 28	W	150	N				BRICKED UP 16x5x3; TOMB PLAN 11		N		832
855	HOLE 65				7	N M			POT BURIAL: BRICKED ROUND 10x4 1/2 x 3	80	N		855
893	HOLE 57				143	W F				79	N		893
898						F			POT BURIAL		N		898
1520	46 60 132	53 64 36	N	160	N		3N 9L		BRICKED UP: TOMB PLAN 16	8182	N	38	1520
1523	21 46 87				145					78	Q		1523
1546	30 38 54				140	C	19K			78	Q		1546
1551	30 66 84				140				WOOD COFF.	7781	Q		1551
1559	45 45 40	45 60 32	S	153	N M						P		1559
1561	36 43 136	34 50 36	S	165	N				TOMB PLAN 15	7981	N	38	1561
1562	34 24 120	30 57 28	N	166	N M				WOOD COFF. BRICKED UP 11x5x3; PLAN 14		N	38	1562
1565	34 48 78				150	S					P		1565
1568	32 88 96				160	S					Q		1568
1570	41 55 67				148						Q		1570
1573	68									77-79	Q		1573
1575	93									79	Q		1575
1577	38									76-78	Q		1577

XI

TOMB NUMBER	SHAFT N. E. D.	CHAMBER ON N. E. D.	AZIMUTH	HEAD	SEX	POTTERY. Plates XIII-XVI	STONE VASES, Plates XVIII-XX	BEADS&AMULETS. PLATE XVII	OTHER OBJECTS. PLATES XX-XXI	COFFINS, BRICKS, TOMB TYPES. Plate XII	SEQUENCE DATE	DISTURBED BY SECTION	TOMB NUMBER
1592	63 30 58					137 ₂ 50F56F59M ₃ patt.490 60D ₃ 88A ₉ 94M ₆				BRICK-LINED 9x4x3	7880	Q	1592
1596	46 65 67					19K20C 50B ₈ 89S 92A patt.480 55L ₂ 94K ₁₅			PMK.5 SLATE: FLAKE SLATE: MALACH; GALENA	BRICK-LINED	7981	Q	1596
1620	31 57 55					PRE. W43G ₃ 50B60GJ 92L ₃ 3D 137 ₂ 46F ₁₅ 87H ₁₄ 95C			PMK.37 2 SHELLS: MALACH.	BRICK-LINED	77-79	Q	1620
1621	36 30 45										77-79	P	1621
1650	45 35 40										77-79	Q	1650
1651	24 52 36										76	Q	1651
1686	23 38 60										76	Q	1686
1687	29 44 48										77-80	Q	1687
1695											77-80	Q	1695
1696	27 50 45										79	N	1696
1699	17 36 58										79	N	1699
1705	31 49 42										77-79	N	1705
1709	33 73 73										79-80	Q	1709
1714	HOLE										79-81	Q	1709
1731											79-81	Q	1714
1738	51 30 44										78-80	Q	1731
1739	31 54 41										78-80	Q	1738
1742	24 52 46										79	Q	1739
1744	38 26 80										80	P	1742
1748	25 53 49												
1753													
1755	29 46 89												
1759	26 50 51												
1761	78												
1762	30 63 78												
1765	30 60 33												
1766	22 43 54												
1771	34 44 48												
1776	33 45 46												
1779	25 43 44												
1782	30 47 40												
1784	12 16 36												
1785	36 63 72												
1786	31 40 36												
1788	30 70 50												
1789	30 40 35												
1791	29 45 84												
1793													
1794	35 56 70												
1795	300												
1801	36 62 41												
1802	29 79 35												
1803	53 32 27												
1804	21 42 14												
1805													
1806	41 74 54												
1809	43 31 42												
1810	31 47 36												
1964	24 39 37												
2048	18 36 50												
2071	30 42 33												
3112	33 220 184	77 145 63											
3183	HOLE 11												
3198	39												
3216	40												
3224	24												
3227	22 280 412												
3228	25 285 142	25 43 54											
3229	30 288 240	82 77 65											
3264	41												
3276	30 48 39												
3299	23												
5536													
5547													
6001													
6006	32 58 82												
6007													
6008													
6008A	22 52 84												
6009	28 50 53												
6011													
6012	30 65												
6012A	45 60 96												
6014	37 61 120												
6015													
6019	34 46 82												
6020	30 42 55												
7324													

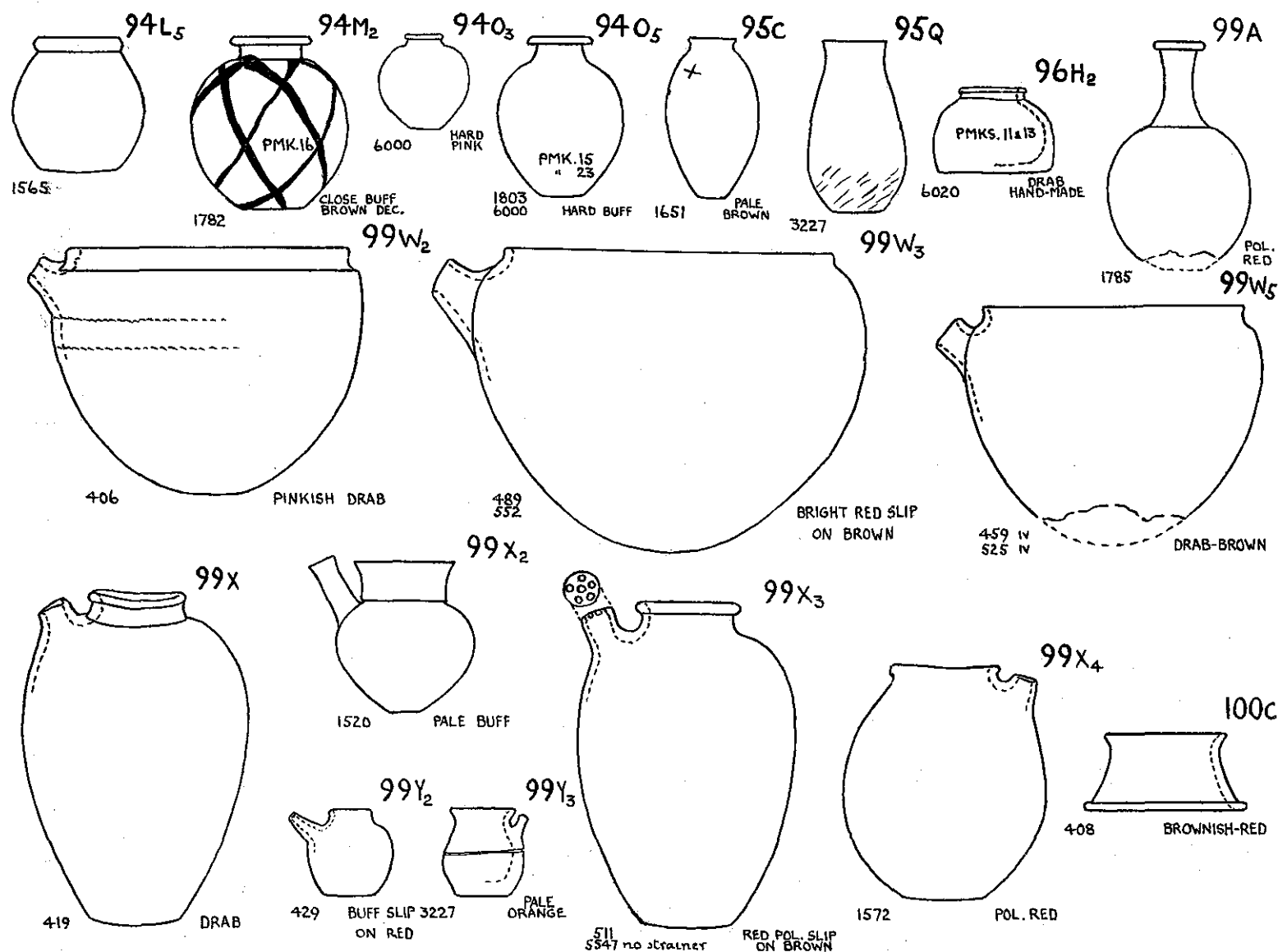






PROTODYNASTIC POTTERY: NEW CORPUS FORMS.

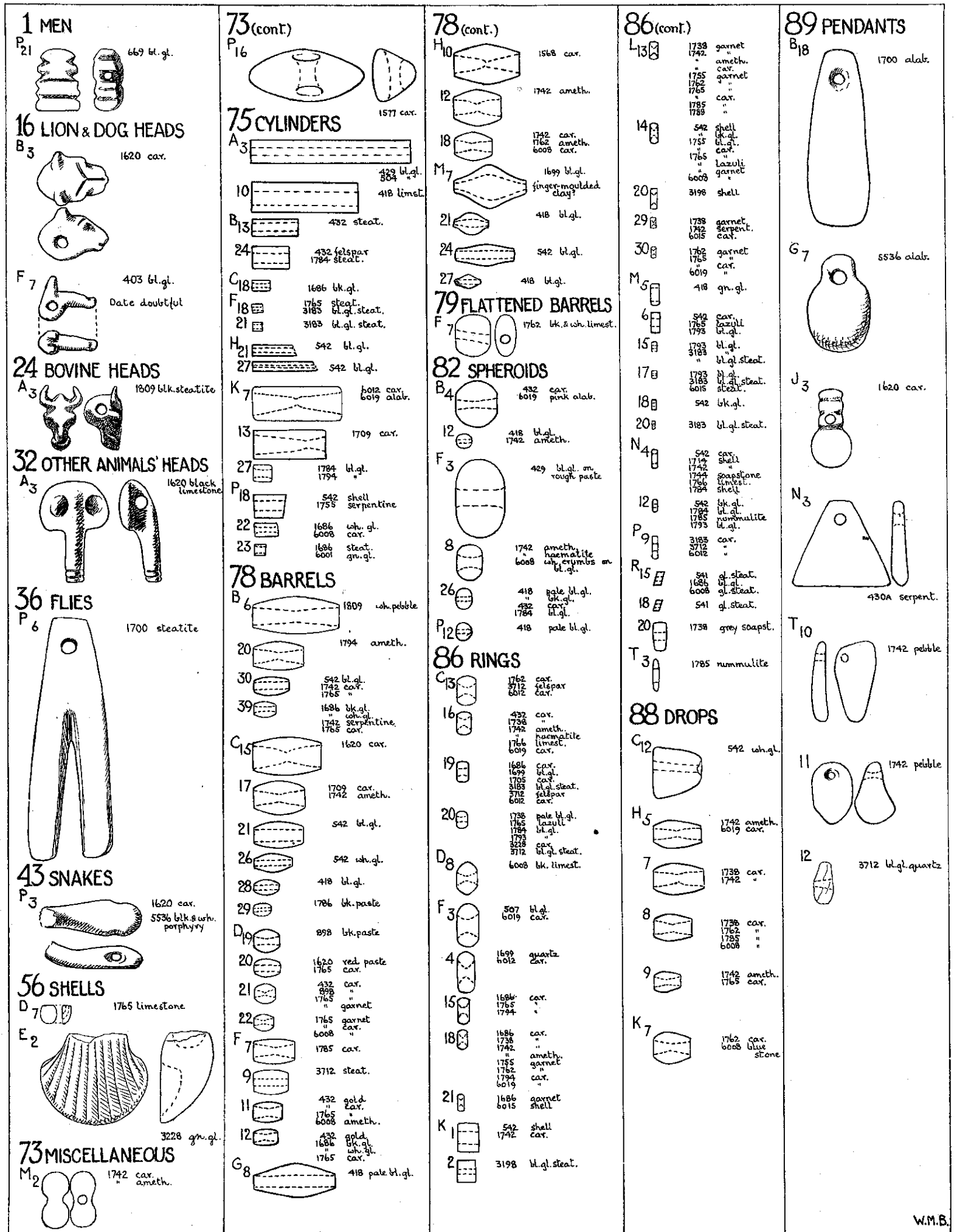
83J 438 CLOSE BUFF
 83K 483 5547 BUFF
 83K₂ 407 485 520 RED SLIP ON CLOSE BRN.
 83K₃ 482 485 RED SLIP ON ORANGE-BUFF
 83K₄ 429 88A₂ 88A₃ 1596 88A₃ 898 BUFF
 83Q 435 502 483 508 BROWN 91C₂ 405 BUFF 91D₆ 507 BUFF SLIP ON RED 1788 2 holes ROUGH BROWN 86B 86B₂ 86F₇ 553 91D₈ 553 91D₉ 3227 ON BROWN 87H₃ 470 87H₇ 1651 FINE PINK VERY SMOOTH SURFACE 1651 PINKISH-BUFF 87H₈ 1651 HAND-MADE HARD BUFF 92Z 898 BUFF
 443 92D₃ 1753 1789 HARD PINK 92L₂ 1786 92L₃ 518 93R₂ 3228 BUFF 94D₃ 1762 94E₂ 1755 1779 1804 HARD PINK 94E₃ 1789 1791 1794 BUFF SLIP ON RED 94K₁₄ 3299 94K₁₅ 1621 RED-BRN. W.M.B.
 1577 1575 PURPLE-BRN. 1575 BROWN 1650 94K₇ 1570 1786 1802 BUFF RED SPOTS 94K₉ 1786 1802 SCRAPED UP TO NECK 94K₁₁ 1806 3299 HARD BUFF 94K₁₂ 1809 94K₁₃ 1809 BROWN DEC. 94K₁₅ 1621 RED-BRN. W.M.B.
 94G₂ 1761 6008 HARD PINK 94K₅ 1546 1551 1596 1785 1794 HARD PINK 94K₈ 1573 1785 1794 HARD PINK 94K₁₀ 1806 3299 HARD BUFF 94K₁₁ 1806 3299 HARD BUFF 94K₁₂ 1809 94K₁₃ 1809 BROWN DEC. 94K₁₅ 1621 RED-BRN. W.M.B.
 94K₆ 1573 1785 1794 HARD PINK 94K₈ 1573 1785 1794 HARD PINK 94K₁₀ 1806 3299 HARD BUFF 94K₁₁ 1806 3299 HARD BUFF 94K₁₂ 1809 94K₁₃ 1809 BROWN DEC. 94K₁₅ 1621 RED-BRN. W.M.B.
 94K₇ 1570 1786 1802 BUFF RED SPOTS 94K₉ 1786 1802 SCRAPED UP TO NECK 94K₁₁ 1806 3299 HARD BUFF 94K₁₂ 1809 94K₁₃ 1809 BROWN DEC. 94K₁₅ 1621 RED-BRN. W.M.B.
 94K₁₀ 1806 3299 HARD BUFF 94K₁₁ 1806 3299 HARD BUFF 94K₁₂ 1809 94K₁₃ 1809 BROWN DEC. 94K₁₅ 1621 RED-BRN. W.M.B.
 94K₁₁ 1806 3299 HARD BUFF 94K₁₂ 1809 94K₁₃ 1809 BROWN DEC. 94K₁₅ 1621 RED-BRN. W.M.B.
 94K₁₂ 1809 94K₁₃ 1809 BROWN DEC. 94K₁₅ 1621 RED-BRN. W.M.B.
 94K₁₃ 1809 BROWN DEC. 94K₁₅ 1621 RED-BRN. W.M.B.
 94K₁₅ 1621 RED-BRN. W.M.B.



W.M.B.

POTTERY TYPES PUBLISHED IN TARKHAN I & II.

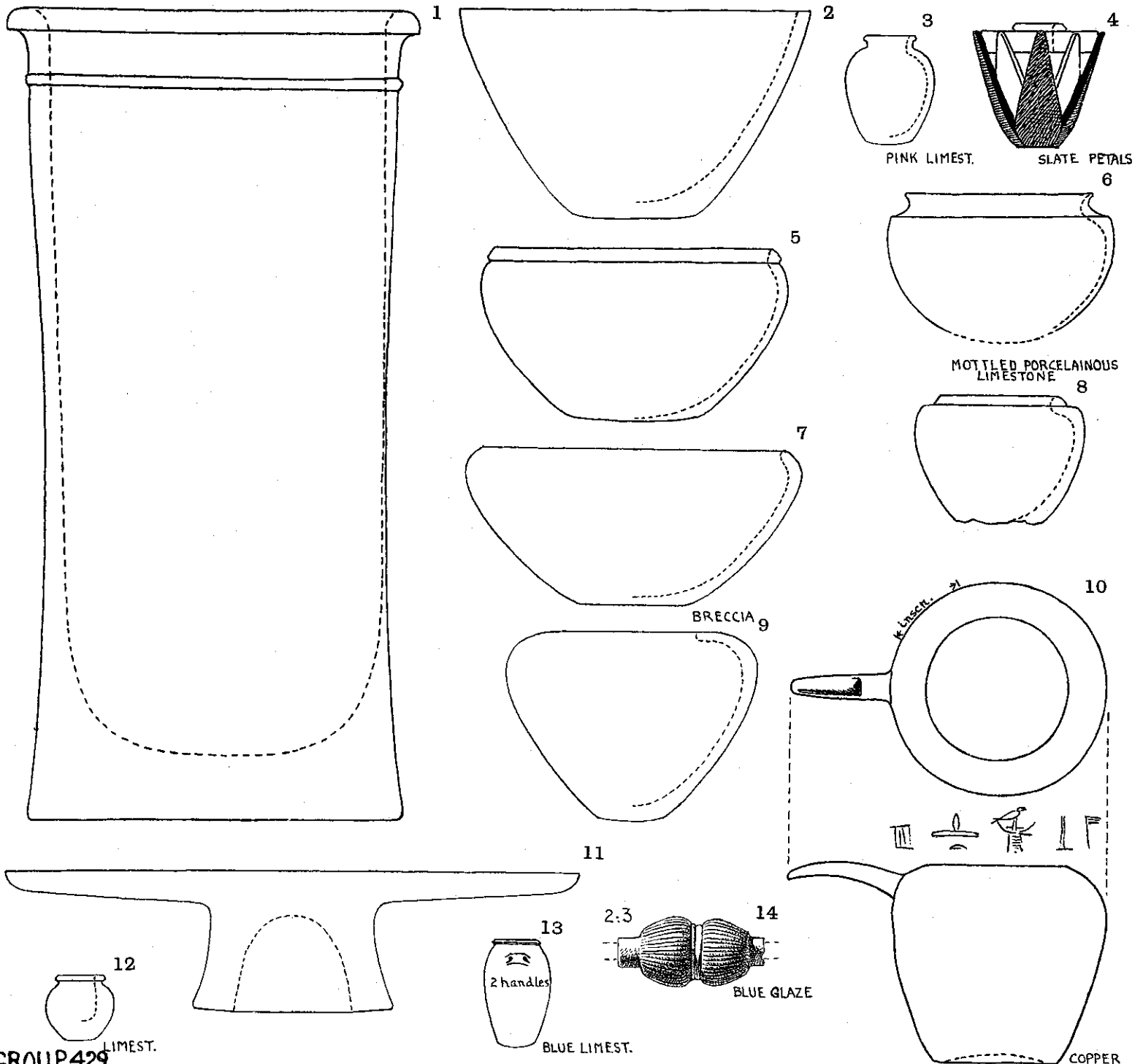
1A 6011	31M 1744	50f 1623	60M 6011	68R 509, 535, 562	92H 1800, 6008A	
S 509, 541	40C 457, 481	G {1700, 1744, 1748,	R 6012A, 6014, 6015	T 455	93R 1786	
W 1699, 1744	G {466, 553, 820,	{1786, 1789, 1804	T 1523	W 403	94D ₂ 6020	
3D 1650	{855	J 6020	63B 419	Y 669	E {418, 1755, 1700,	
E 406, 1651	J 893	54J 714	E 419(ROUGH)	70H 6001	{1801, 6019	
H 6015	46D 1546, 1784	M {417, 417(+FOOT),	G 419, 6008	73C 3224	H 1785	
K 416, 535, 541	D ₂ 1806	{419	G ₂ (LAHUN II) 1782	K 1705	K ₄ 1759	
L 510	D ₅ 1805	P 714	O 669	77 1748	TYPE PATTERNS ON CYL. JARS	
M 6011, 6020	D ₆ 1784, 1806, 6009	S 1573	64B 414	81H 1795	46B 1806	
9L { 455, 501, 553,	D ₈ 1805, 1806	55N 1570, 1577	66F 402	82C 3228	D 1805, 1806	
{ 1520, 3224	F 6008A	56E ₂ 1784	67B 419	G 511, 6000	F 1806	
12D 6019	F ₆ 1523, 1575, 1788, 6000	E ₅ 6009	J 419	85B 470, 502	47B 1762	
F 420	F ₇ 1788, 1801	57A 419	L 419	86f ₂ 6012A	F 1739	
H 1695	H 1762	58K 669, 6015	68E 511	87L 1551	P 1761, 1794	
W 6008	H ₄ 1782	59D 443	F 400, 485, 1520	M ₇ 1577	S 1762	
13G 6008	J 1551, 1761	N 443	K 535, 3227,	P 5547	48L 1753, 1765	
H 816	K 1788, 6011	60D {1546, 1551, 1573,	L {403, 419, 455,	88E 1705, 1776	S {1687, 1700, 1789,	
14C 1695	W 1739	{1759, 1761, 1765,	{484, 509, 520,	E ₂ {1687, 1739, 1742,	{1765, 6001	
M 1731	47R {1794, 6001, 6014,	{1771, 1788, 1794,	{535, 820, 1520,	E ₄ 1748	T 1786	
16B 1755	T {1573, 1765, 6008A,	{1802, 1810, 6001,	5547	E ₆ 1765	49D {1739, 1755, 1771	
H 1577	{6012, 6012A, 6019	6012, 6000	M {419, 511, 562,	89N 1744	{1802, 1804	
18B 535, 1699, 6020	50B {1620, 1650, 1687,	D ₃ 1561, 1596, 1779,	{820	S 1620		
W 1744	{1695, 1755	E ₂ {1575, 1695, 1696,	N {400, 402, 414,	91A ₂ 1699		
19K { 1546, 1620, 1744,	D 1620, 1762	{1748, 1791, 1794	{419, 518, 562	92A 1620, 6008A, 6014		
{ 1786	F 1592, 1739, 1753,	F 6009	2048	F 1731		
20D 2048	{1762, 1771, 1802,	G 1650	O 455	G 6012A(PLAIN)		
H 1709	{1803, 1804	J {1650, 1739, 1801,	P {455, 518, 1795,			
31H 6020		{1806, 6019	{3228			



1:3

PROTODYNASTIC GROUPS OF ALABASTERS.

XVIII



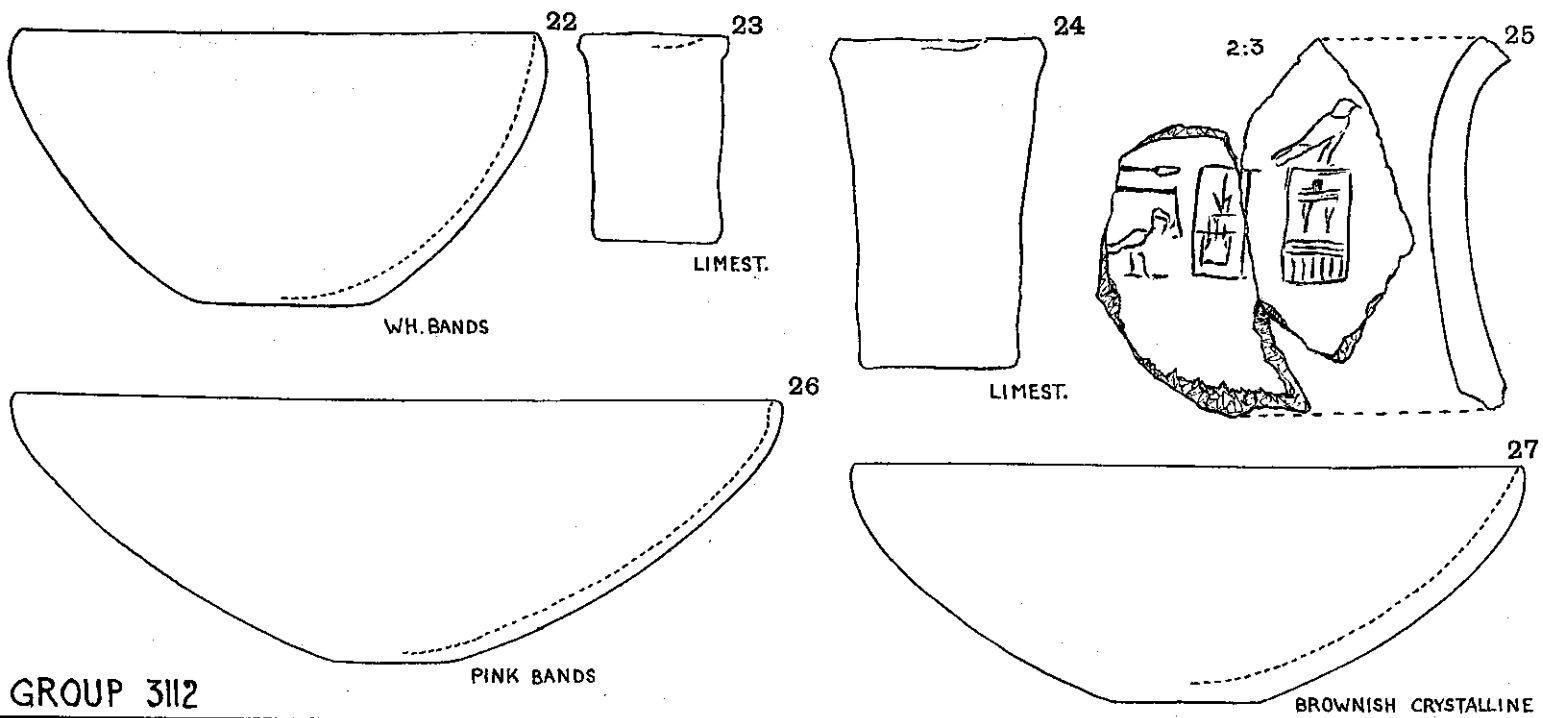
GROUP 429

GROUP 541

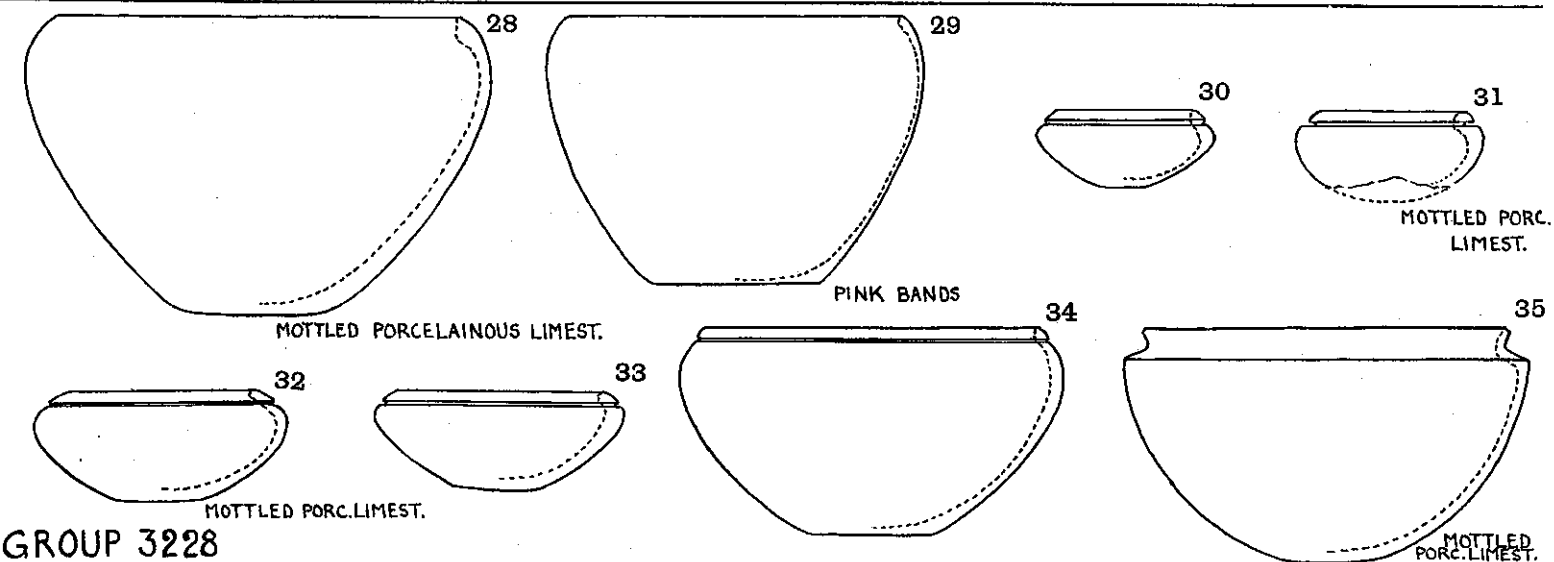
GROUP 562

GROUP 483

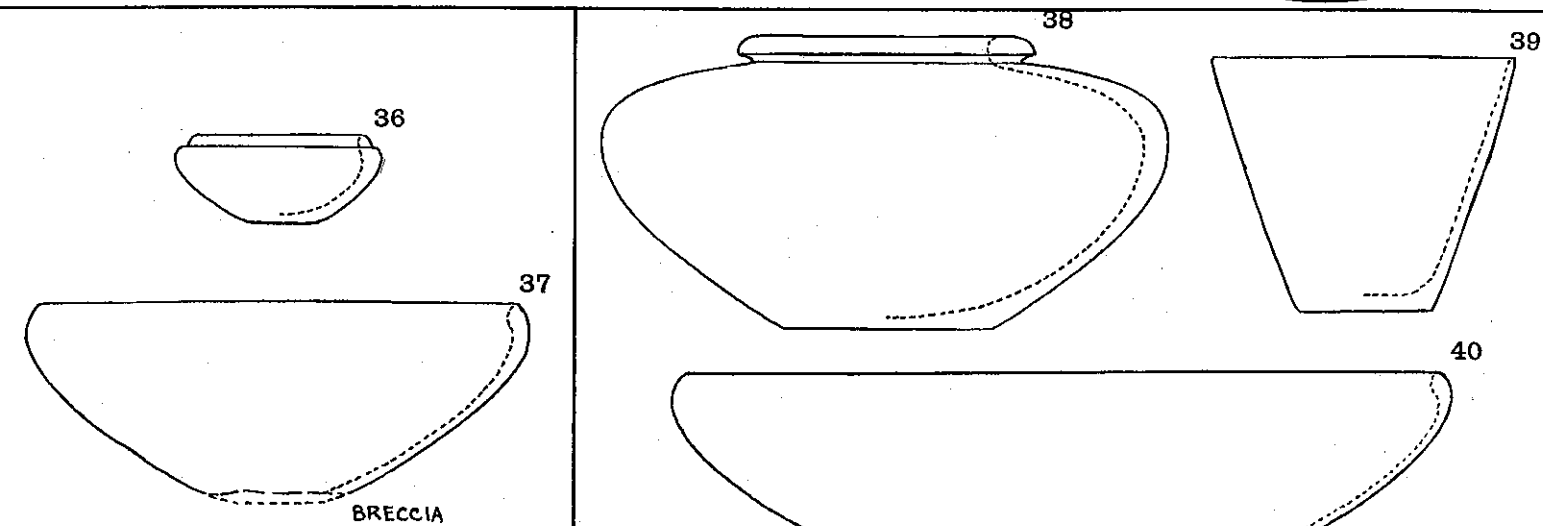
W.M.B.



GROUP 3112

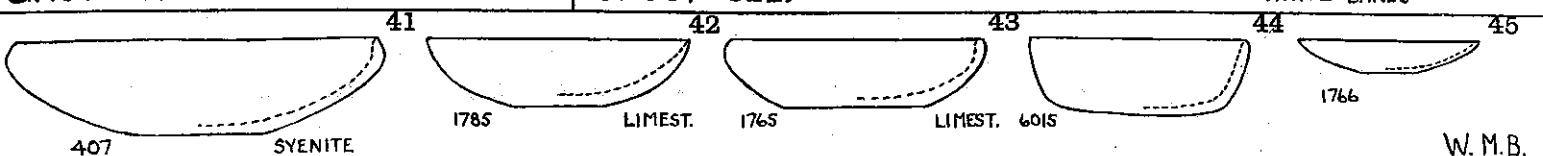


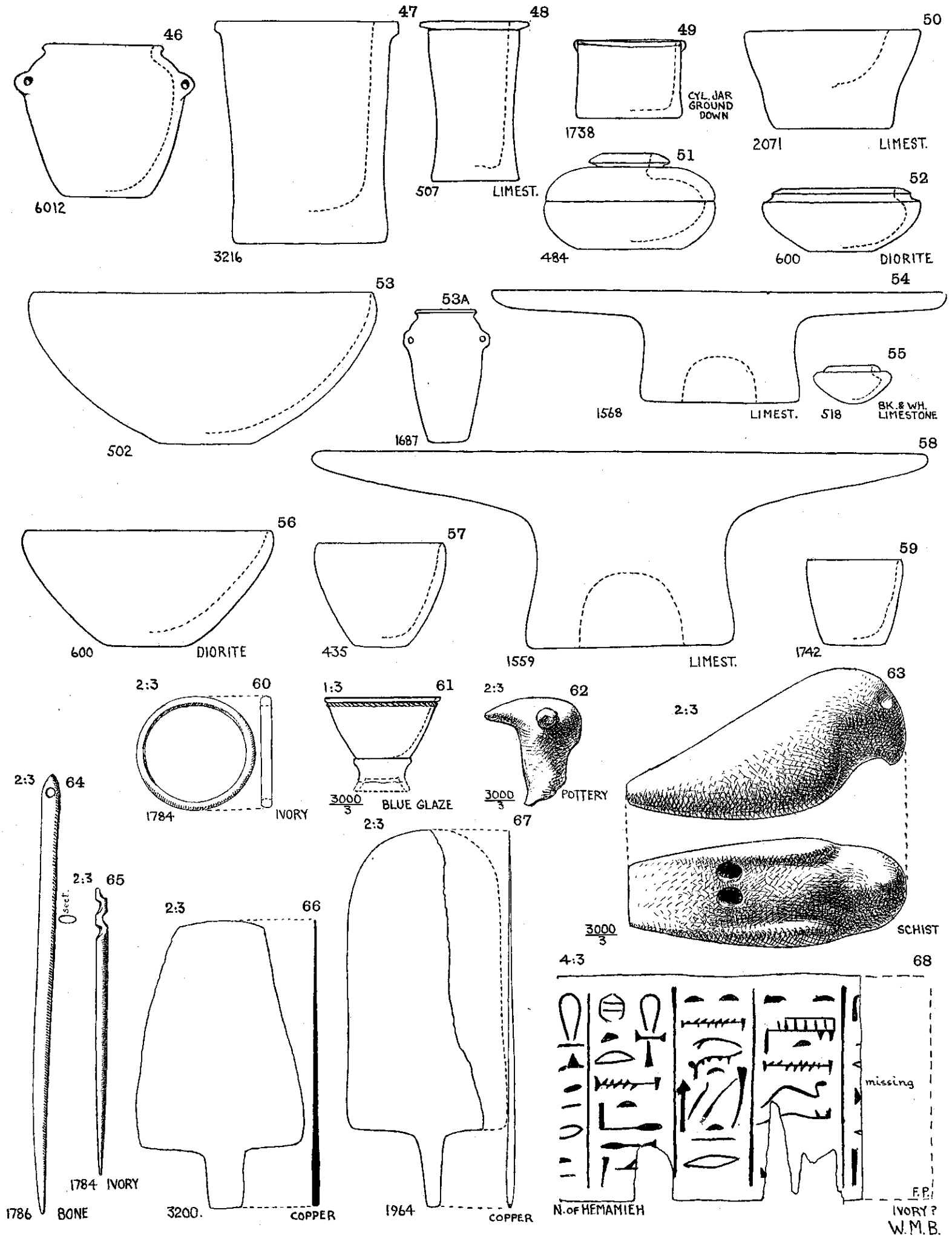
GROUP 3228

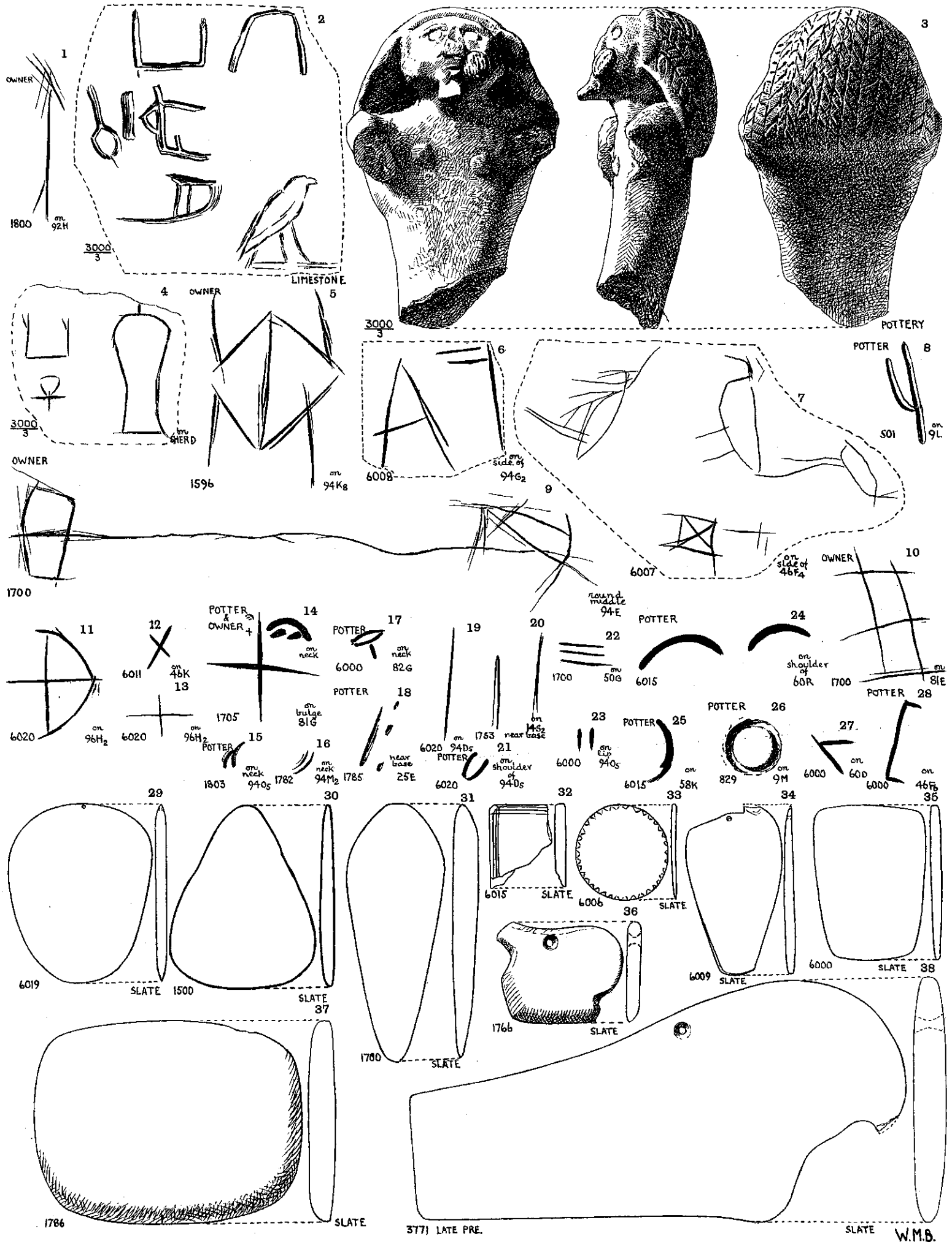


GROUP 3224

GROUP 3229





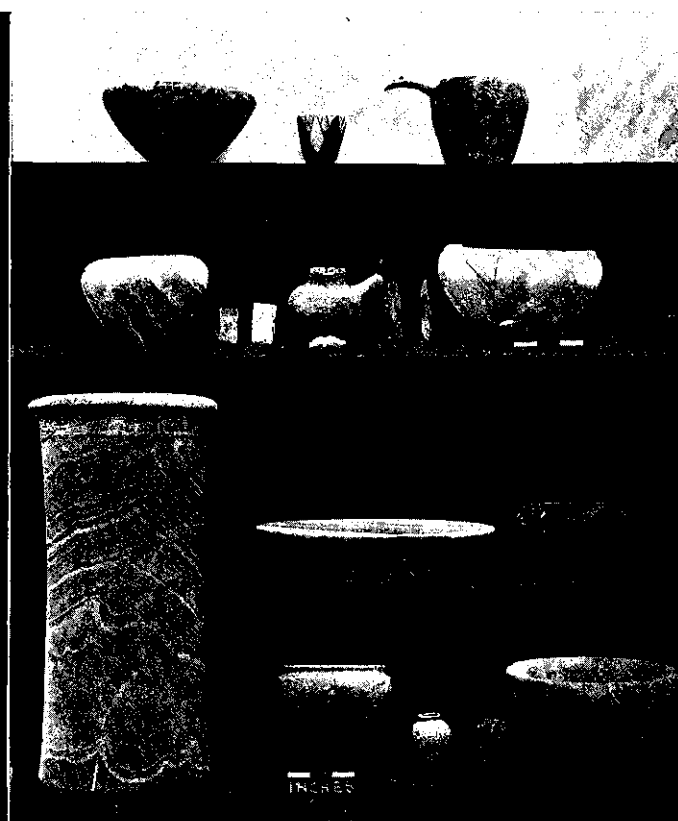
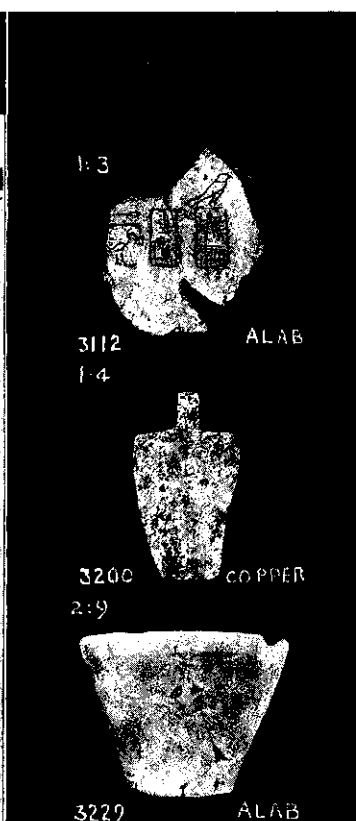




PROTODYNASTIC (?) HOUSES, BADARI TEMPLE



POTTERY COFFIN, 544

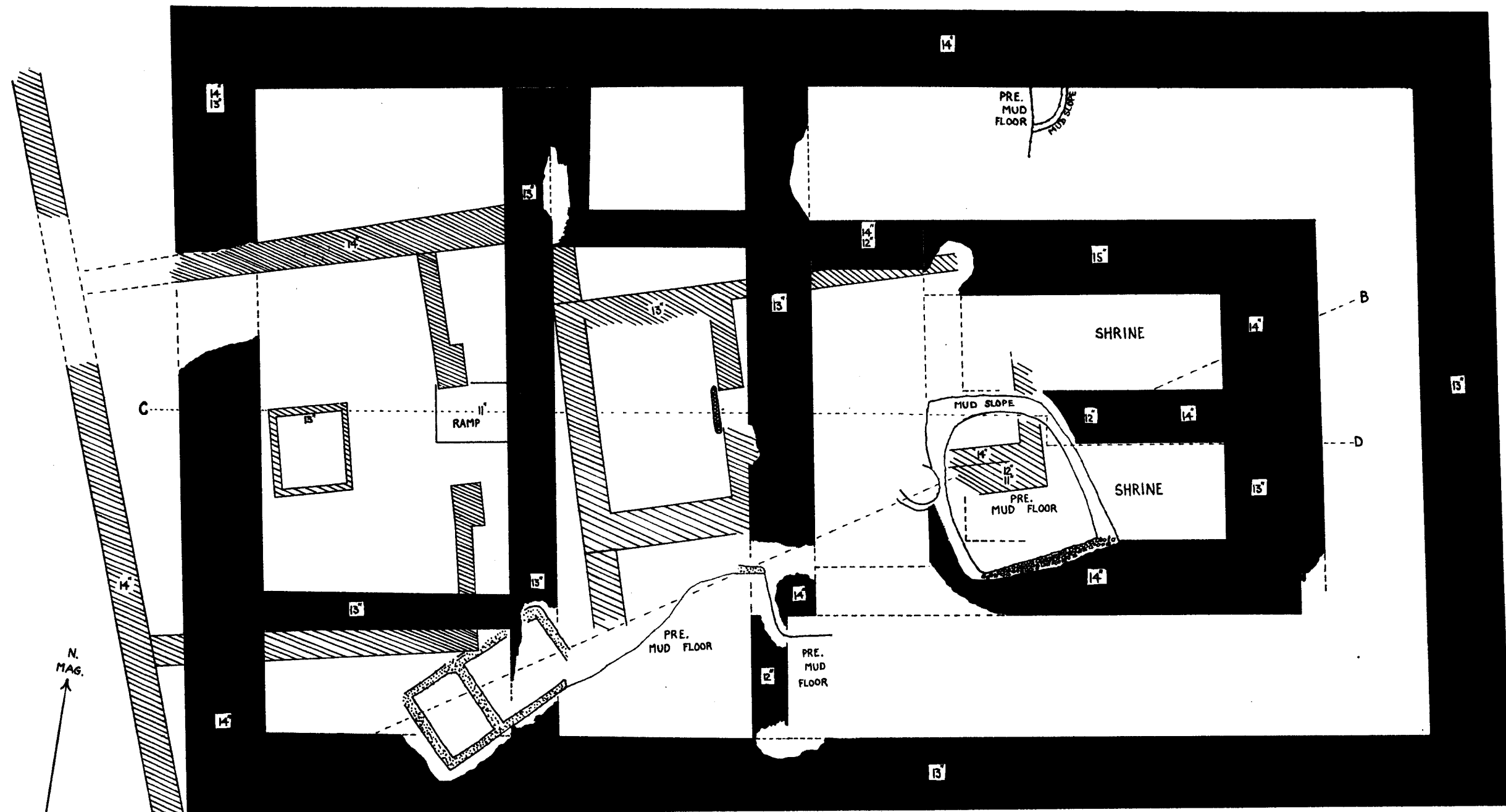


LATE IND-DYNASTY GROUP, 429



POTTERY FIGURE AND BLUE-GLAZE CUP

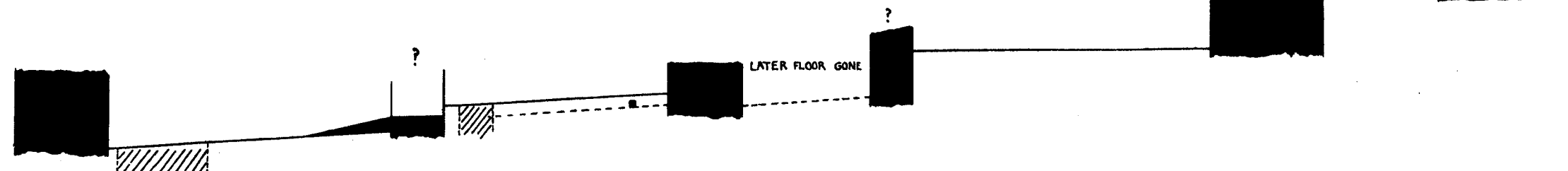
FLINT HOES, 7324



SECTION THROUGH A-B

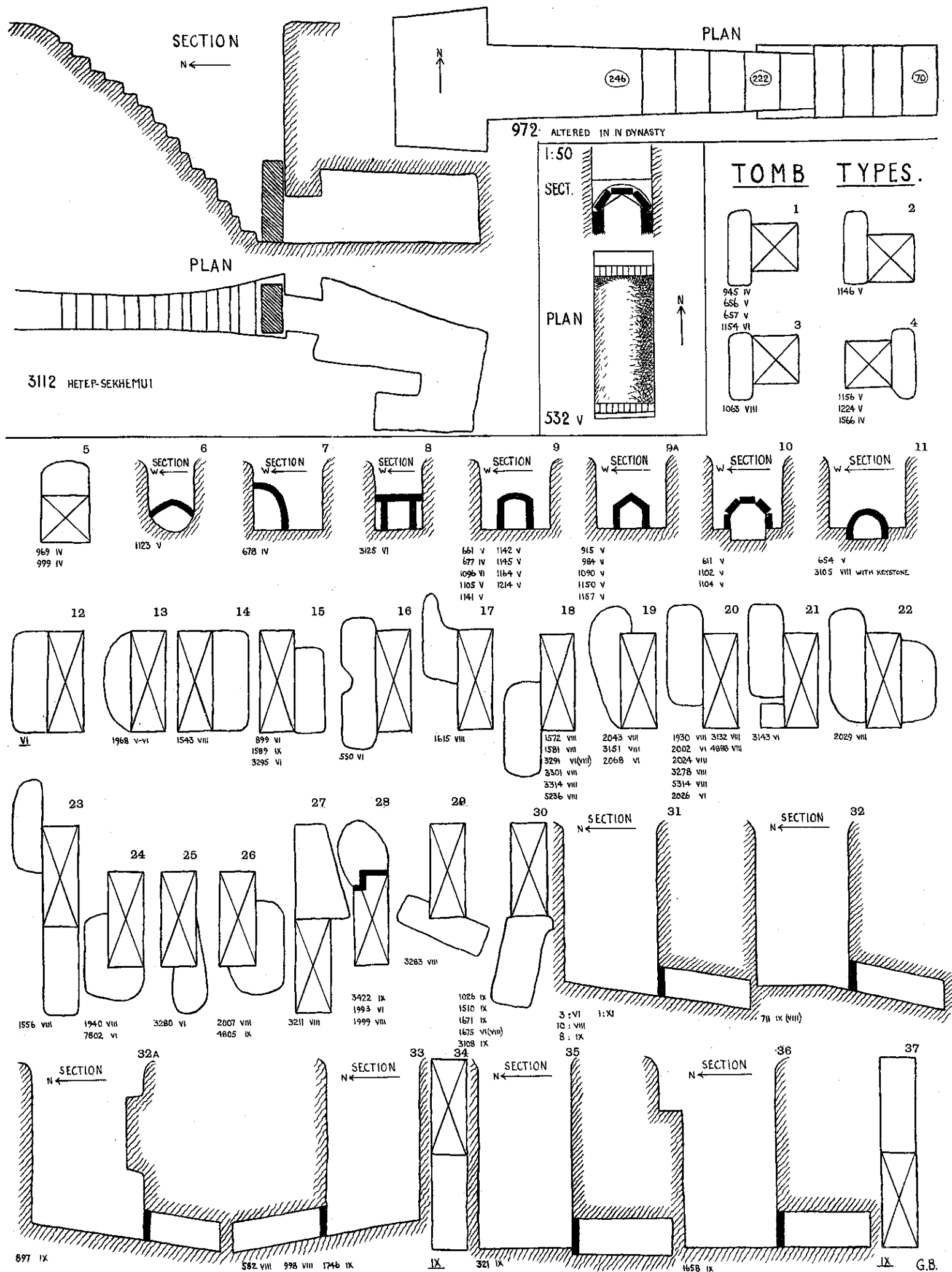


SECTION THROUGH C-D

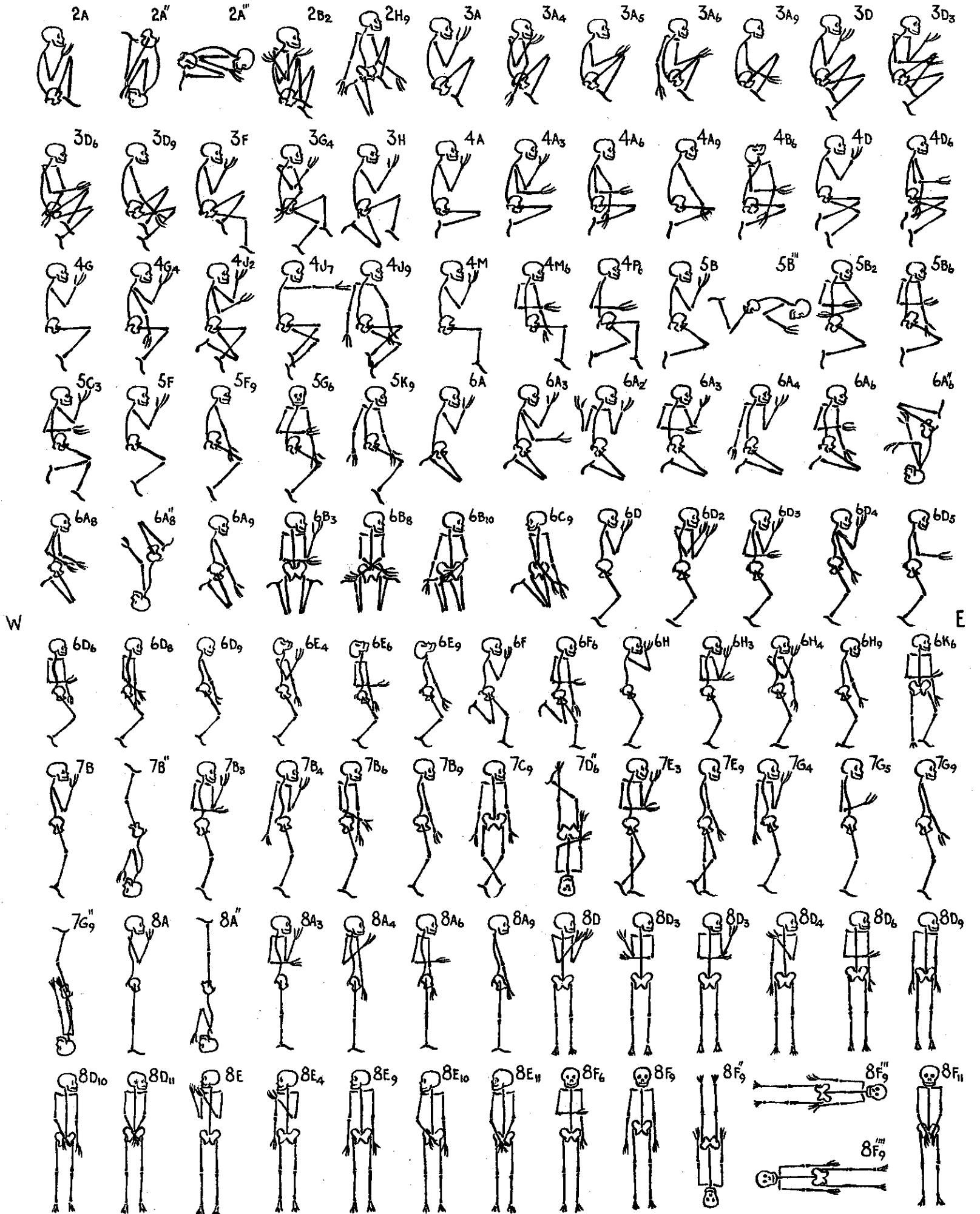


LEVEL OF FLOOR OF LATER SHRINE.

- LATER BRICK.
- EARLIER BRICK.
- PREDYNASTIC (?) BRICK.
- ROUGH STONE & MUD.
- LIMESTONE.



N

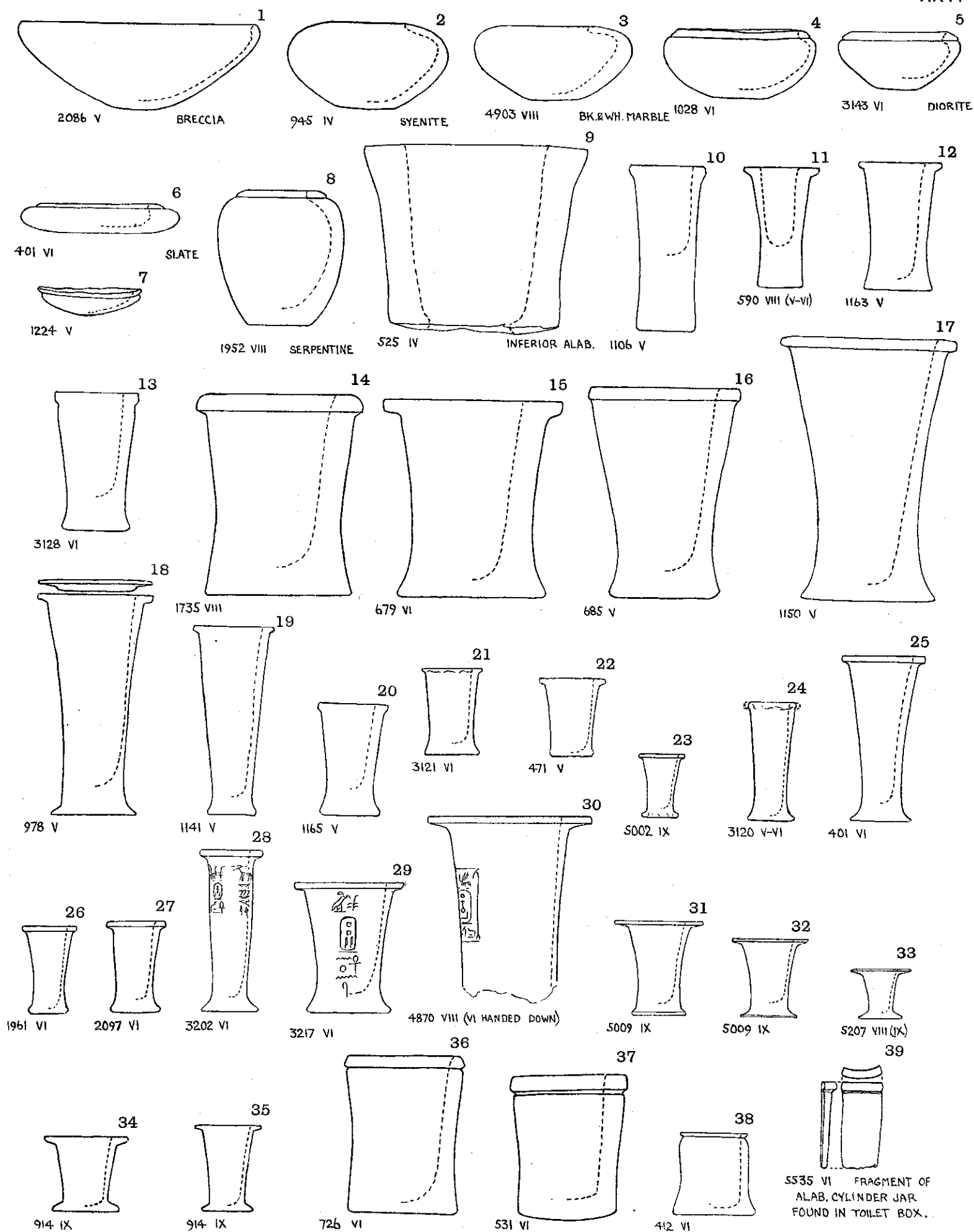


S

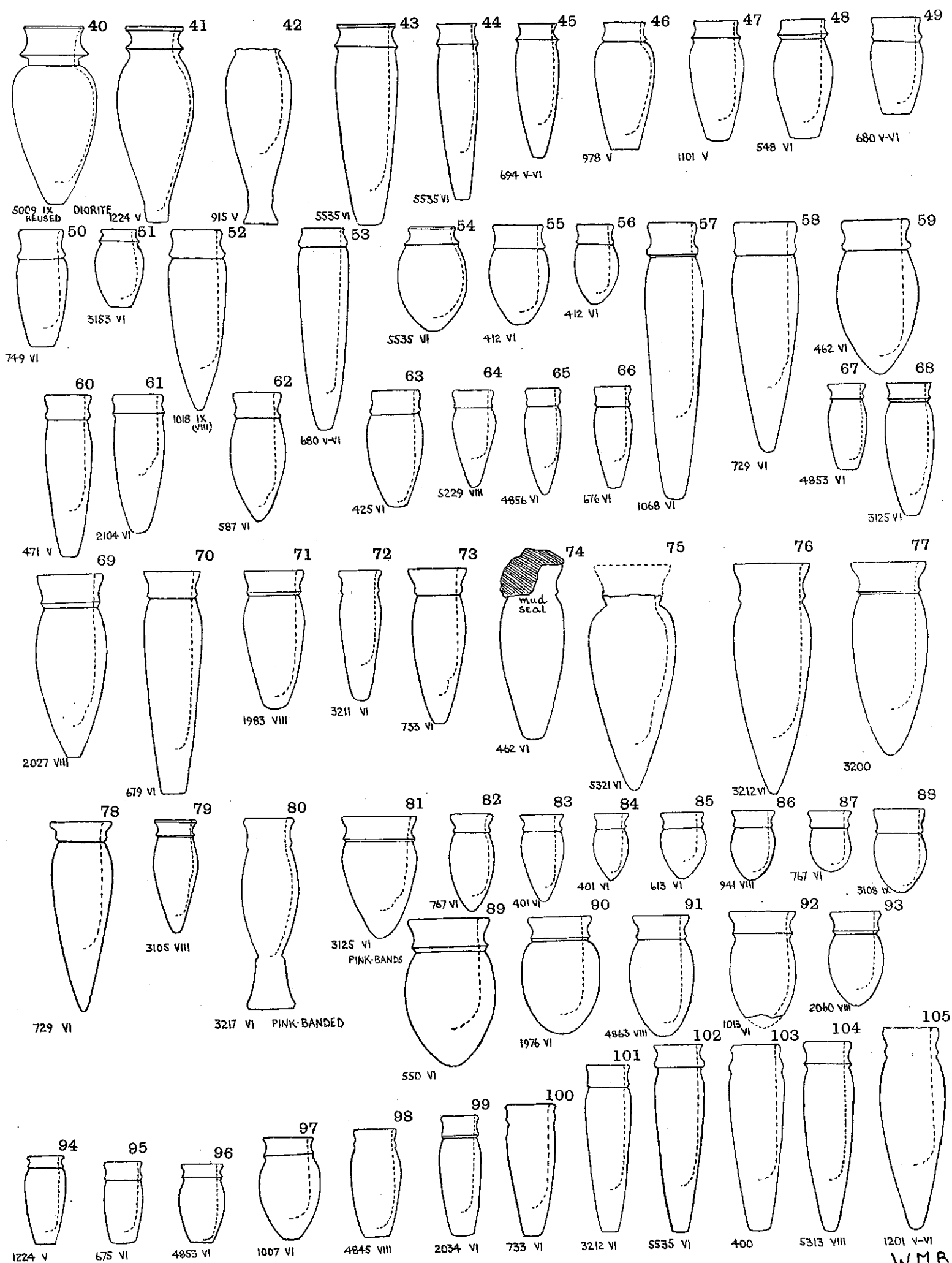
W.M.B.

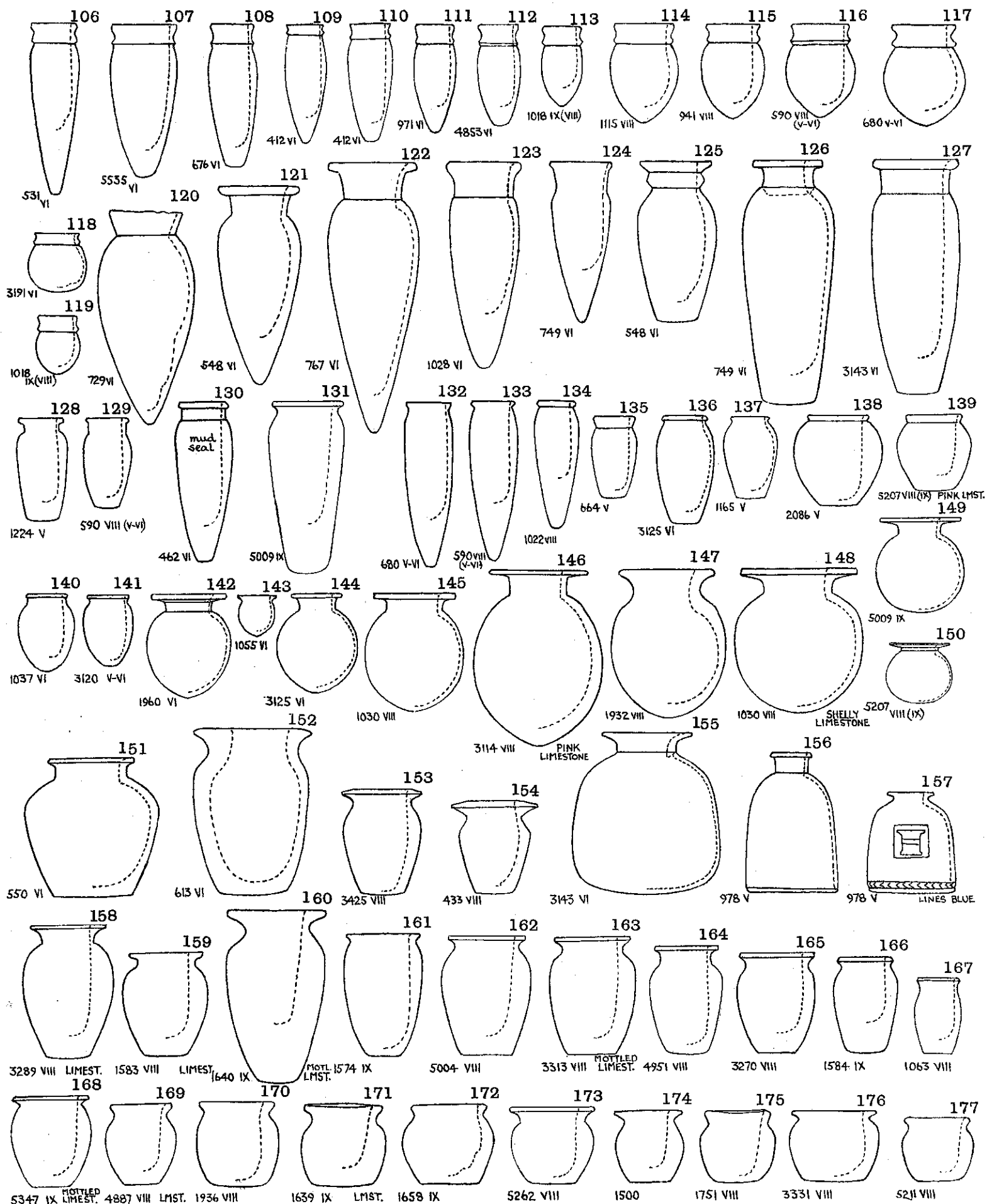
ALABASTER VASES, IV-XI DYNASTIES.

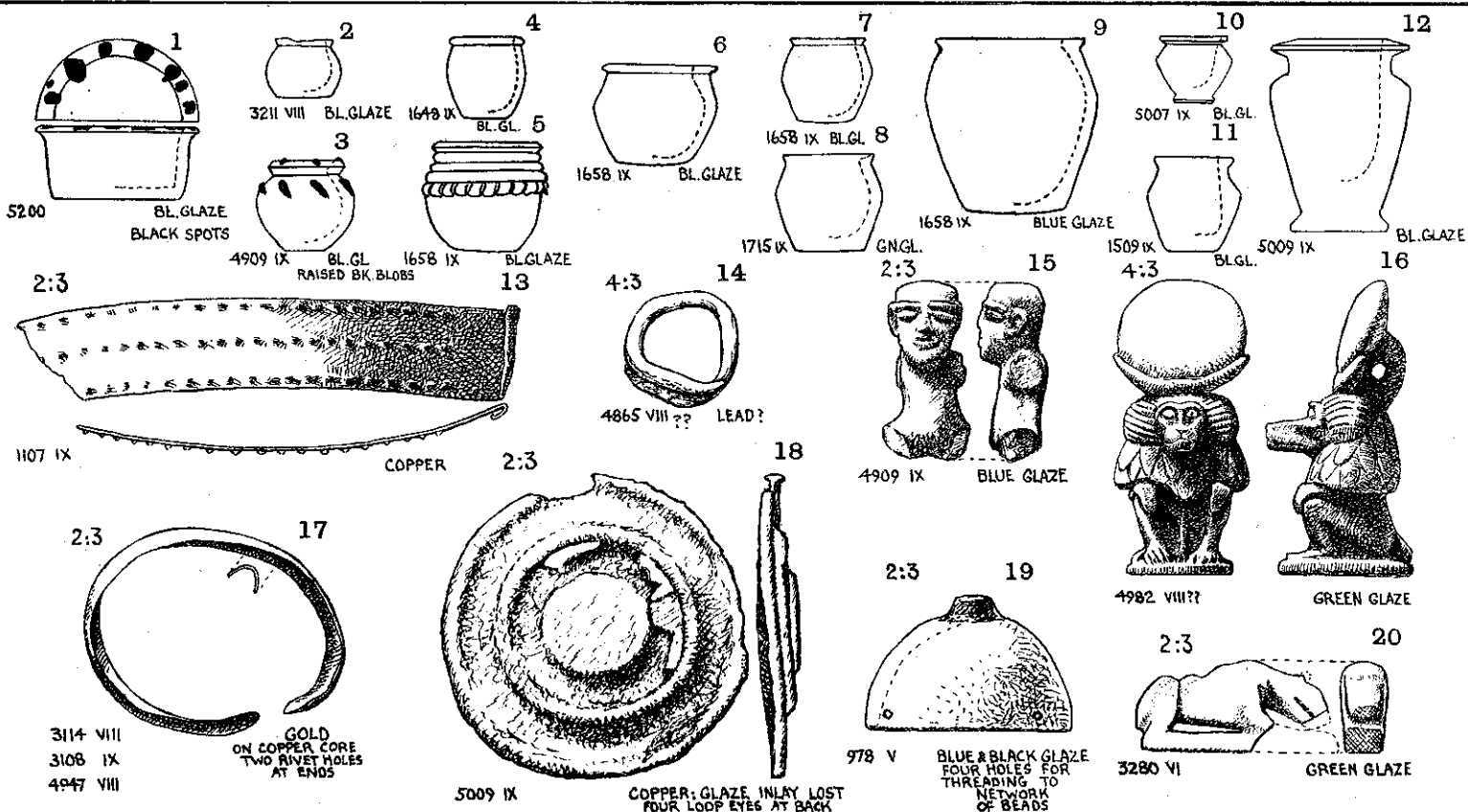
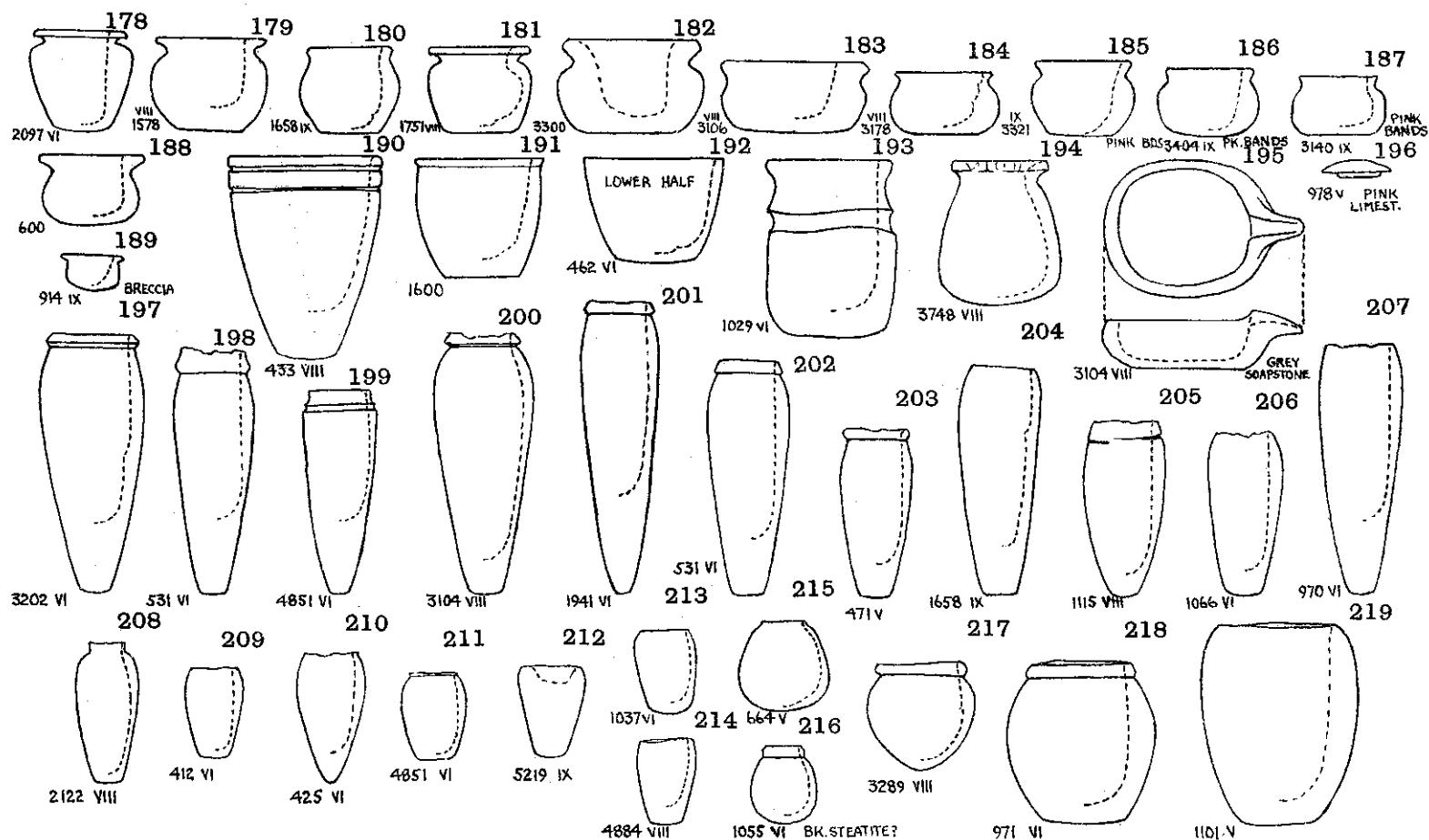
XXVI



W.M.B.









....7398.... 75037746....



...7373...7755.....



7334 NN 7762 7697 7309 ...7791...



7554 7931 7311 7276



7835 7525 7893 7560 7892



7652 7891 7753 7901 7558 7568 7842

BLUE
GLAZE



...7930...7842.....

7398V
7503 VI
7746VI

7329 IX-X?
7306 V
7366 IV-V

7373VI

7755 VI

7841 V
7333 VI
7763 VI
7785 VI

7334 VI

7762 VII-VIII

7697 VII-VIII

7309 VII-VIII

7791 IX-X

7855 VII-VIII

7807 VI

7848 VI

7540 VI

7554 VI

7931 VII-VIII

7311 IX-X

7276 IX-X

7923 VII-VIII?

7835 VI?

7525 VI

7893 VII-VIII

7560 VI

7892 VII-VIII

7527 V-VI

7927 VII-VIII

7899 IX-X?

7652 VI

7891 VII-VIII

7753 VI

7901 VI

7558

7568 VI

7842

7897 VII-VIII

7850 VII-VIII

7830 X-XI

7930 VII-VIII

7346 V

7900 VI?

STEATITE



73297306..... 7366



7341 7333 77637765.....



7855 7807...7807 7848 ..7540..



7923



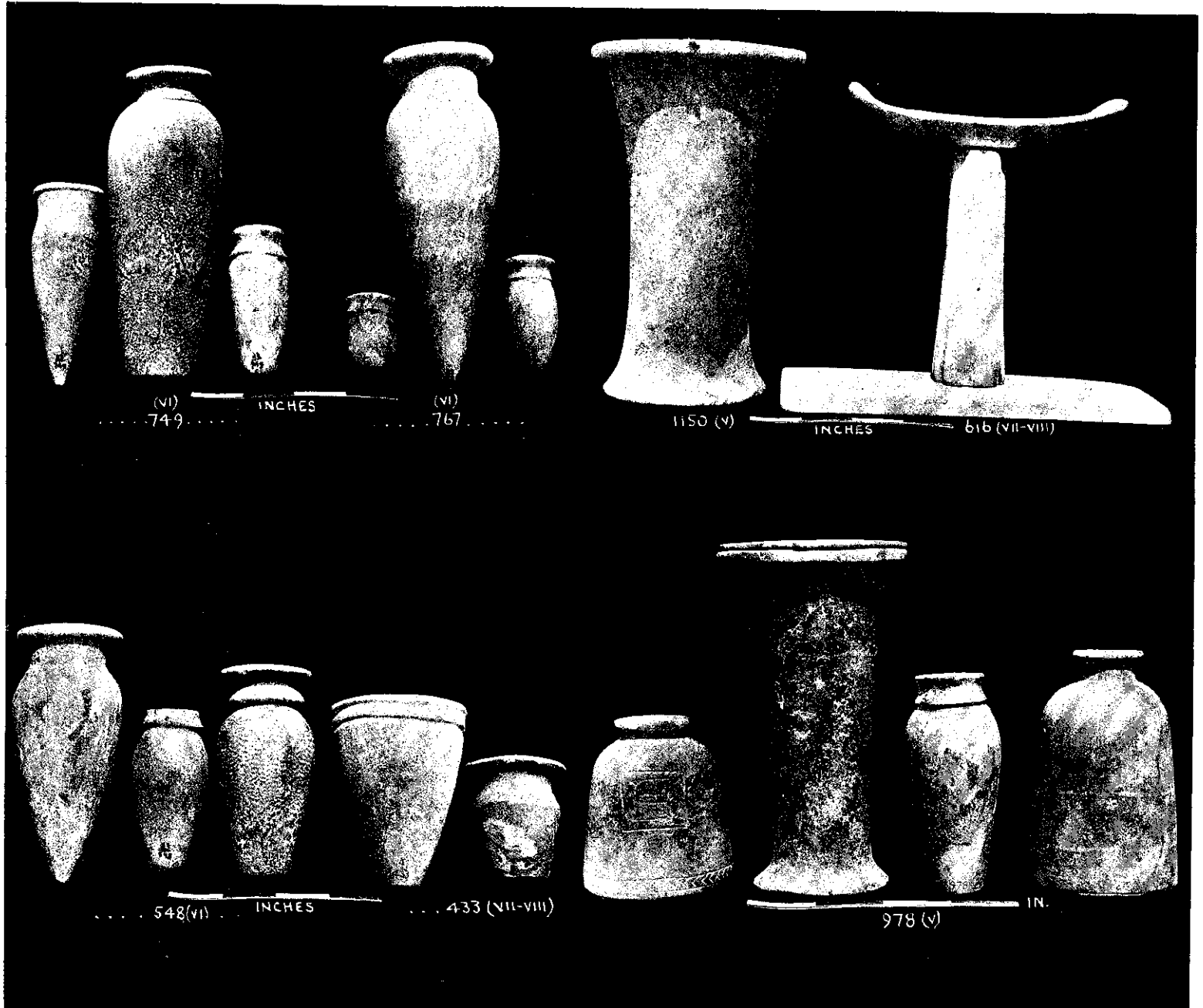
7527 7927 7899



7897 7850 7830

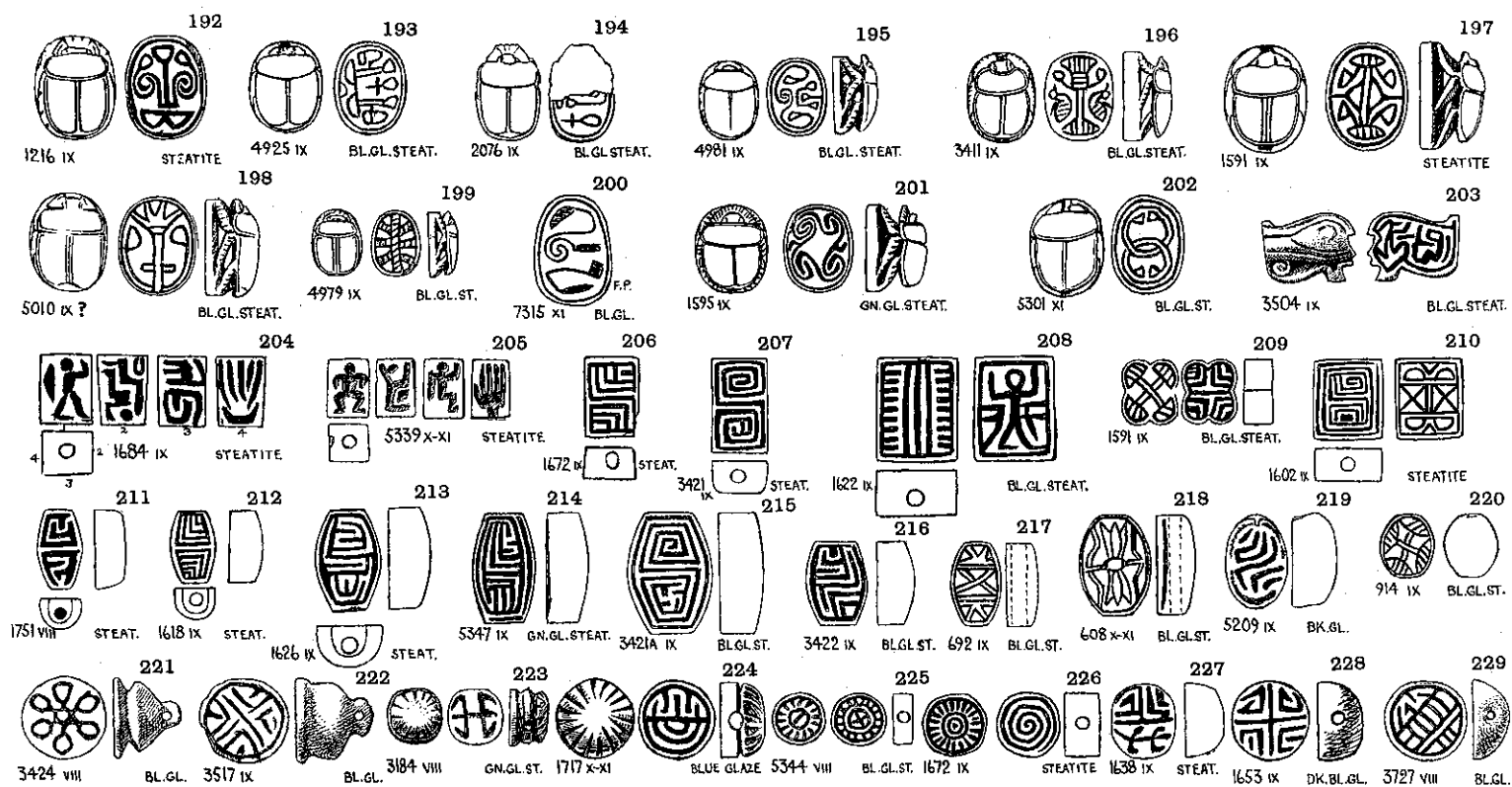


7346 ..7900..

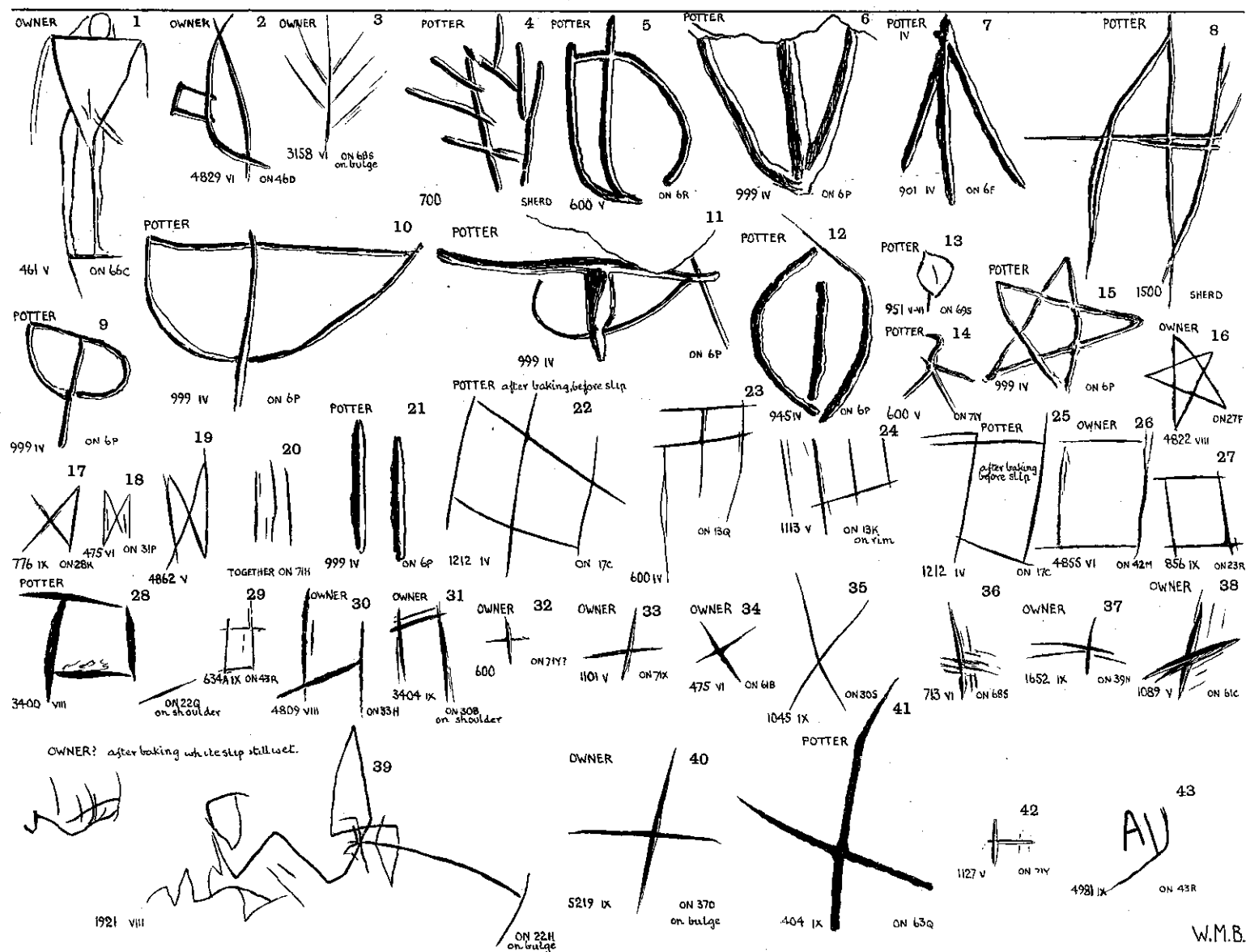


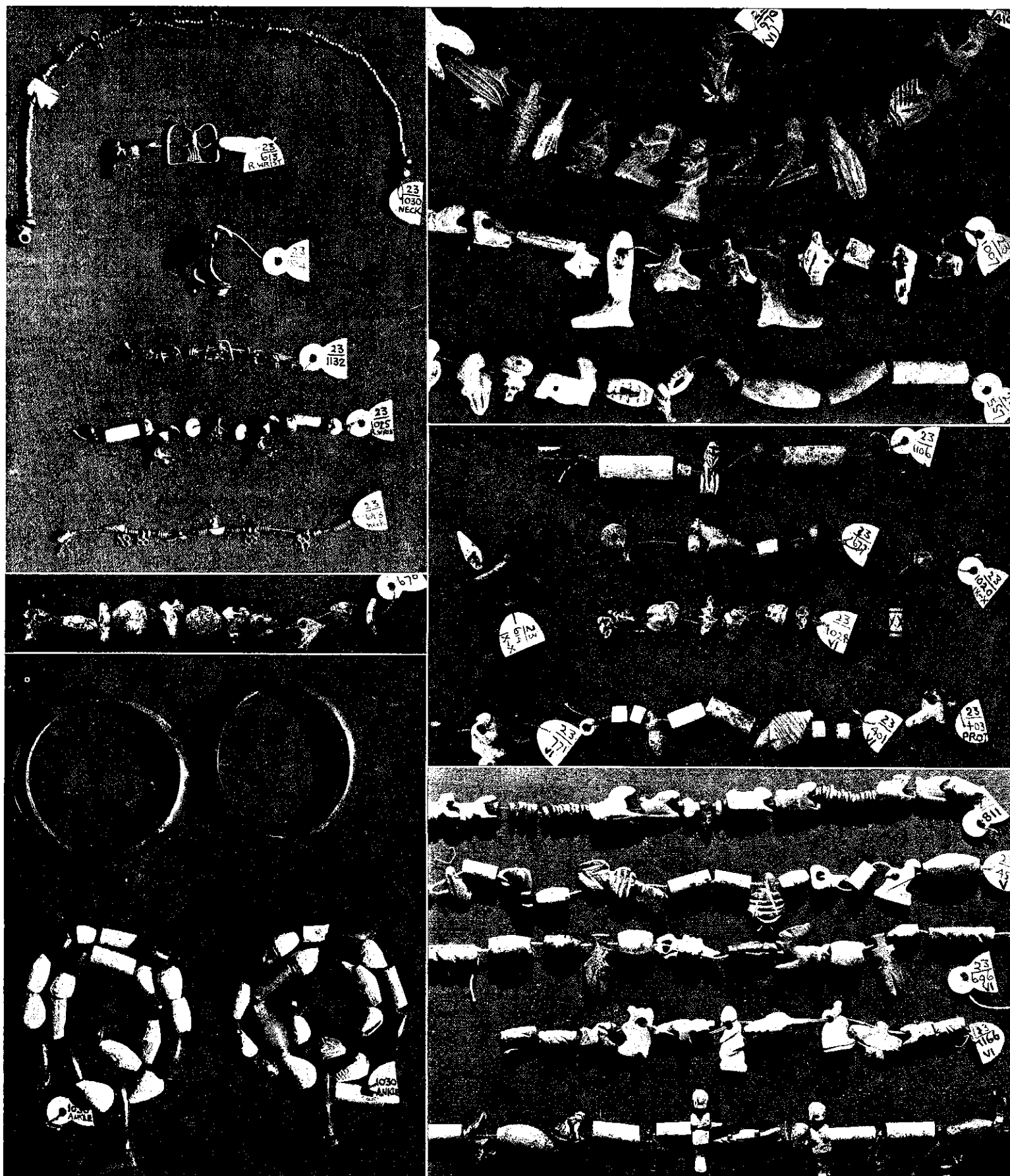






POTMARKS, IV-XI DYNASTIES.







7674 (VII-VIII)



7317 (VI)



7785 (VI)



7699 (VI)



7347 (VII-VIII?)



7791 (IX-X)



961

VI



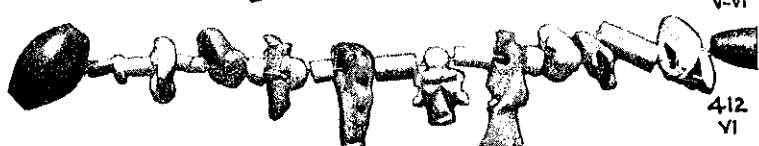
968

IX-X



694

V-VI



412

VI



613

VI

... 970 ...

VI

927

VI

1023

VI



1085

IV



1126

V

1082

VII-VIII



643

V



1165

V



1007

VI



1031

VII-VIII



712

VI



784

VII-VIII



958

V



689

VI



557

VI



1211

VII-VIII



1004

IX-X



1590

IX-X



1602

IX-X



1602

IX-X



1618

VII-VIII



914

IX-X



914

IX-X



914

IX-X



914

IX-X



1021

IX-X



634A

IX-X



1591

IX-X



1591

IX-X



1553

IX-X



1614

IX-X



1049

IX-X



1622

IX-X



1622

IX-X



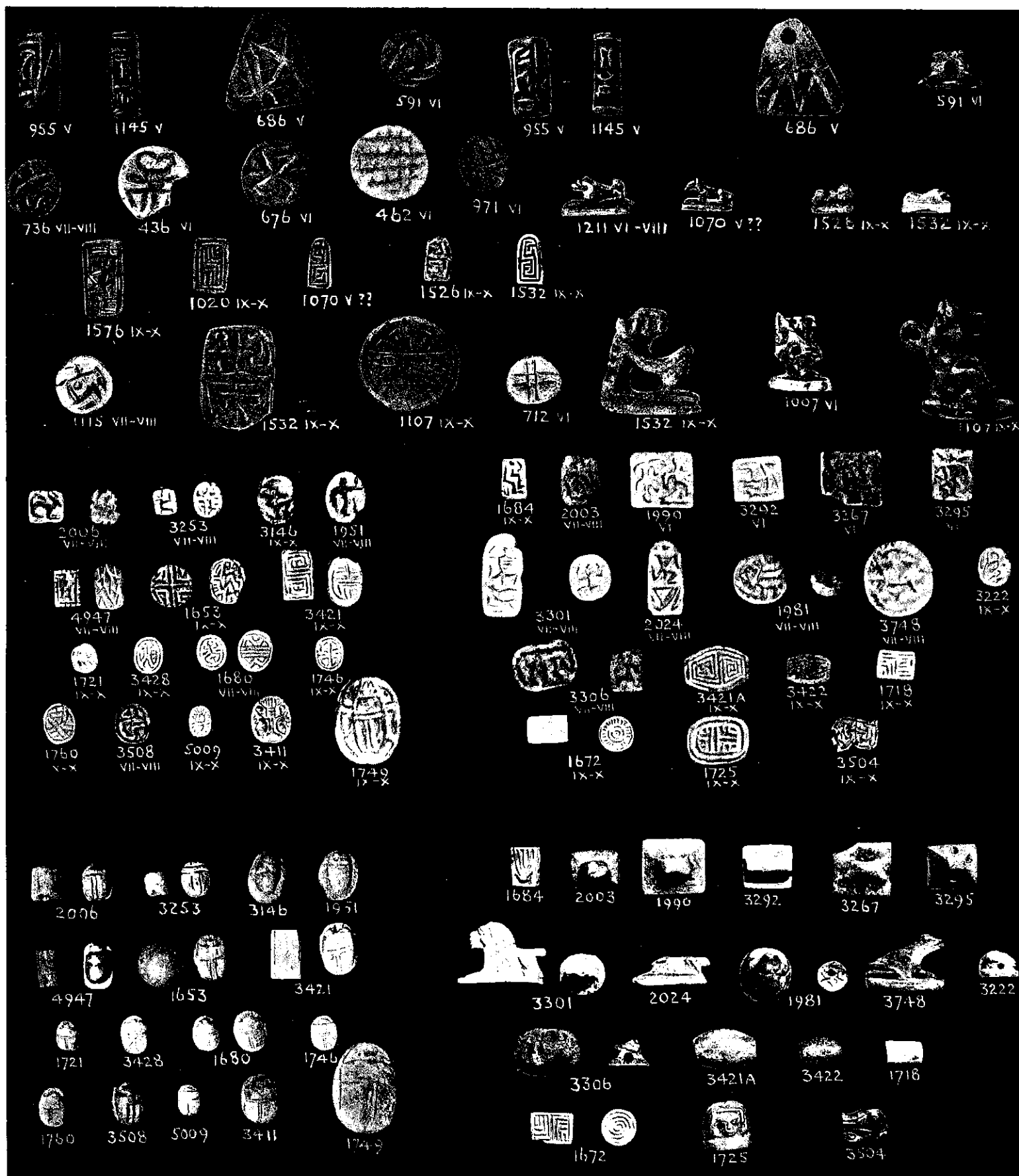
1595

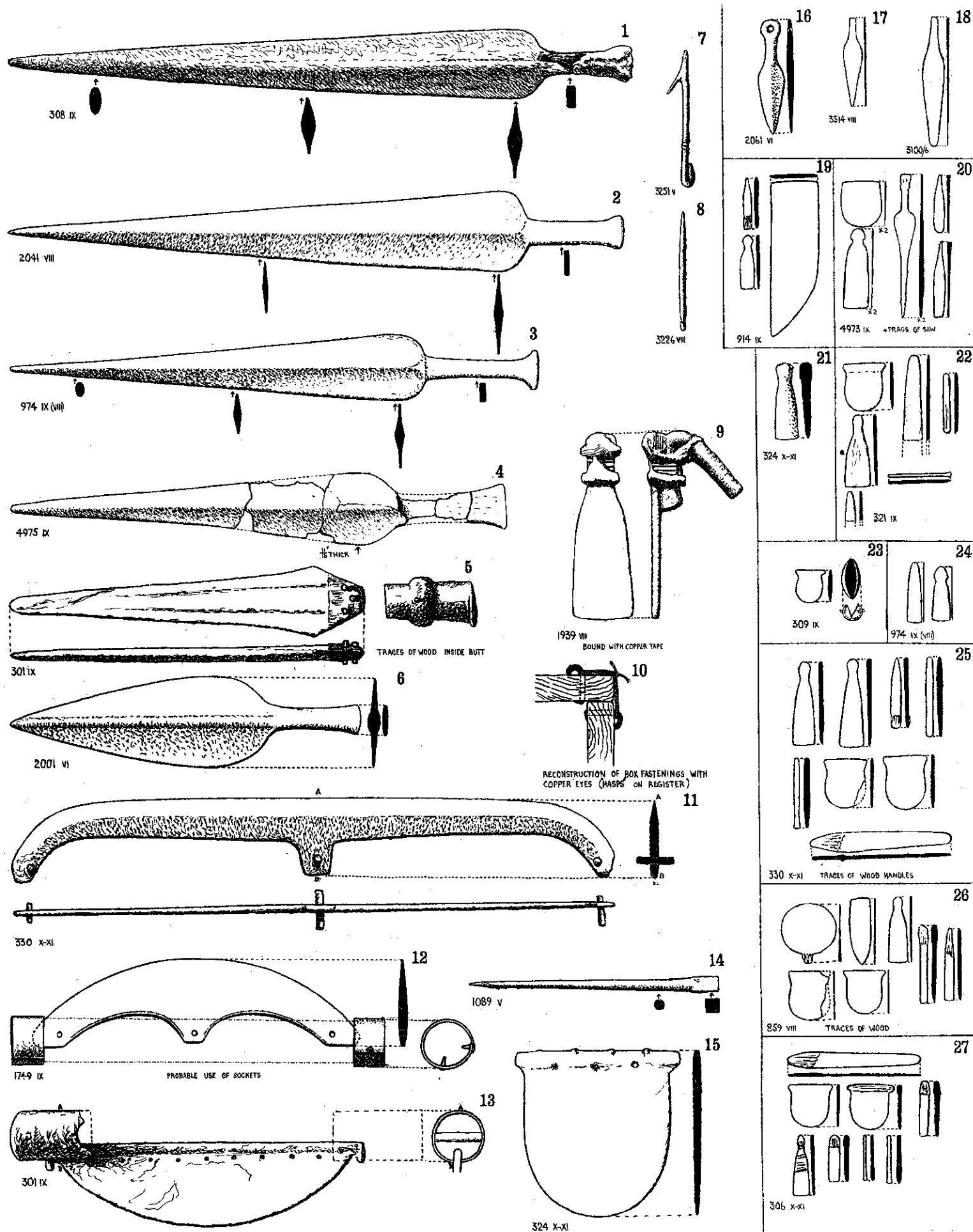
IX-X

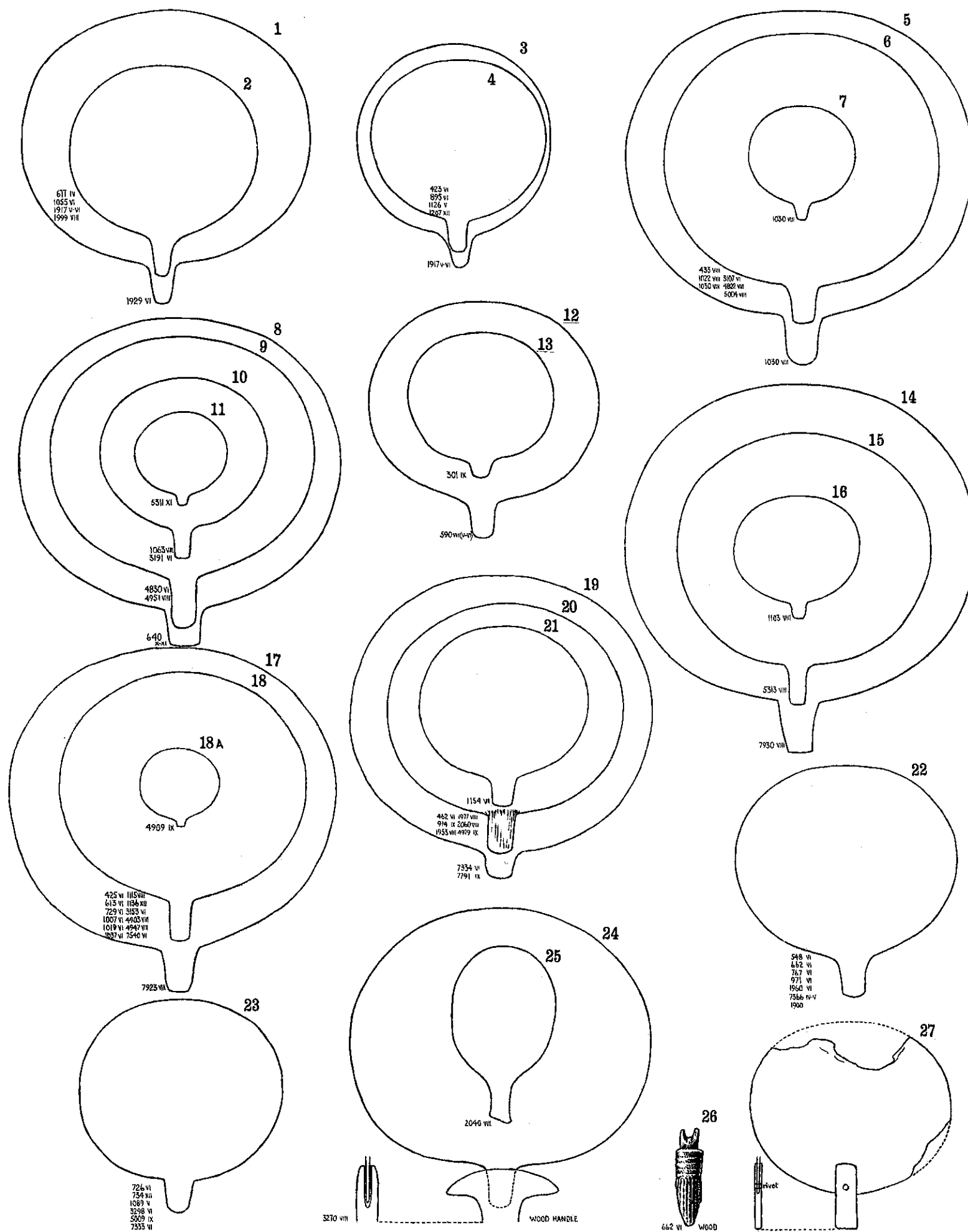


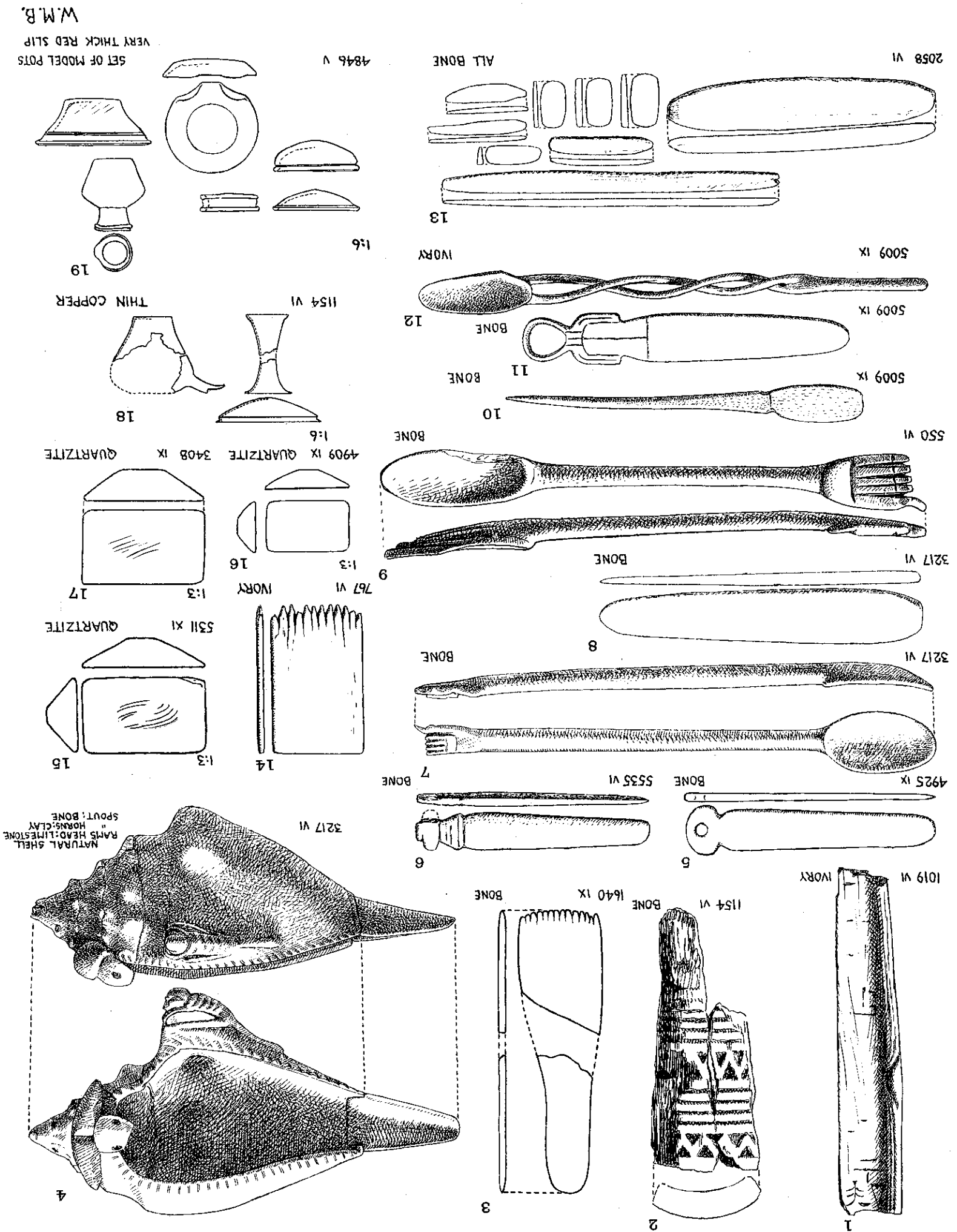
600

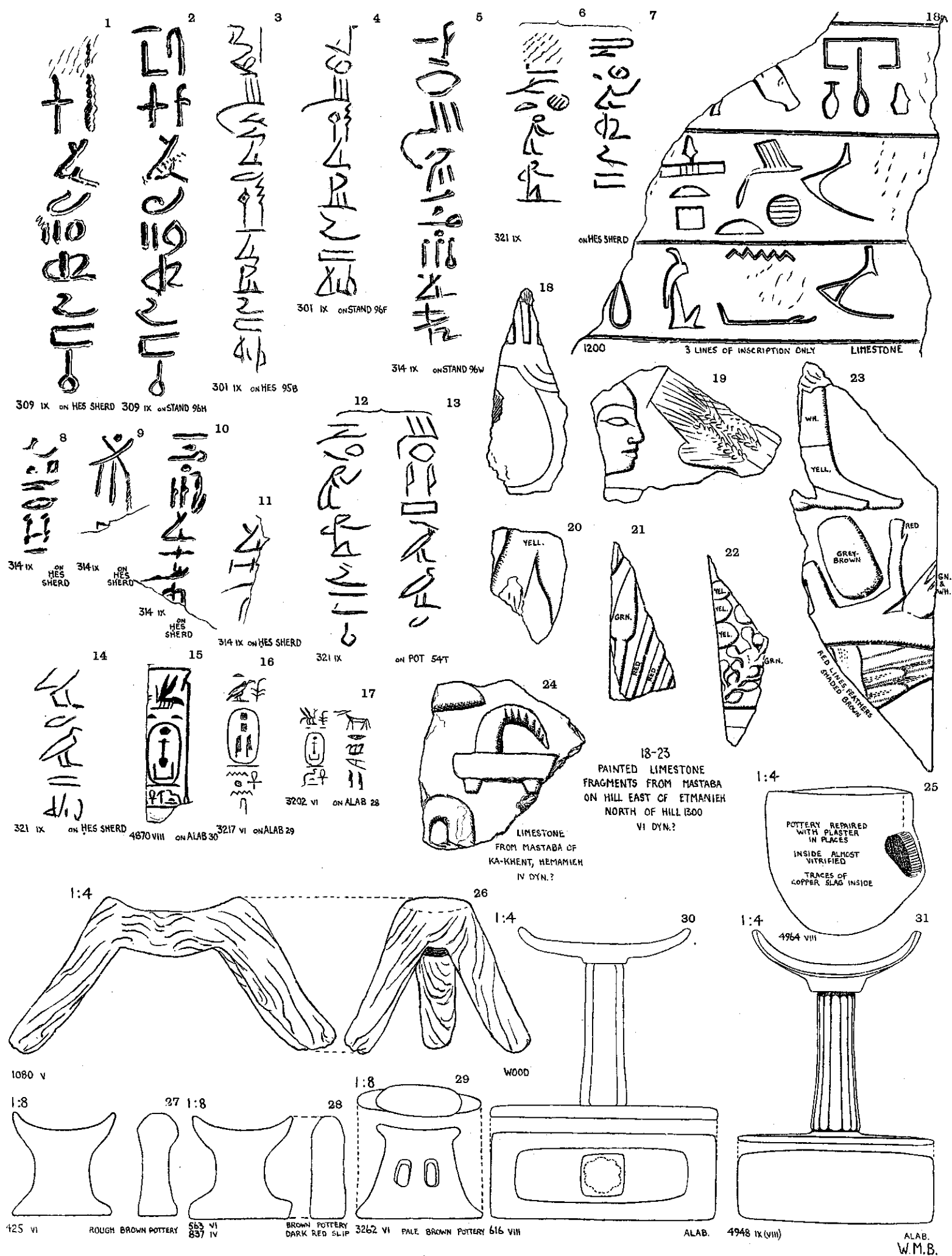
IX-X

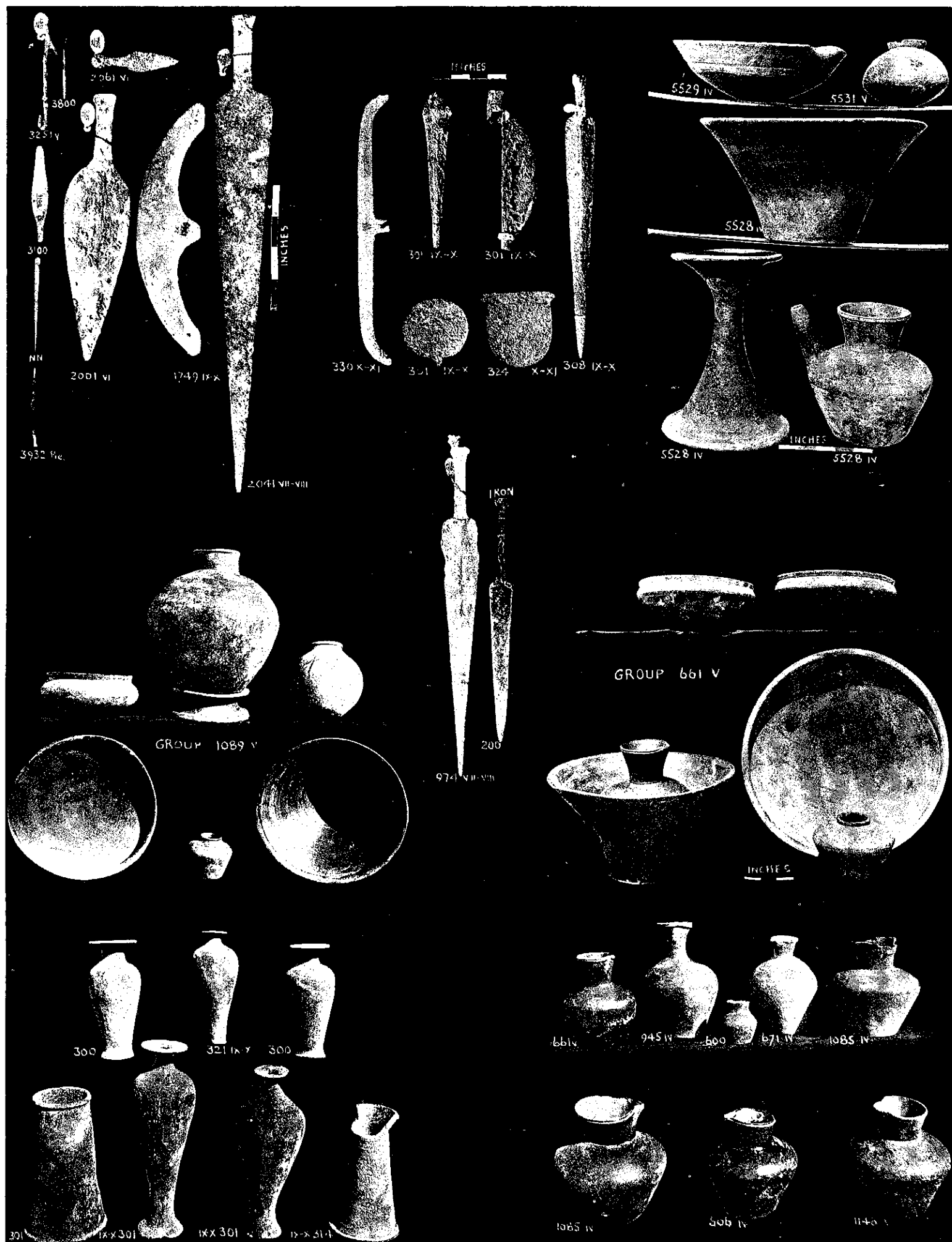




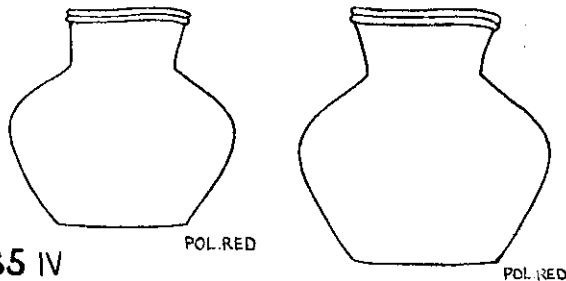
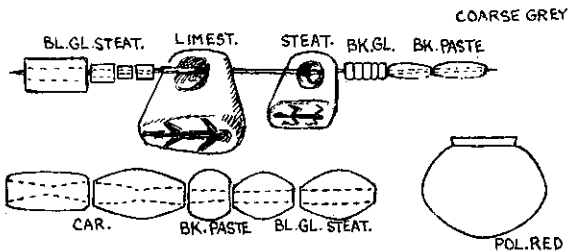
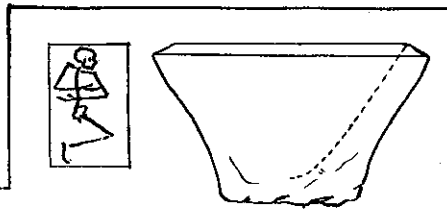




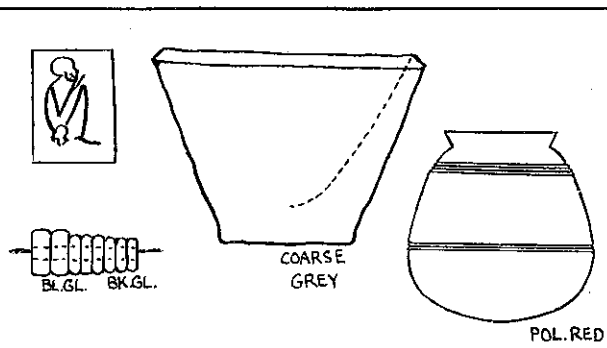




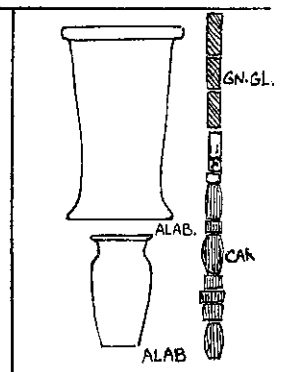
SCALES.
POTTERY 1:6
STONE 1:3
BEADS etc 2:3



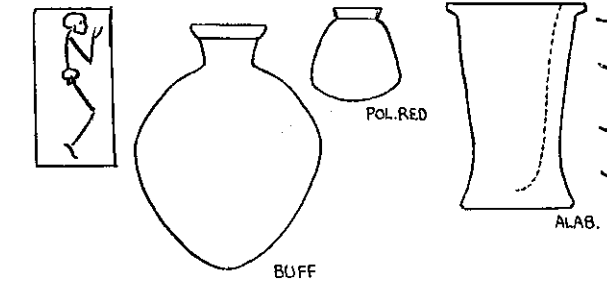
1085 IV



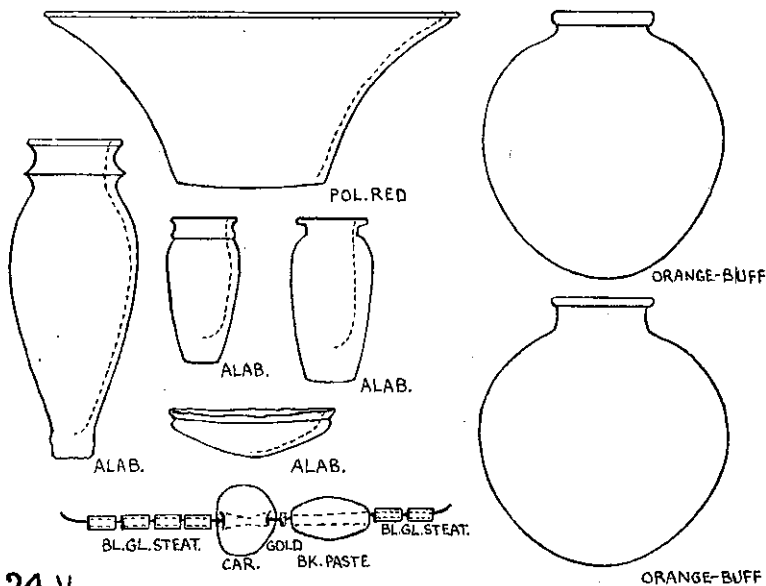
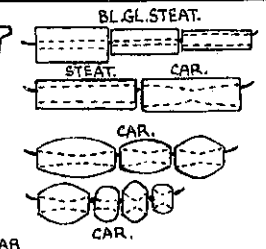
904 IV



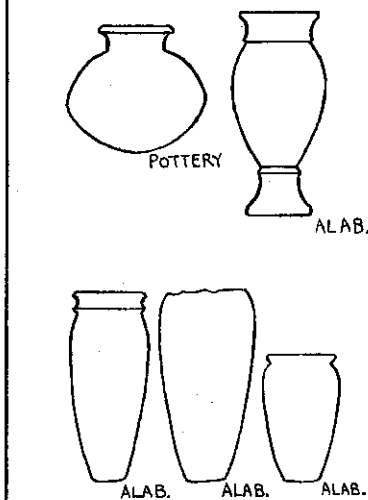
7366 IV-V MIRROR 22



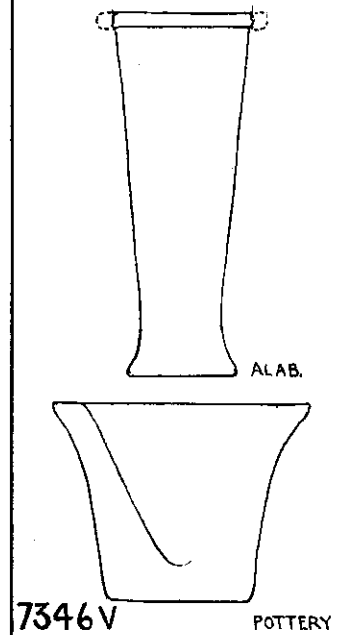
1163 V



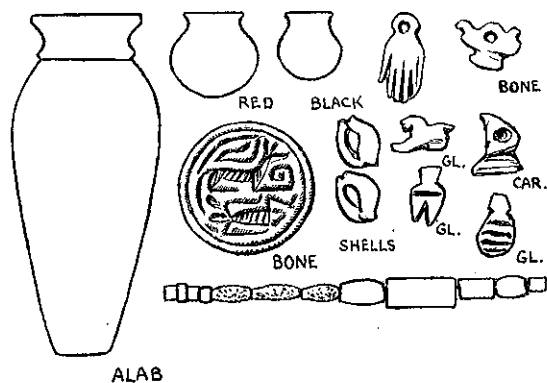
1224 V



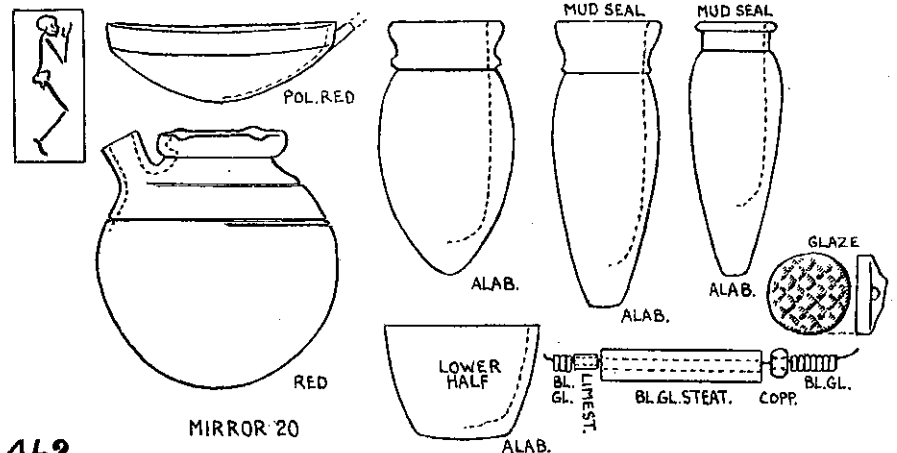
7306 V



7346 V

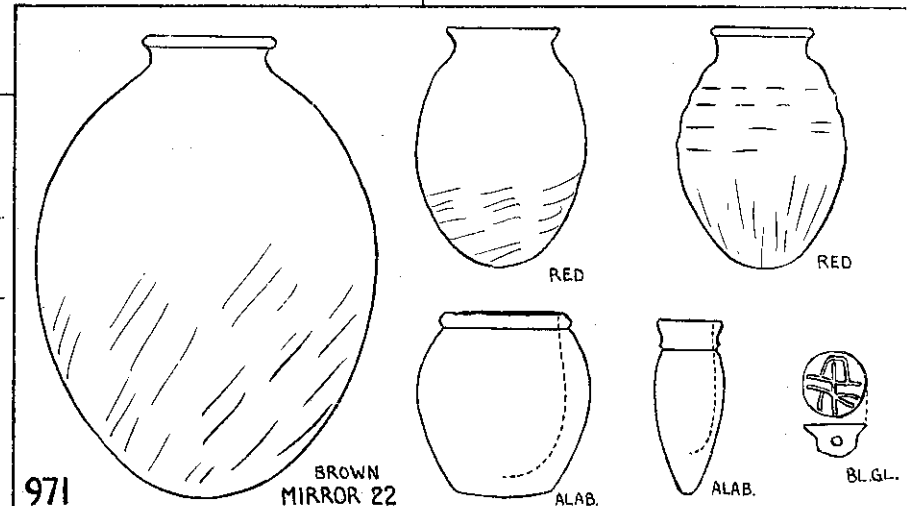
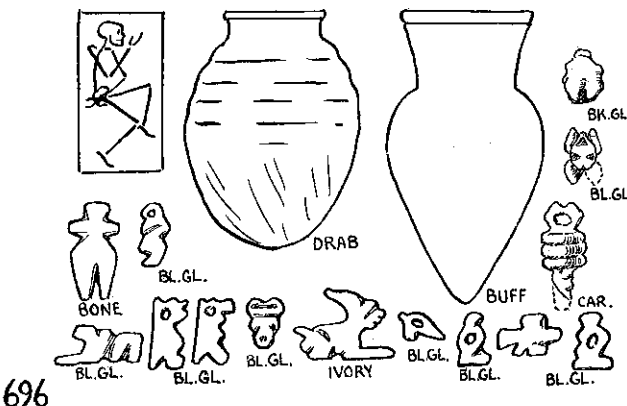
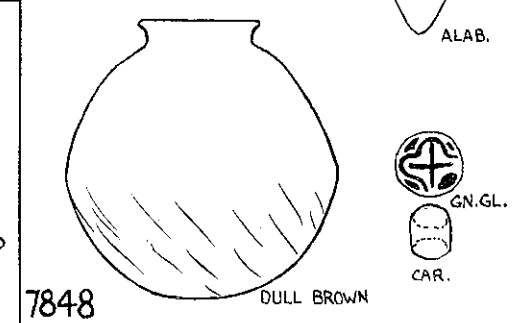
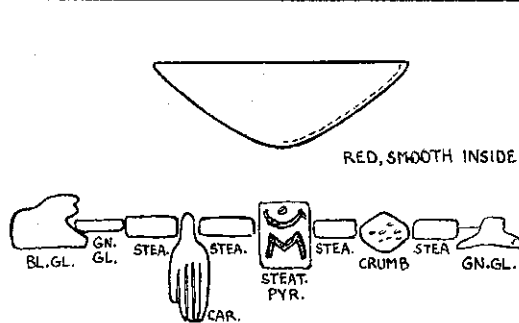
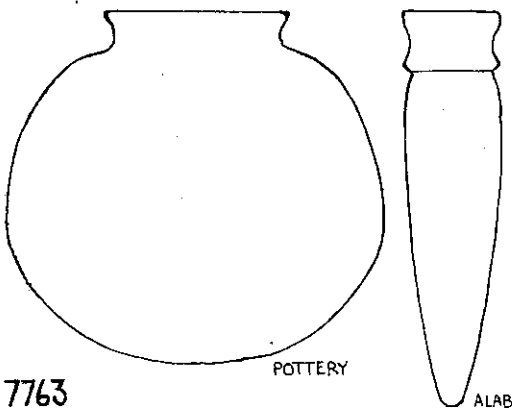
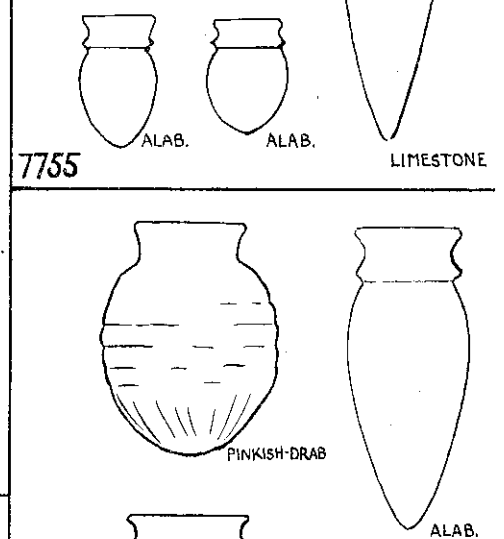
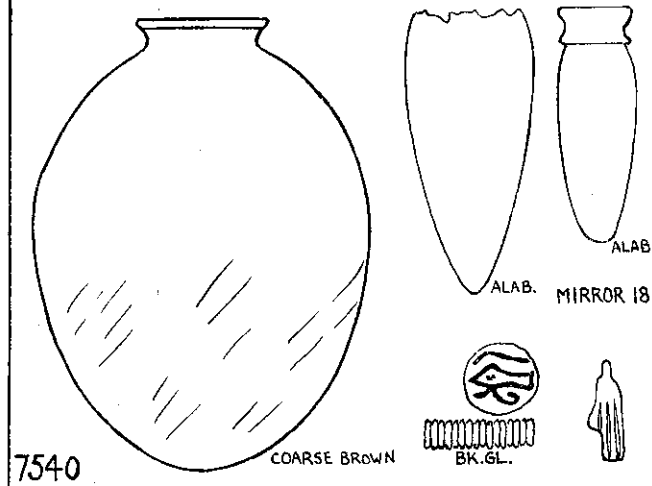
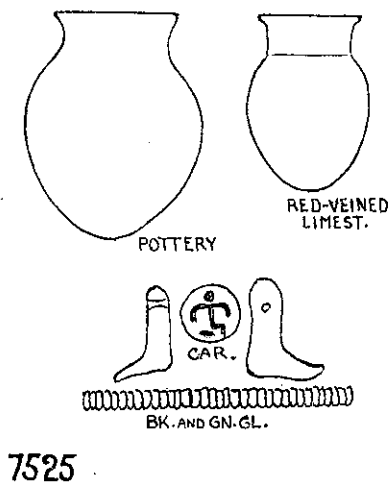
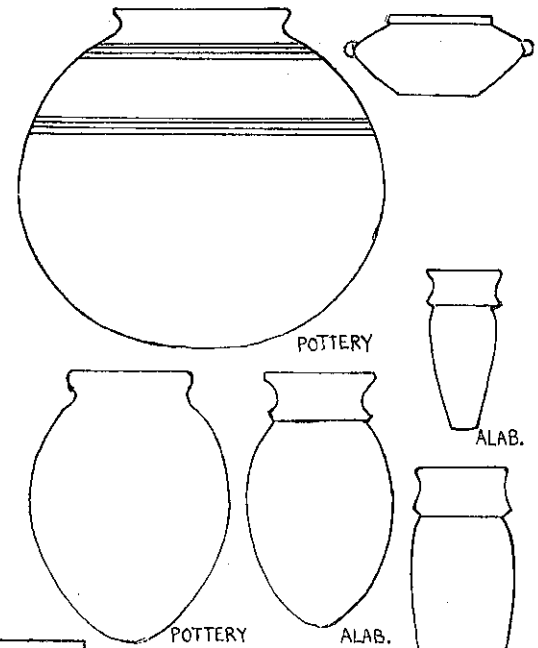
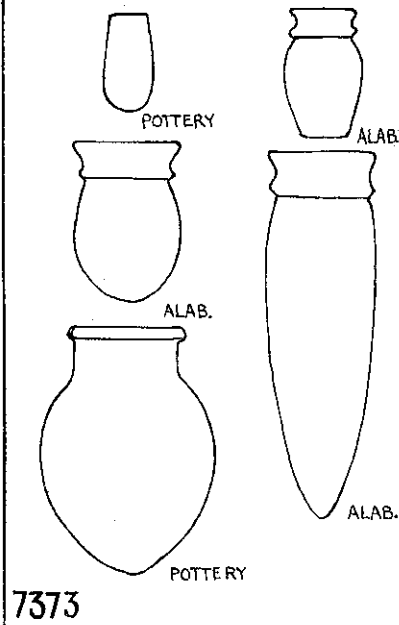
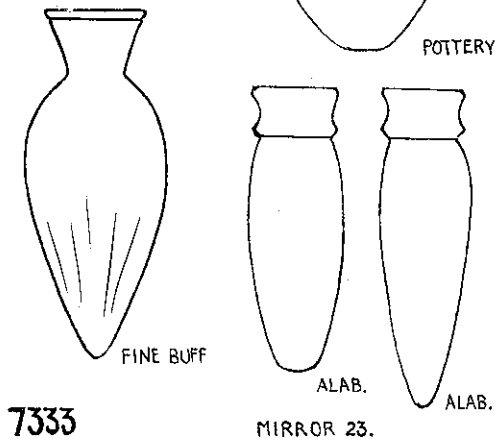


7785

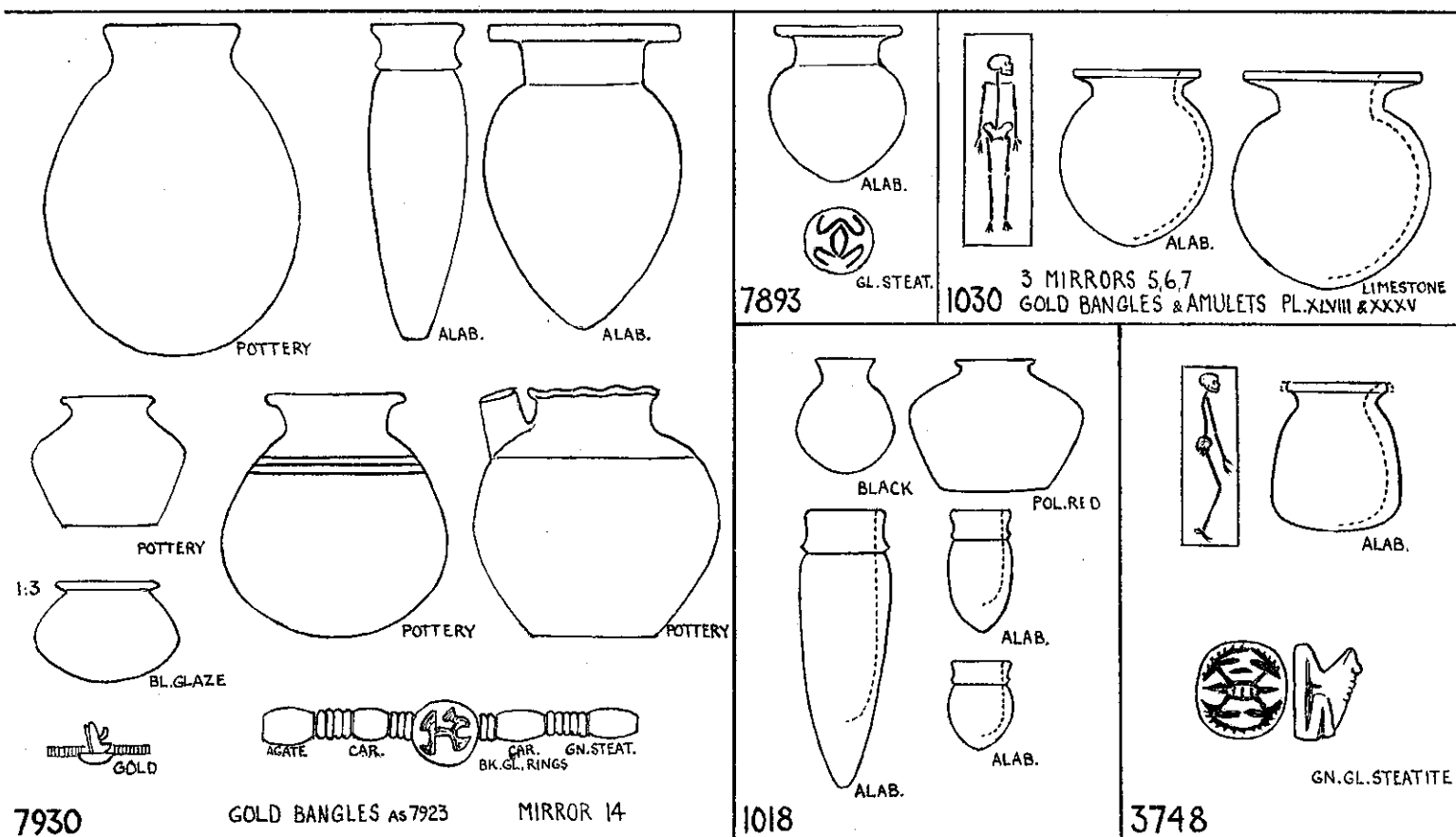
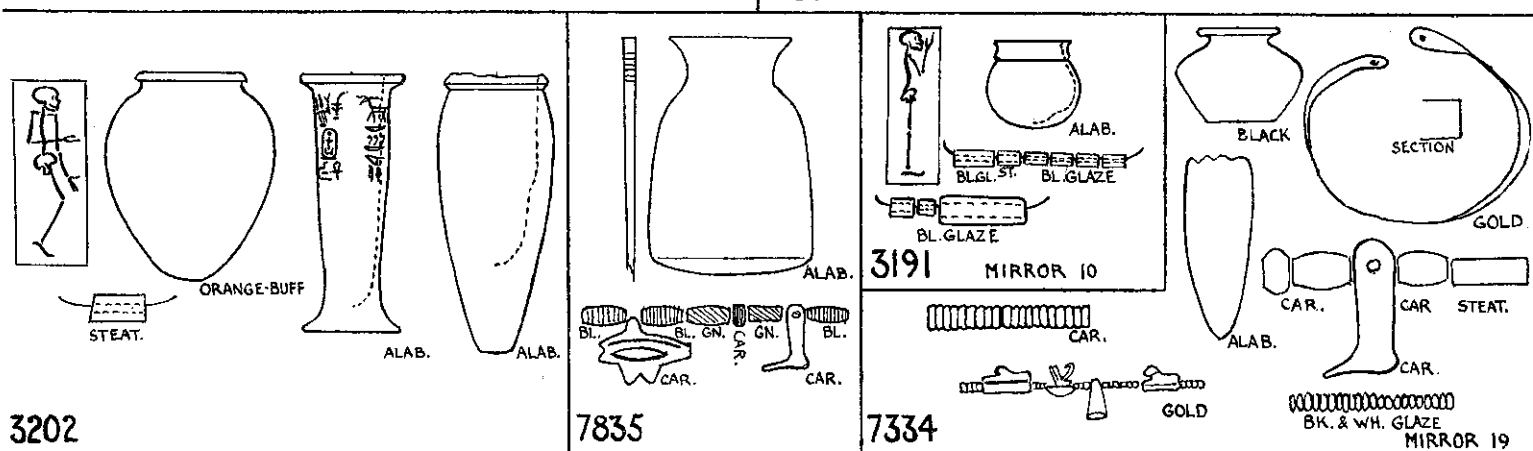
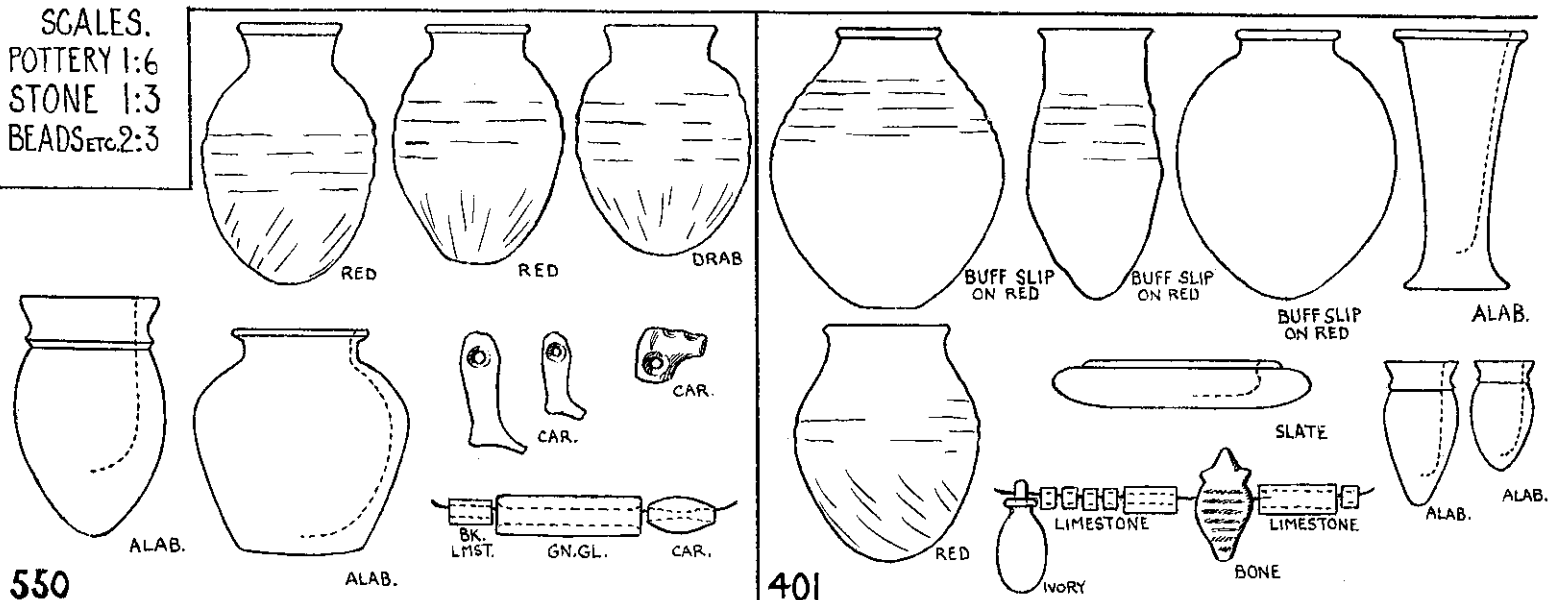


462

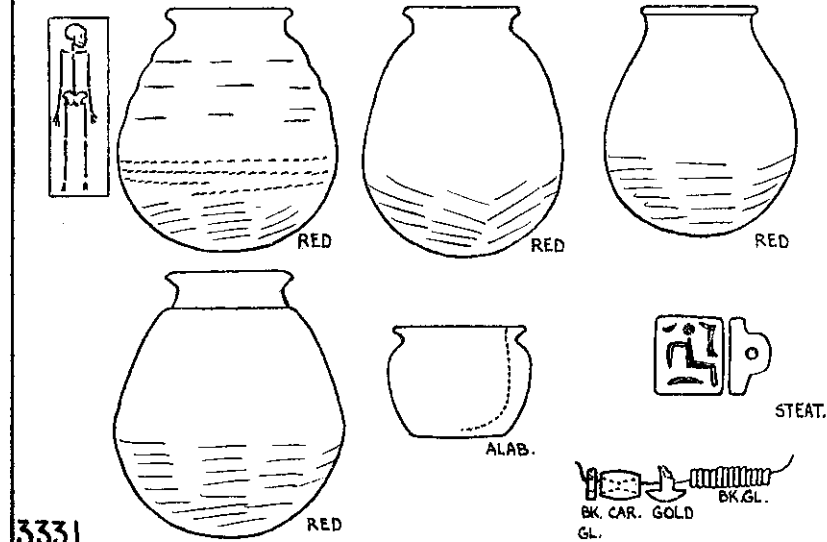
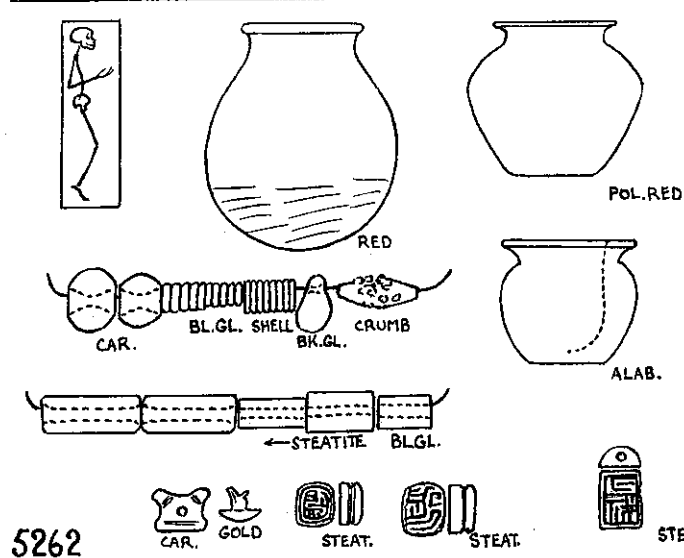
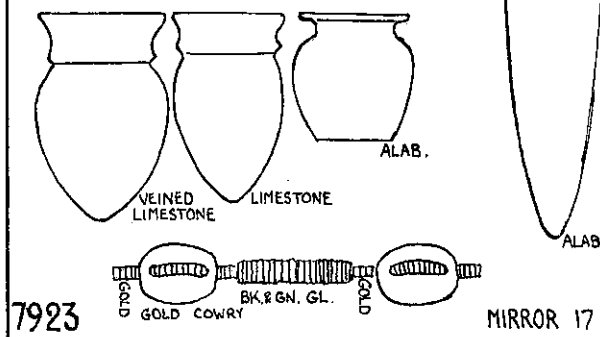
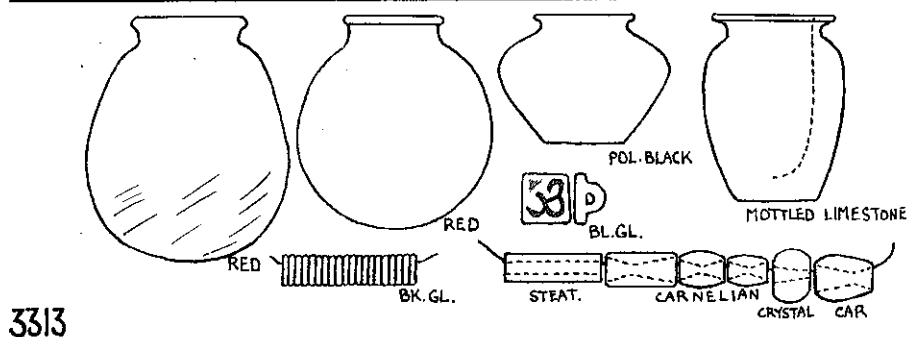
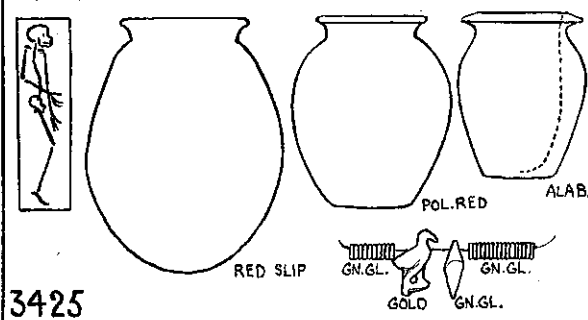
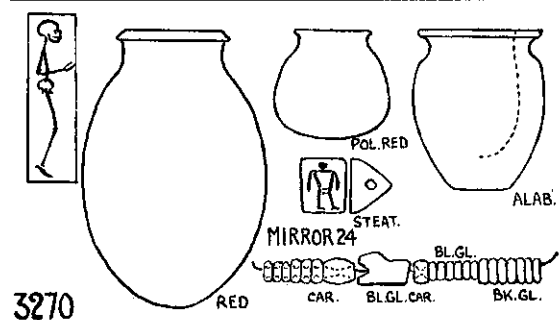
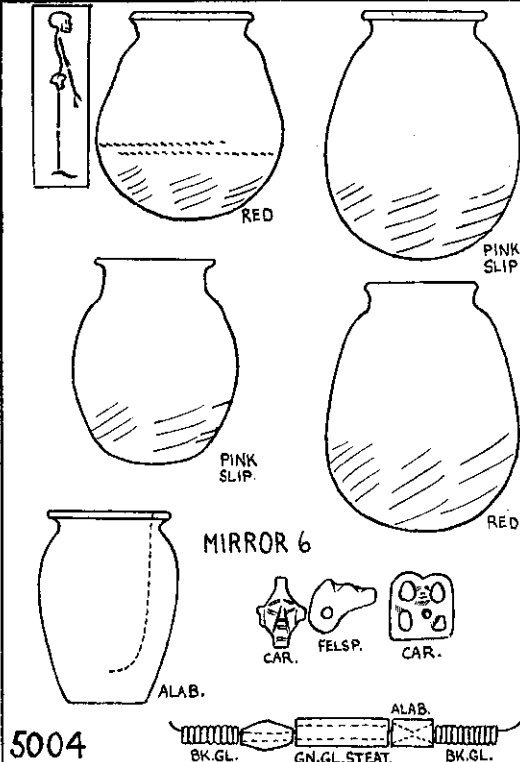
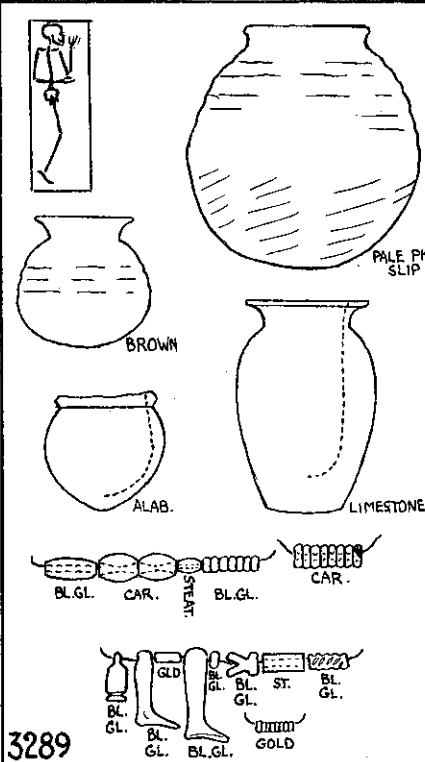
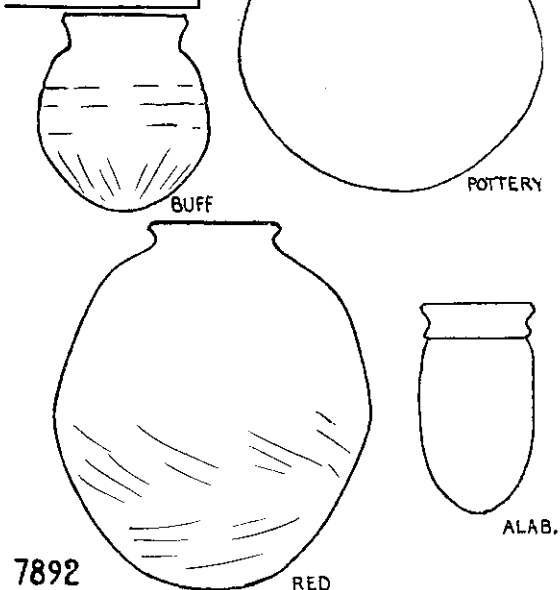
SCALES.
POTTERY 1:6
STONE 1:3
BEADS etc. 2:3



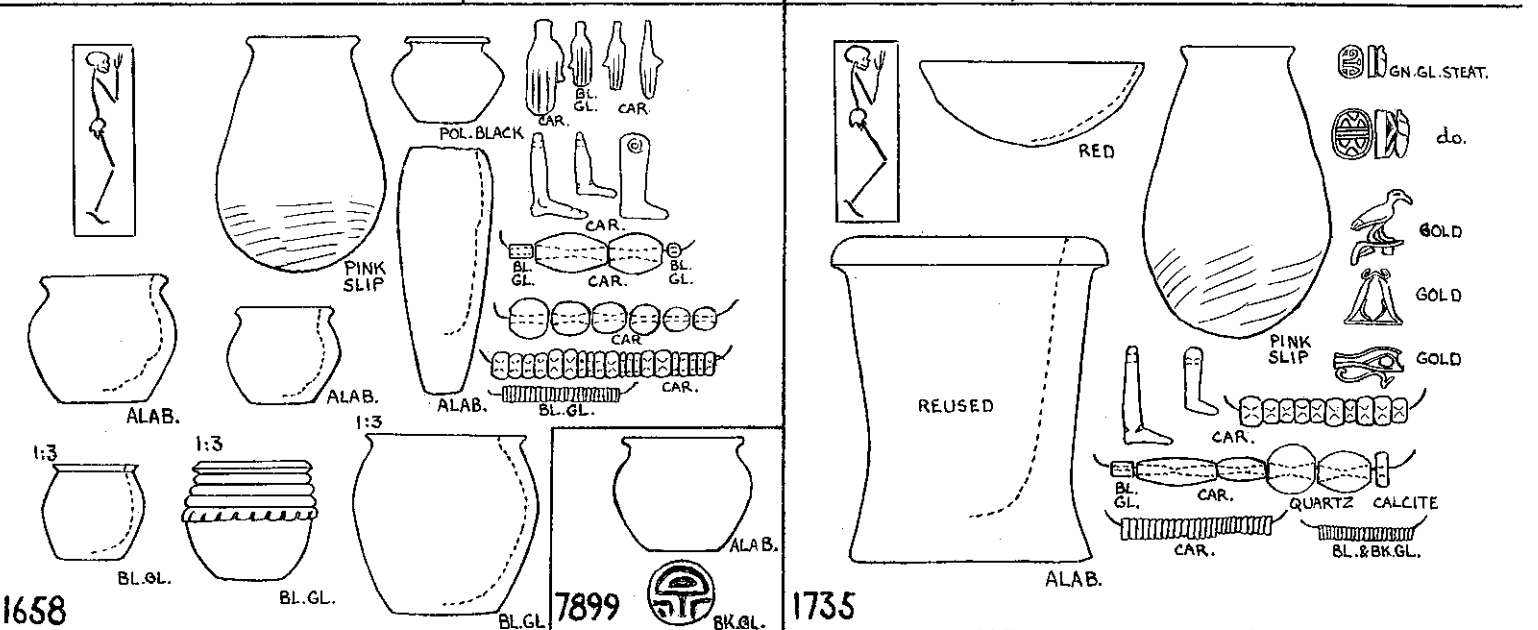
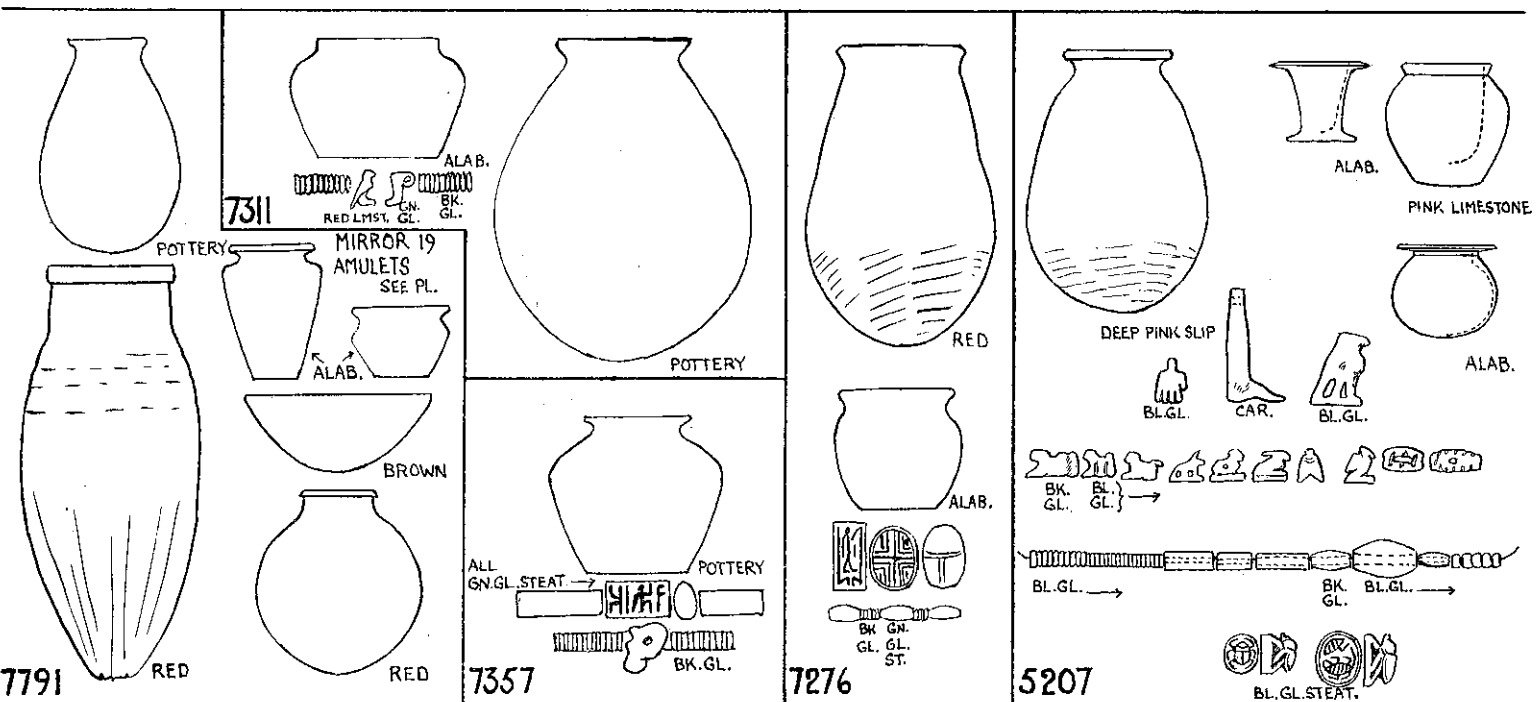
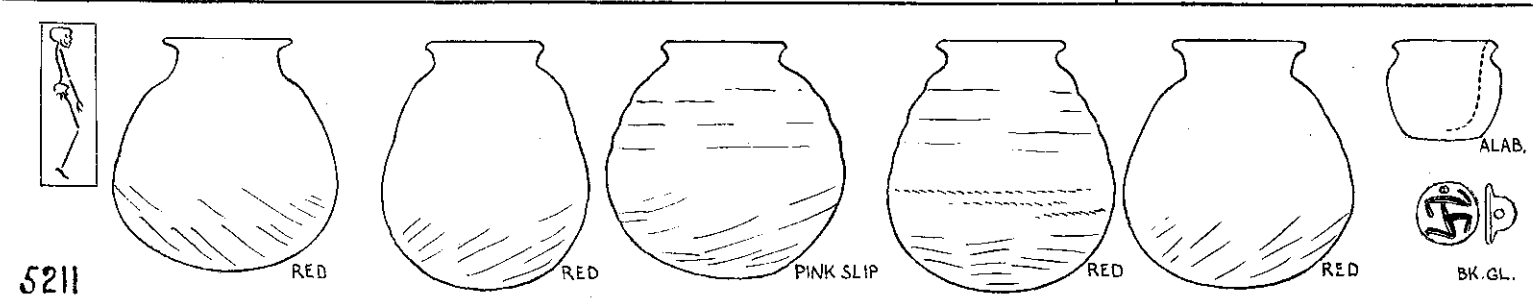
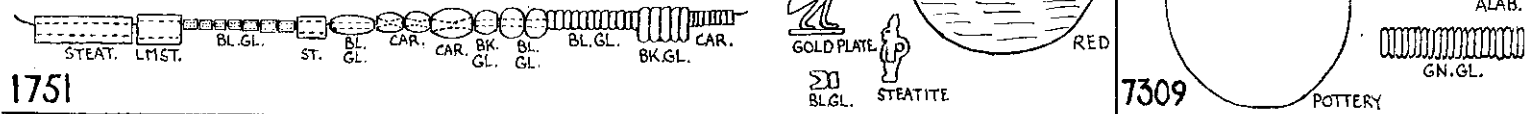
SCALES.
POTTERY 1:6
STONE 1:3
BEADS etc. 2:3

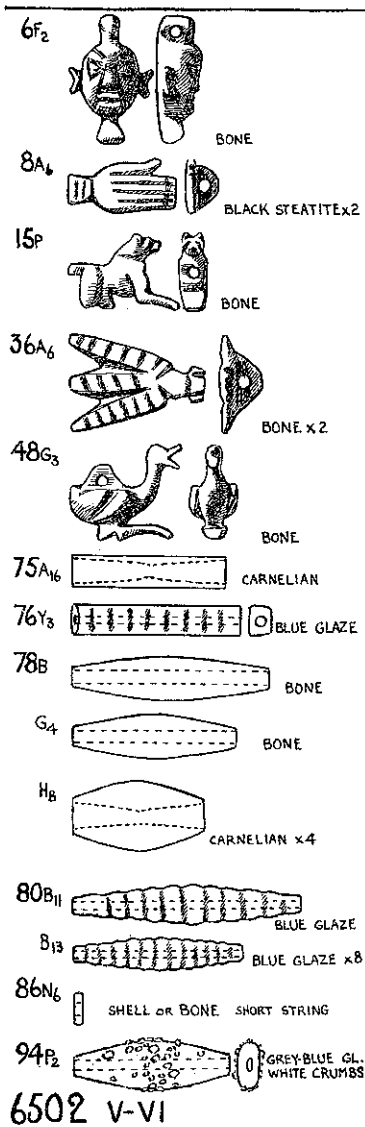


SCALES.
POTTERY 1:6
STONE 1:3
BEADS ETC. 2:3

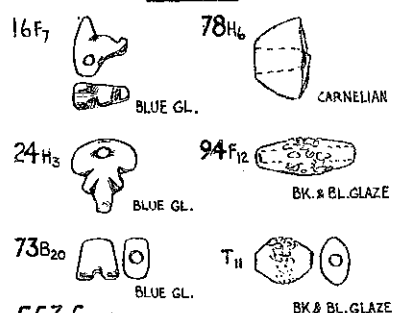


SCALES.
 POTTERY 1:6
 STONE 1:3
 BEADS ETC. 2:3



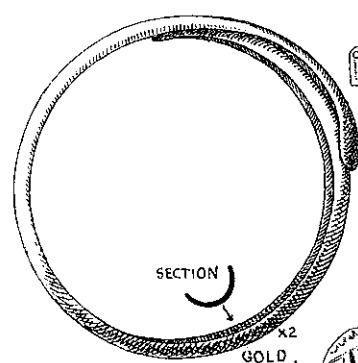
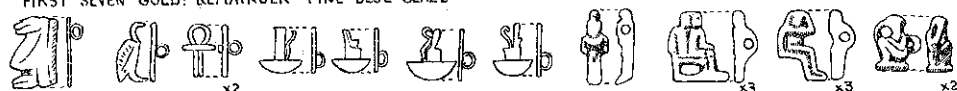


CASKET

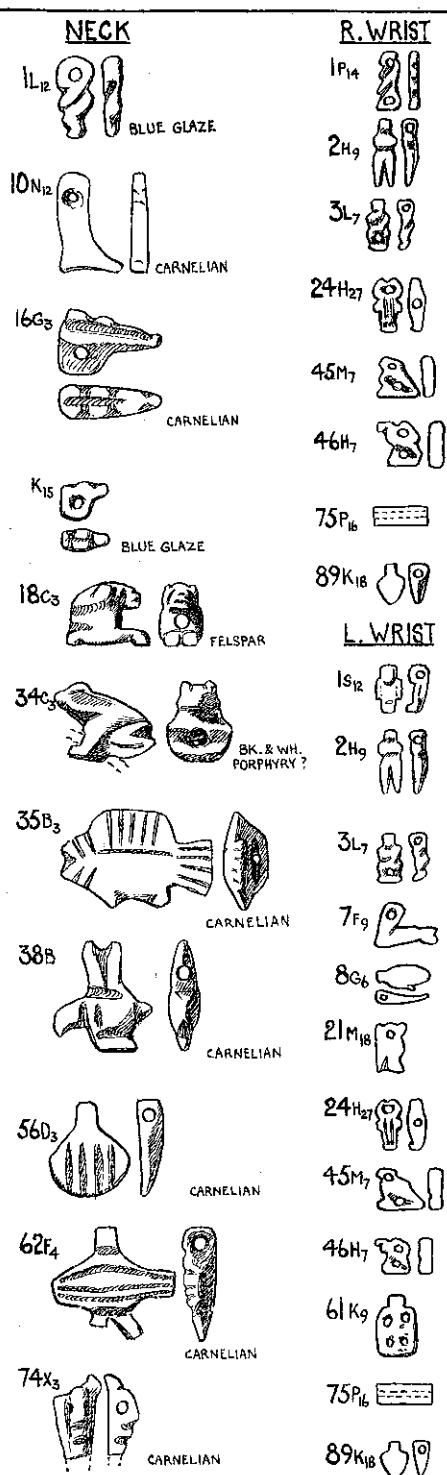


5535 VI

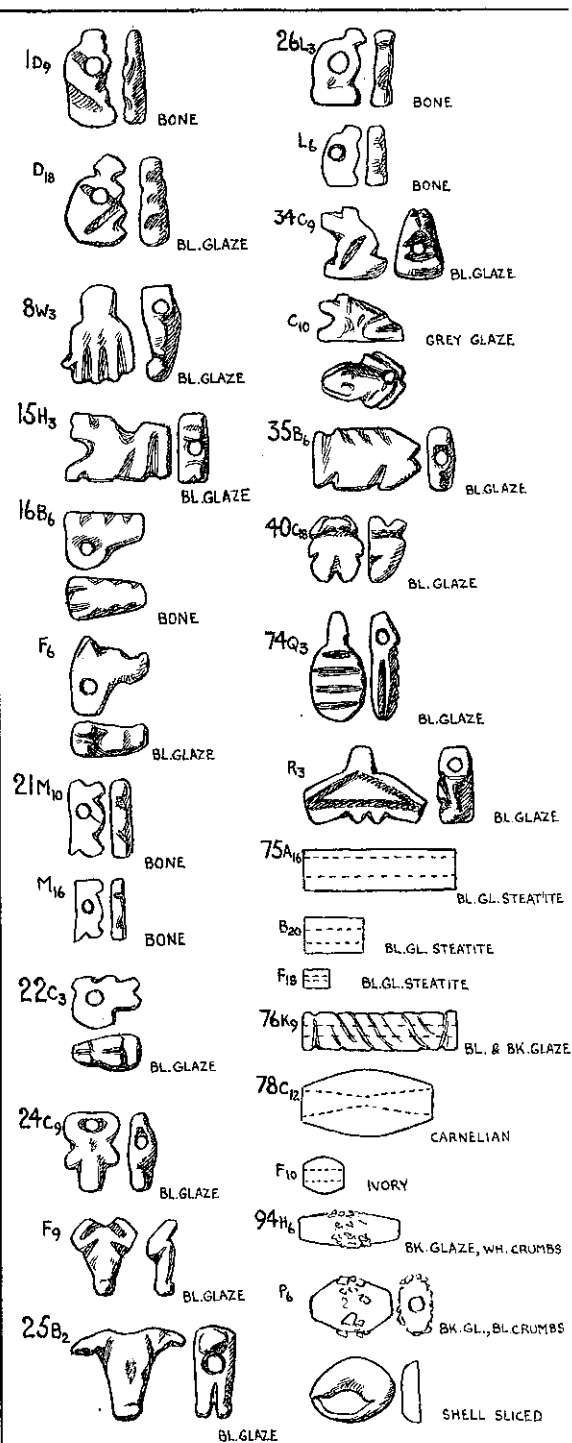
FIRST SEVEN GOLD: REMAINDER FINE BLUE GLAZE



1030 VII-VIII

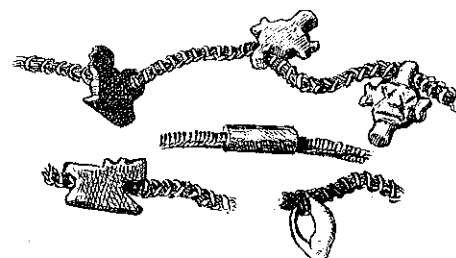


ALL BLUE GLAZE.



5534 VI

METHOD OF SPACING AMULETS WHEN STRUNG.



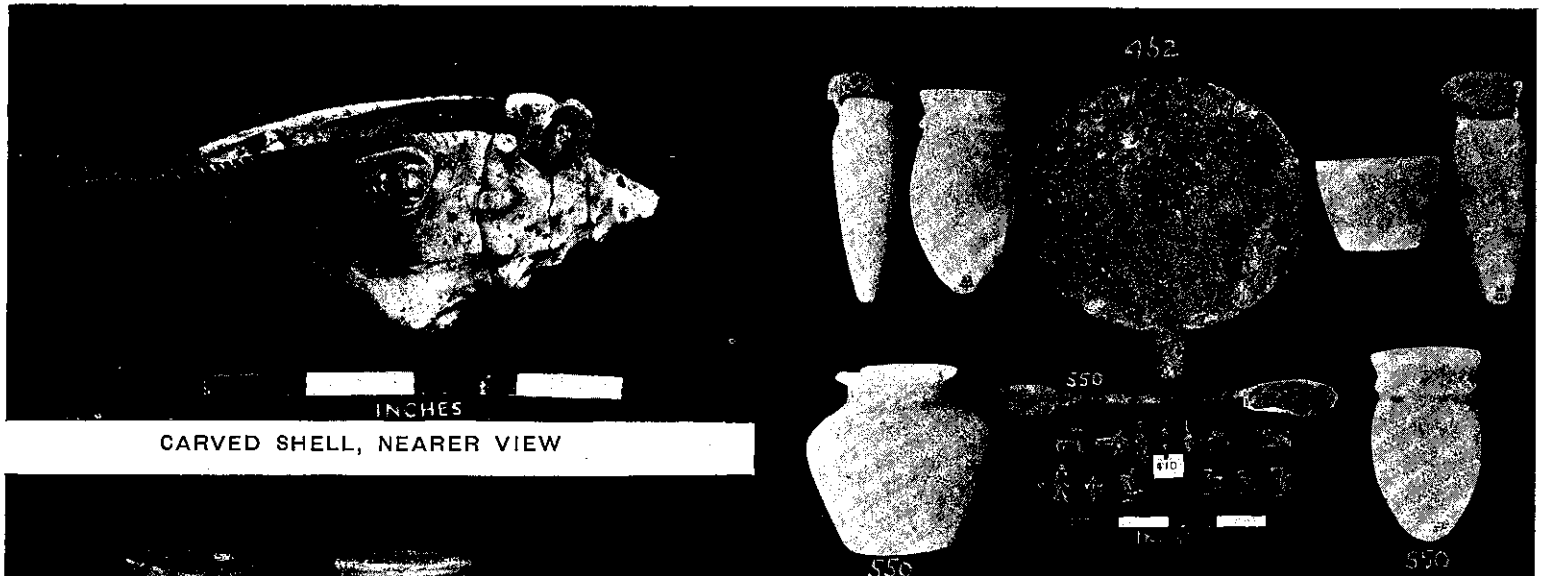
5544 VI

W.M.B.



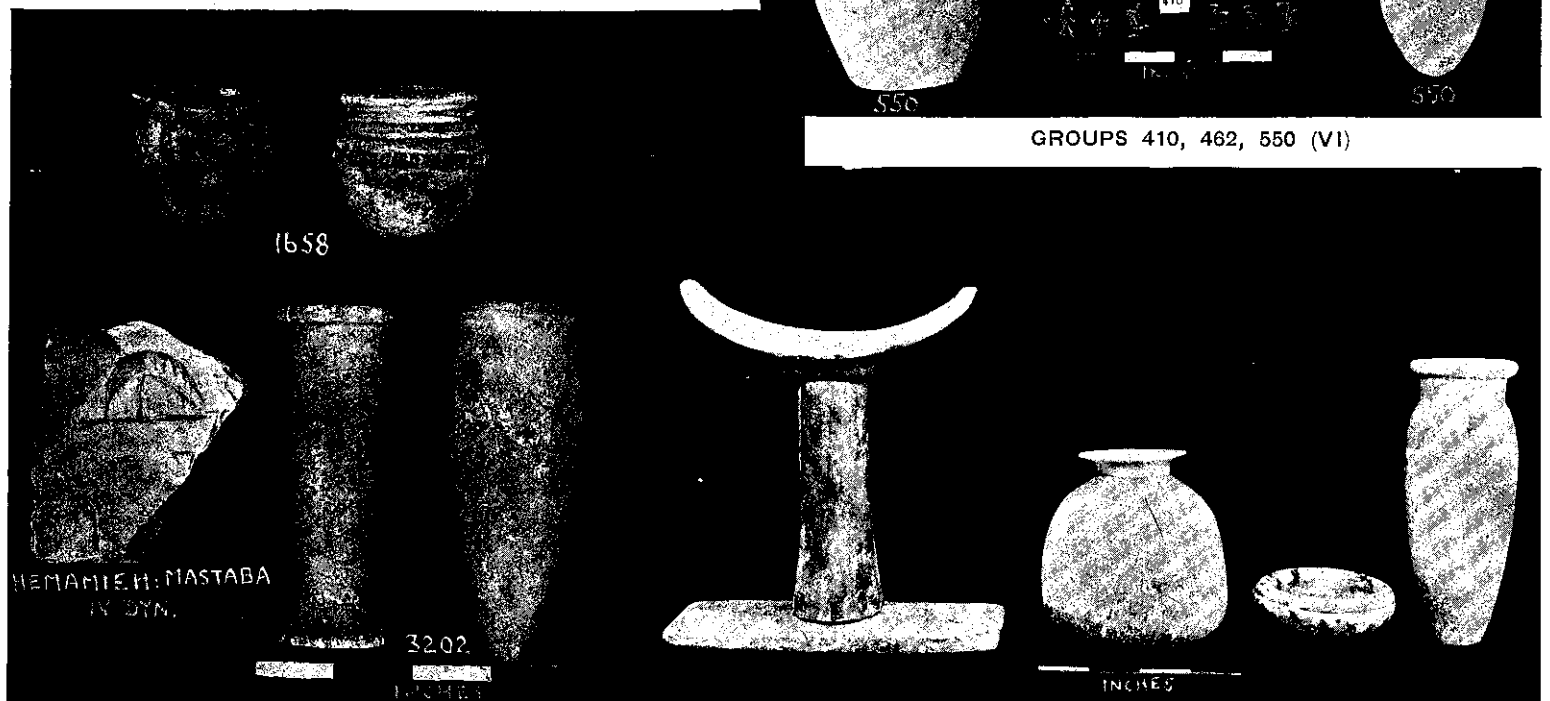
GROUP 3217, PEPTI-ANKH-NES

GROUP 5009 (IX-X)



CARVED SHELL, NEARER VIEW

GROUPS 410, 462, 550 (VI)



GLAZE VASES (IX-X), SCULPTURE, GROUP 3202
(PEPTI II)

HEAD-REST 4948 (VII-VIII) AND GROUP 3143 (VI)

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