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DESHASHEH

BY

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, D.C.L., LL.D., PH.D.
EDWARDS PROFESSOR OF EGYPTOLOGY, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, LONDON
MEMBER OF THE IMPERIAL GERMAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
CORR. MEMB. SOCIETY OF ANTHROPOLOGY, BERLIN
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With a Chapter by

F. LL. GRIFFITH, M.A., F.S.A.

FIFTEENTH MEMOIR OF

THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

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CONTENTS.

SECT. PAGE

INTRODUCTION.

1. Exploration of Middle Egypt . . 1
2. Cemetery of Deshasheh. Pl. I. . . 2

CHAPTER I.

THE TOMB OF ANTA.

3. Chronology of the cemetery. Pl. II. 4
4. Plan of the tomb. Pl. III. . . 4
5. Battle in Syria. Pl. IV. . . . 5
6. Siege of town. Pl. IV. . . . 6
7. Boat-building, &c. Pl. V. . . 7
8. Ship of Anta. Pl. VI. . . . 7
9. Recess of the tomb. Pls. VII.-IX. . 7
10. Animals, dancers, &c. Pls. X.-XII. . 7
11. Workmen, & pillars. Pls. XIII., XIV. 8

CHAPTER II.

THE TOMB OF SHEDU.

12. Plan of the tomb. Pl. III. . . 9
13. Field scenes and servants. Pls. XV.-XVII. 9
14. Cattle and funeral sacrifice. Pl. XVIII. 9
15. Recess of the tomb. Pls. XIX., XX. 10
16. Workmen. Pl. XXI. . . . 10
17. Fishing and harvest. Pls. XXII., XXIII. 10
18. Lower façade. Pls. XXIV., XXV. . 11

SECT. PAGE

CHAPTER III.

TOMBS OF NENKHEFTKA AND SON.

19. Position of tomb and serdab . . 12
20. Statues found 12
21. Condition of statues 13
22. Wrecking of statues and sepulchre . 14
23. Nenkheftek's tomb 15

CHAPTER IV.

TOMBS WITH PERFECT BODIES.

24. Classes of burials. Pl. XXVI. . . 16
25. Full-length burials. Amulets . . 16
26. Contracted burials in coffins . . 17
27. Burial in block coffins . . . 18
28. Burial without coffins, full length . 18
29. Burial without coffins, contracted . 18
30. Uncertain burials 19

CHAPTER V.

TOMBS WITH DISSEVERED BODIES.

31. Bodies with portions dissevered . . 20
32. Bodies mainly dissevered . . . 21
33. Bodies completely dissevered and reconstituted 22
34. Bodies completely dissevered and irregular 23
35. Burial and treatment of bodies . . 24

SECT. PAGE

CHAPTER VI.

Measurements of the Skeletons.

36. Material for measurement . . . 25
37. Dimensions of skulls compared . . 25
38. Proportions of skulls compared . . 26
39. Dimensions of bones 27
40. Proportions of bones 28
41. Roman skulls 29

CHAPTER VII.

Minor Objects.

42. Wooden figures. 31
43. Clothing 31
44. Mallets, chisels, and sharpeners . . 32
45. Palette, head-rests, and reed-work . 34
46. Pottery 35

SECT. PAGE

CHAPTER VIII.

Secondary Burials.

47. Burials of XVIIIth Dynasty . . 37
48. Roman burials 38
49. Bahsamûn 38

CHAPTER IX.

The Inscriptions.

By F. Ll. Griffith, M.A., F.S.A.

50. Tomb of Anta 42
51. Tomb of Shedu 44
52. Board and coffin of Mera . . . 46
53. Coffin of Nenkheftek 47

INDEX 49

LIST OF PLATES 52

DESHASHEH.

INTRODUCTION.

(1.) THE work of this year has been more varied than usual, and has fulfilled more the character of exploration than in previous years. One of the least known parts of Egypt, the western side from the Fayum to Minieh, was completely traversed and examined; and two sites within that area were excavated.

At the end of November I went to settle at Behnesa, the Roman Oxyrhynkhos, and built huts there for our party. Mr. Geere accompanied me, and Mr. Grenfell and Mr. Hunt came soon after. The permission to excavate was granted on November 30; but we were kept idle, waiting for its official transmission, till December 12, thus losing a large fraction of the season. On examining the desert behind Behnesa, back for four miles, we failed to find any tombs of importance; and only Roman tombs were found near the town. All the town mounds were Roman and Arabic, and I did not find anything of importance except the beginning of the great harvest of papyri. Seeing that the interest of the place would depend on that line, and not on Egyptian remains, I handed the site over entirely to Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, and went exploring southward.

The whole edge of the desert from Behnesa and Minieh was explored; all the ruins and cemeteries were noted, and many places examined in the cultivated land and also back in the desert. I travelled partly on donkey, partly walking, and constantly using a telescope to search the distance; each evening, on camping by the Arab villages which skirt the cultivation, I gathered all the information that I could from the people. One certain result is that the site for the coloured plaster heads from coffins, which was exploited a few years ago, is in the cemeteries a little north of Minieh; the people mentioned them, and I saw pieces of them lying about. The scenery here is unlike any other part of Egypt. On crossing the Nile plain and reaching the desert a high sand dune is seen, which seems to be the beginning of the endless waste. Ascending it, a long strip of blue lake of fresh water lies before us, a quarter to half a mile wide. When the dune behind that is climbed, another lake is seen, and yet another. At one point of view I saw six parallel lakes of blue water divided by high dunes of yellow sand. These lakes are filled up at each high Nile, and then gradually dry away during the succeeding months, leaving rich grassy plains, on which the Arabs pasture their cattle. The whole of this side of the country, for some three or four miles into the cultivation, is held by settled tribes of desert Arabs. They have almost ceased to be nomadic, mostly living in houses; but they keep up the carrying of arms, and any man of importance wears a small arsenal,

the old richly silver-mounted blunderbuss serving to attest his respectability, while a pair of six-chambered revolvers, fully loaded, show a capacity for business. I was received with the most pressing hospitality, and was hardly able to keep to my quiet tent and avoid nocturnal feasts and wearying politenesses. The sites proved to be nearly all Roman, except a cemetery of the XXIInd Dynasty; so I returned to Behnesa in order to go northwards.

The desert edge from Behnesa to Medinet el Fayum was then all traversed similarly. At El Mesīd a native scribe came to my tent, and began giving me the names and details of all the sites of towns and cemeteries on both east and west banks. He is the only native that I have seen, who took a real interest in such matters; he had actually visited most of the places, but was apparently not digging or dealing, nor attempting to make anything by his knowledge. His name is Umran Khallil; he answered all my inquiries most cordially, and did all he could to put me on the track of what he knew: so far as I could verify his information, both before and afterwards, it was quite correct. The principal place of importance in this region was at Deshasheh, which is a modern village about eighty miles south of Cairo on the western edge of the plain. Here I bought ten thousand bricks and left a lad to run up our huts. On returning four days later with my baggage from Behnesa, I found them all built and we settled in, upon a sand dune bordering the Bahr Yusuf at the little Arab hamlet of Er Righa.

(2.) The desert here runs back in a plain, gently rising from the cultivated land for about two miles, up to the foot of the plateau of limestone, which here rises about eighty feet. The tombs are all cut in the edge of the plateau, and extend over about half a mile (pl. i.). There are many varieties of form; mastabas with deep pits, rock-hewn chapels with deep pits, chambers with passages sloping into the hill-side, pits alone with tomb-chamber below, long pits for lowering a coffin horizontally with a recess at the side below, pits with bodies lying in them boxed over with slabs, long pits with bones lying in them open, and mere cracks in the rock containing bones heaped together.

All of these are intermingled in one cemetery, and from the pottery and style of burial appear to be all of one age, the Vth Dynasty. A few secondary burials of the XVIIIth Dynasty were found; in one case in a rock chamber, in two other cases half-way down a deep pit. In Roman times many of these tombs had been re-used, and contained from half-a-dozen up to twenty bodies. These mummies were all bandaged with narrow crossing stripes outside, in the usual style of the 2nd century A.D.; none of them had any ornaments or portraits. In some cases the bones of the original possessor, or only the skull, were placed carefully on one side of the chamber, distinguishable by their whiteness from the Roman bones; in other cases they seemed to have been removed before the Roman interments. The detailed description of these minor tombs occupies here Chapters IV. and V.

One main work at Deshasheh was the copying of the sculptured tombs. Two tombs had been cleared, and locked up by the Department of Antiquities; and a lower façade of one of these was further found in my excavations, which showed two new subjects—a pyramid and its temple, and boatmen with raised oars. The copying was done full size, and amounted to 150 feet in length, five feet high.

The position of the town to which this cemetery belonged is not yet known. The causeway down the hill from Shedu's tomb points to a site of ruins in the plain, about a mile from the desert; but this site is entirely Roman, and not elevated above the present land. It might, however, cover an early site which was formerly on the desert edge, and has since been covered and surrounded with about fifteen or twenty feet of Nile deposits. But on the other hand two unfinished graves were found, each

containing a stock of mallets, chisels, baskets, cord, etc., used by the workmen for excavating the gravel. Had the town been near the cemetery the men would not have left their tools behind, and if left by chance, they would have fetched them; it rather appears that the town was so far away (probably by the Nile, about El Balanka) that each day they hardly thought it worth while to go up to fetch the property.

In the work on the spot Mr. H. V. Geere assisted me by doing the survey, and attending to the close of business after I left, and in writing the account given here of the Bahsamun cemetery. In the inking in of the drawings I have to thank Miss Hilda Urlin, and also Mr. Herbert Thompson in the restoration of the lists of offerings, and Dr. Walker. The larger photographs are due to the skill of Mr. Frank Haes. And I have to thank both Mr. Hunt and Mr. Geere for measuring a large number of Roman skulls. Thus again my friends have shared and lightened my work.

CHAPTER I.

THE TOMB OF ANTA.

(3.) This tomb is the more important of the two bearing sculptures at Deshasheh. The position of it is the best in the whole cemetery (see pls. i., ii.), occupying the brow of a striking isolated hill at the south end of the plateau edge. It is obviously the first site to be taken in the district; and both the sculptured tomb of Shedu, and the destroyed mastaba of Nenkheftka—whence the statues come—are far inferior in position. The execution of it is also larger, bolder, and apparently earlier than that of Shedu. It seems very probable that the tombs were executed in successive order from south to north, and so the sequence of the more important is, (1) Anta, (2) Nenkheftka, (3) Shedu. Now in the tomb of Shedu we find (pl. xviii.) a son named Tetakhu, belonging therefore to the first reign of the VIth Dynasty. Nenkheftka and his son Nenkheftek might then probably belong to the latter half of the Vth Dynasty. And at Saqqara is a tomb of another Nenkheftka and his son Nenkheftek; these cannot be the same as the two of Deshasheh, as the wife of the elder is Neferhoteps at Saqqara, and Neferseshems at Deshasheh. Probably therefore the Saqqara men are the two generations before the Deshasheh men, as the royal names in their tomb are of Userkaf and Sahura, at the beginning of the Vth Dynasty. These relationships of this family are the more likely as Nenkheftek's *nefer* name is Thy; and Thy of Saqqara was in the second generation below Nenkheftka there, as seen in the descent of property (Miss Murray, in *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, xvii. 244). Lastly, it is probable that Anta preceded Nenkheftka, by the position of his tomb, and therefore he belongs to the middle of the Vth Dynasty.

To resume in historic order, using provisionally the dating which I have given in my history, so as to see the relation of the generations:

Nenkheftka of Saqqara,	about 3670 B.C., or later.
Nenkheftek of Saqqara,	about 3640 B.C., or later.
Anta of Deshasheh,	about 3600 B.C.
Nenkheftka of Deshasheh	about 3570 B.C.
Nenkheftek-Thy of Deshasheh,	about 3540 B.C.
(Thy of Saqqara being	about 3590 B.C.)
Shedu of Deshasheh,	about 3500 B.C.

These dates are roughly the central date of each life. The subjects and style of the Deshasheh tombs agree entirely with those of the same age at Saqqara.

(4.) The tomb-chamber of Anta is cut just below the top of the isolated hill, at the south end of the cemetery. Only sufficient thickness of limestone to form the roof is left above it. Outside of it there was originally a sloping face of built blocks of limestone, slightly sunk; this doubtless had originally a band of inscription above the doorway, and perhaps scenes in relief upon it, as upon the rock-cut façade of Shedu. Of this front only the foundation remains, just showing the projection at each end which gave the sunken effect to it, and the further recess in which the doorway was placed. Before the façade the ground was all artificially raised by a bed of stone chips about three feet thick, from which two or three steps led down to the door.

In this chip platform, a little in front of the door, and on the north side of the path, a jar was sunk with its mouth level with the surface (pl. xxxiii. 20). This was probably to receive the drink-offerings made before the tomb.

The sculptured chamber of the tomb was entirely in the rock, excepting part of the top of the front, which may have been built up with blocks. This part has now been restored with stones and cement by the Government; and a wooden roof has been supplied in place of a part of the front edge of the roof which had fallen away. The chamber is divided across the middle by three pillars; these were not left in the rock, but were cut and put in place. Two of the three have been overthrown, and used by the Copts for making divisions. The back (W.) of the chamber has three recesses; on the south of the back is a doorway, opening into a small rough chamber with two niches; on the north is another doorway opening into a rough chamber with two wide recesses and one narrower; these chambers were probably the *serdabs* for the funeral statues of Anta and Minmert respectively. In the midst of the back is the wide recess with sculptures around it. The back of this recess has figures of Anta and his wife, tables and lists of offerings, and figures of dishes and vases. In the lower part two blocks were inserted, which have since been torn out, and lie in the chamber. These gave access to a passage which led downward to the sepulchral chamber; but another access was provided—probably later and accidental—by a large pit sunk from the top of the hill, down on the south of the passage. The first chamber reached, by a sloping passage, is large and plain; out of the south end of it a doorway leads to a second chamber. In the second chamber is a depression in the floor for a coffin, in the south-west corner, lying with length N. to S., like all burials here. In this hollow was found only a skull and jaw. From the condition of the skull, its whiteness and absence of organic matter, it clearly belonged to the primary interment, rather than to any secondary burial in the Roman re-use of the tombs. It may be taken then as the head of Anta; and it is one of the most noble faces that has ever been found among Egyptian skulls. The fine breadth of it, the width between the eyes, the splendidly developed facial bones, and the uprightness of the teeth and the jaw profile, place it as above most other faces that I have seen for the expression of ability and character (see pl. xxxvi., top).

(5.) The sculptures on the sides of the upper chamber comprise many new subjects, and some of the greatest interest.

Pl. IV. N. half of E. wall. This shows scenes from a war between the Egyptians and a people of north Arabia or southern Palestine. The hair and top lock is like that of the Menti-Satet on the gold pectoral of Amenemhat III., or more closely that on the scene of Pepi (*Denkmäler*, ii. 116). Unhappily the inscription is so much lost by the ruin of the top and the scaling of the bottom, that I could not recover more than is drawn here. It is coarsely blocked out in relief. Possibly there may be place-names in the last column but one, determined by outlines of forts containing an enemy. If so, the only legible name would be *Nedaa*. This is otherwise unknown, and the only name in Ptolemy that could correspond would be Anitha, about the position of Es Salt, east of the Jordan. This is hardly likely, but there seems no better possibility. The second name begins with *'An*, or *'Ain*, a spring. I cleared away all the loose rubbish far in front of this tomb, in hopes of finding some blocks with more of the inscription, but in vain.

The war scenes are the most spirited and dramatic that remain to us, as well as being the earliest. Unhappily the wall has been a good deal injured in general, besides being entirely destroyed in parts where recesses have been cut by the Coptic dwellers in the tomb. These

injuries have left many subjects very imperfect; and it became a serious question how far dotted completions should be carried out. The rule adopted was that every detail about which there could not reasonably be any uncertainty should be dotted in. By dotting the restored lines no question can arise as to whether the line depends on actual remains or on presumption; and if such continuations were not inserted it would be impossible for anyone, however familiar with such subjects, to understand some parts clearly. To take an extreme case here, note in pl. iv., middle scene in the town enclosure at the right hand, where two women are forcing down a man. Of one woman only a forearm and elbow remain; this shows the place of one shoulder; she must face the other woman in order to act, hence the other shoulder is fixed; her head must lean forward for such an action as thrusting, and her other arm could not be far back or it would cut the figures behind it; so—with some doubt perhaps on this last point—the arm is placed where pressure is certainly needed in the group, on the man's head. This is an extreme case, yet it is hardly possible even here to suppose any other arrangement than that given. No attempt has been made to deal with many mutilated figures, where there was no sufficient clue to the action.

Considering now the scenes represented. In pl. iv. in the middle is a scene in four lines. At the top are parts of four Egyptian archers advancing to attack the town shown on the right. Below them are two lines of the fight between the Egyptians armed with shallow battle-axes and the Sati armed with clubs. It is clear that the archers have preceded the *mêlée*, as the Sati have many arrows sticking in them. The combats are full of action, and far superior in design to the stiff siege scenes of the XIIth Dynasty at Beni Hasan, in the tombs of Ameny, Baqt III., and Khety; and though less imposing than the monster battle scenes of Sety I. and Ramessu II., yet this wall shows as much invention and more detail of action. The breaking of the bow was the token of submission by the Sati, as appears here in two cases. In the lowest stage the captives are being led off the field, roped together. The attitude of the little boy in front, led by the woman, is excellent; and at the rear is the spirited group of the Egyptian guard, who has captured a girl and thrown her over his shoulder, while she evidently fears falling off more than anything, and is holding on by an arm over his head.

(6.) At the right hand of the scene is the fortified enclosure of the town of the Sati. The men have nearly all come out to fight in the open, and hardly any but women remain behind. At the base are two Egyptians outside the fort, mining the brick wall with long pikes, while an officer stands by with his battle-axe in his girdle, leaning on a staff. Inside the wall a man of the Sati kneels down listening to the ground, to detect where the attack can be heard; while another stands behind him as a messenger, submissively silent, hushed by the warning hand upraised by the listener. This was the Egyptian attack; but a different attack had been made by a party of Bedawi auxiliaries, who seemed to have swarmed up a ladder which leans against the fort, and to have tried to raid the town. The Sati women, however, took good account of them. In the top line one woman stabs a Bedawi to the heart; another woman and a little boy compel the surrender of another, who breaks his bow. On the second line is the scene in the palace of the chief; he is seated on his throne, before him kneels a woman, another stands tearing her hair, and an infirm old man and a little infant join the deputation, which has come to tell the chief of the loss of the town. He tears his hair, as he sits hearing the news. At the entrance to the presence a Bedawi tries to thrust himself in, but is bravely driven back by a Sati woman. The two upright lines here seem to mark an entrance; but the meaning is obscure, owing to the loss of the upper part. On

the third line are two groups where a Bedawi is being subdued by two Sati women. The fourth line has had similar scenes, of which one shows how a Sati woman has successfully got behind a Bedawi and lugged him over by the armpits. And at the base are the two men listening for the mining, a woman, and a slain Bedawi lying on the ground.

(7.) Pl. V. The top line shows the trapping of birds in a net. The second line the pulling of papyrus in the marshes, carrying the bundles of it, and building the papyrus boats. Coils of papyrus rope have been twisted by the boy sitting below the boat, and are lying about on the ground beyond the boat. The third line shows the birth of a calf, suckling, and milking of cows. And at the base are the fishers dragging a net, one party in a boat and others on shore. A dwarf on the boat is using a sling Such a working of a large net by two parties is usual now. Two other fishers carry off three large fish, hanging from an oar, to the drying ground, where they are split and cured in the sun. This plate is the end wall, which is not divided by any pilaster opposite the line of columns as in Shedu's tomb.

(8.) Pl. VI. This scene is on the west wall between the door in the N.W. corner and the great middle recess. The boatmen on shore are carrying rope and an oar. On the boat we see Anta himself standing in front of his cabin, with his titles in full, "Royal acquaintance, overseer of distribution (of offerings ?), overseer of royal monuments, ruler of a fortress, leader of the land, devoted to his lord, Anta." Three of his servants are before him, named Demez, Apa, and An-nefer; while at the stern is the overseer of the *ka* servants, and two others named . . . . su and Khyt. The boat is of the type usual in tomb sculptures of this dynasty; the mats spread for sitting on, at the bows and behind the cabin, should be noted.

(9.) Pl. VII. Here Anta and Minmert are standing, with a long inscription before them in which Anta recounts what he has done for his tomb.

Pl. VIII. The back of the recess has been much destroyed by the opening up of the passage leading through the lower part of it to the sepulchre behind. It had in the upper part figures of Anta and his wife Minmert, seated with tables of offerings before them, and a list of offerings. Below were two lines of vases and dishes of offerings. Of this part two large blocks have been removed and lie in the tomb; their positions as drawn here are fixed, at the right hand by the vertical dividing-line—which was probably under the division of the top inscription of the husband and wife,—and at the middle by the largest stand being probably in the middle of the husband's group. The levels are fixed by the continuation of the horizontal line.

Pl. IX. On the southern side of the recess are figures of Anta and Minmert standing. The faces have been much bashed about, yet the outlines can be traced. Before them are six children, sons and daughters alternately as it seems. And in front is another girl, who is named a Royal Acquaintance in each scene: pl. ix. here, pl. x., and pl. xii. In pls. ix. and x. the name seems to be the same, *Sit-kau*; as this girl is not stated to be "his daughter, his beloved," as is usual in the case of a child, it rather seems as if she were some other relative. Possibly the first sign in the name, pl. ix., is *sen*, and she may be a younger sister of Anta. The fragmentary name on pl. xii. cannot agree to this, and seems as if it were of a different person. The servants below are offering incense, leading a very large hyaena, and carrying a crane. The rest of the wall has been cut away by two large recesses cut by the Coptic inhabitants.

(10.) Pl. X. This is between the recess and the southern doorway to a serdab. A recess has been cut out through the figure of Minmert. Anta is here in his priestly character with the panther's skin; and both he and Minmert wear elaborate sandals.

Pl. XI. This narrow slip of wall is south of the serdab door. It has the oryx, ibex, addax, and bull, all kept as tamed animals. On the flank of the bull is a label or brand with the number 113.

Pl. XII. The south wall is continuous across the tomb, and unbroken by any pilaster, such as is in the tomb of Shedu. Here Anta and Minmert are seeing the festivities, and the cutting up of the cattle for the feast. The dancers show several postures not represented elsewhere. It has been necessary to fill up the scattered fragments of figures which remain on the wall, by repeating the portions of the similar figures, and connecting them together. Were it not for the repetitions, each of which gave different fragments of the figure, it would have been impossible to complete this wall, for at first sight it looks a mere battered surface. Some few parts could not be determined, such as the hands, and the bearing leg of the posture at the right end of the top line. The figures which are in isolated attitudes, as at each end of the top line, could not be completed. The wands borne, sometimes in one hand, sometimes in both hands, are of a new type, curved wooden sticks ending in a head of a gazelle. In the third line a large part has been entirely destroyed by the Copts in their cutting a large recess. The group of harper and singers remains in fair state, and is one of the best carvings in the place. At the base is the dragging down of the sacrificial ox by the sons of Anta, and the cutting up of the oxen.

(11.) Pl. XIII. At the south side of the doorway are the seated figures of Anta and Minmert, almost destroyed by the cutting out of a large recess, while another recess occupies much of the rest of the wall. They were seated beholding the various workmen of their estate. In the upper line the painters are working on a part of the funeral furniture; a sculptor is polishing a statue; and apparently a boat is being prepared. In the middle line comes the huntsman with the dogs. And at the bottom, stands the scribe Messis (?) holding the roll of the estate register, with his writing palette under his arm, and pens behind his ear. Baskets of papyri tied round with cords stand beyond him. Following him is a man holding a large cloth, and another with a sack of clothing and a pair of sandals. Two dwarfs have charge of the ornaments, such as bead collars. At the end are coppersmiths, one man burnishing a vase, the other weighing a bowl, with a hatchet and two chisels behind him. This shows that the hatchet scolloped out at the handle was already in use. Below are three sandal-makers, and two men holding a sack.

Pl. XIV. Lastly, the pillars which supported the roof were also carved, but very rudely, apparently by hammer work, to judge by the rounded forms. The figures are clumsy, made like those at Aswan, and are evidently by hands totally different from those which did the fine and spirited drawings on the walls. Three sides of the standing pillar are here shown; the fourth is of the same kind, as also are the overthrown pieces of the other pillars which lie in the tomb. Some of the pieces have been stacked to form a dividing wall, by the Coptic inhabitants of the tomb, who smashed the sculptures, daubed pious graffiti in red upon the walls, and plastered much over with mud and filth.

CHAPTER II.

THE TOMB OF SHEDU.

(12.) This tomb is of very unusual form. In place of having a sculptured front to the chamber, the entrance is in a façade at a lower level on the hill-side, and rises by a flight of steps to the higher level of the chamber (pl. iii.). The façade had a rock roof projecting over it, supported by two pillars, and a wide court before it. Rising to the chamber level through a passage lined with sculpture and inscriptions, the sculptured chamber is reached, divided in two by a row of three pillars and two pilasters across it from side to side. All of these pillars have been cut away for stone. There is the usual recess for a false door in the western side; and to the south of that is the *serdab* chamber. The floor of the recess is mostly occupied with the pit leading down to the sepulchral chamber. This pit under-cuts the south side of the recess, and a narrow little hole is pierced through the rock to a niche cut in the *serdab* chamber. Thus after the pit was floored over by beams, the holes for which remain, there would still be an opening into it from the *serdab* chamber. And from the serdab a narrow cutting led up to the open air through the rock roof. Thus the *ba* would find no obstruction in flying down into the sepulchre, visiting the statues in the serdab, or gaining the outer air.

(13.) Pl. XV. This wall had the figure of Ateta, surnamed Shedu, standing and beholding his estate. The top line is entirely destroyed by the falling in of the top and roof. The second line shows the fowlers working a clap-net, and bringing up the birds which have been caught. In the third line are goats browsing on two trees; and a herd of another species. At the base is the river with a herd of cattle crossing, led by three men in a boat. Unhappily this wall is much cut to pieces with large recesses made by the Copts; and two long Coptic scrawls are scratched on the clearest surfaces.

Pl. XVI. Half of the end wall up to the pilaster shows Shedu beholding his vineyard. Above are offerings, some placed on a table. Below is the large vine on props, with three men picking the clusters. The next scene should be putting the wine in jars, but it is too much destroyed to be understood. At the base is the storing of the wine in jars.

Pl. XVII. On the other half of the end wall is Shedu beholding his *ka* priests. A pile of offerings fills the top, placed upon stands and tables; and below are three rows of priests bearing jars, palm-spathes, lotus flowers, a calf, ears of corn, ducks, loaves of bread, &c. Before Shedu is his sister; but her name has been completely erased.

(14.) Pl. XVIII. To the north of the recess, on the west wall, is Shedu beholding his cattle. At the top we have the scribe of the estate writing the accounts, and tables of offerings behind him. Below are the cattle breeding, and milking; the determinative of a stream of milk in the hieroglyphs is perhaps a new sign. In the third line are other cattle, two bulls fighting, and half-a-dozen calves. At the base is a scene of binding the ox for sacrifice. This is an important example, as it shows that the small figures usually seen dragging down the great sacrificial ox are the sons of the man. At the front is one named "his son Khan-sebek," and another named "Khu-

Teta" ; this being compounded with a king's name is probably also a son of the noble. The other boys are therefore presumably also of the family ; and this points to the capture of the sacrifice by the sons being a necessary part of the ritual of ancestral worship. The man who is helping at the back shows by his size the youth of the sons. A very small bull behind seems as if it belonged to a different breed of diminutive cattle ; it is evidently full grown, by its proportions in comparison with those of the calves in the line above. A still greater difference of size in breeds may be seen in Indian cattle, as shown in Kipling's "Man and Beast in India."

(15.) Pl. XIX. The north side of the recess (marked here in error S. wall of recess) is nearly all destroyed ; but a small piece in relief shows the name of Shedu, with the best example of the determinative, a water-skin ; the long neck to the left, the belt for slinging it over the shoulder, and the sag of the skin slung from the belt, are just like the modern water-skin carried about Cairo at present. Below that comes the name of his mother, Mertefs, which also occurs on pl. xvi., and has been elsewhere carved.

The pilaster inscriptions show the same titles that are seen elsewhere, and a bit of the group seen on the statues of Nenkheftka (pl. xxxiii. 27).

The back of the recess had a false door sculptured on it, flanked by figures of jars of offerings. It has been greatly broken away, and what remains is disfigured by thick incrustation of salt.

Pl. XX. On the south wall of the recess was a figure of Shedu seated, with a table of offerings before him. The west wall of the tomb, to the south of the recess, is nearly all destroyed, only fragments of some small figures remaining at the top.

(16.) Pl. XXI. Here Shedu and his daughter are beholding the workmen of the estate. The carpenters are polishing a couch, beneath which are the boxes for clothing, &c., and two head-rests, placed on footstools. Another carpenter is sawing a plank. The wood is lashed on to an upright post which is planted in the ground, and is further stayed by ropes fore and aft tying it down to attachments in the ground. The lashing which attaches the board to the fixed post is tightened by twisting it up with a stick, and the ball of surplus cord hangs down. In the middle line is a carpenter trimming a great door. Next is a machine made of a forked piece standing on the ground and a long curved leg fastened to it, forming a tripod ; on this is fastened a long lever arm, so as to form a press or vice. This is worked by one man putting his weight on the lever, while another places bars of wood to be acted on in the press. A row of such bars lies in the background. The inscription was never completed, the name of the object or action was some unusual sign which the sculptor did not know, and he has left a blank for it. The use of this press is not clear ; it may have been to compress and harden the points of the stakes, or to trim them into shape with a cutter ; but if the latter, we should expect to have the form of the end shown. Lastly comes the cutting of wood ; the word *nezer*, or *nejer*, "to prepare wood or carpenter," is still used, the *neggâr* being the modern Arabic for a carpenter. At the bottom is the preparation of leather, and sandal-making ; leather cases for mirrors, &c., stand in the background.

(17.) Pl. XXII. On the other half of the south wall is the very usual fishing scene, where Shedu is accompanied by his daughter and one son who is spearing fish. The son's name remains—"Nena, whose surname is Erdunefhotep" (see pl. xxv.) ; and he held the office of governor of the palace and companion like his father. Another son whose name is lost—unless it was Shedu as his father's—stands behind, holding a bird which he has knocked over with a throw-stick. The genett cats (?) hunting for

young birds among the reeds are a favourite subject in the IVth and Vth Dynasty. Below is a variety of fish in the water, with the inevitable crocodile and hippopotamus.

Pl. XXIII. On the wall south of the door is all the harvest and farm work. The wall is much destroyed by the fall at the top, decay of the face, and two large recesses cut by the Copts. A good group of donkeys treading out the grain is left near the door, the harvest is seen at the other end, with a row of large granaries in the background. Groups of cattle and slaughtering filled the lower part.

(18.) Pl. XXIV. The outer façade at the low level is much decayed and weathered by exposure, and the scenes are only traceable in part. Besides that it is thickly encrusted with salt in much of the sculpture that remains. The usual fish-spearing scene, with two fish caught on a bident out of a pool before the master, is given. In front of that is a very unusual sculpture, probably unique, of a pyramid and temple before it, with a man opening the door. Most unfortunately the decay prevents our knowing whose pyramid this was. Lastly, there are servants with offerings at the base.

Pl. XXV. On the opposite half of the façade the scenes are so greatly destroyed that it was useless to try to show their arrangement. One line bears the funeral barge with the coffin under a canopy, the boxes of funeral furniture before and behind it, and a mourner seated at either end. Behind that is a procession of boats floating down the stream, the men all holding their oars up, which is a position very unusual or unknown on sculptures; the remainder of the boats are in less perfect condition. At the base of the wall are servants cooking the funeral feast. Parts of this lower line are in perfect state, owing to having been modelled in hard plaster instead of being cut in soft limestone. At each end of the recess of the façade are traces of a large figure of Shedu standing.

On the sides of the passage leading from the façade to the tomb above there are remains of long inscriptions. The upper part having been of built stone is all removed; the lower part in rock is thickly encrusted with salt. There is shown here a small part of the north side of the passage, with horizontal lines of titles of Shedu, &c.; and a larger part of the south side, with vertical columns of inscription of the titles of Shedu. At the inner edge of this was a large figure of Shedu, and his son Erdunefhotep, whom we saw before in pl. xxii. For the discussion of these and the other inscriptions see Chapter IX. by Mr. Griffith.

CHAPTER III.

TOMBS OF NENKHEFTKA AND NENKHEFTEK.

(19.) We have already noted, in the discussion of dates in the first chapter, that these two men—father and son—were probably the grandsons or greatgrandsons of two of the same names known at Saqqara; and that their date is about the latter half of the Vth Dynasty.

HEAD OF NENKHEFTKA. STATUE A.

The actual remains found of them at Deshasheh are the ravaged tomb-platform and empty tomb-well of the father, the statues of father and son in the father's serdab, and the untouched grave of the son with inscribed coffin and body complete. Perhaps there was no real difference between the names, as in early times the sign of the two arms, *ka*, interchanges with the basket *k;* but for distinction we keep a difference in the spelling as the Egyptians did. That the figures were not really all of one person, with changes in spelling, is shown by the seated figure written with *ka* being accompanied by the little boy written with *k*.

The tomb of Nenkheftka has been built upon a narrow spur of the plateau, filling the whole width of it. But the built mastaba and its chambers have been entirely removed for the sake of the stone in early times; and all that is left is a platform cut in the rock, with a few long blocks of rough coarse limestone left lying about it. The whole was covered with chips and sand, so that it was indistinguishable from the rest of the hill-side. I noticed a bank of chips thrown out below, proving that some considerable work had been done here; and on digging above we found the platform. This was cleared for several days without finding anything, and my men being much discouraged would hardly continue. Lastly, in clearing the south-west corner of the platform a pit was found 38 × 41 inches, and two or three feet down a doorway led westward into the *serdab* chamber cut in the rock. This chamber is about 8 feet wide and 18 long (96 × 211 inches), and the floor is of various levels 5 to 8 feet under the roof. A recess a foot and a half high opens in the north wall.

(20.) The chamber was half full of sand run in from the entrance. Lying half in the sand were the statues, some down in the lowest part, others on the higher place or bench at the end; and in the recess was the head of one of the large statues and fragments of the smaller. Pieces lay beneath the sand on the bench and about the chamber, and the completion of the smaller figures was obtained by searching all the chips and sand for 10 or 15 feet around the pit on the outside platform. The whole of the figures that were here can hardly be known, as of several there are but small pieces left, and others may have entirely disappeared. But the following are certain, all of limestone :—

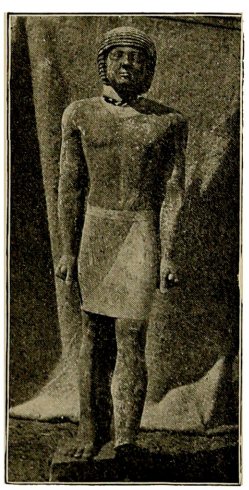
NENKHEFTKA.

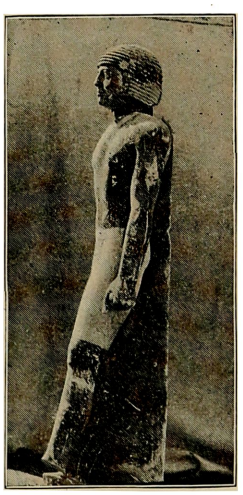
A. Statue, one foot broken,	$\frac{3}{4}$	life size	(Cairo),	pl. xxxii. 4, 5, 6.
B. Statue, one foot lost, other broken,	$\frac{3}{4}$	,,	(Brit. Mus.),	pl. xxx. 1, front; xxxii. 1, 2, 3.
C. Seated figure, with son by legs,	$\frac{3}{4}$	,,	(Cairo),	pl. xxxii. 7, 8.
D. Pair in one base, { N., one leg lost,	$\frac{1}{4}$	,,	(Boston),	pl. xxxi. 1.
Wife, complete,	$\frac{1}{4}$	,,		pl. xxxiii. 29.
E. Group, N. and wife, shins lost,	$\frac{1}{3}$	,,	(Chicago),	pl. xxxi. 2; xxxiii. 28.
F. Base of a group of N. and wife,	$\frac{1}{3}$	,,	(Chicago),	pl. xxxiii. 27.
G. Bits of inscription from base of a group like E,	$\frac{1}{3}$	,,		

NENKHEFTEK.

a. Seated figure, one fore-arm lost,	$\frac{1}{2}$	,,	(Philadelphia),	pl. xxx. 2, 3; xxxiii. 32.
b. Seated cross-legged figure, body lost,	$\frac{2}{3}$	,,	(Liverpool),	pl. xxxiii. 31.
c. ,, ,, ,, head lost,	$\frac{1}{2}$	,,	(Brit. Mus.),	pl. xxxiii. 30.
d. Statue, only middle left, a boy,	$\frac{1}{2}$	,,		
e. Statue, from insertion in group,	$\frac{1}{4}$	,,	(Boston)	
(*Uncertain*)—				
Arm and leg of cross-legged figure,	$\frac{2}{3}$	,,		
Leg of seated figure,	$\frac{1}{2}$	,,		
Arm,	$\frac{1}{4}$	,,		
Seated cross-legged figure, head, shoulder, and knee lost,	$\frac{3}{10}$	,,	(Liverpool)	

(21.) The condition of the statues shows wilful injury in every case. Of A half the base is broken away, the right foot remaining, and the toes of the left foot have been found separately; the head has been broken off, and part of the neck is missing. The face and head are quite perfect. Of B the whole base and feet are broken away, only the toes of the left





STATUE (A) OF NENKHEFTKA.

HEAD OF NENKHEFTKA. STATUE B.

foot having been found; the left hand is lost, and the right one detached; the head is quite perfect but detached. The figure C was lying

SEATED FIGURE OF NENKHEFTKA. FIGURE C.

in the deepest part, without any breakage, the only injury being two blows on the face, which have disfigured one side. It has on the left side of the legs a small figure of Nenkheftek, the son. D is a pair of figures of the father and his wife; they were originally separate, and are of different scales, the man being 19½ and the woman only 15 inches high. To unite them the bases have been trimmed down, and fitted into a slab of limestone with undercut recesses. Both of the figures are of good work, especially the woman's. E is a group of N. and his wife standing together, her right arm is across his back, and her left hand on his arm. The expression is very natural and life-like. Half of the base is lost; and both D and E have been broken into small pieces, which were scattered about the chamber, and on the platform outside; and parts of E have been burnt. F is only the inscribed base of a group, of about the same size. Of G only two bits of the inscription remain.

Of Nenkheftek the seated figure *a* has the left arm broken away, and head detached, but is otherwise in good state. *b* is a cross-legged figure, but has lost all the body and head. *c* is a rather lesser one, of which the head is lost. *d* is just the lower trunk and thighs of a boy's figure unclad, and must have accompanied a good-sized group of his parents. *e* is a small figure of a boy, with the head detached and the chest broken. The other fragments of four figures do not show whether they belong to father or son. There are thus altogether seventeen blocks of sculpture, comprising nineteen figures; of these seven are of Nenkheftka, two of Neferseshems his wife, six of Nenkheftek his son, and four undetermined. This is an unusual number and variety to be found in one *serdab*. The art of the larger figures is as good as any yet found; though there is not the elaboration of inlaid eyes—as in Rahotep and Nefert—or the *genre* character of the scribe in the Louvre, yet for life-like character and fidelity, with good anatomical detail, there are not more than half-a-dozen figures to compare with the large ones here, even in the Cairo Museum.

(22.) How it should come about that the

NENKHEFTEK BESIDE HIS FATHER. STATUE C.

chamber should be ravaged, the heads broken off, and bodies scattered in fragments, and yet the two large heads be saved absolutely perfect, is a

mystery. How a head should have been picked up and laid in the recess, without a single bruise or scrape, seems impossible in view of the violence. Happily these finest of the sculptures remain to be a joy to us now.

The sepulchral pit which probably belonged to this mastaba is behind the platform, on the edge of the hill. It was a wide and deep pit. Half way down was a secondary burial of the XVIIIth Dynasty, with two coffins of boards side by side, containing some Phoenician (?) pottery and an alabaster kohl-pot; as well as several jars and pans of pottery by the coffins. At the bottom was the sepulchral chamber,

HEAD OF NENKHEFTKA. STATUE B.

which had been completely rifled. The chamber opened out of the north of the well; along the east side was a long trench or pit to hold the coffin, lying N. and S. Nothing remained but bones of owls and bats, and sand and dust. The details of the secondary burials are given in Chapter VI.

(23.) The grave of the son,—Nenkheftek—was found on the top of the hill. It was of a usual type, a long trench sunk through the gravels to about twelve or fifteen feet deep, with a recess on the west side to hold the coffin. Within lay the body on its back, head north, the head turned into the N.W. corner, and the feet far from the base. This seems as if the coffin had been lowered with the body in it, a tilt to one end having driven the body into that position. A stout, well-formed, but plainly made head-rest was set on end upon the breast. The sexual parts were modelled in cloth and placed in position. The whole body was fully wrapped up in linen, and the skin and ligaments were firm and strong; there was no sign of embalming or mummification in this or other bodies in the cemetery, but only plain drying. A calf's head lay face down at the level of the coffin-top, in the well at the foot end; the calf's haunch lay on the floor of the well at the other

HEAD OF NENKHEFTKA. STATUE B.

end. The coffin was of stout planks, about two inches thick. The decoration was in black outline filled in with blue paint (see pl. xxix.). A band of inscription ran all round the outside near the top, giving the titles of Nenkheftek surnamed Thy. On the left side, looking out to the well, were two eyes painted opposite the head. On the inside of the left side is a long list of offerings; on the inside at the head end is the list of seven sacred oils, at the foot end a door and façade. The whole of it I copied in full-size drawing when found; the coffin was kept at the Cairo Museum. On the inscriptions see Mr. Griffith in Chapter IX.

CHAPTER IV.

TOMBS WITH PERFECT BODIES.

(24.) In order to compare the different modes of burial with best effect, we shall here classify the burials and describe them in the following order:—

BURIALS OF PERFECT BODIES.

A. In coffins, full length, 5, B, 117, 29.
B. „ contracted, 88, 120, 148, 150.
C. In solid block coffin, 30, 148*b*.
D. Without coffin, full length, 115, 111, 112, 118.
Without coffin, full length, plundered, 20, 28*b*, 81, 104, 114, 152.
E. Without coffin, contracted, 121, 122, 123, 124.
F. Uncertain, 42, 43, 93, 95, 99, 100, 101, 103, 107, 110, 117*b*, 130, 130*a*, 140, 144.

BURIALS OF BODIES MORE OR LESS CUT UP.
(Detailed in next chapter.)

In all the following descriptions it is to be assumed that the head is to N. and face upward, unless specified.

(25.) A. *Burials full length in coffins.* No. 5. Chamber entrance blocked with stones; a jar and pan N. of entrance; coffin along W. side of chamber, entrance E. Left hand at side, right on thigh.

Tomb about 90, marked B. Coffin already plundered, head pulled off, and clothing pulled partly out; rude outline of eye on side; rough solid block head-rest.

117. Very solid coffin, 90 × 28 × 27 high, with lid; four copper staples stand up in the axis of the lid, two at each end, which have held some ornaments (jackals?) that were removed before the interment. Inside was a large quantity of clothing over the body, rotted dark brown and almost too tender to lift; I noted a shawl of about 7ft. × 3ft., a mass of kilted stuff 8½ ins. wide, two other pieces of kilted stuff, and eight or nine other articles. Under the head was a mass of clothing 19 × 12 × 4 ins. deep. The head faced E., the left arm straight, the right fore-arm across the body. Upon the neck was a string of beads of gold foil (pl. xxvi. 29, 30), with a few carnelian, green jasper, and haematite (31), and a rude pendant of the infant Horus in haematite (32). The beads were spaced apart in groups, with about half an inch of clear thread between them. On the wrists were strings of amulets, and also of small green glazed stone beads. The list is as follows:—

Pl. XXVI.		*Right.*	*Left.*
2, 8, 12, 23.	*Uza* eyes right . . .	2 carnelian	brown and green limestone
	„ „ . . .	grey agate	
6.	„ left . . .	black haematite	. . .
4, 10, 13.	Hand open left . . .	2 carnelian	grey agate
17, 20, 24.	Hand clenched right . .	2 carnelian brown limestone	
19.	„ left . .	carnelian	. . .

		Right.	*Left.*
7.	Standing figure . . .	brown limestone	
3, 21.	Royal hornet . . .	black limestone	brown agate
1.	Leopard's head . . .	lazuli	. . .
16.	Hippopotamus head		blue glaze pottery, broken up black limestone
26.	Double lion, foreparts		cloudy agate
15.	Lion		carnelian
14, 22.	Jackal's head		carnelian lazuli
11.	Animal, legs tied . .	brown limestone	. . .
25.	Frog	. . . .	carnelian
5, 9, 18.	Long beads	carnelian lazuli	lazuli
27, 28.	Glazed stone small beads .	43 smaller	44 larger

The right wrist was disturbed first; as the mass of decayed clothing reduced to brown dust was two or three inches deep, the positions of the amulets were disturbed before I observed them, for as nothing of the kind had been found before they could not be anticipated. The other wrist was then very carefully disclosed, and the positions of the amulets noted as they had been set at intervals along a thread which went twice round the wrist.

The value of these little amulets lies in showing what such things were like in the Vth Dynasty. Hitherto nearly all that were known were of the XXVIth Dynasty, and a few of the XVIIIth and XIIth Dynasties served only to show that the idea was ancient. But now we have a full variety belonging to the first civilization, and see that several types were then used which disappeared later. The *uza* eye differs in form, having two projections below, but not the rounded cheek piece. The clenched hand and open hand are rare later on, though the commonest here. The hornet, leopard's head, and jackal's head are unknown later, and the others are of the less usual types. But the commonest amulets of later times,—the heart, the scarab, fingers, feathers, crowns, head-rest, *tat*, *uaz*, sacred animals and gods, the square, triangle, seal, &c.—all these are apparently unknown at this early period.

29. Coffin lying tilted in a well, owing to the chamber being a mere recess, in which the feet could be placed, but not large enough to let the coffin flat. The body was slipped down to the lower end of the coffin, with the legs doubled up kneeling. It seems, however, almost impossible that this position could have been due to mere accident in lowering the coffin; the rigour and stiffness of the corpse, and tight bandaging with linen, would make unlikely such a doubling of knees and hips beneath the mere weight. It seems rather as if this were a partly contracted burial like the following.

(**26.**) B. *Burials contracted in coffins.* 88. This is a contracted burial in a full-length coffin, the body not in contact with either end of the coffin; the hips, knees, and elbows bent, and left hand under the knee, the right before the knees; the head turned round looking backward, the body facing east. On the outside of the coffin an eye roughly painted, at the head end of the east or left side, so as to look out into the well. Clothing was left in the sand filling, and much clothing under and at the feet. A solid block head-rest was outside the coffin at the feet. The tomb had been plundered

anciently; and a basket and pottery of the XVIIIth Dynasty stood half-way down the well (xxxiii. 8).

The other three contracted burials were in small coffins made to fit, measuring inside,—

No. 120.	No. 148.	No. 150.
31·5 × 20·3 ins.	25 × 18 ins.	30 × 16 ins.

120. Coffin made with upright strips around the sides 17·1 long, and two tenons 3 to 6½ ins. wide, and 1 inch thick. End blocks of the lid were 28·1 long, 4·6 wide, 5·8 deep, with sunk curved groove to hold the lid-boards. A head-rest was upright behind the head. The body (see pl. xxxv.) was that of a large and vigorous old man, with remarkably ossified larynx; it was contracted together as tightly as possible.

148. Coffin with large old man, contracted as closely as possible.

150. Coffin with woman; short brown hair; collar-bone broken and repaired in life, lapped together. Body contracted closely; not cut up at all. All these three had the head north, face east, lying on left side; the same as the Medum position of contracted burial in the IVth Dynasty.

(27.) C. *Burials in solid block coffins.* 30. A solid trunk of sycamore, about 350 years old when cut down, was hollowed out by adze work to a fairly even thickness of sides, flat in and out. The tomb had been plundered through a hole in the walling of the entrance only sufficient for a boy to pass. The skull lay outside the coffin, in N.E. corner. The coffin had two big stones in it at the head end, and a mass of bats' bones and birds' eggs, showing that it had long stood open. The body, wrapped in linen clothes, was that of an old man. In childhood his left thigh had been broken, and was completely united in one mass, but two inches too short. A stick had therefore been carried to walk with, and this lay by the body. 148*b*. Another block coffin contained a woman, fastened in place by some pitch poured over the body; a head-rest with fluted stem beneath the head. On the outside an inscription roughly cut in outline with a knife (pl. xxxv.). Much clothing was found with this, described in sect. 43, and figured in pl. xxxv. This coffin and body were kept in the Cairo Museum.

(28.) D. *Burials without coffins, full length.* 115. This was in a double interment, a child with the second teeth just coming, lying complete in front of a body of an adult which was completely cut to pieces. 111. Body in wrappings of linen, face downward, with right hand under pelvis. 112. Body of a rather small old woman with white hair, with a jar at the head (pl. xxxiii. 12). 118. Body slightly bent, on left side, face east; hands before face; very perfect; cartilage gluey; with a white skin, and black hair closely shaved. A shirt and cloth buried in the gravel. The skeleton was kept at Cairo, so we cannot now state the sex.

D. *Without coffin, but plundered.* 20, 28*b*, show by legs and feet being in place that they were complete bodies. 81 has the trunk dragged out from a long hollow in the floor, and still articulated; this proves the plundering to have been soon after burial. Pottery (pl. xxxiii. 17, 19). 104 contained a reed mat or long crate and four square hampers of papyrus (pl. xxxiv. 12), with some rough early jars beneath them (pl. xxxiii. 22). Over them lay the body wrapped in cloth; it had probably been dragged over from the side of the chamber to search it. 114. Body of a female, very well dried, skin and tendons preserved, large size: reversed, head south and feet out by well, and ten inches higher than head, probably dragged round by plunderers; left hand before pelvis, right hand behind. 152. Body lying in well; still flexible when plundered, shins and arms broken off, only thirteen vertebrae left.

(29.) E. *Burials without coffin, contracted.* These are all in one chamber, 121-124 (see pl. xxxv.). A man, head north; a boy, head east;

a boy, head north, with a green glazed pottery cylinder with impressed pattern (pl. xxvi. 37, 38); and a body, neck north, but headless. From three of these being with head north, and the fourth only turned to east for lack of room, it is clear that these belong to the contracted burials of the Old Kingdom, and not to those of the New Race, which always have the head to south.

(30.) F. *Burials of uncertain treatment.* Many tombs were so much disturbed by plundering that it could not be said whether the bodies had been complete or dissevered. Of these the numbers are given in the list at the head of this chapter, and here we shall only note those that showed some detail. 42. Pottery pans and a copper pan; jars of pointed form; leg of a calf; stem of a wooden head-rest. 93. Rough jars with caps of mud upon them (pl. xxxiii. 21), but containing only loose lumps of mud. 99. Very open net-work stuff of linen: the "fishing-net" dress of Seneferu's rowing damsels (see sect. 43). 103. A wooden statue, considerably weathered, lay in the well.

117*b*. Block of wooden boat, 38 ins. long, lay in tomb.

It is thus seen that there is no special type of burial associated with the perfect bodies, but they are found alike with coffins or without, full length or contracted.

CHAPTER V.

TOMBS WITH DISSEVERED BODIES.

(31.) These tombs we group here in classes, as in the previous chapter, in order that the comparisons may be more readily made.

M. Portions dissevered, 116, 22, 28, 143, 64.
N. Mostly dissevered, 21, 27.
O. Completely dissevered, recomposed for burial, 23, 113, 115, 78, 142.
P. Completely dissevered, buried irregularly, 26, 31, 94, 1.
Uncertain, 19.

M. *Bodies with portions dissevered.* 116. The tomb of Mera was one of the very few which contained any inscription. The coffin was badly made of very irregular pieces of wood, with hollows stuffed with rag, and the whole plastered over. The inscriptions are in blue upon it, and are given on pl. xxviii. Mera was a priestess of Hathor, with the unusual title "royal noblewoman." Some offerings upon tables are roughly drawn on the inner side of the coffin; at the head are figured the vases of the seven sacred oils; at the feet are four granaries with the names and amounts of corn written upon them, five withdrawing places are shown, and a fifth name is written on the fourth granary. Just above the head was a solid block head-rest (pl. xxxiv. 4), painted and grained, and with a line of inscription of name and titles written upon it. The unusual painted board (pl. xxvii.) stood upright on edge by the coffin, leaning against it, and with a string still in place by which it had been hung up. This painted board, with figures of servants preparing the food, and of boats, seems to be a substitute for the wooden models of the same subjects which are so often found in tombs of this age. The inscription on it is important, as giving the early form of the name of Memphis, *men*, pyramid determinative, and *nefer*. Two pairs of sandals were found (pl. xxxiv. 5, 6), models made in wood. A pair in the coffin were painted white and had a back strap; a larger pair outside the foot of the coffin had no back straps.

The position of the body was very strange (see pl. xxxv.). The head faced west, the chest was downwards, the left humerus out of place across the body, but the blade-bone in place unmoved, the radius and ulna were however in place straight down as if the humerus was in position. The thighs were crossed, front down, and the shins turned up at right angles with the feet pressed against the coffin-lid. The body was dried, and skin was stiff on the joints. The posture is most strange, and looks as if it had been turned over while still fresh by laying hold of the feet; and as the lid was shifted five inches south, no fastening pins in place, it might seem as if it had been plundered. But, on the other hand, a complete and unbroken cloth lay spread completely over the body, and if plunderers had attacked it, they would hardly have spread a cloth over it so carefully, while they left the feet sticking up in the air. It is a strange case, but seems as if the humerus had been dissevered at the burial.

22. Body in a finely made wooden coffin, in chamber quite intact, at bottom of a deep well. The wood was much rotted owing to the amount of air and the damp, and the sides had collapsed and the lid fallen on the body. I was the only

person who entered the tomb, and I cleared it quite alone, so that every point was ascertained. Position of body was normal, on back, head north (see pl. xxxv.). The ankle-bones lay under one thigh, and between the shins; one knee-cap at the hip, and one at the lower end of the shin; a few toes and one ankle-bone remained loose at the foot end, but nothing joined to the shins; the left arm was bent up at the elbow, but the hand was cut off and lay under the elbow. It is clear, then, that hands, feet, and knee-caps were cut off. A head rest lay under the left thigh, which bone was broken across it by the fall of the lid. Within the coffin there were no ornaments, but scattered in the small rock-chips beneath it were two or three dozen pendants and beads of glazed pottery (pl. xxvi.), together with scraps of thin gold leaf. And in the well just at the level of the top of the doorway (which was filled intact with stone blocks) a necklace of such pendants and beads threaded together had been dropped down. This is the first time such beads have been actually found, though they are known well enough figured on statues of the Old Kingdom. Half of a hand-made pointed pot lay in the chamber.

28. This was also a perfectly intact tomb, with entrance passage filled in with large blocks. In a hollow in the floor was a wooden coffin, much rotted, and a man's body in it at length. Position normal. The body was completely wrapped up in linen. On opening the wrappings, from the head down, nothing seemed out of place until the hands were found cut off and laid on the chest; the knee-caps lay lower down on the body, and the feet lay on the stomach. The arms and legs were straight down, and without any trace of wrists or ankle-bones upon them. In the chamber a door led to an inner chamber with a body more cut up, described in the next section, tomb 27.

143. This tomb contained a fine coffin, with massive corner-posts, connecting bars top and bottom, and vertical slips of wood around the outside, with a lining of horizontal planks inside. The whole was full of sand, and there was no lid; so it was probably plundered. The upper part of the body lay however on the back, apparently undisturbed, and the right arm and hand were in complete articulation, but both humeri were far out of the joints; apparently the arms had been cut out at the shoulder blades, and laid by the sides of the body, which was that of a large man.

64. This tomb was opened, and the body somewhat disturbed. But the hands were not on the arms, nor the feet on the legs. One leg was drawn up higher than the other. The pelvis was back up. The body was that of a woman of about twenty-five, powerful, but slender.

(32.) N. *Bodies mainly dissevered.* 21. Coffin with thick square ends to the lid, but all rotted and fallen in. Head facing east (see pl. xxxv.), body on front, pelvis back up, toes to east. The skull had five vertebrae attached, and below that no others near them, as they pointed away to the west. One collar-bone was at the level of the elbows. The right arm was straight down, the left bent under the body, the hands and feet in place. Two loose vertebrae lay above the head; three blocks of five middle vertebrae, five lower vertebrae, and two high vetebrae lay by the pelvis. Here it seems that legs and arms were perfect, but the spine was cut up in pieces, and the ribs all loose.

27. In the inner rock chamber, beyond No. 28, lay another coffin in a hollow in the floor. The body wrapped in linen, was that of a woman, position normal. The ulna of each arm was removed from the radius, and placed alongside of the humerus, the left one inverted. No hands were left on the arms. The spine was cut away and inverted, and the ribs all loose. The thighs were in joint with the pelvis. The left foot and knee-cap were in the pelvis, only two heel-bones being left on the shin. The toes

of the right foot were gone. Here much dissevering is certain, and it may be that more had been done and reconstituted again, as this was the first dissevered body that I found in a tomb, and I was not prepared to notice reconstitution at the time. Probably the arms were completely picked to pieces, and the ulna put by mistake with the humerus instead of with the radius.

(33.) O. *Bodies completely dissevered and reconstituted.* 23. This was a fine intact tomb, with more objects than any other. The coffin was well made, with massive ends to the lid. At the back and foot of it lay six bowls and two broken up stands; one bowl contained white paint, and another black paint (see sect. 46, pl. xxxiii. 1-7). In the coffin a head-rest lay near the head end, nine inches above the head, which was about a foot short of the coffin end. The body of a woman lay on its left side, back against the west side and facing east. On opening the wrappings, which seemed as if they covered a perfect body, four vertebrae were attached to the skull. Then a plug of rolled cloth four inches long made up the neck. A low vertebrae lay before the neck. The middle vertebrae were inverted in position. An ankle-bone was by the breast, a knee-cap under the shoulder, toe-bones by the collar-bones, and two neck vertebrae lower down. The ribs were all in a jumble with loose vertebrae in the body. The arm-bones were all in joint and attached to the shoulders, but the hands were cut off and laid on the fore-arms. No vertebrae were together except the four on the skull, and the pelvis was divided and the three bones laid together again. The thighs were three inches out of the sockets. Each leg was wrapped round separately in a thick mass of linen. The right shin was turned edge down, while the thigh was on its side; the left knee was in joint. There was no trace of ankles or feet on the shins, but three inches to spare empty at the end of the coffin. Here we see a complete cutting up of the whole trunk, hands and feet, while the limbs do not seem to have been so thoroughly separated.

113. A long trench pit, with a long recess chamber west of it. The body of a slight man of about thirty lay with the head to south, at full length. It was quite undisturbed, in perfect wrappings of linen. No vertebrae were near the head, but they were lying confused and out of order, turned sideways. The ribs were not attached, but were arranged neatly in a symmetrical group apart; the top rib was in the pelvis. The collar-bones, blade-bones, and arm-bones were in order, except that the radius in each was inverted by the ulna, showing that the arms had been completely picked to pieces. The hands were taken off, and the end of the radius rested in the palm of each. The pelvis was parted in three, but the thighs were still in the sockets. Legs were each swathed separately, and then swathed together. The right leg had the splint-bone parted from the shin and wrapped in cloth before binding it on again; all the ankle-bones were each wrapped in cloth, and then recomposed as a foot, but out of order, without any toes. The left leg appeared similar, but was kept in its wrappings as an example, and is now preserved in University College. Here the whole body appears to have been completely dissevered, and then reconstituted so far as the long bones, but without knowledge of the exact order; the smaller bones were left anyhow, the wrapping up of them being the main point of attention.

115. We have already noticed in the previous chapter the perfect body of a child found in this tomb. With it was a completely dissevered body of a man (see pl. xxxv.), covered with linen cloth quite intact. Within the swathings of linen the skull lay base up, facing the feet; the two blade-bones were together, with their edges in the curve of the lower jaw. A length of five vertebrae lay beside the skull. The arms were placed parallel and slightly bent, but they

were not joined to the blades; there were no hands on them; and in the right arm the ulna was reversed, in the left arm the radius, proving that they had been completely picked to pieces. The breast-bone and top vertebra were by the pelvis. The ribs, vertebrae, and fingers were mixed together, pell mell; only three pairs of vertebrae were joined, the rest roughly in the line of the spine. The pelvis was completely disjointed, the sacrum lying flat between the hips. One thigh was in the socket, the other far out. Ankle and toe bones of both feet were mixed together between the thighs, about a quarter of the way from the head end. The two shin-bones and one splint were closely wrapped together with cloth around the lower ends; the other splint was by the thighs. Of the fingers and toes some were between the thighs, some in the body, some by the knee. Here the body seems to have been cut up thoroughly, only a few vertebrae being left together.

78. A trench tomb, with a long recess for the body. It had been opened by plunderers, but the body was still in its linen wrappings. The body lay on edge, facing the west. Beneath the wrappings an ankle-bone was on the breast. The left arm was bent back, with hand over the shoulder. The right humerus was in place under the body. The thighs were excised from the pelvis, and wrapped up in one roll with the shins and right forearm, without any hand. The knee-caps were adhering to the shins; but the splints were removed, and only one was found. Two toe-bones were found, but no feet.

142. A tomb in the side of the hill below Anta's tomb. The door leads to the foot end of a long recess just the size for the grave, lined with slabs of finer stone. It had been opened by plunderers. But the bones, though approximately in place, were all disjointed; the shins were almost up to the place of the thighs, and the ankle-bones about the body. If disturbed by plunderers, they would have dragged out part of the body, or have much misplaced some large bones. The approximate position and disjointing of all the bones point to original dissevering at burial.

(34.) P. *Bodies completely dissevered, and buried irregularly.* 26. A shallow pit about 50 ins. square and 40 deep, had a trench across the bottom of it 50 N. to S., 20 E. to W., covered with three big stones. In this trench lay leg-bones, arm, fingers, blade-bone, two vertebrae, and a bit of the face. Here only a part of the body has been preserved, and yet carefully buried.

31. An open trench with loose bones at the bottom of it; they were much rotted, and were not preserved. There was no order noticeable in them, but cloth was in the grave. The pelvis was divided.

94. A rock chamber with some small jars upright in the corners, of the Old Kingdom type. A man's bones were lying confusedly, two skulls of boys in a corner, and bones of a boy wrapped in cloth.

1. A natural water-worn fissure, 9-12 inches wide, in the surface of the rock, had been cleared out (see pl. xxxv.), and in this were placed, side by side, thighs, shins, splint-bones, and arm-bones all together. The pelvis was entire, back up, with four vertebrae attached, but the outer edges of the basin broken off. The balls of both humeri were gone, having been battered off by blows from an instrument half an inch wide. One shin, below all, had both ends broken off. The blade-bones were together with a few loose vertebrae, and the head was at one end of the fissure, with the upper two vertebrae attached. There were missing ten vertebrae, jaw, fingers, and toes. All the ribs were broken, mostly at both ends. This is the rudest kind of burial yet found; and the type of the skull is the lowest, in prognathism, slant of the teeth, and retreating forehead (see pl. xxxvi., at base).

Uncertain. 19. A burial had been entirely

thrust aside on the occasion of a Roman re-use of a tomb. It was of a man about thirty. Though only a few bones could be recovered, it was certain that it had been a largely dissevered body, wrapped in cloth, as the mark of cloth remained all over the inside of the socket in the pelvis.

(35.) Having now described the actual burials we can take a more general view of the relation of the treatment of the body to the burial custom.

	Perfect Bodies.	Dissevered Bodies.
With coffin	12	7
Without coffin	10	6
With head-rest	7	2
With pottery	4	5
In rock chambers	14	8
In recess graves	4	2
Contracted position	8	0

Here it is clear that the use of coffins or open burial is in just the same proportion with perfect as with dissevered bodies: that the use of rock chambers with square pit, or recesses in a long pit, is also just the same. There is no difference therefore in the grave. As to the funeral furniture, the pottery is twice as common with dissevered as with perfect bodies, while the head-rest is only half as common. And as to attitude, all of the contracted bodies were perfect. Of the pottery and head-rest there are hardly enough examples for us to be certain of an important difference; they certainly are not peculiar to either treatment of the body, and varying in opposite directions they do not indicate any distinct difference of ideas.

The general conclusions from the details of burial are, then, that there was no difference of outward customs, position in life, or view of propriety, between the families who kept up perfect burial and those who dissevered the body. The disseverance must have been a private family custom, which did not influence the public arrangements or make any bar visible in social life. There was then fusion and unification of society, and presumably of race, while differences of custom yet remained as the private traditions of the families.

CHAPTER VI.

MEASUREMENTS OF THE SKELETONS.

(36.) For the examination of the skeletons, each was carefully collected, all the bones marked, and measurements made in England. There were altogether twelve male and four female bodies perfect, eleven male and one female of uncertain burial, and eight male and five female bodies dissevered. Besides these, nine skeletons were kept back at the Cairo museum, for the measurements of which we must wait: fortunately the box detained did not contain any dissevered bodies, which are the smaller class; so our loss of the information only impairs the better known data.

First we shall deal with the skulls, and of these only the male skulls, for the sake of comparison. The determination of sex was not only by means of the skull, but mainly by the pelvis. The measurements are all in millimetres, and the mean is stated by the median point, as in a small amount of material that avoids the disturbance caused by any widely varying examples.

The points measured are as usually fixed. The measurement between the eyes is taken just above the suture, and fairly into the socket. The direct chord length of the frontal bone is from suture to suture, nasion to bregma; that of the medial suture is from bregma to lambda. The object of this was to show if the frontal bone was pushed forward by extension of the parietal, or if both grew together in length. For the measurements of the Medum skulls and skeletons, now in the College of Surgeons, London, I have to thank Dr. Garson, who fully measured them.

(37.) Male skulls only, in Millimetres:—

	Perfect.	Cut up.	Medum IV.	Medum XXII.	Egyptian.	New Race.	Algerian.
Length (Broca)	188	185·5	182·5	182·5	—	—	182·2
„ (Flower)	184·5	180·	—	—	182	183·5	—
Breadth max.	139·5	141·5	138·8	139·1	140	134·6	137·5
Biauricular	122	116·5	118·0	117·0	—	118·5	—
Height	139·5	136·5	134·7	128·8	132	134	—
Basi-nasal	103	100·8	101·0	97·5	100·5	—	—
Basi-alveolar	96	93	97·6	91·4	96·5	—	—
Nasal height	54	51	51·5	50·1	53	46·8	50
„ width	25·5	24	24·8	24·0	25	25·9	—
Orbital height	33·5	32	32·8	33·5	33·8	32·6	33·2
„ width	41·8	39	37·9	38·2	39·5	38·4	39·8
Between eyes	24·5	24					
Frontal length	116·8	113·5					
Medial suture	122·5	118					
Examples	10 to 12	7 to 8	24	8	15	50 to 80	6

Here we have added the measurements of the Medum skulls of the IVth Dynasty, those of the XXIInd Dynasty, the average of all other Egyptian in the College of Surgeons, the New Race, and the Algerian dolmen builders.

Comparing the perfect and dissevered bodies, we see that the perfect have a slight advantage in every dimension, excepting the maximum breadth; but they have more advantage in the biauricular breadth than in any other dimension. Now this means that the types of the skulls are practically the same, excepting that the perfect bodies were decidedly superior in the inherited feature of the base of the skull, and so did not need so much of the individual growth of the parietals to enclose the brain. In short, the stock is the same in both perfect and cut-up bodies; but the perfect bodies were better nourished and superior in ancestry, and so starting from a finer basis they did not need so much individual growth. The cut-up bodies had a poorer ancestry, and required more personal skull-growth to make up for that. This is analagous to the Cambridge result, that men who afterwards take honours begin with a better skull than passmen, but grow less actively during their college-life.

Comparing the skulls of various localities and ages as here tabulated, we see the following results:—

1. The Medum skulls of IVth and XXIInd Dynasty are almost identical in the larger dimensions: but in later times the height and the facial parts have shrunk three or four per cent., while the eye has slightly enlarged, and the profile become more markedly orthognathous.

2. On comparing the skulls from Deshasheh in Vth Dynasty with Medum early and late, we see that the early Medum are more like the late Medum than like the early Deshasheh in most dimensions, as length, breadth, height, basinasal, and eye width. In fact, 3000 years in one locality makes less difference than thirty-five miles of distance.

3. The general average Egyptian skulls from all places and times, as preserved in the College of Surgeons, falls between the variations of classes at Deshasheh and Medum in all dimensions, except a slight excess in orbital height. Hence this Medum-Deshasheh type is to be taken as the general Egyptian type, and not a local variety.

(38.) We may next turn to the proportions of the skull, instead of the absolute dimensions; comparing them by the indices, or ratios between parts.

Male skulls; Indices (Broca's length):—

	Perfect.	Cut up.	Medum IV.	Medum XXII.	Egyptian.	New Race.	Algerian.
Breadth	74·2	76·3	76·0	76·2	75·4 (?)	71·8 (?)	75·3
Biauricular	65·0	62·9	64·6	64·0	....	63·3 (?)	...
Height	74·2	73·2	73·8	70·5	71·8 (?)	71·7	...
						Early. Late.	
Nasal	47	47	48	48	49	53 to 55	...
Orbital	80	82	87	88	86	83 to 80	83
Alveolar	93	92	96	94	95	96 to 93	96

The differences between the perfect and cut-up bodies are here mainly in the greater basal breadth and less parietal breadth of the skulls of perfect bodies. This, as we noticed in the dimensions, was due to the perfect bodies having a superior start and then needing less individual growth afterwards. In breadth the Deshasheh and Medum skulls agree closely to the average

Egyptian of various places and dates, but the New Race skulls differ greatly from this type. The query only refers to a small uncertainty due to converting from Flower's length to Broca's. In the nasal index there is also a great difference between all these Egyptian skulls and those of the New Race. The Medum type of more circular orbits is very marked in comparison with the Deshasheh, and agrees more to the Egyptian; and the same is the case of the alveolar index, or prognathism.

The general conclusion then is that the Deshasheh people, whether they kept up customs of burying perfect or of stripping the bones, were a unified population as regards race and ancestry; and this accords with what we concluded from the modes of burial in both classes. The proportions accord in the main points with the average Egyptian type, which is largely drawn from later skulls and from Upper Egypt. And we certainly have not to do here with any strange customs imported by recently-arrived tribes from other regions. They accord far more with the Egyptian than they do with the New Race cousins of the Egyptians.

(39.) Next we turn to the comparisons of the skeletons which I have excavated and brought to London from Medum (early IVth Dynasty), Deshasheh (Vth Dynasty), and the New Race at Naqada (Ist-IIIrd, or else VIIth-IXth Dynasty). Of these the Medum bones (now in the College of Surgeons) were measured by Dr. Garson, who has kindly placed his measures at my disposal; the New Race bones (still stored at University College) were measured by Mr. Warren, who has also given me the use of his results; and the Deshasheh bones (now at Cambridge) were measured by myself. "a.v." is the average variation from the mean. We first deal with the absolute dimensions, of male bodies.

MILLIMETRES. MALES.

	Medum. IVth Dynasty.		Deshasheh. Perfect.		Deshasheh. Cut up.		New Race, Naqada.
		a.v.		a.v.		a.v.	
Femur max.	442	18	462	24	452	12	459
„ oblique	...		459	24	449	14	456
Tibia max.	370	19	384	22	385	15	389
„ planes	...		359	22	360	16	...
„ lower tip	...		373	22	374	16	365
Fibula	362	16	355	11	370	14	374
Humerus max.	306	18	323	15	315	11	326
„ oblique	...		320	15	310	11	322
Radius max.	241	14	249	15	248	10	258
„ axial	...		234	15	233	10	243
Ulna max.	266	14	270	16	267	10	276
„ axial	...		262	17	263	10	270
Clavicle	145	11	151	10	152	5	152
Sacrum chord	102	5	108	3	103	2	97·45
„ width	107	3	115	2	108	3	110·93
Scapula height			150	9	148	8	
„ width			107	11	104	4	
„ infraspinous			112	17	112	9	

Comparing the perfect and cut-up bodies, we see that the perfect bodies are longer in the femur and humerus, while they are the same in the tibia and radius: they were thus superior in the upper half of each limb, but similar in the lower half. The sacrum is also larger in the perfect bodies, and the scapula a little larger.

Comparing the Deshasheh and the Medum skeletons, we see that the Deshashehis are superior to the Medumis in the leg and upper arm by about 15, but almost the same in the fore-arm. And the cut-up bodies have the sacrum as small as the Medumis. In short, the Medum men were smaller altogether than the Deshasheh men by about three or four per cent.

The New Race people seem to have been, on the other hand, taller than the Deshashis, and especially longer in the tibia and radius; they were larger in the lower half of each limb.

Comparing now the male and female skeletons of the perfect and cut-up bodies, we see instructive differences.

MILLIMETRES.

	Male perfect.	Female perfect.	Male cut up.	Female cut up.
Femur max.	462	425	452	408
Tibia planes	384	332	385	318
Humerus max.	323	298	315	285
Radius axial	234	222	233	211
Sum of limbs	—1403	—1277	—1385	—1222
Ulna axial	262	250	263	236
Clavicle	151	135	152	136
Sacrum chord	108	93	103	94
„ width	115	107	108	109

Adding together the first four bones as a general limb-value, the difference in perfect males and females is 126, or the ratio 10 : 9; while the difference in cut-up bodies is 163, or the ratio 8 : 7. So the female was smaller in proportion to the male among the cut-up bodies.

Comparing the perfect with the cut-up bodies, the perfect males have longer upper bones in legs and arms than the cut-up, but equal lower bones (fore-arm and shin). The perfect females have longer limbs than the cut-up, beyond the proportion seen in the men, but an absolutely smaller chest and sacrum. In short, the perfect females are taller and slightly slenderer than the cut-up females.

Comparing males and females, the perfect females are shortest in the legs, especially in the lower leg, but more nearly equal to men in the arm; so they were probably nearly equal in the body, but short in standing, owing to shorter legs. The cut-up females are shorter than the men all over, especially in the lower half of legs and arms: but they have an absolutely wider sacrum.

The picture we gain is that of the females being more inferior in the cut-up than in the perfect group; and the cut-up type being wider and stouter built, while the perfect were taller and slenderer. These differences would easily agree to a lower and higher class of society, which might yet be equal in ancestry.

(40.) Next we may compare the proportions of the bones according to the usual ratios.

Indices. Males.	Medum IV.	Perfect.	Cut up.	New Race.
Intermembral	675 (?)	679	677	688
Tibio-femoral	787 (?)	789	788	801
Humero-femoral	691 (?)	697	691	707
Radio-humeral	785	776	783	787
Radio-crural	288 (?)	289	292	296
Humero-crural	387 (?)	391	386	392
Clavico-humeral	463	470	481	466
Sacral	105	106	104	115
Scapular	...	724	704	659
Infra-spinous	...	960	970	894

Those ratios queried in the Medum column are slightly uncertain, owing to the Medum measurements being to points different from the Deshasheh measurements, and so having an allowance for this difference. The results of comparison seem on the whole to be more intelligible on the absolute measurements, already studied in the previous section, as there we have seen which bone it is that varies between one and another class.

(41.) Beside the skeletons of the Vth Dynasty, a much larger amount of material was collected of the Roman age. Here we shall but treat of adult male skulls alone, as being the best and most certain class of material; and of such skulls we have 25 from Deshasheh, 64 from Bahsamun, a few miles north of Deshasheh, and 90 from Behnesa, thirty miles south of Deshasheh, already measured, and not brought to England; while a larger quantity of the Roman age, not yet measured, are now placed at Cambridge. The comparison of these with the early skulls of the Vth Dynasty, nearly 4000 years before, and with those of Medum at the beginning of the IVth Dynasty, is of much value. The middle values for each of the dimensions are, compared with those of the early perfect and dissevered bodies:—

Millimetres. Males.	Roman.			Vth Dynasty.		IVth Dyn.
	Deshasheh.	Bahsamun.	Behnesa.	Perfect.	Cut up.	Medum.
Length (Broca)	185	186·8	184·9	188	185·5	182·5
„ (Flower)	180	183·9	181·6	184·5	180·0	
Breadth max.	136·5	138·8	140·7	139·5	141·5	138·8
Biauricular	121	119	121·7	122	116·5	118·0
Height	133·8	137	131·2	139·5	136·5	134·7
Nasal height	53·6	54·1	53·3	54	51	51·5
„ width	26	24·5	25·4	25·5	24	24·8
Orbital height	31·1	31·6	33·9	33·5	32	32·8
„ width	39·9	39	39·6	41·8	39	37·9
Basi-nasal	104	103	101·2	103	100·8	101·0
Basi-alveolar	96·5	96·7	95·7	96	93	97·6

Here it is evident that there are very small differences between the values in these different groups. And how trifling these differences are we may note by considering that we have already shown that the perfect and cut-up skulls were practically identical. Yet the

differences of the Roman from the early skulls are mostly less than the insignificant differences between the two classes of early skulls.

Next we may take the ratios of these measurements, or the *indices*, reckoned as usual: breadth and height ÷ length, nasal width ÷ height, basi-alveolar ÷ basi-nasal.

Indices. Males.	Deshasheh.	Bahsamun.	Behnesa.	Perfect.	Cut up.	Medum.	Egyptian.
Breadth	76·2	76·1	77·5	76·2	77·5	76·0	76·9
Biauricular	67·0	65·1	66·6	65·7	64·5	64·8	
Height	74·3	74·4	72·1	74·8	76·5	73·8	72·4
Nasal	47	45·4	46·3	49	48	48·1	49·5
Alveolar	93·5	93·5	94·5	94	92	95·9	93

Here again the Roman skulls are very nearly of the same proportions as the early ones; in four dimensions the variations of either class intersect the other class, the height of the Roman is slightly less, and the only real difference is in the nose, which is on the average a little narrower in the later skulls. On drawing curves of the varieties their range and character is seen to be really identical. And we thus reach the very important conclusion that there has been no distinct change in the main elements of the skull between the Vth Dynasty and Roman times in this district. To obtain such a proof of the continuity and general uniformity of the race in Middle Egypt is a matter of great weight. It implies that the disturbances of invasions have not seriously altered the balance of physical characteristics.

Now another question becomes of crucial importance when we have thus settled the fixity of the Egyptian type here. This type is practically identical with the average of all the skulls of all dates and places from Egypt, as we see in the last column. It is therefore the average Egyptian type whose fixity we have proved in one locality. And hence we have a strong fixed point with which to compare the New Race skulls. Some of the dimensions and indices are of no value as distinctions, since they are much the same in all four classes, the New Race, the IVth Dynasty, the Vth Dynasty, and the Roman. But some indices are of distinctive importance, as for instance—

Indices.	New Race.	IVth Dyn.	Vth Dyn.	Roman.
Breadth	71·8	76·0	76·3	76·6
Alveolar	96	95·9	94	94
Nasal	53	48·1	48	46·2

In these cases the mean breadth and nasal indices are in the New Race almost beyond the limits of the Egyptian varieties; and in the alveolar index there is a distinct difference between the New Race and the Egyptian of the Vth Dynasty and Roman time.

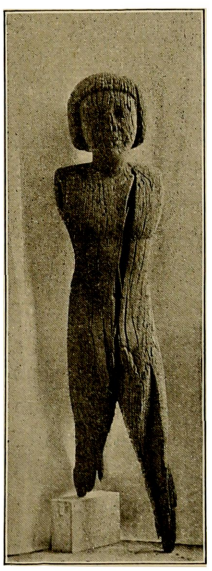
The force of this result bears strongly on the question of whether the New Race people were the prehistoric ancestors of the Egyptians, or whether they were intrusive invaders of a different type. If they were the immediate ancestors of the Old Kingdom Egyptians, we should be required to believe that within a thousand years large and distinctive changes occurred in the type of Egyptian skull, while in four thousand years later no such difference took place. This would be a very improbable state of things. The permanence of the type in historic times is a strong evidence that a different type must belong to a different body of people. This, however, would not be inconsistent with the two classes being allied, and the difference being due to an admixture with another race. In this case, if the New Race Libyan was the cousin of the Egyptian, it would seem that a race with more slender nose —perhaps Arab or other Semite—had mingled with them to form the normal Egyptian.

CHAPTER VII.

MINOR OBJECTS.

(42.) Some of the minor objects found have been already described in connection with the burials, such as the amulets (sect. 25), furniture of Mera (sect. 31), beads (sect. 31), cubit (sect. 41).

There had probably been many wooden statues like those found at Saqqara, but such would naturally be used up as wood by the ancient plunderers. Two feet were found, one nearly life-size, the other smaller, showing how much more had been destroyed. A life-size head was found, which had been roughly chopped off the body, and greatly weathered, so that hardly any features remain. A figure without feet, 30 ins. high, lay in the sand which filled the well of tomb 103 (pl. xxxii. 9); it is weathered and cracked, but has been of fine work. It is remarkable as being a nude figure; there is only one such yet known among the *ka* statues, namely, that in limestone at Cairo. Another wooden figure, also greatly weathered, was found in another pit; it wears the triangular kilt, and is 22 ins. high.



Wooden Figure.

(43.) Clothing was found in many of the tombs. In the plundered tombs it was often half pulled out, and in the unplundered ones there were such large quantities of it as to suggest that it was one of the main objects of the plunderers. In the unopened tombs the presence of air had oxidized the linen, mostly to dark brown or black, and made it either powdery or so brittle that it could scarcely be unfolded; but where the tombs had been opened and filled up with sand, the clothing was often in almost perfect state. There were the roller bandages on the bodies, the large linen cloths laid over all as a winding-sheet, and stores of clothing deposited with it, both made up and in long pieces.

The most complete outfit was in a solid block coffin, tomb 148*b*. The body, wrapped up, lay fixed with some pitch, and over it all the space was filled with clothes. The made-up shirts were all of the outline shown in pl. xxxv. They consist of one piece of stuff from waist to feet, lapped round and sewn down the edge; to that are sewn on two pieces passing over the shoulders, and continued out into long sleeves. The gap at front and back was closed by tying with three pairs of strings before, and the same behind. The narrow sleeve has in some cases a sort of fin of loose stuff left below it: this was originally a surplus left for letting it out, but it was so frequent as to suggest that it had become ornamental. It is remarkable that not one dress was found of the form shown on the monuments, with shoulder-straps; but the actual form seems to have been developed out of that by extension of the shoulder-straps along the arms. Hence the monumental dress must have been only an artistic survival in the Old Kingdom. The form of this actual dress is very closely the modern *galabiyeh* of the

Egyptian men; the narrow body and very tight sleeves are in just the same style. Altogether seven such shirts were found in this coffin.

	Length of skirt.	Length total.	Width.
Fine stuff	52½	64	23
,,	43	54½	...
,,	48½	60½	22
,,	57	68½	23
Coarse stuff	54	65½	...

and two coarse shirts too rotted to unfold.

Two others found elsewhere, and preserved white, are:

	Length of skirt.	Length total.	Width.
Fine stuff	48	59	16
Very open stuff	50	59	18

The strange point is the great length of these —most of them over 5 ft. from the shoulder to the hem. Such would need a person at least 6 ft. high to wear them well clear of the foot, and in sculptures the dress does not even reach the ankle. The longest here, 5 ft. 8½ ins. could not be worn by a person under 6 ft. 7 ins. high. The natural explanation would be that the dress was drawn up loose over a girdle; but against this, no such form is known on the monuments, nor is there any trace of the creases or wear which such a girdle would produce.

Beside the shirts some large pieces of stuffs were placed in the coffin, 148*b*. These are uniformly made with a selvedge at one side and a fringe at the other; the ends are rolled in and overcast. The pieces measure—

28 ft. 10 ins. long, 47 ins. wide.
30 ,, 2 ,, ,, 45 ,, ,,
(Unknown length) 44 ,, ,,

The first of these had a patch neatly sewn into one corner 15½ long and 7½ wide, showing that it had been actually used as a wrapper. Smaller pieces are—

8 ft. 2 ins. long, 34 ins. wide.
7 ,, 11 ,, ,, 34 ,, ,,
40 ,, ,, 6¾ ,, ,,

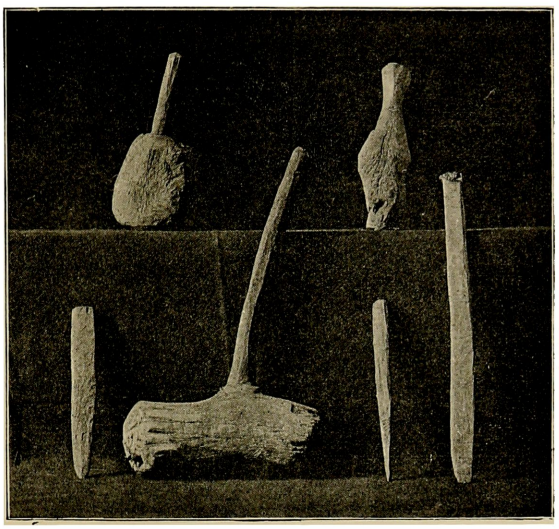
The body and coffin of this tomb were kept at the Cairo Museum.

Another tomb containing much clothing was that of the amulets, No. 117 (see sect. 25). Over the body was (1) a shawl 84 × 36 ins., (2) a mass of kilted stuff 8½ ins. deep, (3) another piece of stuff, (4) another piece of kilted stuff on the body, (5) much blackened powdery stuff, (6) finely-pleated kilt, beside six or eight other articles too rotted to determine. Under the head was a mass of linen cloth 4 inches thick, and folded 19 × 12 ins., as a pillow.

Most of the graves containing bodies had more or less cloth preserved. The character of it varies very much. The woof is usually only half as close as the warp, the usual make of Egyptian linen. The finest is 93 × 44 threads to the inch, and near the edge of the piece it is made stouter up to 148 to the inch. A fine linen handkerchief of the present time is about 90 to the inch each way. A very close-textured stuff with full threads is 74 × 20, and others 50 × 30 and 58 × 18. A fine delicate stuff, almost transparent, is 72 × 36 threads. A very loose open stuff is of fine thread 48 × 22, through which the limbs would be clearly outlined; the warp is grouped so as to give a striped effect of close and open. The most open stuff of all is 13 × 10 threads to the inch, of fine thread; it scarcely shades objects below it, and is evidently the stuff called "fishing-net," in which the damsels of the palace went to row king Sneferu about on his lake. None of these stuffs are as fine as the royal linen of the VIth Dynasty, because they are only the common products used by ordinary people; yet they are as fine and finer than our present weaving.

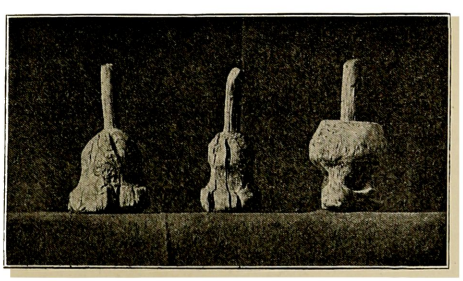
(44.) Two unfinished graves were found, which contained the workmen's tools left behind, buried in sand. In 86, at 12 ft. deep, there were several wooden mallets and wooden chisels, which had been used to excavate the

gravel, here hard and marly, so that it holds firm in upright sides without crumbling. These chisels (pl. xxxiv. 15-18) were 8 to 21 ins. long,



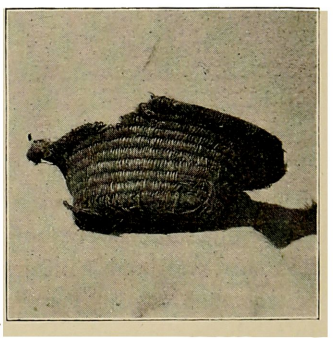
MALLETS AND WOODEN CHISELS.
Used in digging graves through hard gravels.

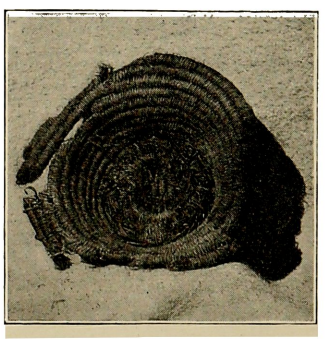
and show very little breaking at the points, though the heads are sometimes much knocked over. The mallets (pl. xxxiv. 13, 14, 16) are 11 to 13 ins. long, and are very little worn; being quite different from the masons' mallets, which become deeply cut away by working on metal



MALLETS USED BY STONECUTTERS.

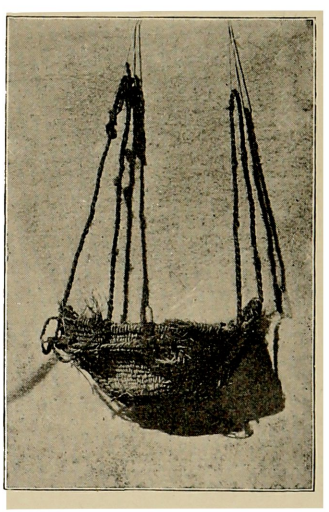
chisels (pl. xxxiv. 19-21). A head of a mallet 9 × 3 ins., with a hole $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide in it, shows that the compound cross-head mallet was used then. With the mallets and chisels were two baskets, which had been used to move the gravel cut in working; one was probably used to collect the gravel in (pl. xxxiv. 2, 3), the other with cords to it (1) was used to haul up the stuff to the surface. A quantity of palm-fibre and papyrus cord was lying with these. The make of the baskets is that of the Nubian and ancient baskets, as seen on the servants' heads in the early sculptures; in Roman and modern times plaited palm-leaf has supplanted this.





BASKET.
Left behind by grave-diggers. Vth Dyn.

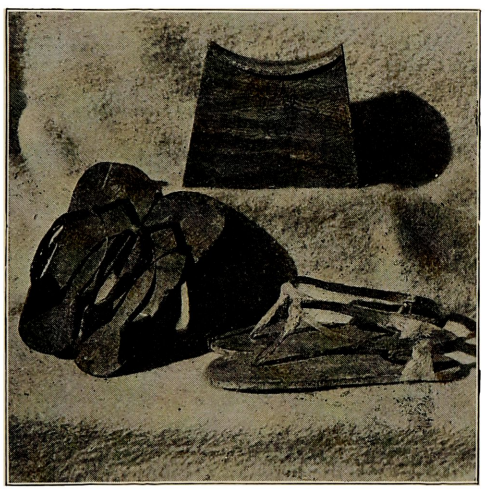
In another grave, No. 109, about 5 ft. deep, there lay more mallets and chisels, and a long piece of rope at the north end; with a long-handled mallet with cross-head (pl. xxxiv. 16) at the south end, made in one piece.



BASKET AND ROPES.
Left behind by grave-diggers. Vth Dyn

Masons' mallets were found scattered about in various places—none in important positions.

They were required for excavating the limestone rock under the gravels, when the deep pits were sunk. The softer parts of the rock were cut through sharply; and some very tough strata were bashed away with heavy stone mauls (12 ins. long by 6 ins. thick) swung by a rope, leaving a sort of rough diaphragm in the shaft, owing to the difficulty of cutting out sharply. In several of the chambers below sharpening-stones were found—blocks of quartzite sandstone about 5 × 3 ins., with green stains of the rubbing of copper tools upon them. In tomb 21 the marks of the pick or chisel in the softer parts showed it to be about 1 in.



5 4 6

HEAD-REST AND SANDALS OF MERA.

wide, tapering to $\frac{1}{2}$ in. at the cutting edge; probably by this taper it was a heavy pick.

(45.) Very little funeral furniture was found in the tombs. Two scribes' palettes were preserved. One in tomb 85 was in sufficiently good state to show the details (pl. xxxiv. 11); it was made in two layers, for the ease of cutting the paint-holes and the reed-holder, like the palette of the scribe of Khety (IXth Dynasty) in the Louvre. The black colour was at the end, the red was the lower. It was broken across, being much decayed; the tomb had been opened and re-used for Roman mummies. Fragments of a similar palette, greatly rotted, were found with a plain blade of copper, and parts of a head-rest with fluted stem, in tomb 147.

The head-rests are of various types. Many are solid blocks, found in tombs B, 20, 88, 95, 116, and 151; these are not necessarily of poor tombs, as block 116 is Mera's, grained to imitate precious wood, and inscribed (see pl. xxxiv. 4, 10). The better known type is with an upright circular stem; this is sometimes in one piece (as tomb 91-2, pl. xxxiv. 8), but more generally in three pieces, as in tombs 23, 42, 85, 91-2, 105, 120, 147, 148*b*. Of these three are fluted up

7 8
9 10

VARIOUS TYPES OF HEAD-RESTS.

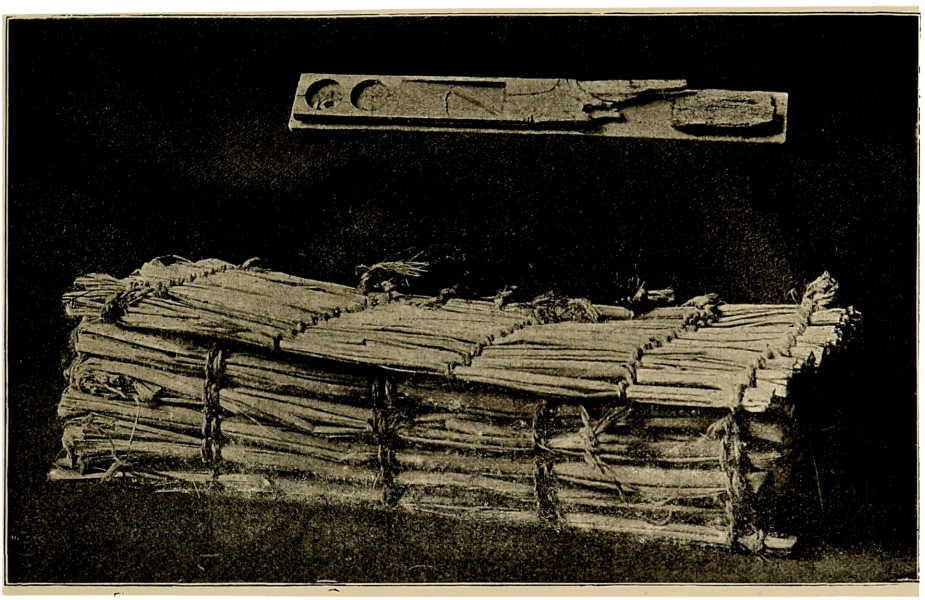
the stem, Nos. 23, 147, 148*b*. In pl. xxxiv. No. 4 is from tomb 116 (Mera), No. 7 from 85, No. 8 from 91-2 (two pits run together into one chamber, with two head-rests in it), No. 9 from 105 (Nenkheftek), and No. 10 from tomb 20.

In two graves papyrus or reed boxes were found. In No. 100, chamber W. of well, the bones lay confusedly at the N. end, with a few small cylindrical stone beads glazed green, like those in pl. xxvi. 28; at 4 to 10 inches up in the filling of the chamber, south of the bones, lay a coffin of reeds and rope. As there were no bones in it, nor any others in the tomb

except the primary interment, it is almost certain that the coffin is of the Vth Dynasty. In No. 104, chamber W. of well, the body lay diagonally, head N.N.E., not cut up, and wrapped in cloth like all the other Vth Dynasty burials. Partly beneath it were four boxes of papyrus stems bound with palm rope (pl. xxxiv. 12), and a mat of reeds standing on end in the well. Two jars (pl. xxxiii. 22) lay in the N.E. corner.

In the first northern spur of hill a false door of a tomb was found cut in the hill-side. On the floor in front of it lay a reed mat, 43 × 60 ins., partly rolled up; and by it a rough pottery pan 8 ins. across and 5 deep. This was evidently the mat for offerings and the vase which stood on it, exactly as represented in the hieroglyph *hetep*, shown in detail at Medum.

(46.) Not much pottery was found in the tombs. The largest set was with the cut-up body 23 in a wooden coffin. Behind the coffin in the chamber was a pile of bowls (pl. xxxiii. 1-5). At the bottom was 1 with white paint in it, then 4 with a little white paint twisted up in rag, then 2 with lamp-black paint, and then two bowls like 5. By the side of these lay the large bowl 3, and further on the large platter 6; while two stands like 7 lay broken up, at the side and end of the coffin. There was no pottery inside the coffin. In Nenkheftka's tomb, No. 73, were two bowls and an egg-shaped jar (10, 11, 14). In 81 were four jars of type 17, and a bowl, type 19. In 93, at the south end of the chamber, stood three jars, type 21, with conical caps of clay; on opening them they were found to contain only rough lumps of Nile earth. In 104 were two jars of type 22 in the N.E. corner. In 112 a jar, type 12, stood at the head of the body, at the N.E. corner. In 113, where the body was very elaborately cut up, a jar of type 16 lay at the west of the feet, with mouth to north. In 127 stood six jars of type 15, with mud caps upon them, and two great mauls of quartzose stone. These stood in the well, 26 ft. deep, a slight beginning of a



PALETTE OF A SCRIBE. PAPYRUS BASKET.

chamber having been made on the west; much brown organic matter was by them, but no distinguishable bones. The jar of Anta is described in sect. 4.

Some pottery of the XVIIIth Dynasty was also found in secondary burials, each such occurrence being obviously not the primary interment. In tombs 44 and 72 were the foreign vases 23-26, apparently of Palestinian make, being like Cypriote, but clearly not actually made in Cyprus, according to the judgment of my friend, Mr. J. L. Myres, who knows the details. The burials are described in Chapter VIII. A pan, fig. 8, of this same age, was lying half down the pit 88.

CHAPTER VIII.

SECONDARY BURIALS.

(47.) We have so far only considered the primary burials of the Vth Dynasty, the period when all the tombs were made. The bones belonging to the earlier age are always by their lightness and absence of organic matter distinguished from the Roman secondary interments. The mode of wrapping is also a conclusive difference, the Roman bodies being swathed with cross pattern of narrow strips outside. A few burials of the XVIIIth-XIXth Dynasty also occurred, and these we notice first.

The most important secondary burial was No. 44, in a rock chamber. The earlier bones were scattered on one side, with bits of Vth Dynasty pottery, and the calf's leg of the offering; bats' bones lay over these, showing that the tomb had stood open for some time. Then there was laid out at full length another body, quite perfect, on its back, head north, upon a mat which overlay the layers of bats' bones. At the head of the body were two large jars, and between them two little Palestinian vases (pl. xxxiii. 25, 26). The head had slipped off a head-rest with square stem, usual in the XVIIIth Dynasty, but unknown in the earlier times. At the left side was a throw-stick, and the long neck of a lute, inlaid with the signs *aah dad* in ivory, which had fallen out and were noted in position on the ground. At the right side lay the body of the lute with leather on it, and a cubit of wood. All of this wood was so much rotted by lying in the air of the chamber that it could not be lifted in lengths of more than two or three inches, as any longer piece broke with its own weight. Before exposing the pieces of the cubit to shrinkage, by losing the slight moisture of the rock, it was measured at once. The divisions on it were thus, in inches:—

	Cuts.	Spaces.	
End	0		
	13·5		13·5
		— 2·3	
	15·8		3·2
		— ·9	
	16·7		
		— 1·25	
	17·95		3·15
		— 1·9	
	19·85		
		— ·2	
	20·05		
		— 1·9	3·15
	21·95		
		— 1·05	
	23·0		
		— 3·15	3·15
End	26·15		
			26·15

Thus it was a cubit of 26·15 inches divided into two feet of 13·07 (varying 12·65 and 13·5), and one foot divided into four palms of 3·15 each. This corresponds with cubits found at Kahun, of the XIIth Dynasty. One of these was 26·43 divided into two feet (*Kahun*, p. 27); the other was actually 25·67, but worn greatly at the ends, and by the average divisions probably 26·88 originally (*Illahun*, p. 14). Both of these Kahun cubits are divided into seven palms, and not into eight as here. There are then three examples of this cubit:—

Kahun, XIIth Dynasty	26·43
" " "	26·88 ?, actually 25·67.
Deshasheh, XVIIIth Dyn.	26·15

and this, divided into two feet, I proposed to connect with the Asia Minor foot of 13·2 or cubit of 26·4. It is significant that Kahun contained foreigners, and here this cubit lay in the tomb which had foreign pottery. All of the wooden objects were removed, and the fragments coated with melted wax to preserve them; thus they can be built up again in England, frail as they are.

Another burial of the same age was half-way down the deep tomb well No. 72. The well had been half cleared, a recess cut on the west side to widen it, and then two coffins buried—one with head, the other with feet in the recess. With these were many jars and pans of the XVIIIth Dynasty; in the southern coffin, by the legs, lay a long red jar of Phœnician type, but poorer, smaller and duller than usual, and probably a Palestinian imitation (pl. xxxiii. 23), and two black pottery vases (24), such as are known from Gurob, with an alabaster kohl-pot. The coffins were slight, plain, and rectangular, without ornament. All the wood and bones were too much rotted to be moveable.

A little deposit of the later age was in the shallow pit leading to tomb 88. About the level of the top of the doorway was a pan of the XVIIIth Dynasty in the middle (pl. xxxiii. 8), fragments of jars of that age, and a basket. These secondary burials it is most needful to consider when excavating, so as to prevent confusion of periods among the objects. Many other burials, without distinctive dating of pottery, &c., were thought doubtful at first, and, in fact, no burial was accepted as primary without some evidence. But as work went on, and I became accustomed to the style of wrapping and the linen, which was certainly of the Vth Dynasty, and when I noticed how usually some bones of a primary burial generally remained, it seemed clear that we must accept all the great mass of the burials as certainly of one age—the Vth Dynasty. Great confusion may arise, and has arisen elsewhere, from not noting at the time the mixture of contents in tombs; and unless this is always considered, we can rely but little on any statements of the discovery of objects.

(48.) Many tombs had been opened in Roman times, and re-used to contain large numbers of mummies swathed in thick masses of linen, and decorated by cross-binding with narrow strips to form a pattern of squares all over. This is like the binding of the mummies of the first three centuries A.D. at Hawara; but here there were no portraits, no gilt studs in the spaces of the pattern—only in one case a gilt plaster face, of a little girl, and occasionally a few wreaths. The bodies were crowded together, often two or three deep, all over the chamber. The tombs with such re-interments were Nos. 2, 5, 8, 16, 19, 60, 62, 84, 85 and 97. It is to be observed that a great part—perhaps the majority—were children, showing that there was a large mortality at about five to fifteen years of age. The population must have had a very high birth-rate, or have been rapidly diminishing.

In tomb 8, although a stack of bodies, mostly children, had been put in, the skull, jaw and collar bone of the original possessor were preserved, and placed on the top of all the mummies.

In tomb 19 were no less than sixteen late mummies; over the entrance was scratched the name Ōros, and other letters. The original bones were pushed over to one side of the chamber.

In tomb 85 an early coffin remained, with head-rest, palette, and stick; the lid was in the well: and into and over the coffin were thrust Roman mummies till the chamber was full.

(49.) At Bahsamûn, two or three miles north of the Deshasheh cemetery, some excavation was done in a Roman cemetery and fort on the edge of the desert. Many skulls were preserved from here, the measurements of which have been discussed in sect. 41. The

following account of the excavations there is due to Mr. H. V. Geere, who examined the site while I was at Deshasheh:—

The village of Bahsamûn is situated about six miles north of Deshasheh, upon a site which in Roman times supported a town of considerable size. Unfortunately, most of the remains of those days are at present either covered by the cultivated lands which surround the place, or are in process of being demolished by the villagers, for the sake of the fine red bricks, in which a brisk trade is done in the neighbouring towns and hamlets.

The only parts of the site which could be properly investigated are those which lie on the west of the belt of cultivation, in the desert. The cemetery of the old town covers a large area, but few of the graves are of any size, and none of those which we opened contained anything of value. In some cases glass vases of the well-known long-necked form were found at the head of the grave, but they were generally broken.

Nearly all the graves opened had been previously plundered, and even such things as the small lamps, ivory hair-pins, the plates of beaten gold which were sometimes placed on the tongues of the dead, and similar trifles which abound in many sites of the same period, were very scarce.

From the head of one grave a small tunnel ran off at right angles, and in it were found seventeen wine-jars of different shapes and sizes, arranged in two rows. But all were in a damaged condition; not one contained anything, nor did any of them bear traces of any writing or decoration.

In most cases the bodies were found laid on the bare gravelly soil, without coffins, but wrapped in the usual linen bandages. In the few cases in which coffins were found to have been used, they were formed of rough-dressed timber, uninscribed and unpainted. Usually only one interment had been made in each grave, but one family vault contained the skeletons of a man, a woman, and two infants.

Besides the graves of oblong shape, which were mostly quite shallow (being in some cases only a few inches beneath the present surface), there were five tombs to which access was gained by a perpendicular shaft, varying in depth from eight to eighteen feet, lined with sun-dried bricks and provided with niches in the walls to facilitate descent. A careful examination showed that they had all been plundered in early times, and nothing left but the bodies, which were much broken up and disarranged by the robbers, who had in one case thrown the skulls into a heap in one corner of the chamber.

One of these shaft-tombs contained three, and each of the others two chambers, and most of the chambers contained many bodies, the majority being those of adults, of either sex.

The chambers were badly constructed, and much damage had been done to their contents by the falling-in of the roofs; and, moreover, the wrappings, and even the bodies themselves, were so completely rotten that they crumbled away at the least touch, notwithstanding the appearance of perfect preservation they presented when the tombs were first opened.

On the edge of the cultivated lands stood the ruins of a small villa; but it too had been destroyed for the sake of the bricks that had been used in its construction, and only the inferior, sun-dried mud bricks, which had been used in parts of the walls and for the paving of what appeared to have been the court, were left. A large quantity of broken amphoræ and some fragments of papyrus, principally uninscribed, were found at this spot.

About a mile and a-half out in the desert, on a high *kōm* or mound, were the ruins of a building, constructed of sun-dried brick, which had almost certainly been used as a fort. Its site for purposes of defence was well chosen, for the mound overlooked a large area, and commanded

one of the principal approaches to the Fayoum. Here a quantity of papyrus was obtained, but it was much broken up, and unfortunately few of the fragments were inscribed. Some earthenware lamps, wooden combs, and other small articles of a similar nature were also found, but nothing noteworthy.

One of the workmen stated that in digging there during the past few years for bricks, some large rolls of papyrus had been discovered; but as they were considered worthless, they had been destroyed, and there was every reason to believe that the statement was only too true.

Adjacent to the ruins of the fort was a small cemetery, in which the graves were of a much better class than in the one previously examined, being for the greater part lined with well-made burnt bricks. They usually contained very solidly made wooden coffins, in which the bodies were laid (in linen wrappings, with woollen head shawls), and covered with rushes and some sweet-smelling herbs and twigs, which, when burned, gave off a thick smoke with rather a pleasant odour. The bodies were remarkably well preserved, with the hair and beards in a perfect state, probably owing to the extreme dryness of the soil, and the colours on the head-wrappings were in many cases quite fresh.

All the bodies belonged to the male sex, and in one or two instances the skulls showed signs of having received injuries from cutting weapons; from which evidence it seems highly probable that this small burial-ground was used solely for the garrison of the fort.

In one of the graves there was a brush that had been used in applying some tarry substance to parts of the coffin. It was made of reeds fastened to a short wooden handle, and in shape was not unlike the brushes used by whitewashers at the present day; its length was about 8 inches and its breadth $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It must have been an unhandy instrument to use, owing to the stiffness of the reeds.

On a spur situate to the south-west of this mound was a chain of flint tumuli, which at first sight looked as though they might cover early tombs. Upon digging into them, however, they proved to be formed over shallow wells (about eight or ten feet deep) of exceedingly irregular form, cut in very loose gravel, until the hard rock was reached, at which point their excavators had invariably abandoned their work. For what purpose these shafts were dug it would be hard to say, unless they were used as stores for grain or some purpose of a like nature. No traces of bones were found in any of them, and, indeed, from their extreme narrowness it would have been impossible for any burials to have been made in them, save by placing the body in an upright position.

Traces of a small building were discovered on a ridge some distance out in the desert, and examination of them led to the conclusion that they had formed part of an anchorite's abode, or of a very small monastery.

The upper part of the walls had been completely destroyed, but it was possible to gain an idea of the plan of the place from the lower portions, which remained. The first cell, which was 6 feet 4 inches long and 4 feet 7 inches wide, was paved with mud brick.

It contained in one corner a circular red pot of medium size, which had probably held water. In another corner, under a niche in the wall (the east) was a red earthenware plate, which was broken into three pieces—most likely by the falling-in of the walls. In a third there was a small opening, 18 inches wide and about 15 inches high, spanned by a pointed arch. At first sight this appeared to be a sort of cupboard; but when the rubbish was cleared away from it, it proved to give access to another, slightly larger, chamber, which formed an L on plan with that first discovered.

In the first cell, 20 inches distant from the wall in which was the diminutive doorway, and terminating opposite the centre of the opening,

was a dwarf wall, which may have been built to afford protection from draughts, though such care seems strangely at variance with the profession of a hermit, or a monk who would live in such uncomfortable quarters. More probably it was erected to secure the complete privacy so much desired by such holy men; but it must have rendered it distinctly awkward for anyone to enter the cell, as they would have had to twist themselves in serpentine fashion through the doorway and past the abutting wall.

There were traces of buildings upon the other sides of the larger of the two cells, but want of time prevented any further examination of the curious little place. And as nothing of sufficient interest or value to warrant further expenditure on the site had turned up, the work was brought to a conclusion after nine days' digging.

CHAPTER IX.

THE INSCRIPTIONS.

By F. Ll. Griffith.

(50.) It is a grievous thing that the inscriptions of the Deshasheh tombs are in such bad condition: all are of interest as being from a new locality, and some have evidently been of first-rate importance. No one is so skilful as Professor Petrie in recognizing faint traces of sculpture upon a wall, and we may rest assured that the most careful study and scrutiny of the originals would reveal little more than appears in these plates. Professor Petrie has marked what was clear in full line, while restorations of sculpture or inscription are given in dots; but for the dotted outlines there is more or less authority in the originals. In studying the copies philologically with the aid of photographs, I have, however, occasionally seen reason to depart from the reading indicated by the dotted lines.

Tomb of Anta.

Pl. IV. The inscription accompanying the scene of the capture of a fortress is so much destroyed that hardly any information can be gained from it. The sign of a captive inside a fortress is new and interesting. The figure of a captive should doubtless be restored in the second occurrence of the fortress sign, and , Nedaa, or rather *Ndy'*, preceding it is in all probability the name of a foreign city. The oval figure of the fortress is the same that encloses the names in the lists of foreign cities and villages captured by kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty and later, and much the same appear in two early carvings on slate published by Steindorff in *Ebers' Festschrift*, the originals of which are in the Gizeh Museum and the Louvre.

Pl. VI. The large figure leaning on his staff is Anta himself. Facing him stands "the director of (work on) the tomb," named Demz, and kneeling before him are two persons named Apa and An-nefer, Apa being a scribe. A man named Khyt sits with his back to the cabin, and at the stern, trimming the sails, is the "superintendent of the *ka*-servants, possessing worthiness before ..... the director of work on the tomb ....." Evidently the people connected with the construction and service of the tomb wished to be commemorated in the scenes.

Anta has a variety of titles, viz.:—

1. *rekh seten*, "royal acquaintance," probably indicating relationship to the king.

2. *mer upt* (cf. pl. viii.), a common title in the Old Kingdom both in the Memphite necropolis and elsewhere. It perhaps means superintendent of apportioning work; but in *Siut*, Tomb i., we have frequently a title *mer upt hetepu neter*, "superintendent of apportioning (?) divine offerings."

3. *mer menu seten*, "superintendent of the monument (or monuments?) of the king." This is a title which I do not recollect elsewhere, but it is repeated on pls. viii., x., xii., and so is quite certain.

4. *heka het*, "ruler of a fortress"; a well-known title, meaning apparently the governor of a city or district, with troops under him.

5. *seshem ta*, "leader of the land," or possibly

"dispenser of territory"; frequent with *mer upt* (No. 2).

Pl. VII. At the top the two lines of inscription contain a prayer to the king and "Anubis in the shrine" for "burial in the [Western] Mountain, as one who had deserved well of the great god ..... [to the .....] Anta, and his wife whom he loves, Mert·min."

The first three columns of writing are much mutilated; afterwards the sense of the fragments becomes more connected, but it is difficult to make out the exact meaning. Anta is evidently boasting of the excellence of his tomb:—

(3) ..... as to all craftsmen (4) [whom I employed on these?] things, they praised God for me therefore, they desired to do (5) [the like for themselves?] in order that they might praise God for me therewith ( ). (6) ..... every man (*se*? *neb*) who shall enter to these things, he will praise God for me therewith if he shall do the like for himself with his things (i.e. imitation would be the most acceptable form of flattery for me?).

(7) But as to all people who shall do evil to these things, or shall do anything injurious to these things (8) and shall spoil (?) the writing therein; it shall be that a judgment shall be made of them by the Great God, the lord of judgment, (9) in the place where judgment is made.

And if any man (*se*? *neb*) shall desire that he be equipped for burial (10) in his (own) things that he hath made [rather than?] with other and again other things that are brought for his noble(?) *ka*, he is deserving before the Great God; (11) things are brought to his noble *ka*, he groweth old right well.

I am devoted to the king, I am devoted (12) to the Great God, I love that which is good and hate that which is evil (?): that which God loveth is that things should be done [for everybody?] (i.e. that all should enjoy a good burial and funerary offerings?).

It seems as if Anta were excusing himself, or taking credit to himself, for making and equipping his tomb at his own expense instead of waiting for the offerings of others. Possibly he trusted his own skill as royal architect more than that of his descendants.

The "Great God" is probably Osiris, the god of the dead.

Pl. VIII. Above the table of offerings are the titles of Anta and his wife, "the royal dresser in the Great House, the royal acquaintance Mert·Min." The reading and meaning of the title "royal dresser," or possibly "royal ornament (or favourite)," have recently been made clearer by Spiegelberg (*A. Z.*, xxxiv. 162).

Pl. IX. The two lines at the top are:

"May the king grant grace, and Anubis in *Ta Zeser* grace, for burial in the Western Mountain, a good old age as possessing favour of the Great God [in?] the Uag festival (18th Thoth), the Great Assembly (4th Mekhir), the Heat (in Mekhir), the Going forth of Min (30th of the month), and of the *Sem*-priest (4th day of the month), the Festival of the Month (second day), the Half Month (15th day), the Beginning of the Year, and New Year's Day, and every day."

Over the right arm of Anta are his name and two of his titles: "Royal acquaintance and director of (the work on the royal?) tomb." There are also the names of Mert·Min and of a daughter, "the royal acquaintance, possessor of worth, ...sat·kau."

In the lowest register a man is leading a female hyaena with a leash: "bringing a female hyaena."

Pl. X. There is here part of the name of a daughter, ...kau·s.

Pl. XI. The names of the animals are, as usual in such scenes, preceded by the group *ren*, which is of uncertain meaning. The oryx is called *hez*, or perhaps we may restore *mahez* with . The ibex is usually called *naa*, but here the name is destroyed. The addax is *nudu* . The fat bull is *aua*, and on its flank is marked the numeral 113.

Pl. XII. Anta is here entitled *semer* or *sehez* (?), as in pl. vii., but the meaning of this is not certain. At her mother's side is a daughter, a "royal acquaintance," and in front of his father is probably a son, "the royal scribe, Ra Nefer." Over the harper is written

"striking the harp," and the action of the three men kneeling in front is described as "singing," or "clapping hands to the harp." In the lowest register we read "shackling" or "overturning a bull."

Pl. XIII. Over one of the panel-painters seems to be his name Ay.

We thus see that the inscriptions in this tomb include the usual prayers to the gods of the dead for a good burial and offerings on the feast days. Anta was a "royal relative," and the title of Mert·Min, his wife (pl. viii.), is one held only by the greatest ladies, inmates of the royal harîm, probably as concubines. Their children are therefore also royal relatives ("royal acquaintances"). The scene on pl. iv. shows that Anta was great in military affairs, and some of his titles probably indicate nomarchship. The clearest of his titles are "superintendent of the royal monument (or monuments?)," and "director of the tomb"; which latter may mean either that he was director of the work on the royal tomb, or refer to his having been the architect of his own. Unfortunately we have no positive knowledge as to which of the kings of the Old Kingdom he served, nor what was the monument of which he was keeper.

Tomb of Shedu.

(51.) Pl. XV. At the top was evidently a prayer to Anubis of "Sepa," ending with the name and titles of "Ateta, whose good name is Shedu." In front of Shedu was a vertical line, "seeing [the works of] the country," &c. Over the boat in the lowest register is "..... by the herdsman," and "causing to pause in the midst of the water"—referring to the boat, which had been going too fast, stopping for the benefit of the calf and other animals swimming behind, which might otherwise have been left exposed to the attack of a crocodile.

Pl. XVI. Shedu is here described as deserving well of "Anubis in the shrine."

1. *heka het*, "governor of a fortress" (cf. pl. vi.).

2. *smer uati*, "confidential friend of the king" (cf. pl. vi.); high title, very common.

3. *tep kher seten*, "the first after the king"; high title, very common.

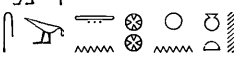
4. *ur met res*, "great one of the southern tens"; very common.

5. *mer aht*, "superintendent of land"; not uncommon.

6. *mer shenu* (?), "superintendent of *shenu*"; a very rare title, occurring also on pls. xvii., xxiv. If we might correct it to *mer shent*, , it would be a kind of judicial title that might very well go with that of "superintendent of the fields"; or perhaps we may see in it *mer shenuti*, "superintendent of the granaries."

7. .....*r sem neb* (cf. pls. xvii., xxiv.), "..... to all herbs." I do not know how to complete this.

8. *akha* (cf. pl. xxv., &c.).

9.  (?) (cf. pl. xxv.), *seshem ta n neti khen* ....., "leader of the country for the two cities within the Goat-district (?)." The reading is very uncertain, the animal hardly likely to be . Perhaps it is that which occurs on the pilaster in pl. xix. *Seshem ta* is not uncommon by itself: on the coffin of Nen·kheftek (pl. xxix.) we have it qualified as here by the name of a district, but I am not sure that there are other clear instances of such limitation.

The name is given as "Ateta, whose name is Shedu ("good name" on pl. xvii.), born of Mert·ates."

The line of hieroglyphs in front of the standing figure of Shedu describes him in set terms as "seeing [the offerings brought to him ..... from the] vineyards (?) ..... by his *ka*-servants of the house of his eternity," *per n zet-f* meaning probably the property with which his tomb was endowed for ever. Over one of the men depicted in the contiguous scene we see the title of "steward."

Pl. XVII. Shedu, whose titles are given as before, is here accompanied by "his sister whom he loves ..... [born of] Mert·ates. The vertical line of inscription may be restored: "[seeing the offerings brought] to him in every good festival ..... by his *ka*-priests (?) of the house of his eternity."

Pl. XVIII. Shedu, described as "deserving before [Anubis] upon his Rock in [all] his Abodes," is "seeing ..... in the speech of herdsmen of the house of his eternity."

In the top row over the scribe are the remains of a list of oxen.

In the second row there has been a long line at the top descriptive of the scene, but it is almost wholly destroyed; below this line are the remains of words referring to breeding, *nehep*, "mount"; assisting the birth of a calf, *sfekht*; and "milking the udder" or "cow," *sesher kat* (?).

In the third row the line of inscription is more complete: "Behold thy bulls (?) and thy oxen (?) of thy stall (?) ..... which are in the fields ..... joined (?) by the herdsmen." Over the bull charging is *sfekh-k ka nekht*, "Mayest thou get loose (?), O strong bull!"

In the fourth row is "Causing to ..... the bull, his [children?] are with him, bringing to him his bulls to see the praise of ....." One of the operators is named Khu·Teta, after the king Teta, which shows that the tomb is of the early part of the VIth Dynasty. Another is "his son Sebek·khau." The bulls or oxen are called *neg*.

Pl. XIX. *S.* (should be *N.*) *side of recess.* The determinative of the name Shedu is a useful confirmation of the supposed meaning "water-skin," of a word *shedu* that occurs rarely in the inscriptions.

Pilasters. The titles seem to include the sign of an animal (goat?) followed by ⌓ and nome-sign; perhaps it is the same that we have in pl. xv.

Back of recess. The names of three of the seven sacred oils are visible: we shall meet with them in pl. xxviii.

Pl. XX. The table of offerings has the usual list above it, forming a kind of *menu* and programme for a day's food and attendance to be given by the *ka*-priest according to an elaborate ritual. On such lists see Maspero in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, xxxv. 275.

Pl. XXI. The vertical inscription runs: ["May he have funeral supplies] on the day of the month and half-month, and every good festival [and every day]."

Over the middle row there are three inscriptions, 1st, "cutting a door," and 2nd, *s..... amt re net she res*, "making [firm?] the point (?) of (a staff called) the Southern post." *amt-re* I take to mean "point," though I do not know of any instance of the term where it has this sense. [illegible] as the name of a staff, shaped [illegible], in *Leyd. Mon.*, III., xxiv., perhaps signifies a staff having a metal "ferule" of electrum, "electrum-feruled staff." On a coffin of the Middle Kingdom (see Steindorff's *Grab des Mentuhetep*, and Lepsius, *Aelteste Texte*, pl. 10) we see four staves called "post of the South" ([illegible]), "post of the North," "post of the West," post of the East": sometimes (*Aelt. Texte*, pl. 26) they are called simply *medu* "staves." The names are probably mystic, and connected with funeral rites. The present scene might show how a metal ferule was firmly fixed, but it seems better to take it as representing the hardening of the "point" of the staff.

The third inscription is "cutting a piece of wood."

Over the lowest row we have "a frame (?) of panther skin (?)," and "stretching" or "curing leather." This is important: in *Ebers Festschrift*, Bondi has read [illegible] (*khent*) in similar inscriptions as simply the determinative of *tehes*, and interpreted the whole as a name for leather, תחש. The present example shows that *tḥs* is a

different word from *khent*: evidently it is a verb. I do not deny, however, that it may still be the origin of the Hebrew word.

Over the leather-workers who are making sandals we have "manufacturing offerings."

Pl. XXII. The inscription in front of the large figure shows remains of the word *apdu*, "wild fowl." The youth in the bows of the boat is "his eldest son whom he loves, governor of a fortress, the confidential royal friend, Nena, whose good name is Redi·nef·hetep." The "good" name, as Professor Petrie remarks, can be completed with tolerable certainty from pl. xxv.

Pl. XXIII. There is little remaining of the inscriptions; at the left-hand end we have "ox," followed by "ibex."

Pl. XXIV. There is nothing new to note here.

Pl. XXV. On the N. side of the doorway we have a new title of Shedu, [illegible], confirmed by pl. xix., and reading perhaps *kherp sekhen*, but the meaning is unknown. If it may be corrected to *kherp hen·ka*, it would mean "superintendent of *ka*-servants." In ll. 2 and 3 he says: "I was one that spake good and repeated good, I was one that [did] justice, which is loved [of God]." On the S. side were repeated the name and titles of Shedu, with a long inscription laudatory of his conduct, but no single phrase remains complete.

It does not appear from the inscriptions of his tomb that Shedu or any of his family were related to the king, though they are of very high rank. Shedu was probably nomarch, and was head of the Department of Land in the central government.

(52.) Pl. XXVII. Panel of Mera. One face of the painted panel found in the tomb of Mera represents the preparation of offerings, the other represents apparently their conveyance to their destination in the tomb. Here the man at the bows of the leading boat is entitled "the ruler of the Fortress of the pyramid Men-nefer, the royal friend, the superintendent of priests, Mezau (?)." His name is not quite certain. As the tomb is that of Mera, I imagine that this priest of high rank was one of her relatives, and had contributed largely to the furnishing of her tomb.

Men·nefer, "the beautiful Men-pyramid," was the name of the pyramid of Pepy I., and also no doubt of that king's adjacent Residence. It is the origin of the name of Memphis, that city being regularly called Men·nefer in the inscriptions of the New Kingdom.

Pl. XXVIII. Coffin of Mera.

Lid:

"May the king grant grace and Anubis, lord of Sepa, he who is in Ut, the lord of Ta·Zeser, that she may have a good funeral in her tomb of Kherneter, that she may have offerings in the Western Mountain on New Year's Day, the Beginning of the Year, Uag, Thoth, and every good festival of God; the king's noblewoman, the deserving before the Great God, Mera."

Outside, left:

"May the king grant grace, and Anubis on his Mount, in the shrine, he who is in Ut, lord of Ta·Zeser, that she may have offerings in her tomb of Kherneter in the Western Mountain, on New Year's day, the Beginning of the Year, Uag, Thoth, and every good festival of God; the king's noblewoman, priestess of Hathor, the deserving before the Great God [Mera]."

Outside, right:

"May the king grant grace, and Anubis in the shrine, he who is in Ut, lord of Ta·Zeser, that she may have a good funeral in her tomb of Kherneter, that she may be (?) followed by her *kas* (the plural here is very curious) upon the good roads on which the deserving are met, that she may be received by the Great God, lord of heaven; the royal noblewoman, priestess of Hathor, Mera."

Inside, head end. The seven sacred oils in jars, with their names, *Set·heb*, "Festival Scent," *Heknu*, "offering," *Seft*, *Nekhnem*, *Tuau*, *Hatet·ash* (cedar oil?), *Hatet·Tehenu*, "Libyan oil."

Inside, foot end. Figures of granaries. On the first granary is inscribed, "*Set* (wheat?) 100 sacks." On the second, "Southern corn, 120 sacks." On the third, "Northern corn,

240 sacks." On the fourth, "*Durra*, 240 (?) sacks." On the first has been added, "Carob beans, 100 sacks," and on the compartment below it are some indistinct signs.

In these texts there is no direct mention of Osiris, but perhaps he is referred to as "the Great God": the funerary inscriptions of the Old Kingdom are usually full of references to Osiris of Abydos.

(53.) Pl. XXIX. COFFIN OF NEN·KHEFTEK.

Outside, left:

"May the king grant grace, and Anubis on his mount, who is in Ut, lord of Ta·Zeser, that he may have a good funeral in his tomb of Kherneter, and that there may be offerings for the confidential friend of the king, first after the king, superintendent of the Department of Land, Nen·kheftek, whose good name is Thy."

Outside, right:

"May the king grant grace, and Osiris, lord of Busiris, in all his places, offerings for him who is deserving before the Great God; the royal scribe (?) of the presence, the superintendent of the records of the Department of Land, leader of the country of the Upper ..... tree nome, Nen·kheftek, whose good name is Thy."

The nome referred to is that of Heracleopolis Magna, and it is evident that Deshasheh lay within it, as we should expect.

Outside, foot end:

"First after the king, staff of the Rekhyt, pillar of the *ka* of the mother, Thy."

The priest entitled "pillar of the *ka* of the mother," or later, "of the *ka* of his mother," is figured in a symbolic hieroglyph at Beni Hasan as supporting, in an upright position, an ape or monkey-figure called the "*ka* of his mother." Presumably it was a sacred female ape (see *Beni Hasan*, III., pl. vi., fig. 82, and p. 27).

Outside, head end:

"The confidential friend, first after the king, the worthy one, Nen·kheftek."

Inside, left. A long list of offerings.

Inside, head end. The seven sacred oils, and "green eye-paint" with black "stibium."

Scholars have been accustomed to treat Nen·kheftek as a mere variant writing of the name Nen·kheft·ka, but Professor Petrie has pointed out that the two are used uniformly for distinguishing different persons; we may therefore write the former as Nen·kheftek, "no enemy of thine (existeth)," and treat it as different from Nen·kheft·ka, "no enemy of the *ka* (existeth)."

Pl. XXXIII.

27. "The possessor of worthiness before the Great God, the royal acquaintance, the superintendent of apportioning (see titles of Anta), the ruler of the Southern City of the Goat, Nen·kheft·ka, and his wife, the royal acquaintance, possessing worthiness before her husband, Nefer·seshems."

The "Southern City of the Goat" is apparently elsewhere unknown: probably it was the name of the town to which the Deshasheh tombs belonged, a town evidently of importance at that early time.

28. In addition to his other titles Nen·kheft·ka is here called "priest of the king"; otherwise we have here nothing new.

32. Nen·kheft·ka's son Nen·kheft·ek succeeded to some of his father's titles. He is here called "the possessor of worthiness before the Great God, the royal acquaintance, the superintendent of apportioning, Nen·kheft·ek." In No. 30 his titles were probably the same; in No. 31 he is only "royal acquaintance."

Note to Pl. XII. Mr. Petrie's ingenious but rather surprising restoration of female dancers waving gazelle-headed wands is confirmed by a sign in the Pyramid texts, which represents this wand in the hand of a woman. It occurs as the determinative of the word *duat*, which probably signifies women skilled in this kind of dance. See Merenra, l. 467, and the parallel texts.—F. LL. G.

INDEX.

Aah dad, 37.
Addax, 8, 43.
Algerian skulls, 25.
Amulets, 16, 17.
Ancestor worship, ritual, 10.
An-nefer, 7, 42.
Anta, tomb of, 4.
„ sepulchral chamber, 5.
„ skull of, 5.
Apa, 7, 42.
Arabs, settled tribes of, 1.
Archers, Egyptian, 6.
Ateta, name of Shedu, 9, 44.

Ba, passage for, into sepulchre, 9.
Bahsamun, work at, 38-41.
Barge for funeral, 11.
Baskets of Vth Dynasty, 33.
Beads, 16, 17, 21.
Bedawi auxiliaries, 6.
Behnesa, work at, 1.
Beni Hasan, war scenes, 6.
Birds, trapping of, 7, 9.
Board of Mera, 20.
Boat building, 7, 8.
Boat, men in, leading cattle, 9.
Boat, model, 19.
Boat of Anta, 7, 42.
Boats of papyrus, 7.
Boats with oars raised, 11.
Bodies buried perfect, 16-19.
„ dissevered, 20-24.
Bones broken, 18.
Bow, breaking, in submission, 6.
Brand, or label, on bull, 8, 43.
Bulls, 8, 9, 43.
„ dwarfed, 10.
Burials, orientation of, 19. *See* Bodies, Coffins, Mummies, Summary.
„ in crack of rock, 23.
„ Roman, at Bahsamun, 38-40.

Calf's head and haunch offerings, 15, 37.
Captives of Sati, 6.
Carnelian beads, &c., 16.
Carpenters, 10.
Cattle, scenes of, 7, 8, 9, 11, 45.
Child's body, perfect, 22.
Chisels of Vth Dynasty, 8, 33.
Clap-net, 9.
Cloth and clothing, 8, 16, 31, 32.
Coffin of Nenkheftek, 15.
„ with amulets, 16.
„ tilted, 17.
„ box-framed, 18, 21.
„ solid block, 18.
„ of Mera, 20.
Combat, scenes of, 6.
Contracted burials, 17, 18.
Copper staples on coffin, 16.
„ pan, 19.
Coppersmiths, 8.
Coptic destructions, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11.
Crane, carried, 7.
Crocodile, 11.
Cubit, 37.
Cylinder, glazed pottery, 19.
Cypriote pottery, 36.

Dancers, 8.
Demez, 7, 42.
Deshasheh, settling at, 2.
„ desert plateau, 2.
„ cemetery, 2.
„ town at a distance, 2, 3.
Dissevered bodies, partially, 20, 21.
„ „ entirely, 22-24.
Donkeys, 11.
Door, false, for offerings, 35.
Drying of bodies, 15, 18, 20.
Dwarf, slinging, 7.
„ with beads, &c., 8.

Eighteenth Dynasty burials, 15, 18, 36, 37, 38.
Erdunefhotep, 10, 11, 46.
Er Righa, 2.
Exploration along desert, 1.
Eye amulet, 16.
Eyes painted on coffin, 15, 16.

Façade of tomb of Shedu, 9, 11.
Feast, preparation for, 8.
Fish-drying, 7.
Fishers with net, 7.
„ carrying fish, 7.
Fishing scene, 10, 11.
Fort of the Sati, 6, 7.
Frog amulet, 17.
Funeral barge, 11.

Galabiyeh, an ancient pattern, 31.
Garson, Dr., measurements by, 25.
Geere, Mr. H. V., 3, 38-41.
Genett cats, 10.
Girl carried away captive, 6.
Glazed stone beads, 16, 34.
„ pottery cylinder, 19.
Goats browsing, 9.
Gold foil, 16.
Graining of wood, 20.
Granaries figured, 11, 20, 46.
Grenfell, Mr. B. P., 1.
Griffith, Mr. F. Ll., 42.

Haematite beads, 16.
Haes, Mr. Frank, 3.
Hand amulets, 16.
Harper and singers, 8.
Hatchet of Vth Dynasty, 8.
Head-rests, sculptured, 10.
„ of Nenkheftek, 15.
„ solid block, 16, 17.
„ fluted stem, 18.
„ with inscription, 20.
„ under thigh, 21.
„ beyond head, 22.
„ of various types, 34.
„ of XVIIIth Dynasty, 37.
Hippopotamus, 11.
„ head amulet, 17.
Hornet amulet, 17.
Horus pendant, 16.
Hotep hieroglyph, 35.
Hunt, Mr. A. S., 1, 3.
Huntsman and dog, 8.
Hyaena led, 7.

Ibex, 8, 43.
Inscriptions, cut on coffin, 18.
„ of Anta, 42.
„ of Shedu, 44.
„ of Mera, 46.
„ of Nenkheftek, 47.

Jar for drink-offerings, 5.
Jasper, green, 16.

Ka priests, 9.
Khaensebek, 9, 45.
Khu Teta, 4, 9, 45.
Khyt, 7, 42.
Kilted stuff, 16, 32.
Kohl-pot of alabaster, 15.

Lakes by western desert, 1.
Leather-working, 8, 10, 46.
Leopard's head amulet, 17.
Lever-press, 10.
Lion amulets, 17.
Lute, inlaid, 37.

Mallets of Vth Dynasty, 33.
Medum, skulls from, 25, 26.
„ bones, 27-29.
Memphis, name of, 20, 46.
Menti-Satet, war of, 5.
Mera, coffin and body, 20.
„ panel, 20, 46.
Mertates, 10, 45.
Mertefs, 10, 45.
Mezau, 46.
Milk, determinative of, 9.
Mining a fort, 6.
Minmert, wife of Anta, 7, 8, 43, 44.
Mourners, 11.
Mummies, Roman, 2.
Mummifying not practised early, 15.
Murray, Miss, 4.

Nedaa, town, 5, 42.
Neferhoteps, wife of Nenkheftka (A), 4.
Neferseshems, wife of Nenkheftka (B), 4, 14.
Nena, 10, 11, 46.
Nenkheftek, date of, 4.
„ tomb of, 12, 15.

Nenkheftek, statues, 13-15.
„ inscription of, 47.
Nenkheftka, date of, 4.
„ tomb of, 12.
„ statues, 13-15, 47.
Net-work stuff, 19, 32.
New Race skulls, 25, 26.
„ bones, 27-29.

Oars raised, 11.
Offerings, 9; on coffins, 15, 20.
Orientation of burials, 19.
Oryx, 8, 43.
Oxyrhynkhos, work at, 1.

Painters, 8.
Palestinian pottery, 36, 37, 38.
Palettes of scribes, 34, 35.
Papyrus work, 7, 34, 35.
Pendant beads, 21.
Perfect bodies buried in coffins, 16, 17.
„ „ without coffins, 18, 19.
Phoenician pottery, 15.
Pillars in tomb of Anta, 5, 8.
„ of tomb of Shedu, 9.
Plaster coffin heads, site for, 1.
Plaster harder than stone, 11.
Plundering of bodies while fresh, 18.
Pottery, 5, 16, 18, 19, 22, 23, 35-38.
Priestly dress, 7.
Pyramid, figured, 11.

Quarrying, 34.

Ranefer, scribe, 43.
Redinefhotep, 10, 11, 46.
Restorations on the plates, 6, 8.
Ritual of ancestor worship, 10.
Roman mummies, 2, 38, 39.
„ skulls, 29, 30.
„ tombs and town at Bahsamun, 38-41.

Sacrifice of ox, 8, 9, 11.
„ performed by sons, 9.
Sandals, sculptured, 8.
„ made, 8.
„ in coffin, 20.
Sandstone sharpeners, 34.
Sati, war of, 5, 6, 7.
Sati women fighting, 6.
„ chief of, 6.
Sawing, 10.
Scenery of western desert, 1.
Scribe, 8, 9.
Sculptor, 8.
Secondary burials, 15, 18, 36, 37.
Serdabs, 5, 9, 12.
Shedu, date of, 4.
„ tomb of, 9.
„ second name Ateta, 9.
Shirts of Vth Dynasty, 31, 32.
Siege of fort, 6, 7.
Singers, 8.
Skeletons, measurements of, 27-29.
Skulls, measurements of, 25-30.
Statues of Nenkheftka and son, 13.
„ breakage of, 13.
„ wooden, 19, 31.
String in board-picture, 20.
Summary of modes of burial, 24.

Temple of a pyramid, figured, 11.
Tetakhu, son of Shedu, 4, 9, 45.
Thompson, Mr. Herbert, 3.
Throw-stick, 10, 37.
Thy, name of Nenkheftek, 4, 15.
Thy of Saqqara, 4.
Titles of Anta, 42.
„ Shedu, 44.
Town of the Sati, 5, 6, 7.
Trapping of birds, 7.

Umran Khallil, native antiquary, 2.
Urlin, Miss Hilda, 3.

Vases figured in tombs, 7, 10.
Vineyard scene, 9.

Walker, Dr. J. H., 3.
War of Sati, 5, 6, 7.
Warren, Mr., measurements by, 27.
Water-skin, determinative, 10.
Weaving in Vth Dynasty, 32.
Women skeletons compared with men, 28.
„ of Sati, captive, 6.
„ „ fighting Bedawin, 6.
Wooden chisels, 33.
Workmen, 8, 10.

LIST OF PLATES.

PLATE

Frontispiece. Nenkheftka (photograph).
I. Cemetery of Deshasheh. Plan.
II. Groups of tombs.
III. Plans of tombs, Anta and Shedu.

TOMB OF ANTA.

IV. N. of E. wall. Battle and siege.
V. N. wall. Boat building, &c.
VI. N. of W. wall. Ship of Anta.
VII. N. of Recess. Inscription.
VIII. Back of Recess. Offerings.
IX. S. of Recess. Children, &c.
X. S. of W. wall. Anta and wife.
XI. S. of W. wall. Animals.
XII. S. wall. Dancers, harper, &c.
XIII. S. of E. wall. Workmen.
XIV. Pillar.

TOMB OF SHEDU.

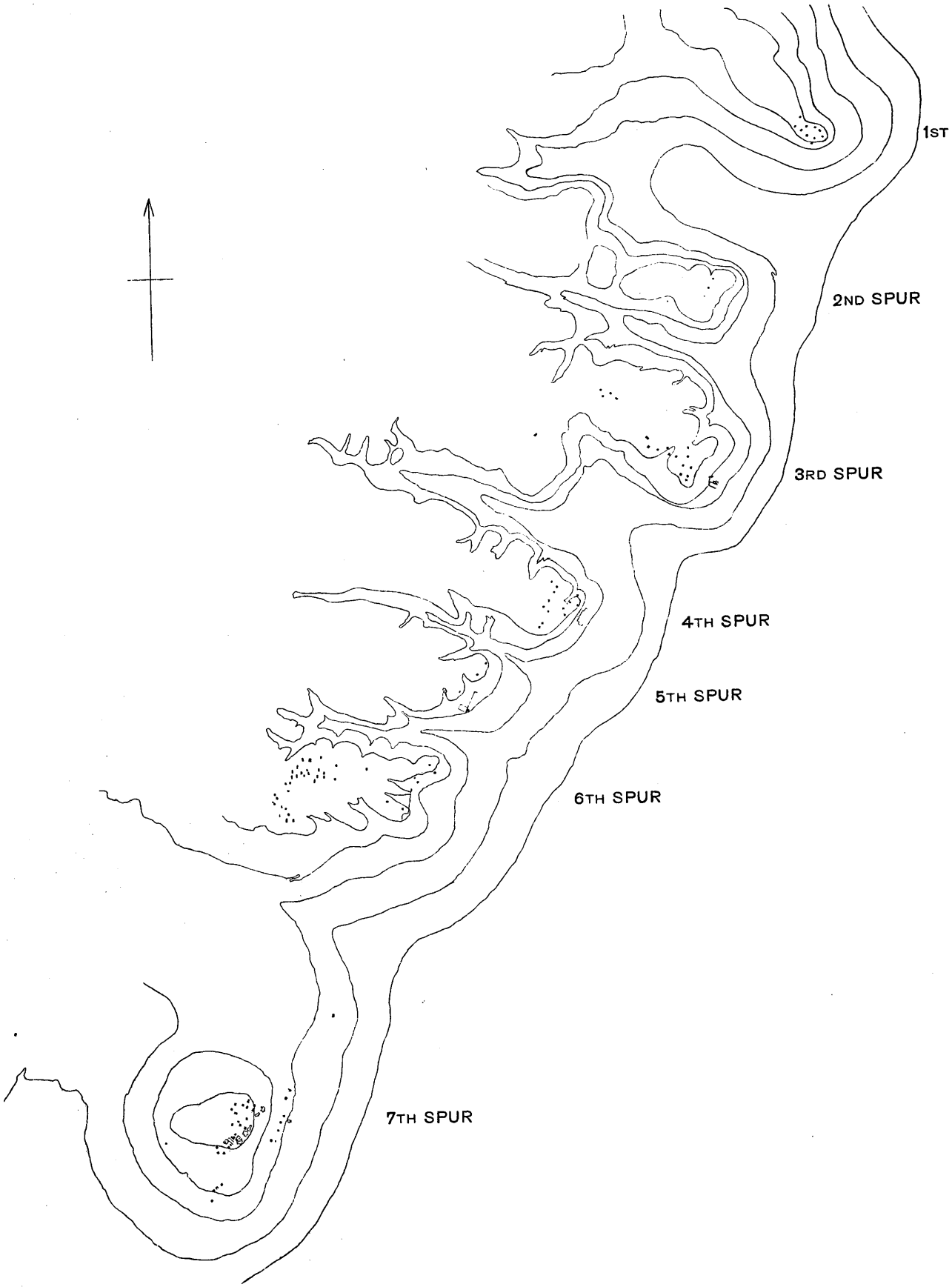
XV. N. of E. wall. Field scenes.
XVI. E. of N. wall. Vineyard.
XVII. W. of N. wall. Servants.
XVIII. N. of W. wall. Cattle.
XIX. Pilasters and Recess.
XX. S. of Recess. List of offerings.

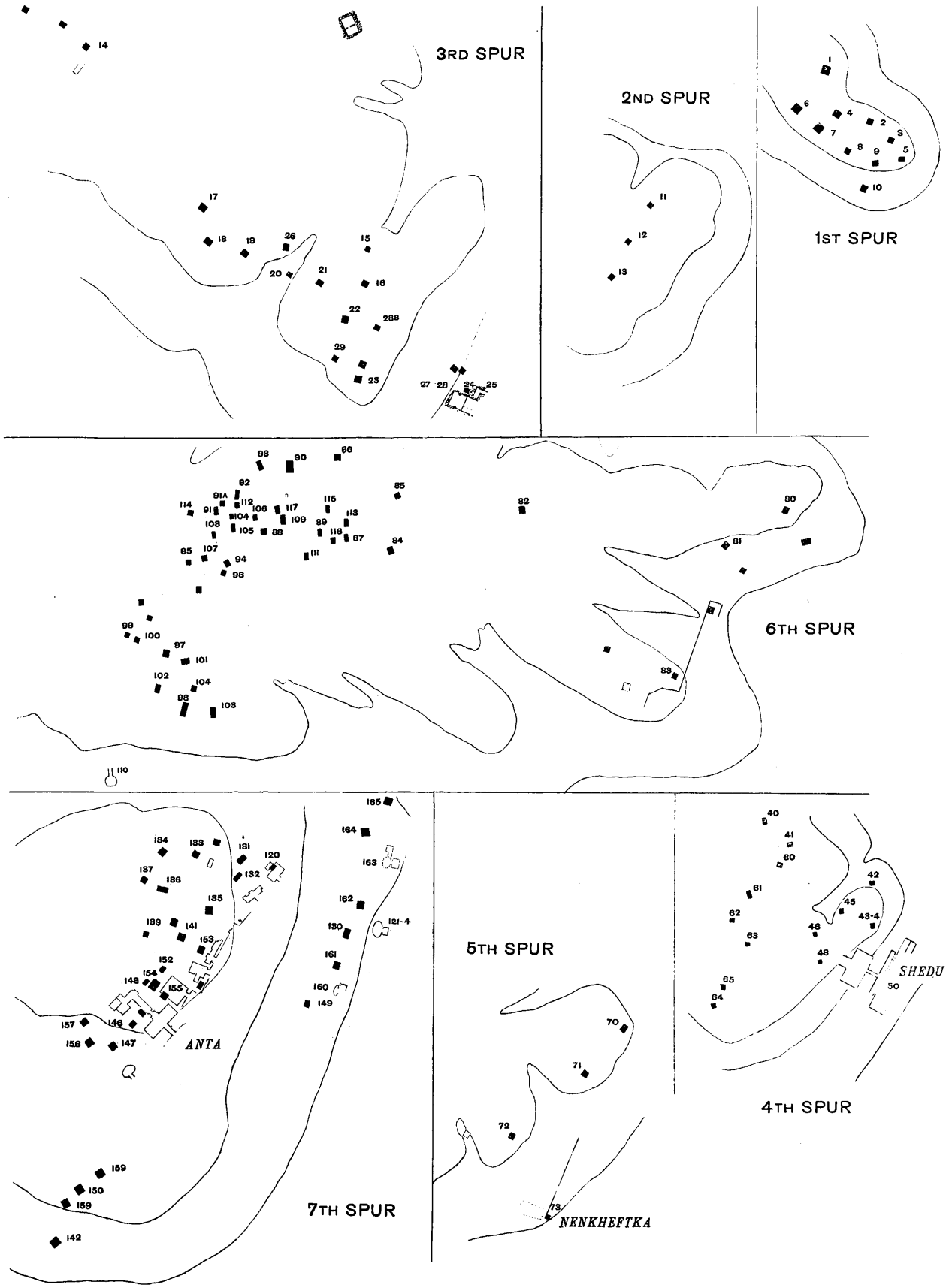
PLATE

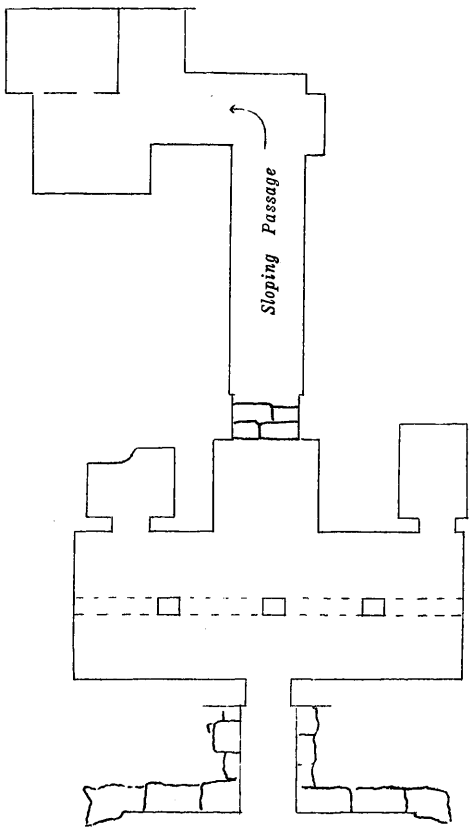
XXI. W. of S. wall. Workmen.
XXII. E. of S. wall. Fishing.
XXIII. S. of E. wall. Harvesting.
XXIV. Façade. Fishing, Pyramid, &c.
XXV. Façade. Boats and cooking.

XXVI. Amulets and Beads.
XXVII. Painted board of Mera (coloured).
XXVIII. Coffin of Mera.
XXIX. Coffin of Nenkheftek.
XXX. Nenkheftka and Nenkheftek (photograph).
XXXI. Nenkheftka and Nefersems (photograph).
XXXII. Nenkheftka, at London and Cairo (photograph).
XXXIII. Pottery. Inscriptions of Nenkheftka.
XXXIV. Baskets, mallets, chisels, &c. (photograph).
XXXV. Positions of bodies.
XXXVI. Skulls (photograph).
XXXVII. Dissevered bones (Röntgen photograph).

1:4000 DESHASHEH. CEMETERY. I.

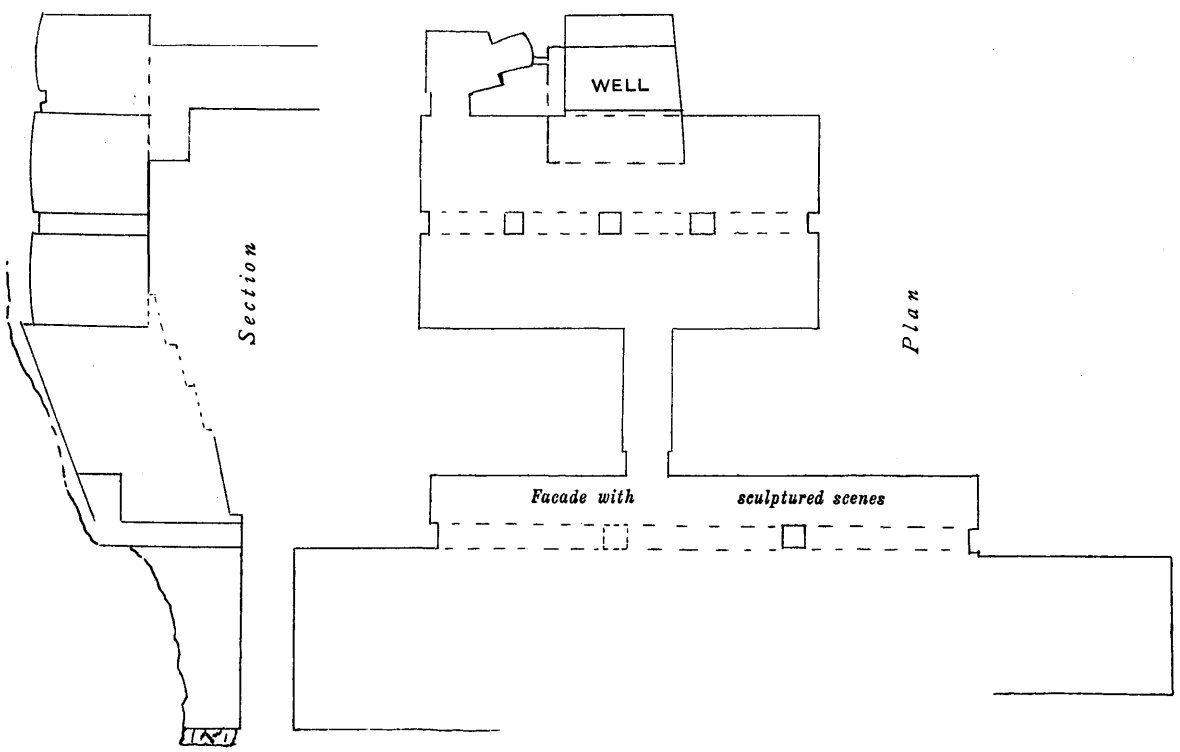


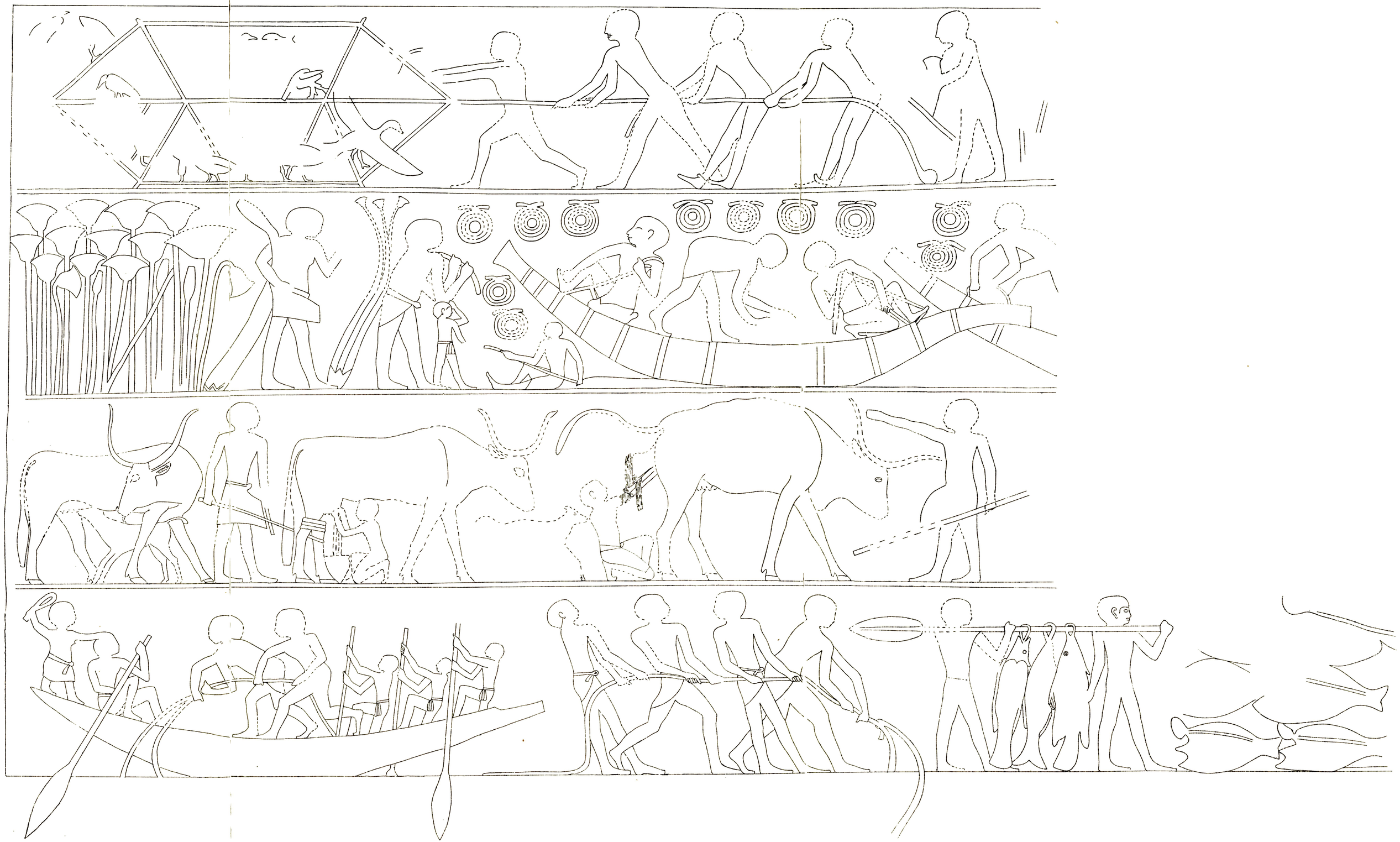

3RD SPUR
2ND SPUR
1ST SPUR
6TH SPUR
5TH SPUR
4TH SPUR
7TH SPUR
ANTA
SHEDU
NENKHEFTKA

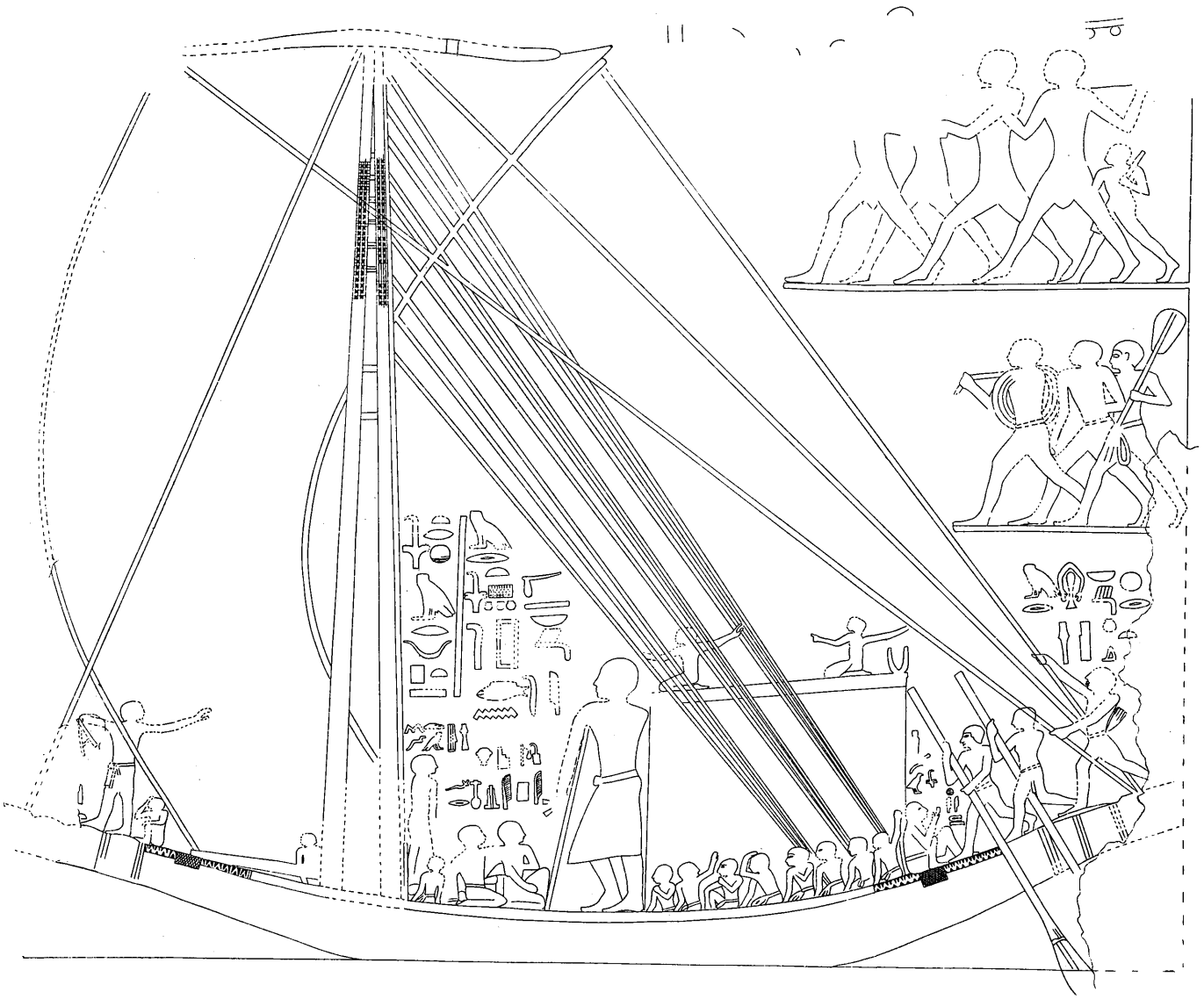


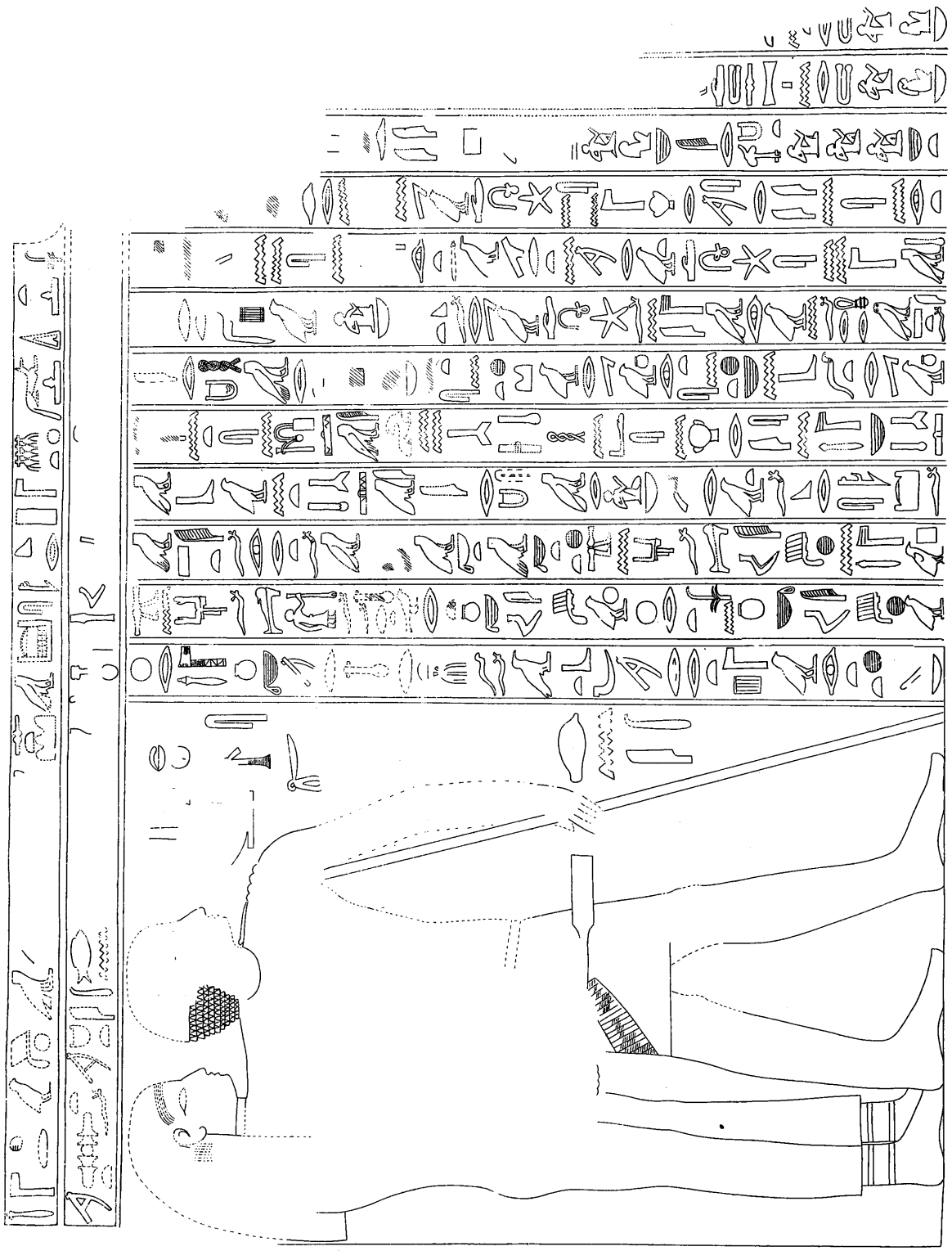
TOMB OF ANTA

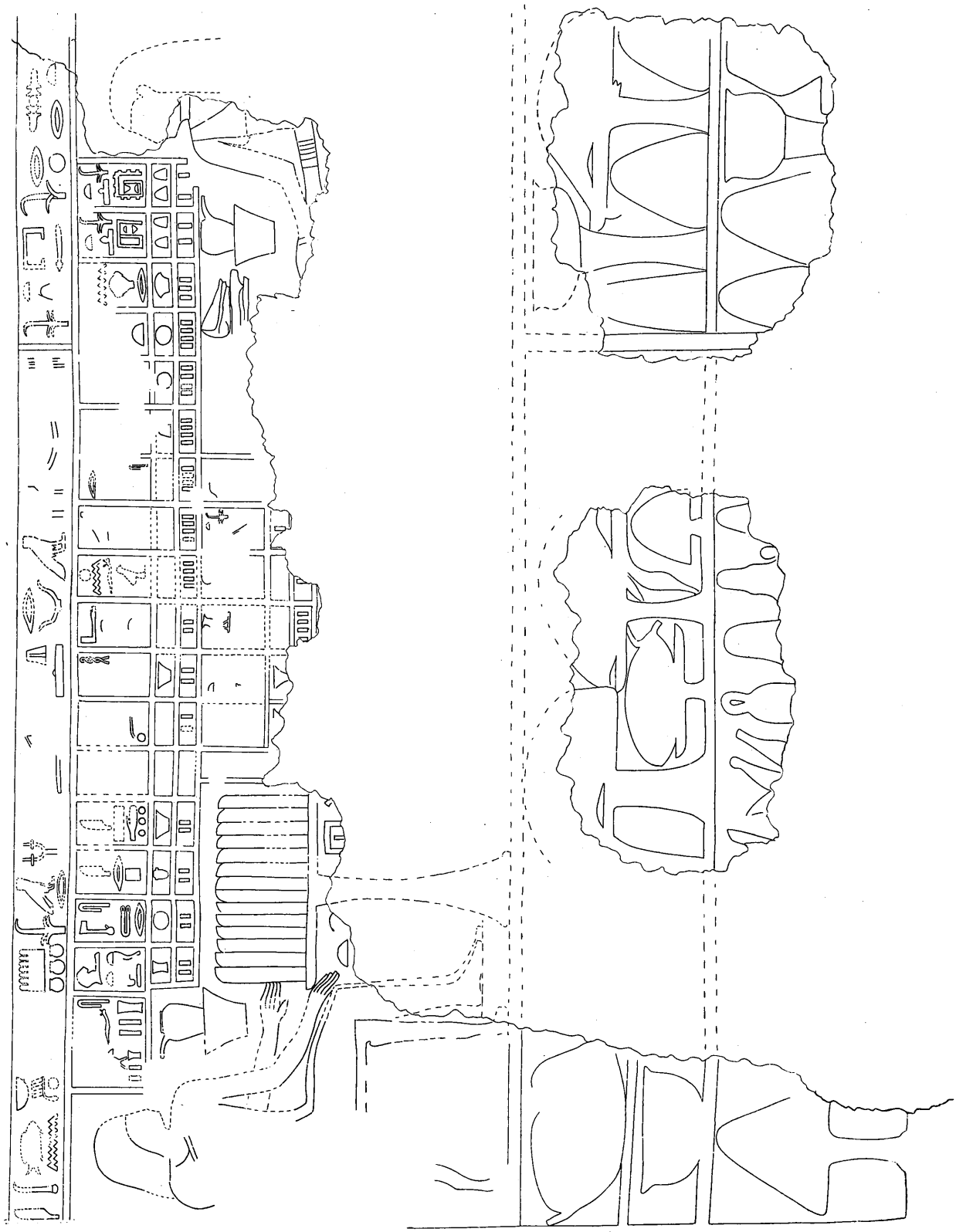
TOMB OF SHEDU

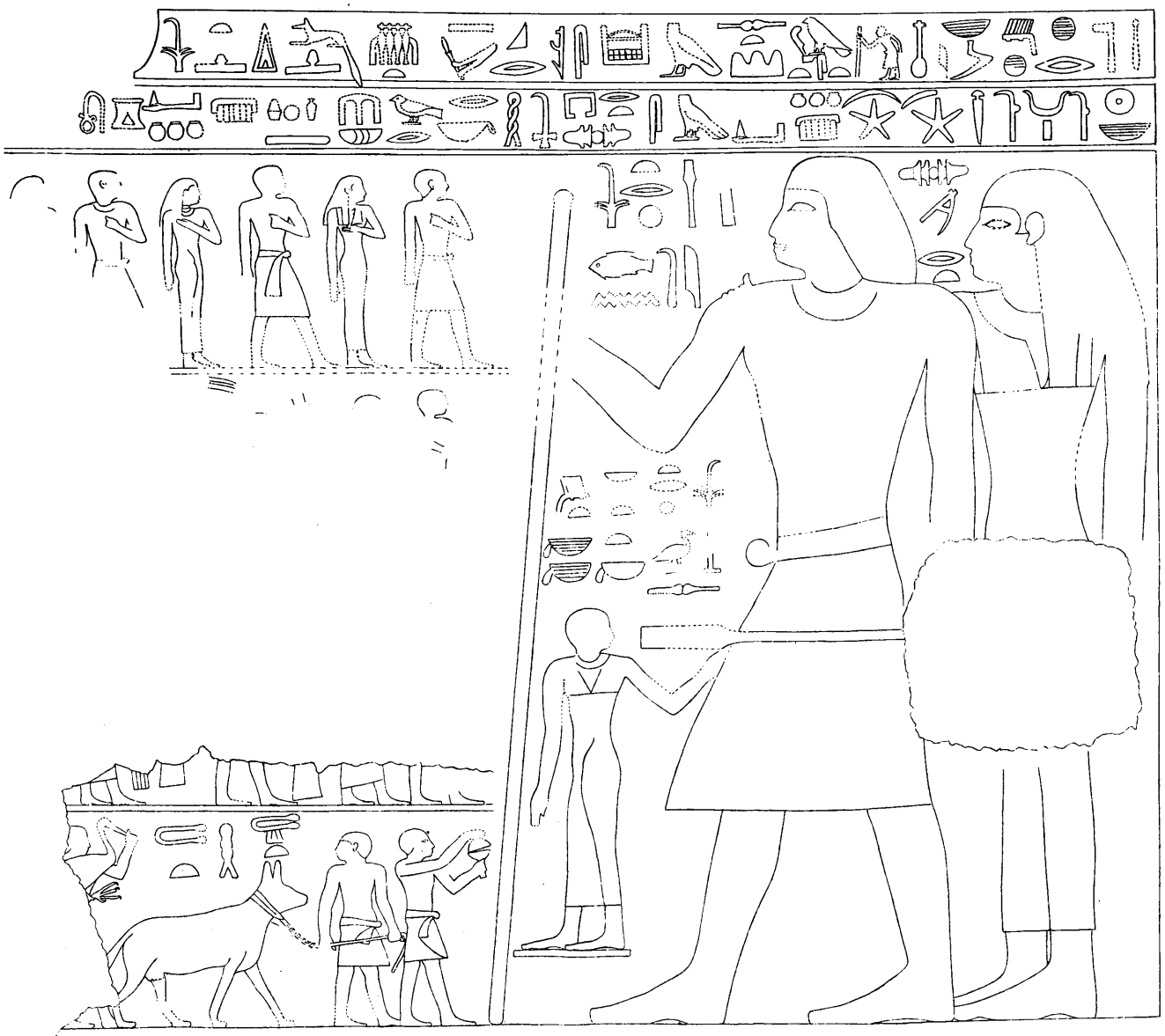


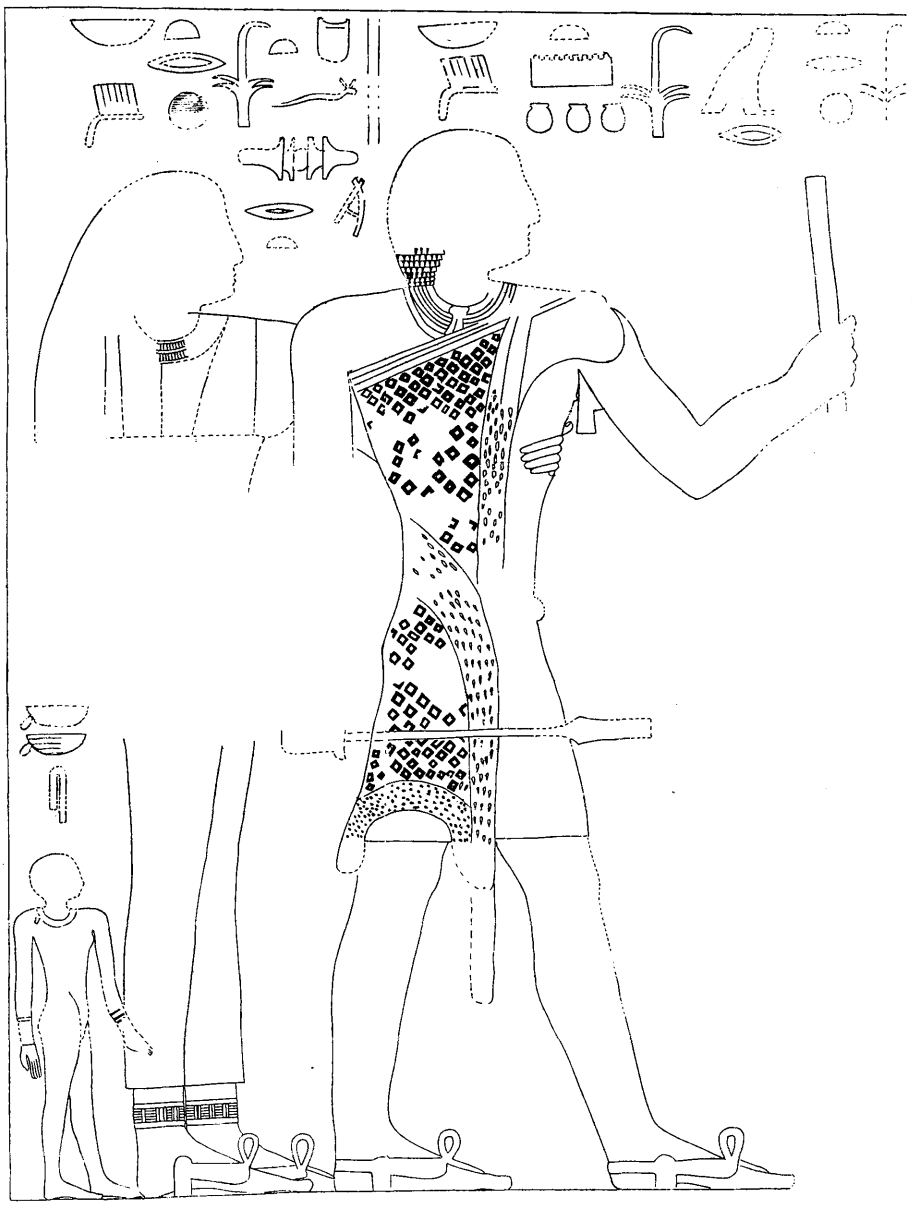


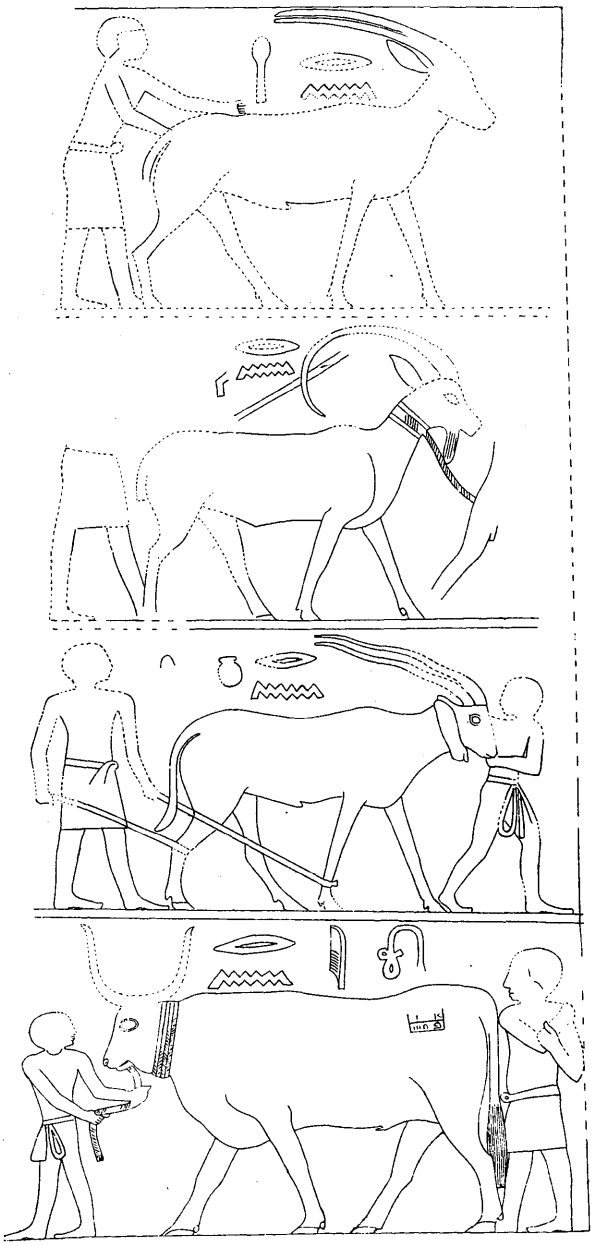


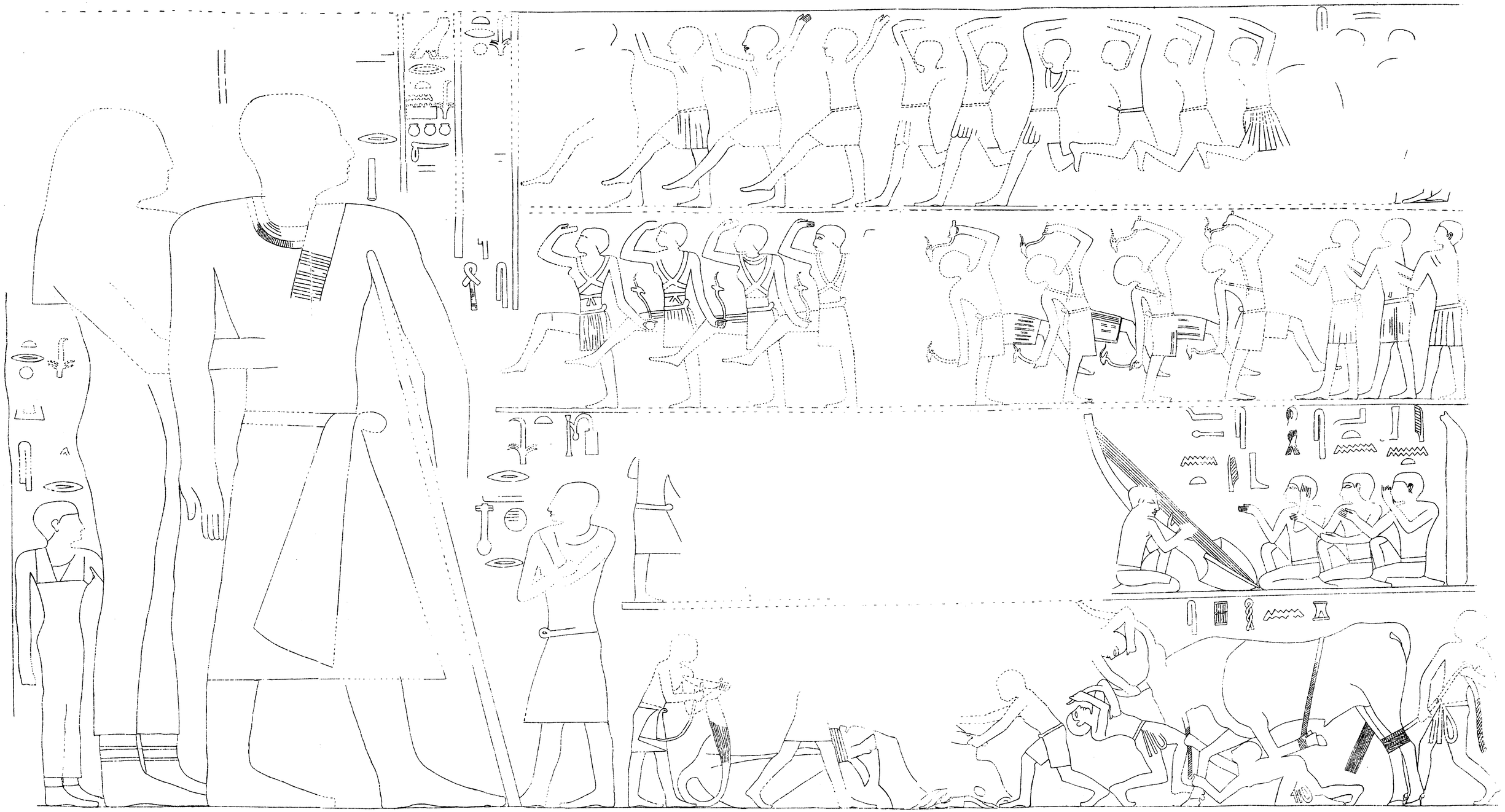


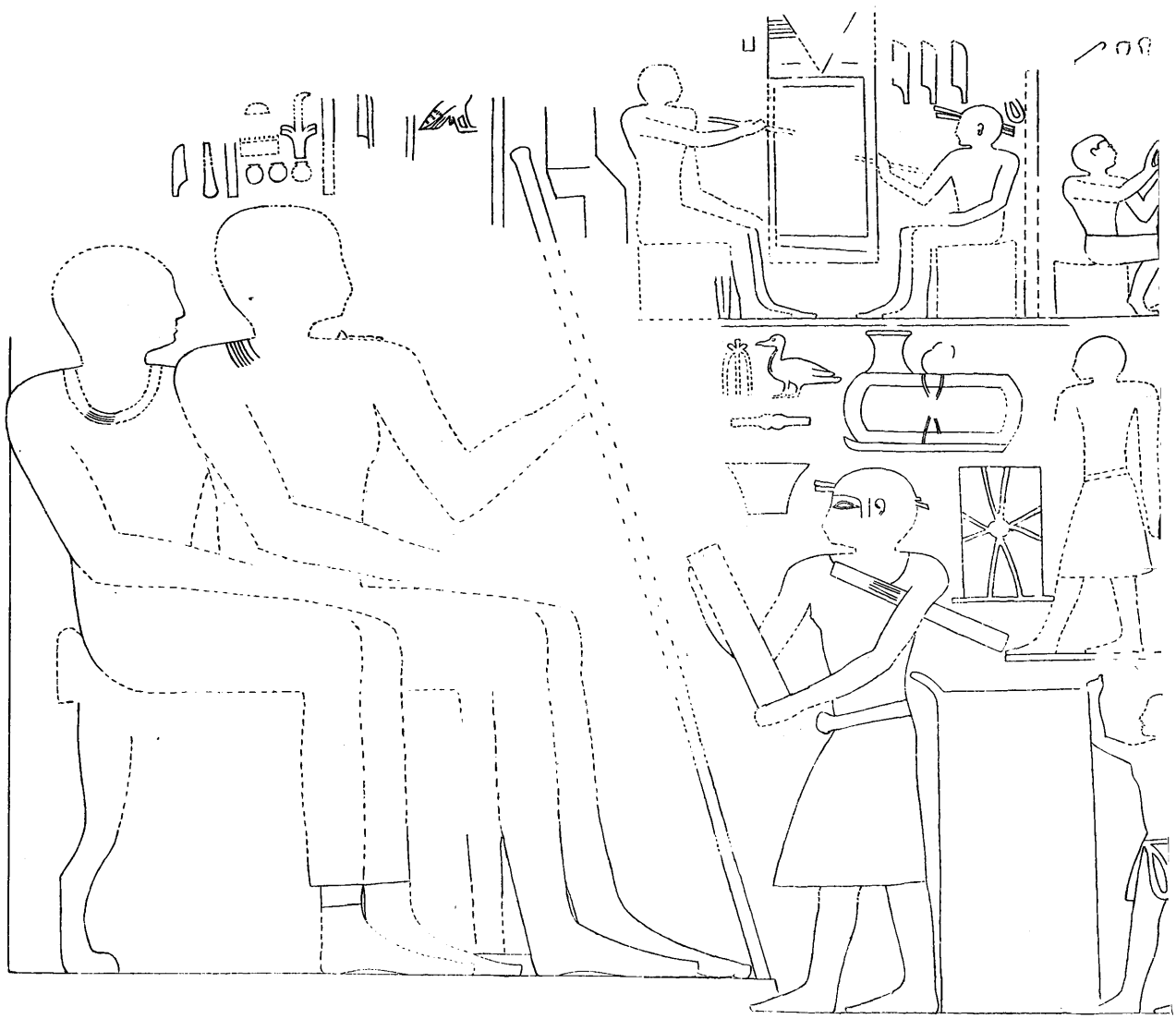


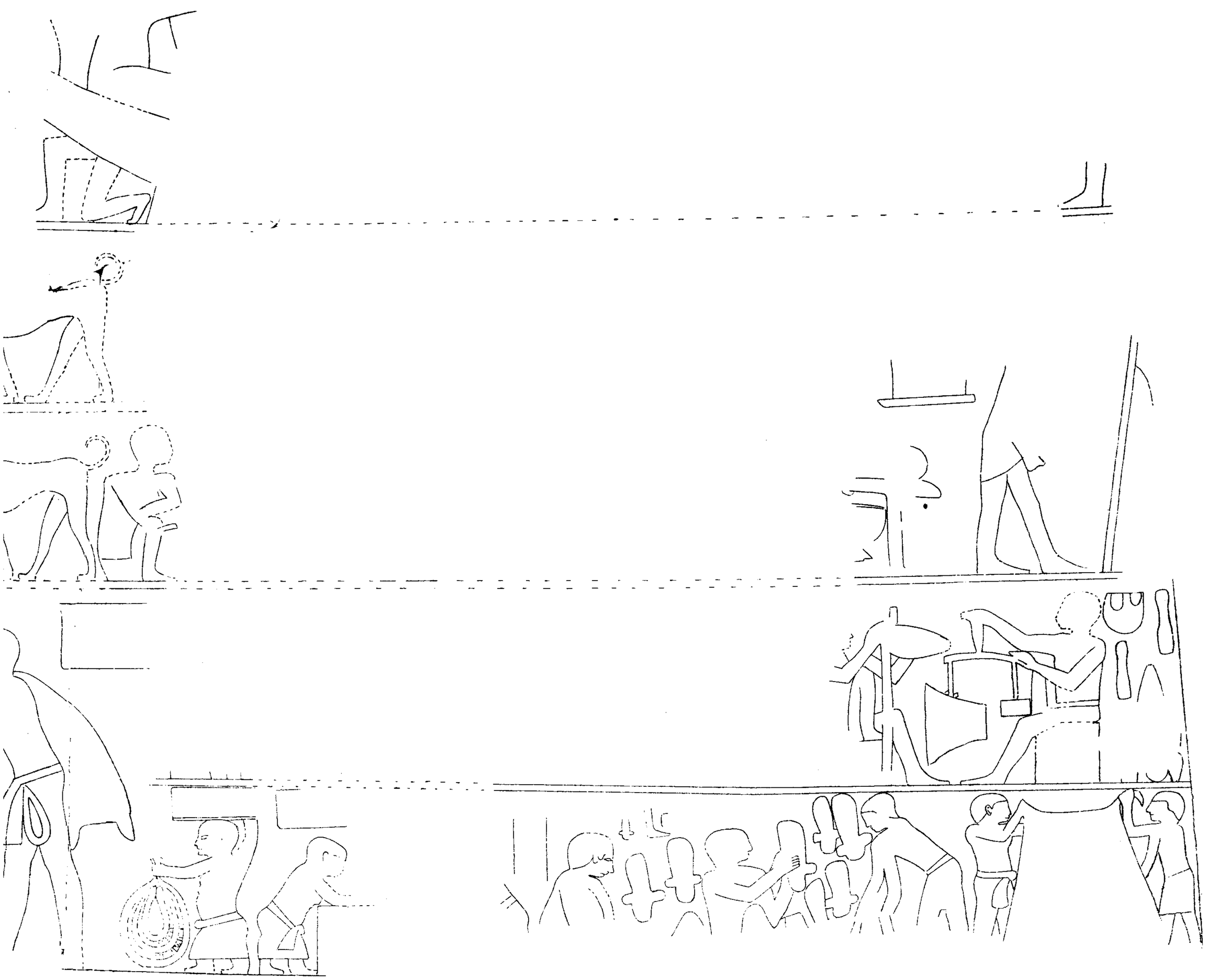


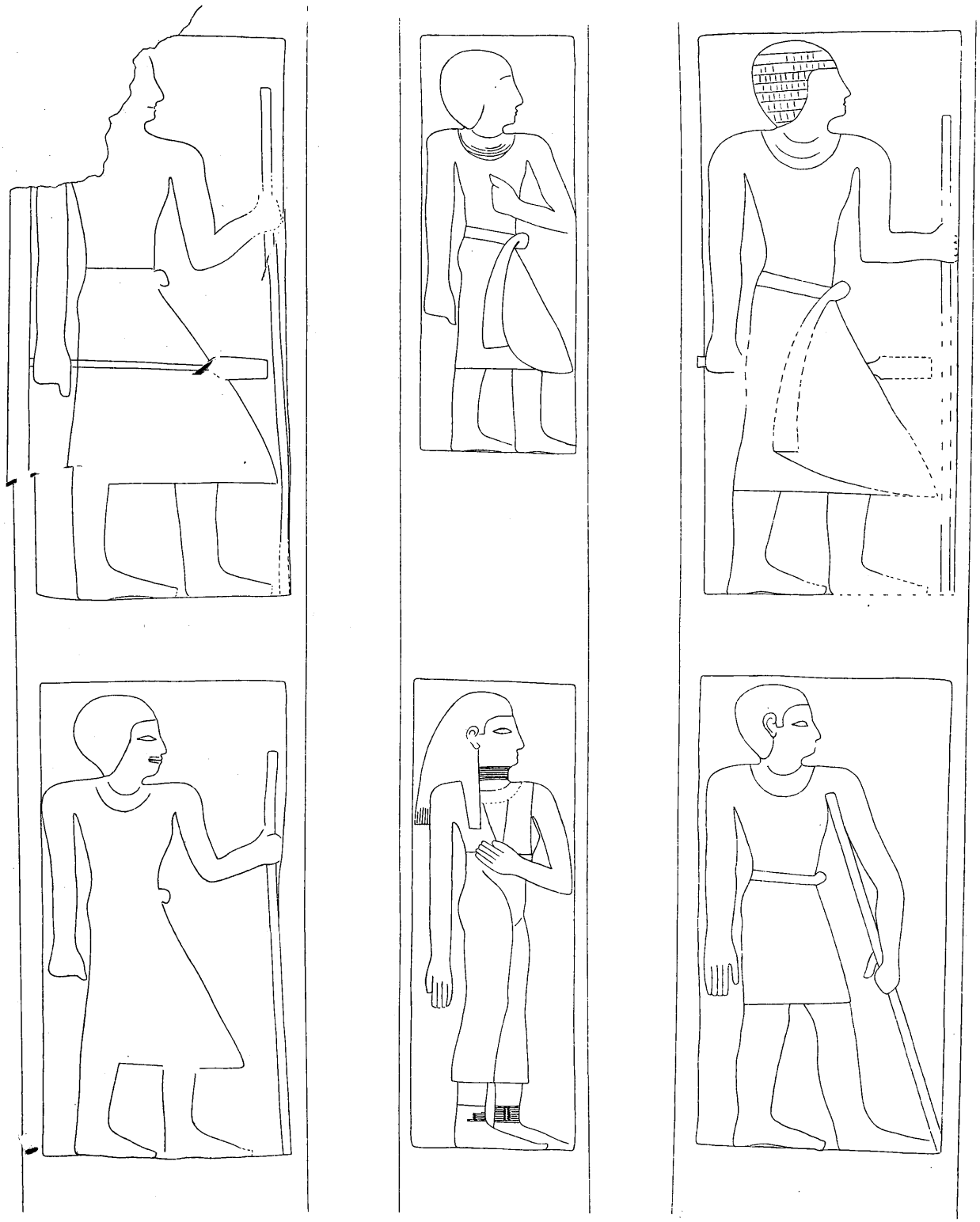


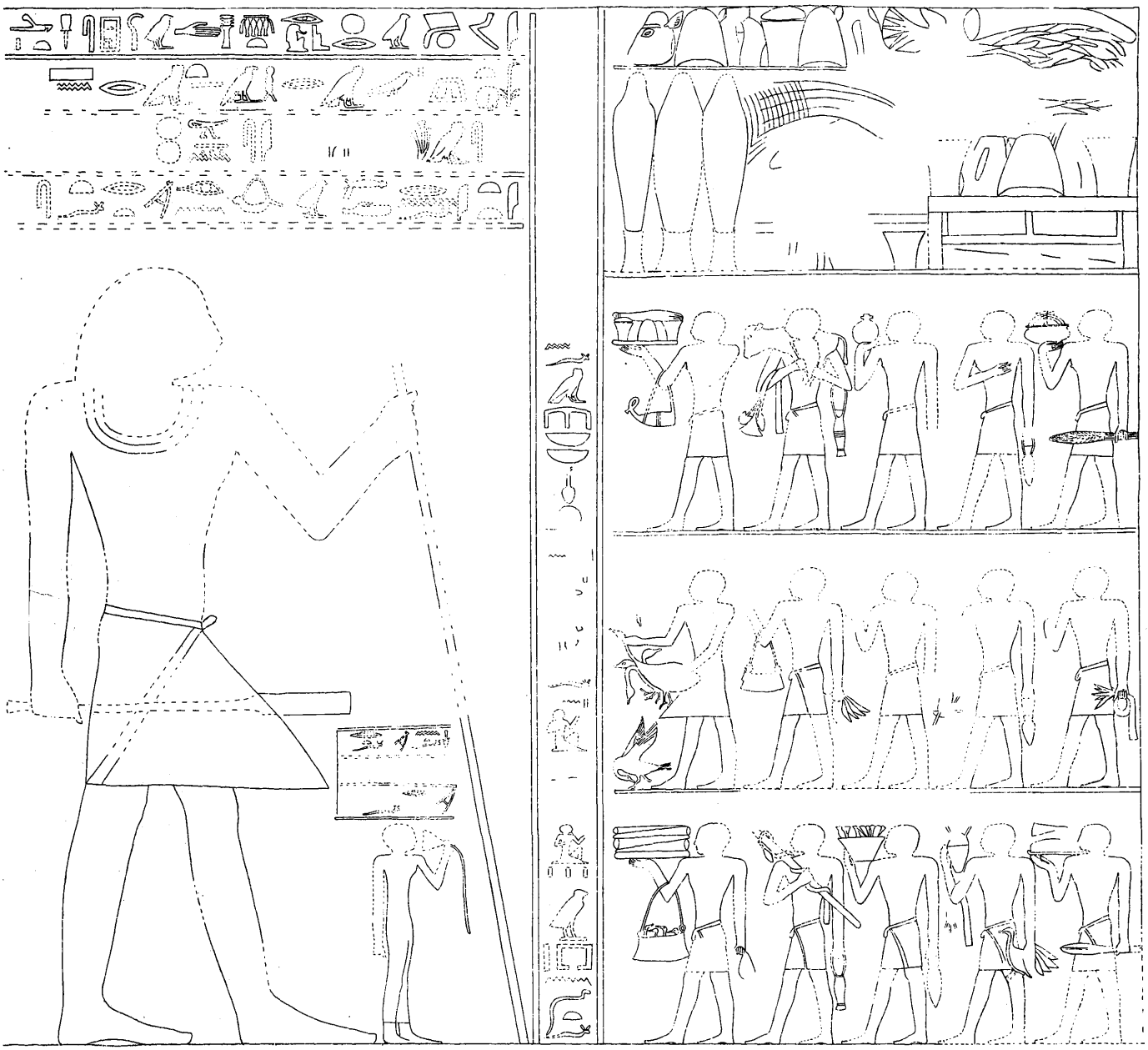


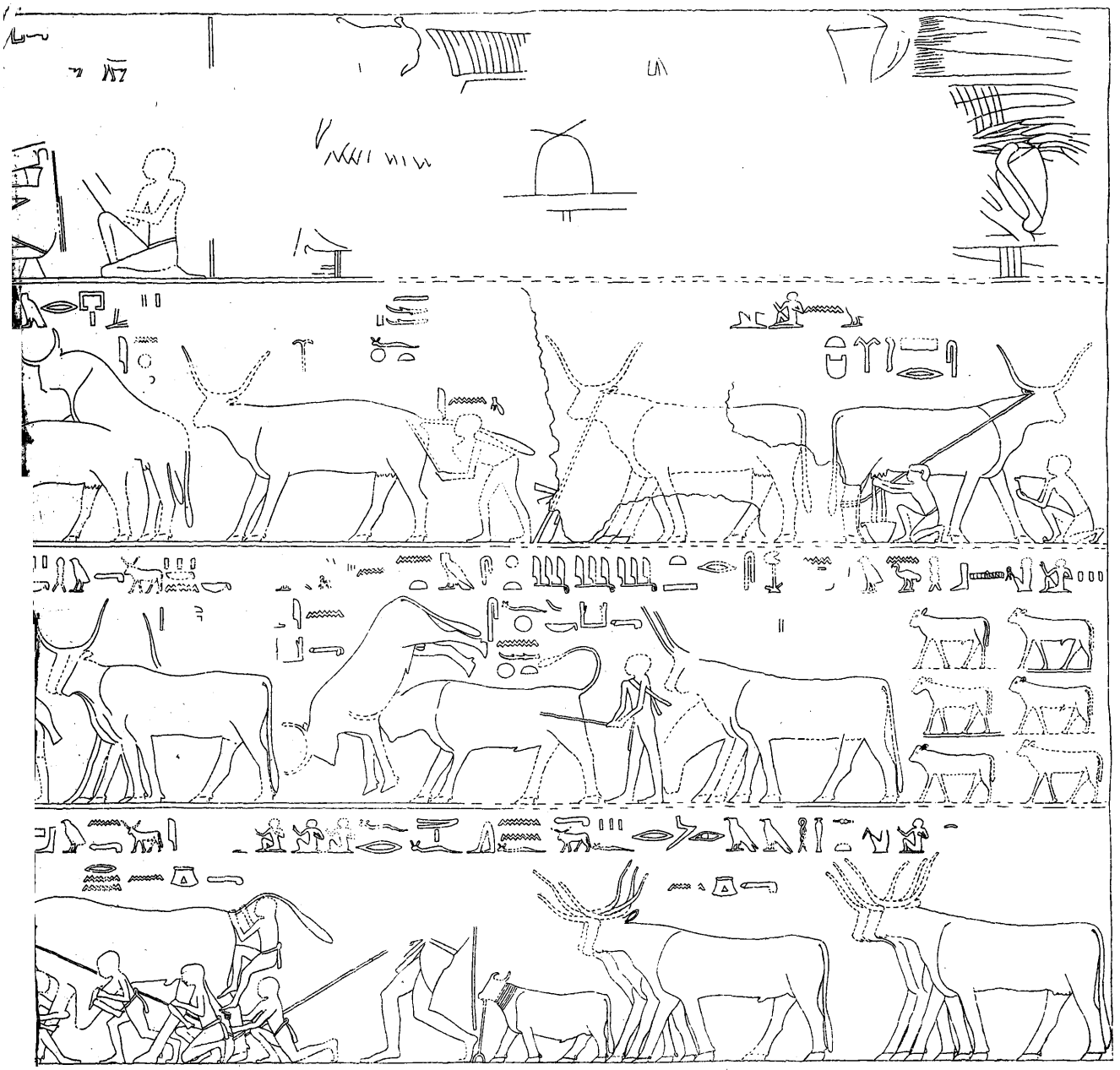




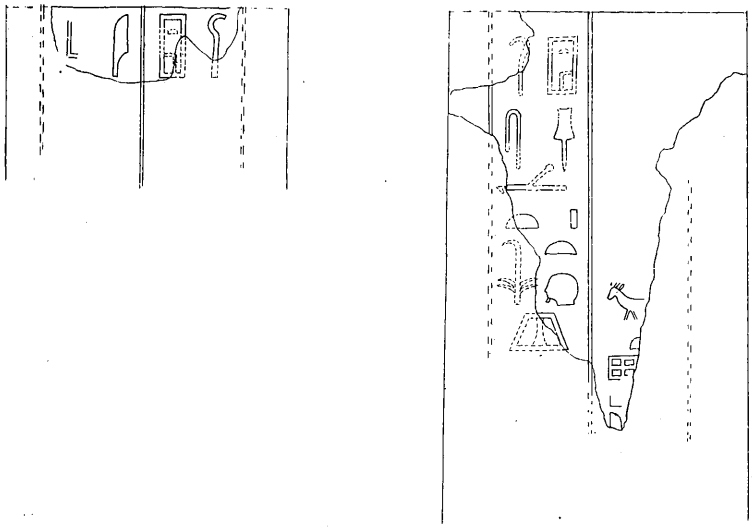






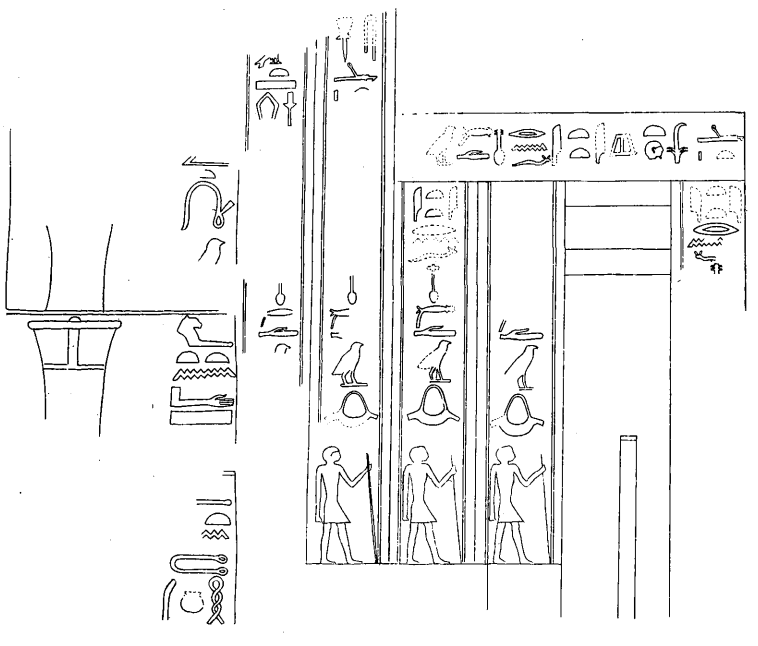


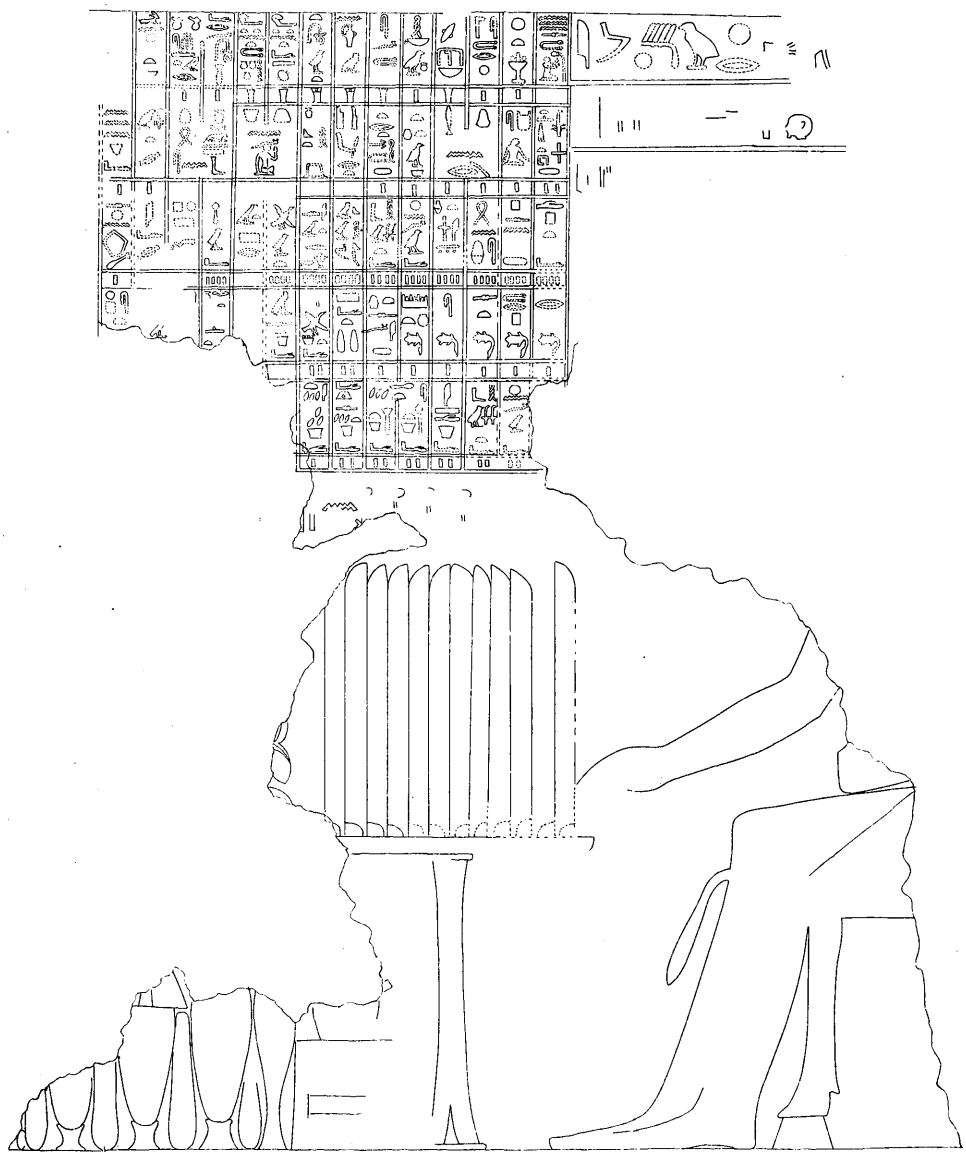
Pilasters of N. and S. walls

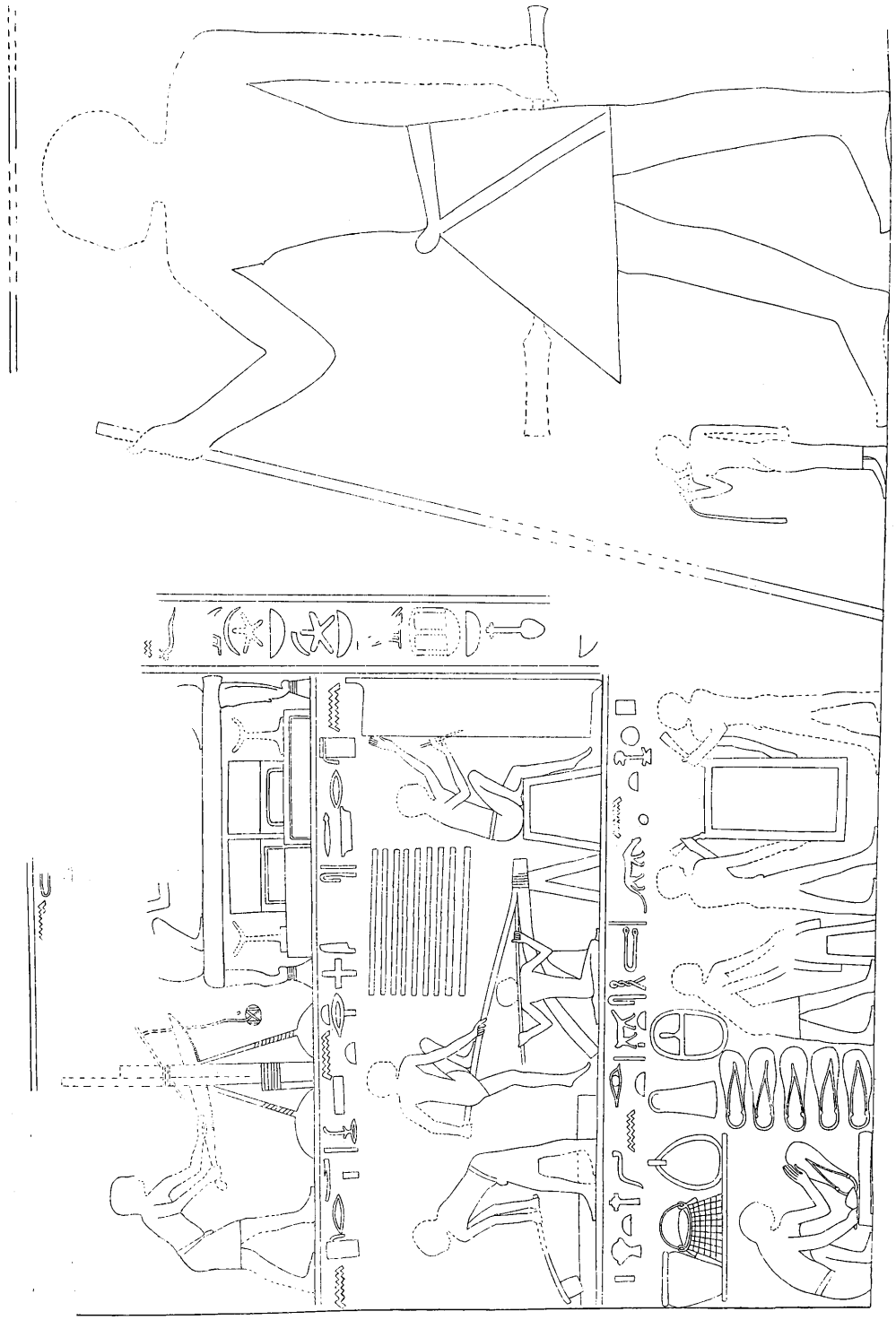


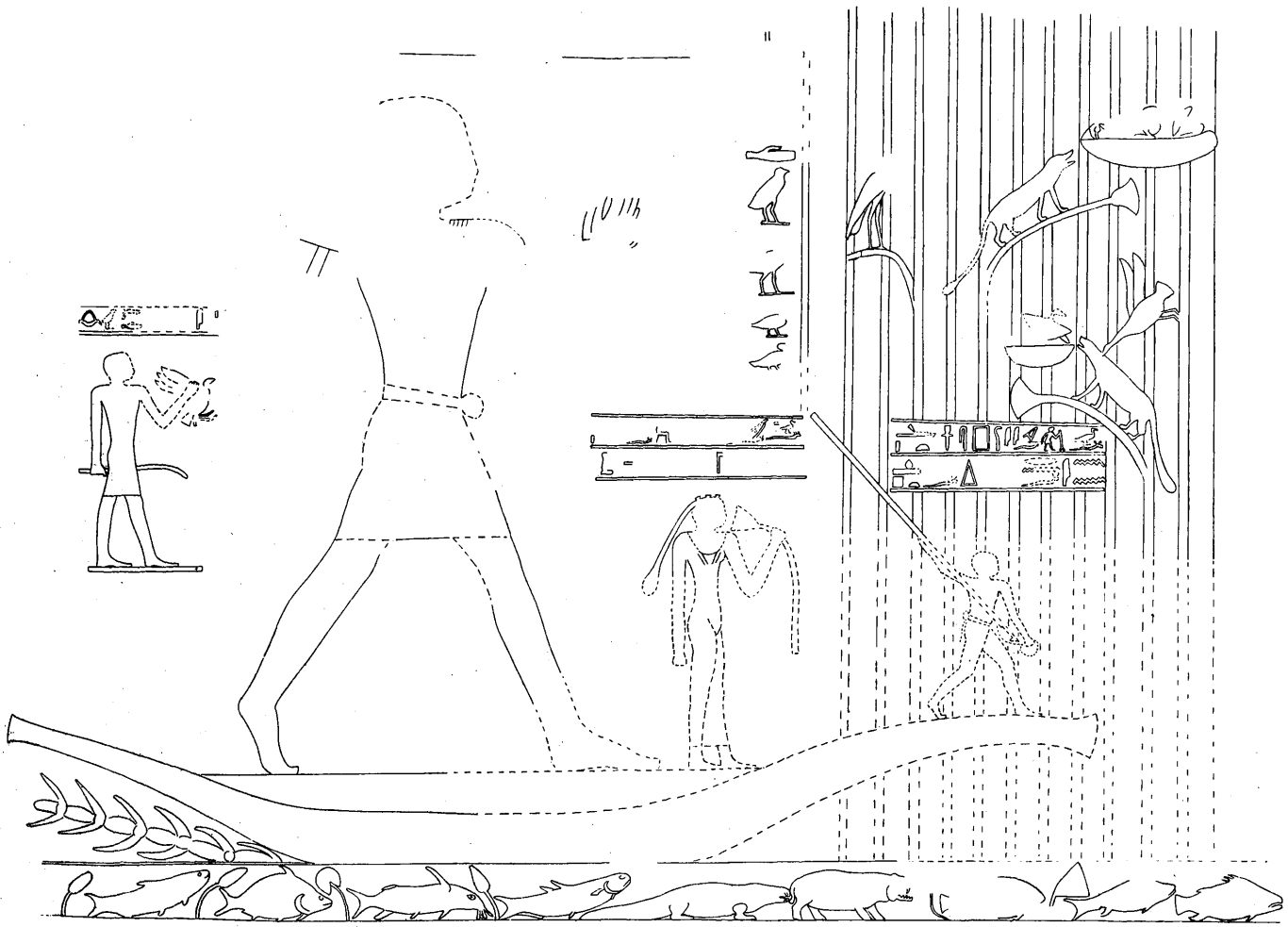
S. wall of recess

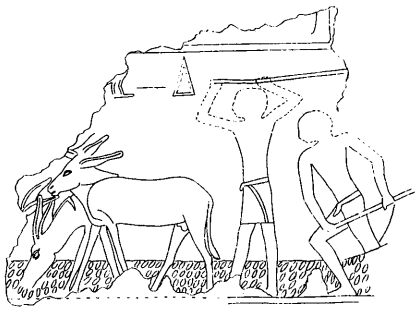
Back of recess

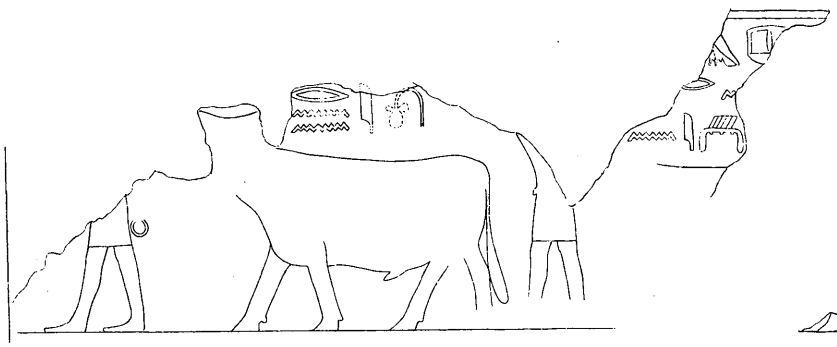


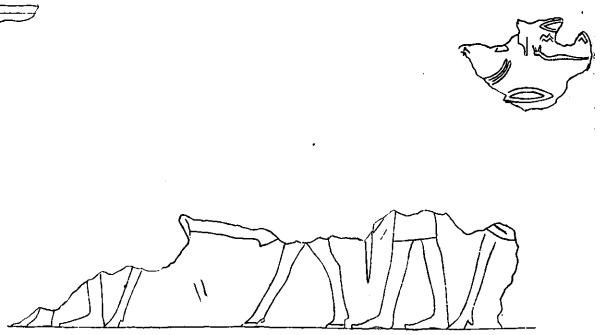


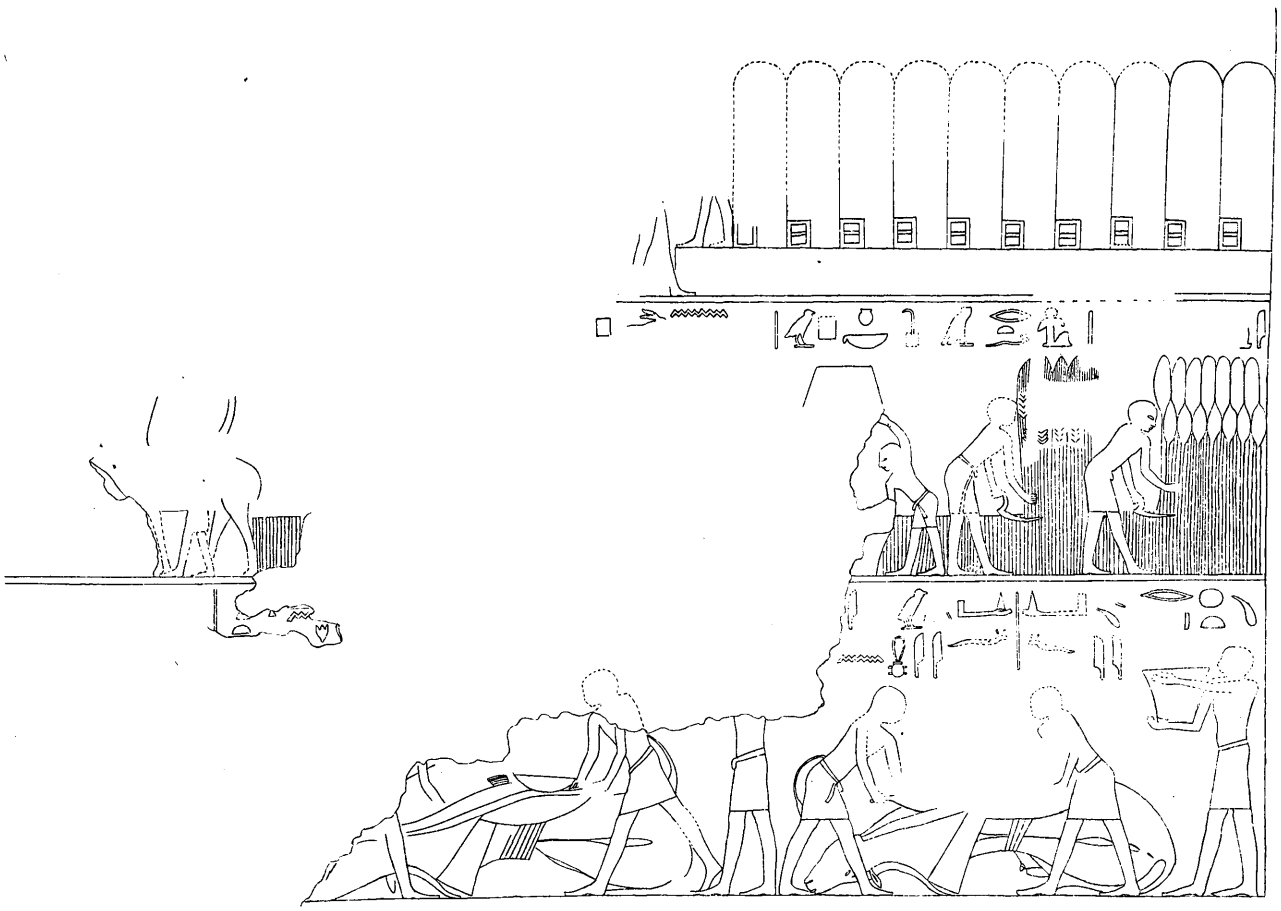


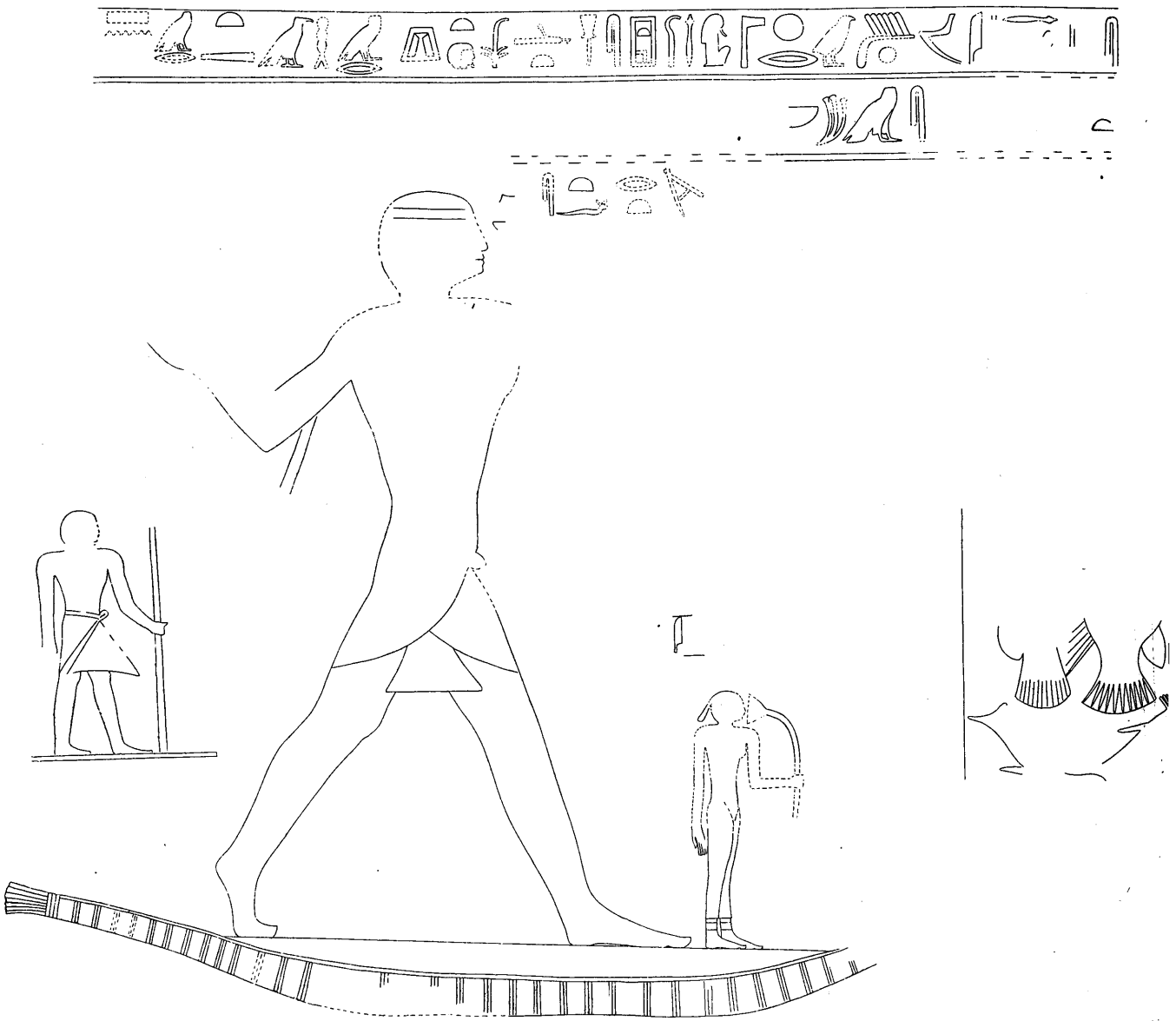


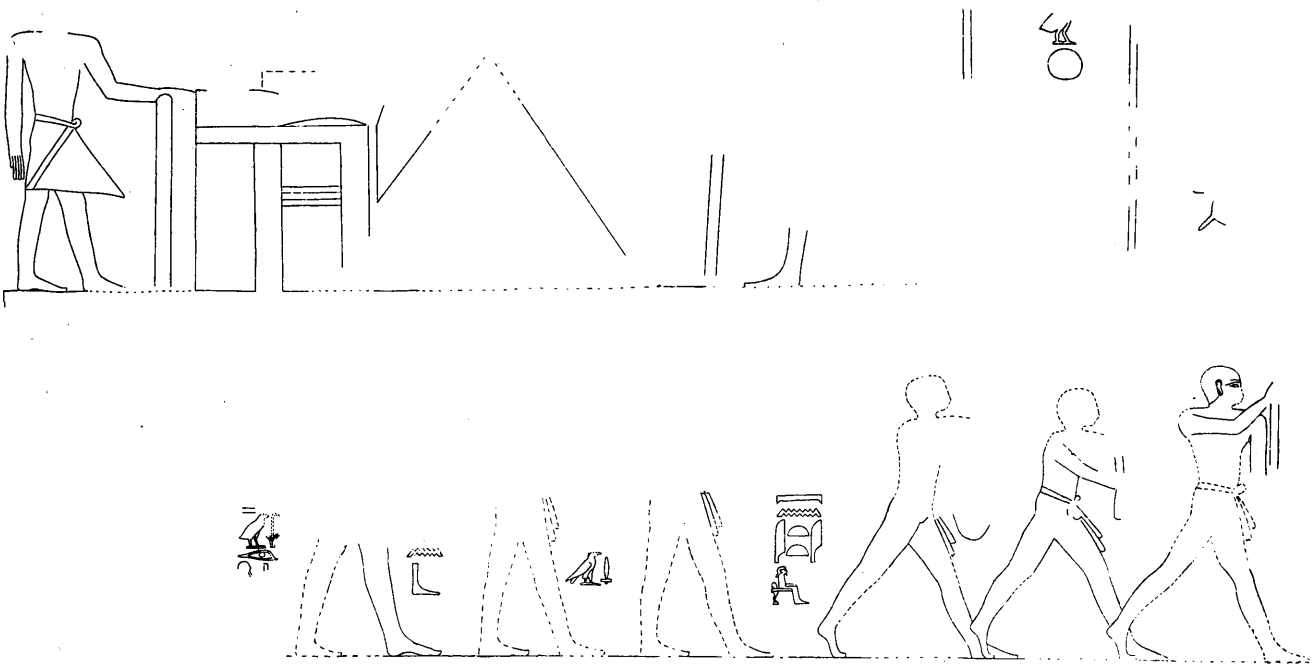


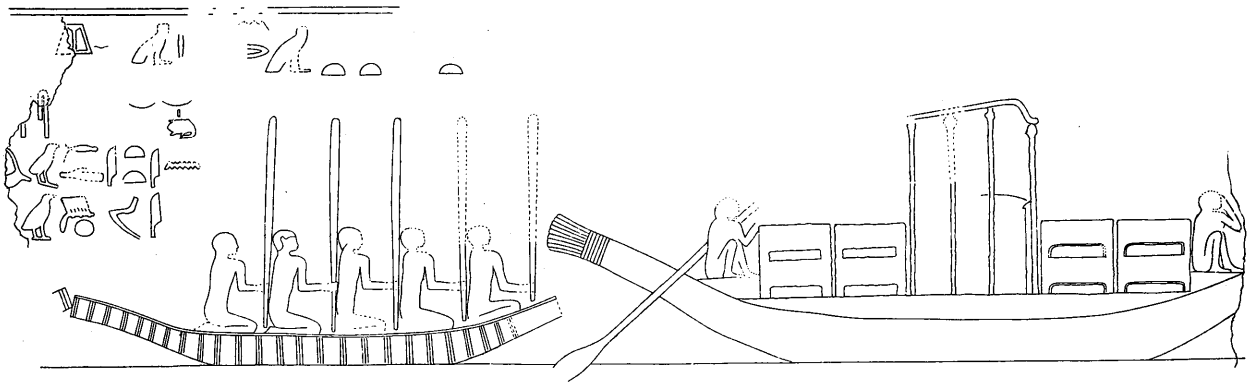


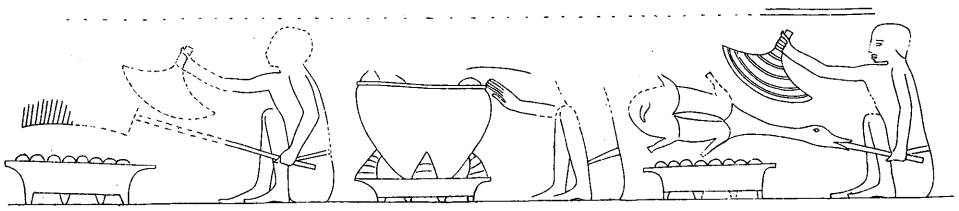












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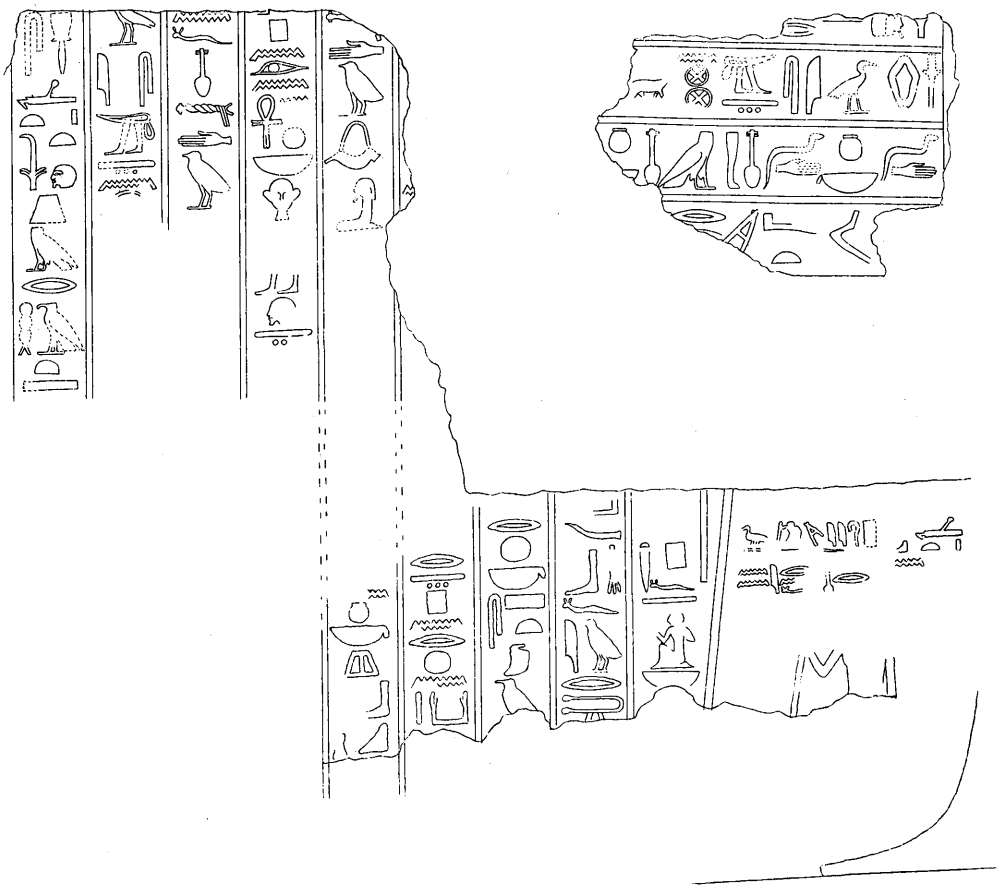

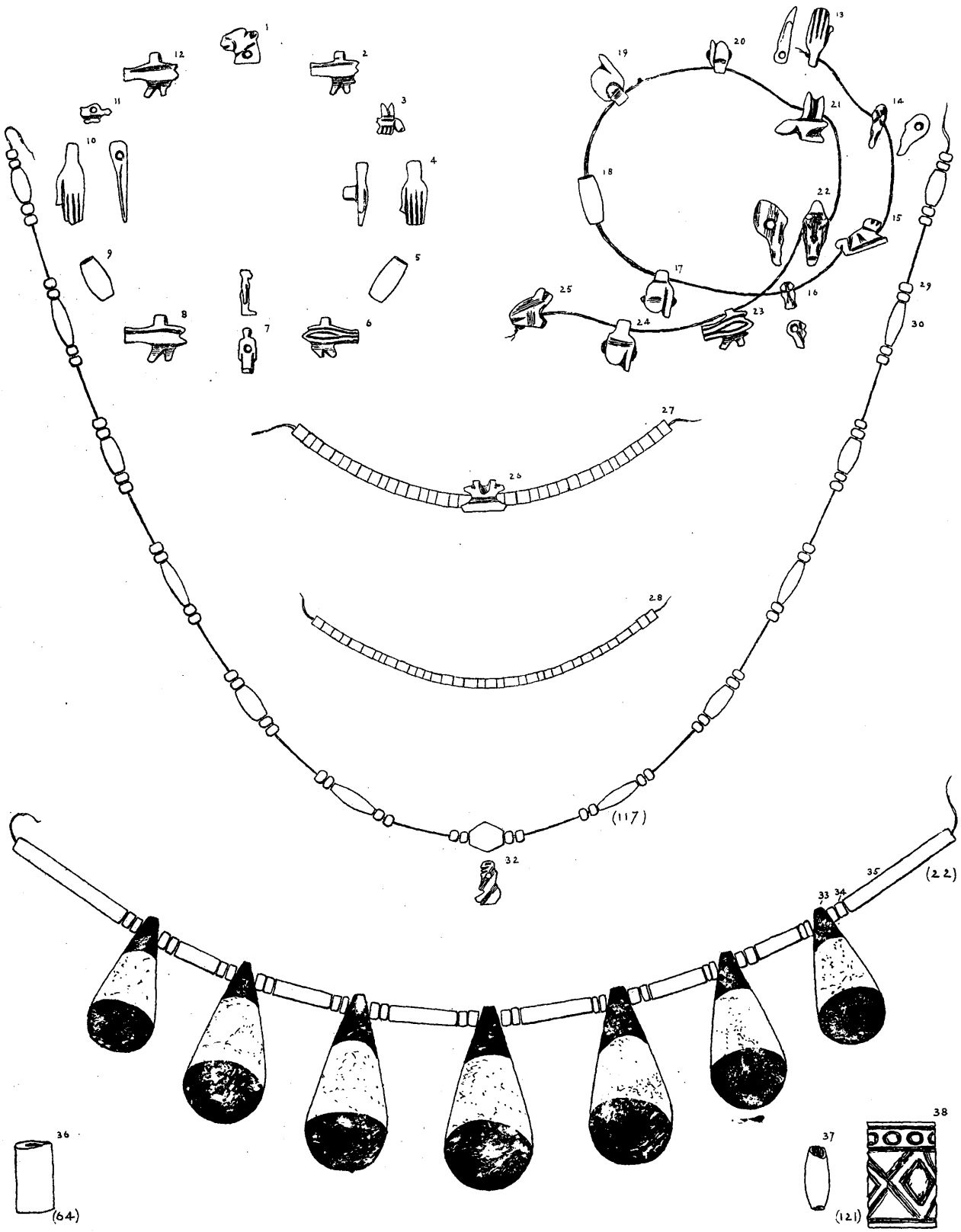
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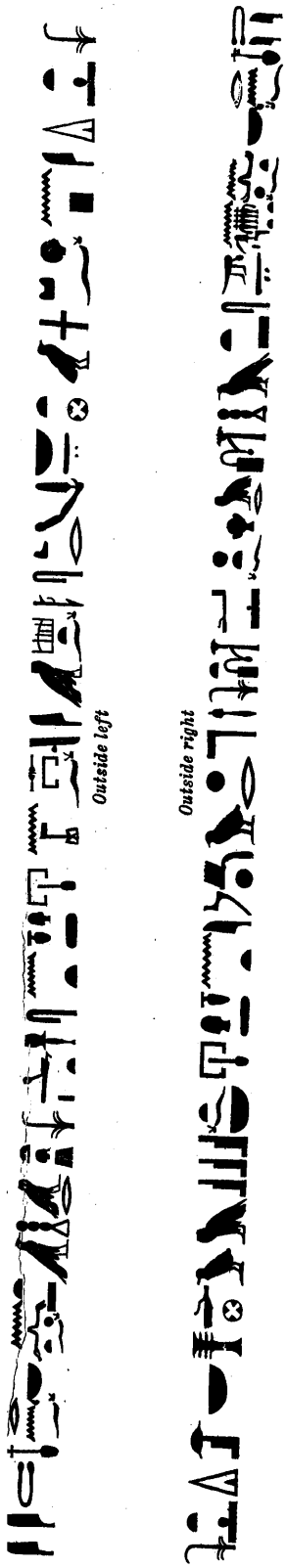

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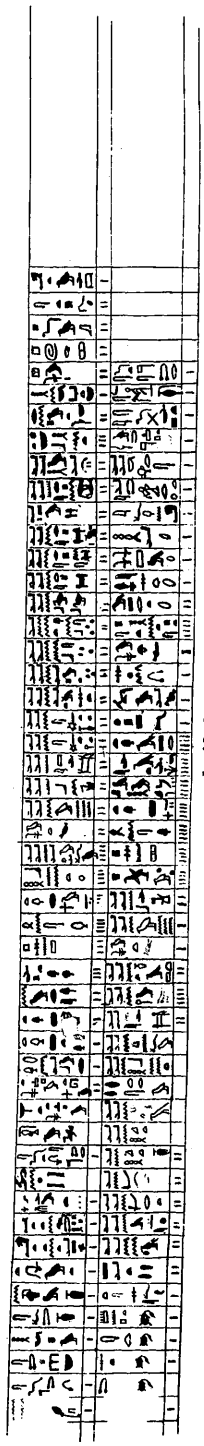

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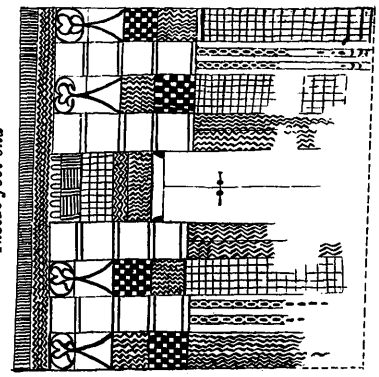

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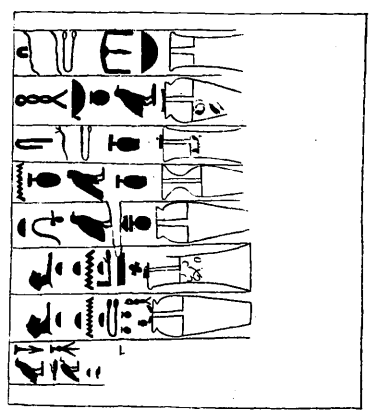

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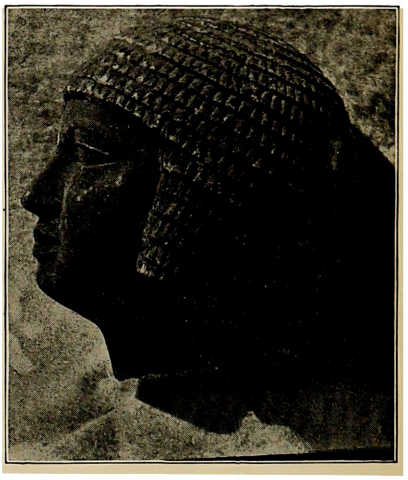
HEAD OF NENKHEFTKA. 2.



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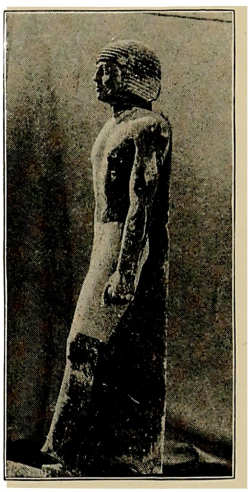

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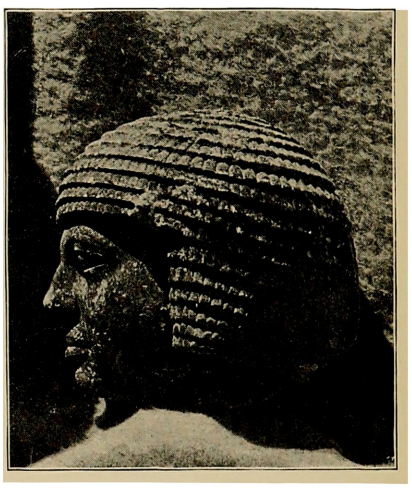

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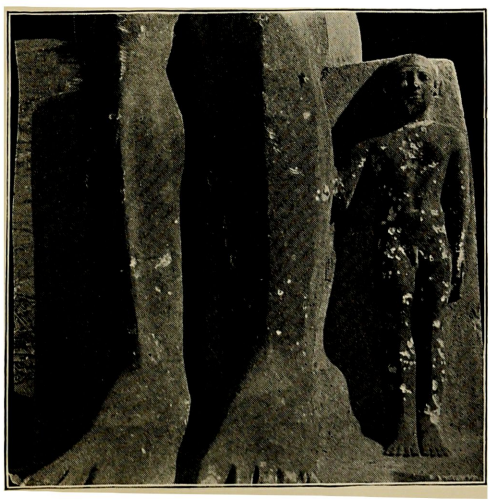
STATUE OF NENKHEFTKA.



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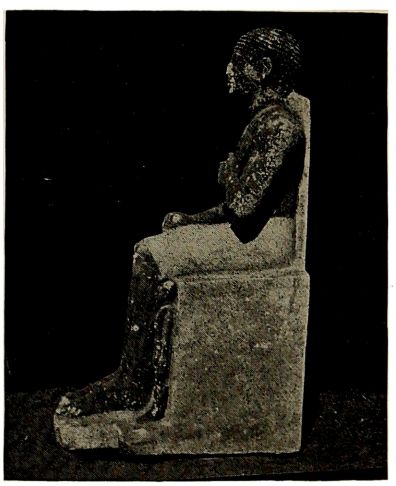
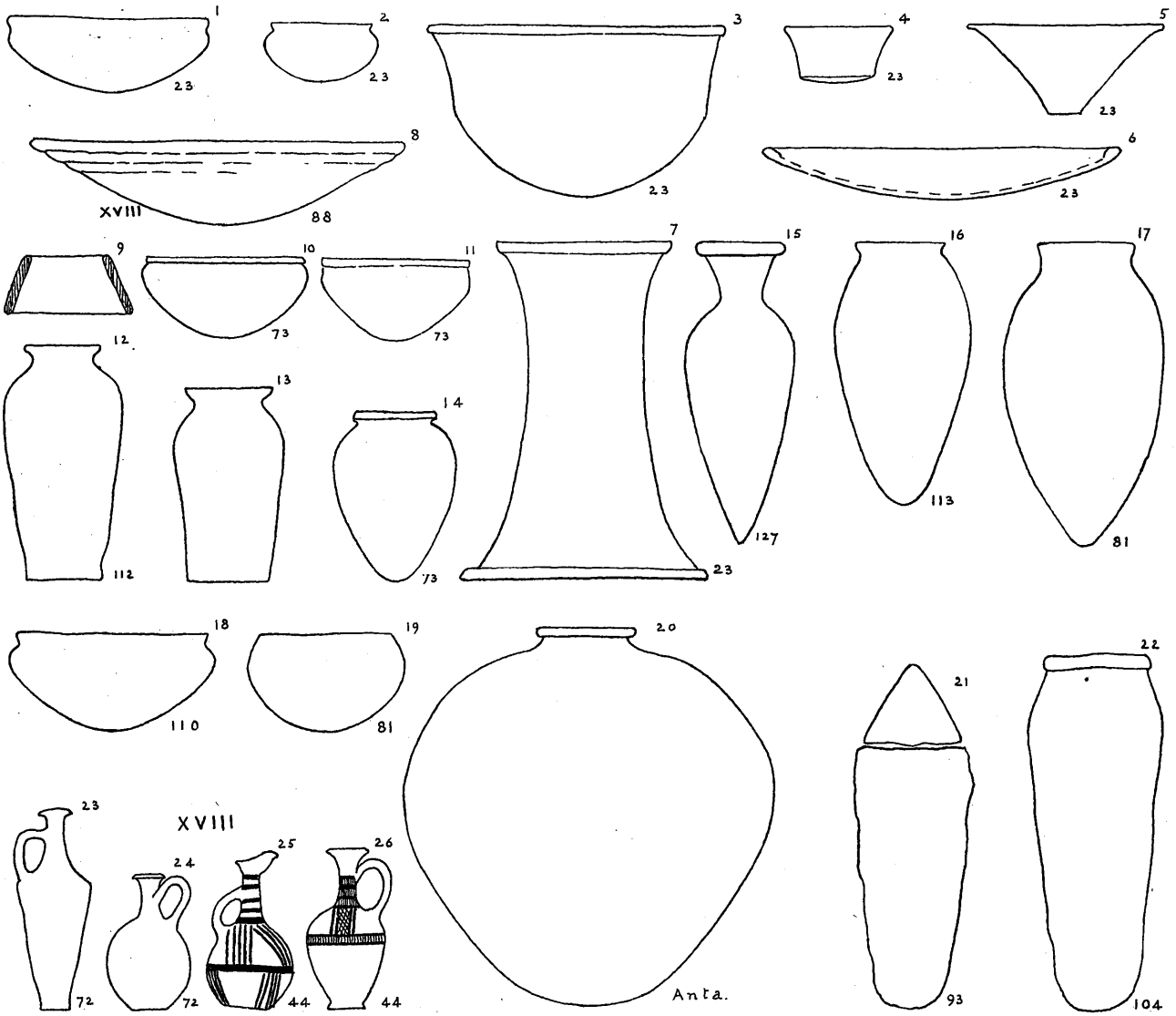


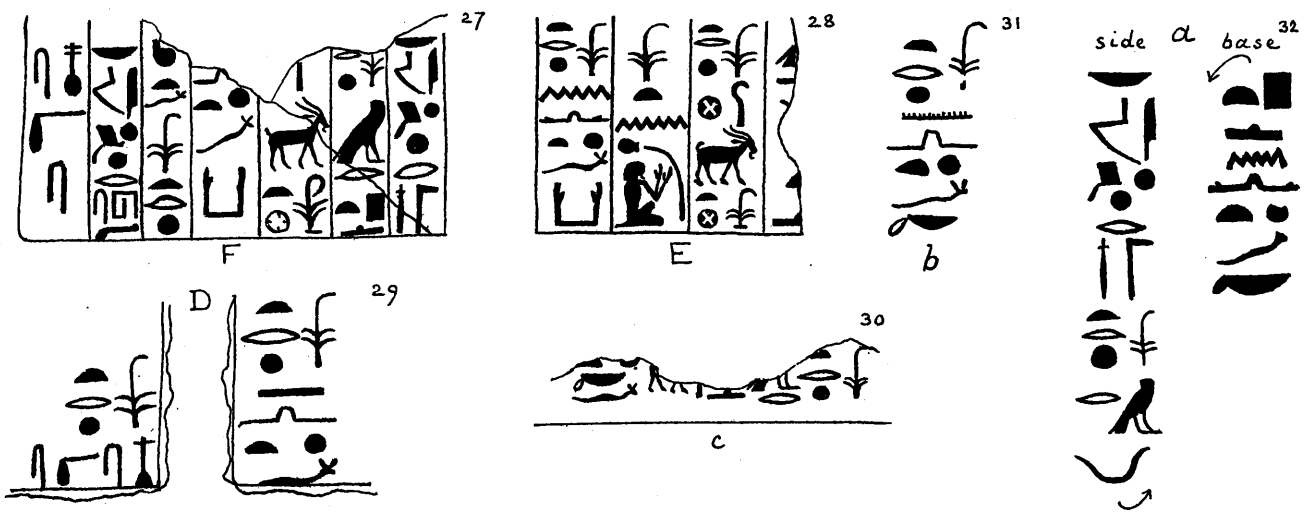
8.

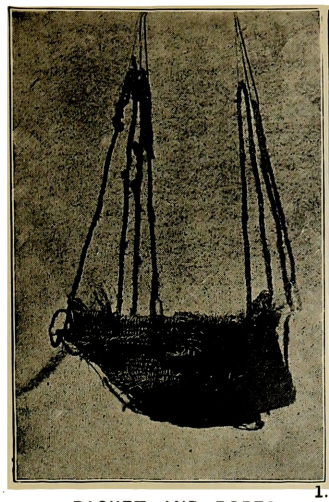
SEATED FIGURE OF NENKHEFTKA, WITH BOY NENKHEFTEK.

WOODEN FIGURE. 9.

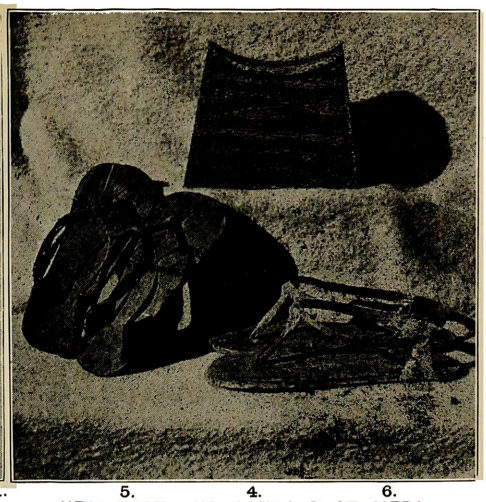


1:3 INSCRIPTIONS ON STATUES.

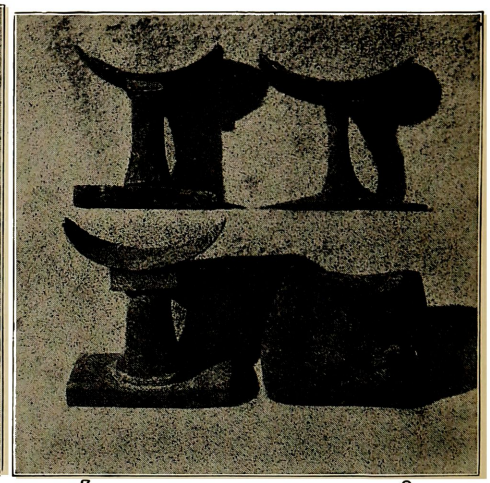




BASKET AND ROPES. 1.



5. 4. 6.
HEAD-REST AND SANDALS OF MERA.



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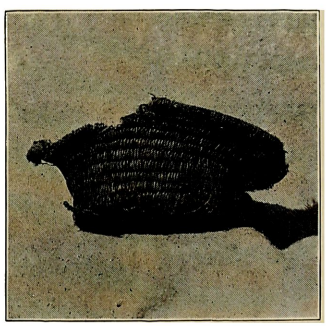
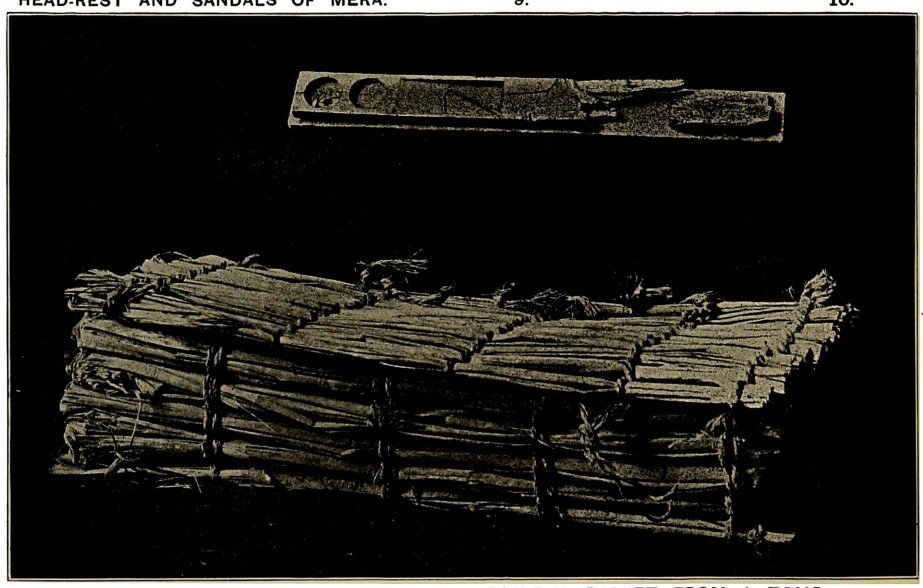
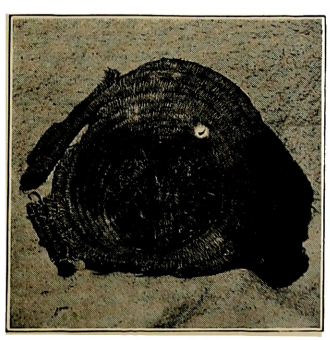


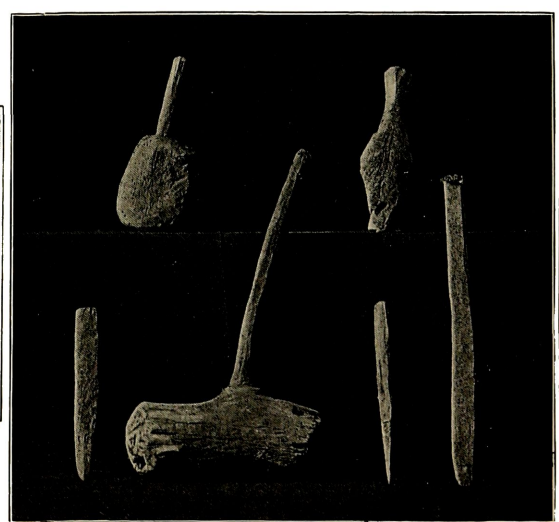
BASKET. 2.



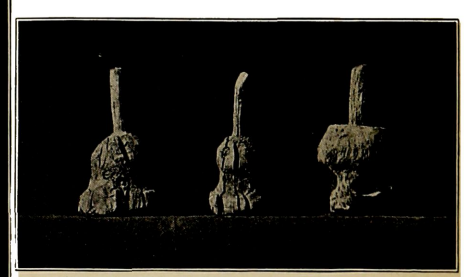
11. PALETTE OF A SCRIBE. 12. PAPYRUS BASKET FROM A TOMB.



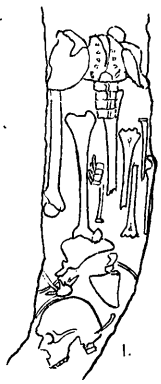
BASKET (see above). 3.



13, 14, 16. MALLETS. 15, 17, 18. WOODEN CHISELS.



19, 20, 21. MALLETS USED BY STONE CUTTERS.



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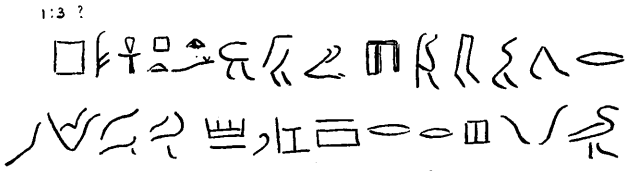

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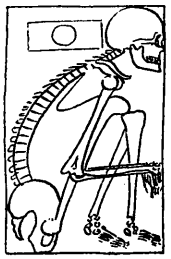

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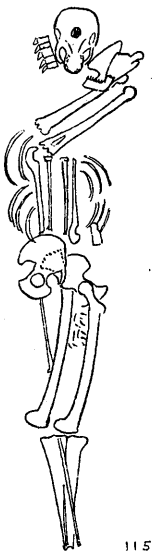

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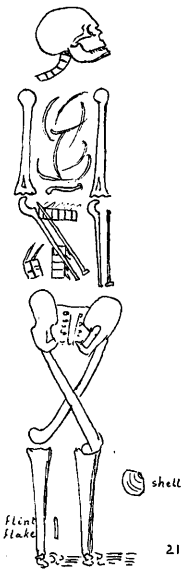

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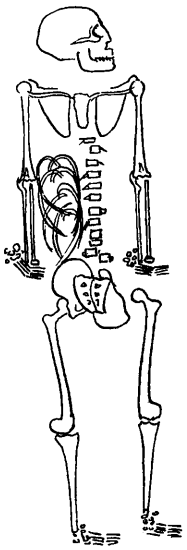

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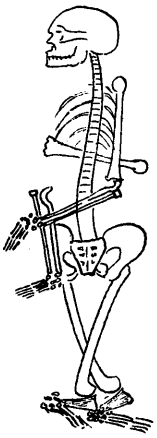

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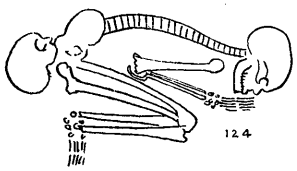

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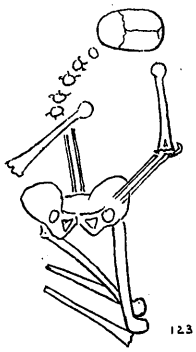

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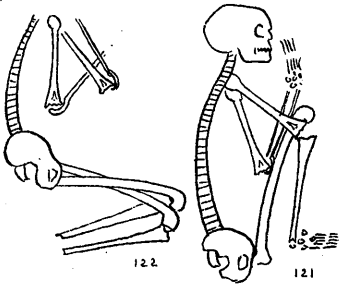

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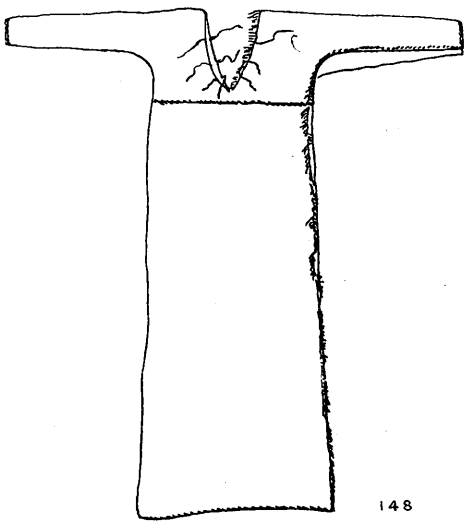

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