

EGYPTIAN MODEL OF A FUNERAL BARQUE, FOUND IN THE TOMB OF ANTEF (Chap. v. 9.)
(From a Painting by G. Hain-Neale.)

University of Liverpool

Institute of Archaeology

THE BURIAL CUSTOMS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

BEING

A Report of Excavations made in the Necropolis of Beni Hassan during 1902-3-4

BY

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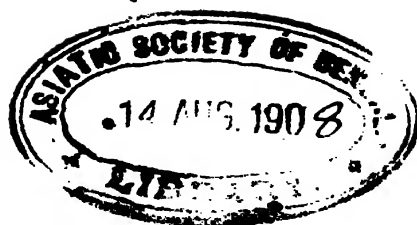


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TO
MR. AND MRS. F. C. DANSON

PREFACE.

THIS volume embodies an account of the results of excavations made during two winter seasons, 1902—3 and 1903—4, in the Necropolis of Beni Hassan. The work was done for and at the expense of the members of a special Committee which included, for one or both years, Ralph Brocklebank, Esq.; the Rt. Hon. Sir John T. Brunner, Bart.; Arthur J. Evans, Esq., F.R.S.; representing the Ashmolean Museum; The Lady O'Hagan; Dr. M. R. James, M.A., representing the Fitz-William Museum; Wm. Johnston, Esq.; H. Martyn Kennard, Esq.; The Rev. Wm. MacGregor; F. G. Hilton Price, Dir. S.A.; and John Rankin, Esq. Mr. Wm. Grisewood, of Liverpool, has kindly acted as Hon. Auditor for the yearly accounts. It is due solely to the generous encouragement of these patrons of research that it was possible for the two expeditions to be undertaken. The Council of the Society of Antiquaries also granted their rooms in Burlington House each year for the purposes of exhibition. The first of these was inaugurated by His Grace the Duke of Portland, who visited the excavations in 1903; and the second by H.R.H. Princess Henry of Battenberg, who also honoured the excavations with a visit in 1904.

The results of the work proved to be of such interest and the objects discovered so numerous that in this publication several departures have been made from the usual pattern of archæological reports. In the first place, the number of photographs available for the purpose, amounting to more than one thousand, has made it possible to yield in this case to the publishers' request to intersperse the illustrations throughout the pages of the book. The objections to this course are usually twofold: firstly, that a heavily glazed perishable paper is required to reproduce the half-tones adequately; and secondly, that cross-references are introduced in the text, with much turning over of pages as a consequence in reading the book. The publishers have tried to overcome the former objection by a careful selection of a suitable and durable paper; while the latter is in this case of little account, because instead of referring back, where it might have been necessary, to an earlier illustration, it has been possible in most cases to reproduce another photograph which illustrates as well or even better the subject under discussion. In this way the report has come to be an account of subjects illustrated by the excavations rather than a mere description of the antiquities discovered. In the second

place the more technical descriptions and details have been summarised in the concluding chapters and in the Appendix. The latter contains the complete inventory of the objects found within the tombs, indexed with reference to the preceding chapters and illustrations of the book. The pottery vases, which were very numerous, are described by reference to certain standard types classified in Plates XII.—XVI. A note is added as to the Museum or Private Collection where the more interesting antiquities are now to be found. In dealing thus with the material evidences it is hoped that archæologists will be able to find readily all that they may require for their special studies. The inscriptions have not been published in full; the complete copies of these would fill a volume by themselves, and they are for the most part dedicatory religious formulæ conforming to stereotyped forms. The most important new texts, which were found written on the lids and sides of several coffins, have already been published by M. Lacau, and the study of these must be left to philologists. As being of interest in relation to the subject of this book, a list of the names (with variant spellings) and titles occurring on inscribed coffins, &c., is given on Plates VII.—VIII. The complete list of names is transliterated in the Appendix.

Dimensions of small objects are given in the text in centimetres, while for those who prefer English measures the height or length of each object is given under the illustrations in inches. In two or three technical cases the measures are given in inches only.

Among the several friends who have specially helped me in the completion of this publication, I must thank my sister, Mrs. Robert Gurney, who during my absence from England arranged the manuscript for Press and collated the references; the Rev. W. MacGregor, who kindly read through the proofs at a later stage; and my old friend and colleague, Mr. Newberry, who has at all times, both in Egypt and in England, been ready with help and advice, which his knowledge of the inscribed tombs of Beni Hassan has made doubly valuable. Mr. Harold Jones, who joined the expeditions of 1903—1904, has been my friend and companion of three later expeditions, and though it is with mutual regret that the time has come when our paths deviate, it is nevertheless a source of gratification to me that he has now found a better and wider opportunity of cultivating his life-work—painting.

J. G.

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BURIAL CUSTOMS OF ANCIENT EGYPT.

CHAPTER I.

THE BURIAL CUSTOMS AND THE EGYPTIAN RELIGION.

THE burial customs of ancient Egypt are the foundation of Egyptological studies. In the absence of any contemporary history or reliable literary documents to tell us of the life of the Egyptians, we turn to archæology and to the results of archæological research to provide us with material upon which to base our ideas of their civilisation. The physical character of Egypt, moreover, is such that few monuments of domestic life remain : the ancient villages for the most part have been destroyed by the inundations of the Nile, or they have fallen into decay and have been built upon time after time. Hence we are driven to the outskirts of the valley beyond reach of the inundation, where, in the low desert which bounds the cultivation on either side, the Egyptians sought for their tombs more permanent security than they deemed necessary for their dwelling-houses. This forethought has handed down to modern inquiry the chief source of our knowledge of their civilisation.

We might be tempted to suppose, however, that any culture thus illustrated only by funereal rites might be but a reflex of the contemporary civilisation. But with the Egyptians this was only partly the case ; for the best products of their art, in sculpture, mural paintings, and in architecture, were devoted originally to the decoration and furnishing of their tombs. Doubtless the temples and palaces of their kings also claimed the best work of successive ages, but the tomb remained through all time one of the chief objects of consideration. Through all the political changes and theological storms of three or four thousand years of eventful history, the care of the Egyptians for their dead remained the striking and constant feature of their religion. So deeply, indeed, has this impressed

BURIAL CUSTOMS OF ANCIENT EGYPT.

itself upon the civilisation of the Nile valley that even at the present time, among an Arab and Mohammedan population, several of the old-world customs survive in almost their ancient form. Among these are the periodical visitations to the tombs, the feasting and observances on these occasions, the prayers and invocations made almost directly to the dead, the belief in the presence near or in the tomb of the "good spirit" or double of the deceased,¹ and the provisioning of the tomb with food. Even a model of a boat or dahabiyeh is sometimes placed within the tomb-chapel for the pleasure of the deceased, as the custom was in the days 2000 years B.C., with which this volume chiefly deals.² From



FIG. 1.—MODERN EGYPTIANS VISITING THE TOMBS OF THEIR DEAD.

such instances of direct survival it must appear that the burial customs of Egypt and the religious impulses which prompted them are a product of the land itself. What was there then in the circumstances of life in ancient Egypt that fostered a national temperament so unanimous and so constant in the care of the dead? There is no problem connected with Egypt more fascinating than this, which takes us back to the origins of its ancient civilisation; and the solution, however imperfect at the present time, throws a wonderful light upon its later history.

The many factors that might influence the primitive development of the country may be resolved into two heads for our immediate purpose: the one

¹ Cf. pp. 103-4.

² Cf. Chap. V. and figs. 45, 46, 57, 59, 72, 73, 74, 88, 89, etc.

group is external, involving such questions as commerce and political relations with other countries; the other group is internal, and is concerned chiefly with the physical geography of the land, its natural resources, and the conditions of life. In regard to most countries, at a distance of five or six thousand years we should be baffled in any attempt to realise these influences; but in the case of Egypt, archæological remains and circumstances alike encourage the attempt.

In the map of the ancient world Egypt stands alone in the African desert, isolated and self-protected. Under other conditions this very self-protection would have been, and indeed has proved, its weakness; but in the ancient world, before the second millennium B.C., history has revealed no political or cultural force powerful enough to cross the desert or the sea in sufficient strength to arrest or warp the growth of tendencies upon the Nile. Some influences may be traced to the earlier culture of Babylonia on the distant Euphrates; but these, and others from elsewhere, seem to have reached Egypt imperceptibly, and were at once absorbed into the local civilisation, which continued to grow and thrive amid profound tranquillity, free to develop that individuality which was its heritage from Nature. Under conditions so unique we may expect here, if anywhere, to be able to trace direct evolution in the expansion of its institutions, and before turning to consider the internal conditions of life we may illustrate this point by an example in the evolution of the early Egyptian tombs.

The earliest and most primitive form of grave was merely a hole in the ground just large and deep enough to hide away the body in a doubled-up position. In the course of time the hole became deeper, until it required several steps to get down to the bottom; then, as more care was bestowed upon it, its sides were dressed with mud; eventually it became square in shape, and was lined with bricks and wood. Custom demanded that provisions and utensils should be buried with the dead, and a portion of the grave is found to have been separated off to receive these offerings. This was the earliest shrine. The development continued: the burial-chamber became deeper below the surface, the stairway proportionately longer, the offering chambers more numerous, the walls and roof more stoutly built. The royal tombs of the Ist Dynasty at Abydos exhibit several varieties of this stage, and though the poor may still have been buried in the simple hole, the tendency of the time on the part of those who could afford to do so was to copy the more elaborate model. Better security for the remains next demanded a burial chamber still further below the ground, so that for the renewal of the offerings and the purposes of prayer a small niche or recess was built upon the surface directly above the place where the body lay. The stairways of the IInd and

IIIrd Dynasties tended to descend deeper and deeper,¹ and in the more important tombs the subterranean chambers for the reception of the dead and for the furniture of the tomb became more numerous and complicated in design. Sharing in this general elaboration the surface buildings also extended, until the simple niche developed into a series of passages and rooms.² The final phase of this class of structure is seen in the IIIrd Dynasty tombs at Bêt Khallâf. In that attributed to Neterkhet the passage descended a hundred feet below the surface, being closed at intervals by great stones; and the general mass of the superstructure was a platform of brick rising thirty feet above the ground.³ But Neterkhet was traditionally the builder of the first pyramid, at Sakkara, which in design is a series of such platforms superposed in steps. This is a link with the pyramids of the IVth Dynasty, in which the steps were reduced in size, and ultimately were filled up altogether. The approach to the burial chamber was still the long passage descending below the ground, closed at intervals by doors; but the surface-shrine now became detached, and took the form of a separate temple; for the pyramids were the tombs of kings who were revered as descendants of the gods. The pyramid marks a culmination along the line of development, but the illustration is already sufficient; a continuous evolution has been traced through a period of more than a thousand years, from the simple grave of primitive ages to its perfection in the pyramids, thus linking in an unbroken chain the prehistoric with the light of history. And the evolution of the pyramid is but one of a hundred features of collateral development in the general progress of this civilisation.

It is clear that so long as the old-world conditions survived, and the country remained thus isolated (until about the XIIth Dynasty, or the beginning of the second millennium B.C.), the germ of each feature of the Egyptian culture must be sought in the land itself rather than abroad. We therefore turn to the internal conditions and circumstances of life, to see whether anything may be discerned so dominant and ever-present that it must, in the absence of extraneous influences, have directed the growth of the Egyptian mind. So may we hope to penetrate even to the feelings of the people. In this phase of our inquiry the peculiarities of Egypt render more assistance than ancient authorities or remains; for owing to the invariability of its climate and other causes, the land and circumstances of life remain now as they were in the earliest times. What a field is this for the student of Anthropology, where

¹ Vide "The Third Egyptian Dynasty," Pl. XX., where a diagram illustrates this evolution.

² *Ibid.*, Pl. XXI.

³ Vide *Mahâsna and Bêt Khallâf*, pp. 8, 9, and Pl. VII.

the material remains of antiquity are abundant, and the circumstances of the bygone life may be understood.

The land of Egypt and its natural resources need little description. The Nile and the sun are the sources of its being and maintenance. A single river comes winding from the south through the deserts, flowing on towards the ocean in the north. Upon either bank is a narrow strip of soil, the gift of the river; upon this the people busy themselves with their crops, which ripen quickly in the warmth and sunlight. When the summer harvest is gathered, the water rises and blots out the land for a season, until the time

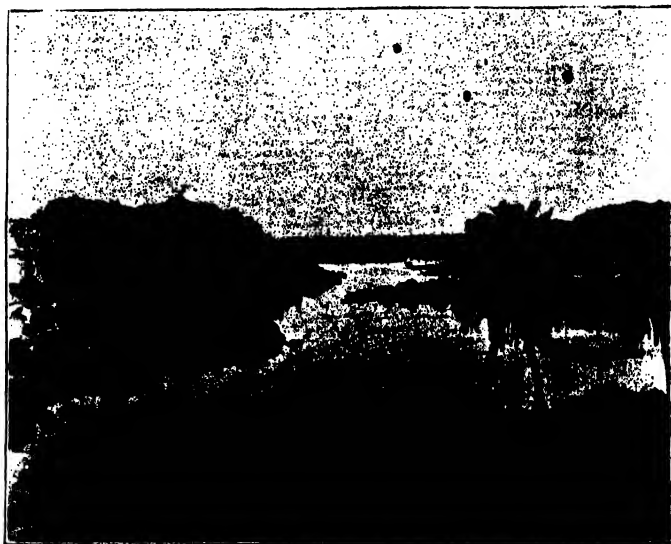


FIG. 2.—THE NILE ENTERING EGYPT.

of sowing comes round again just as in past years. Agriculture is thus the natural industry of the land. The people are the servants of the Nile: they must await the river's signal in every act of life. They cannot change quickly, they cannot of themselves progress; the Nile forbids. Each year, notwithstanding the introduction of western innovations, has found them as they were at the same season in past years. The unique feature of Egyptian life, its unity and changelessness, is traceable to these natural causes.

In ancient times the long valley in which the people lived may have fostered tribal division, but on the whole the common river and conditions of life would tend to unite them as a nation. This bond was not merely physical: it was a factor equally potent to bind the national mind together. This may be realised

by considering more closely the nature of this environment, and the impressions which would be conveyed thereby to the nation in its childhood. Here, again, the changeless Egypt holds up a mirror that reflects the past. The general impression which Upper Egypt presents to a visitor travelling upon the Nile is that of a continuous river, whose banks are narrow strips of fertile soil, dotted here and there with villages, and less frequently with large towns. Even to one riding through this country there are few details to afford variety; here are the mud houses of a village, with a grove of palm trees, there a sweep of green fields speckled with straw farm-steads, and again wide acres devoted to the cultivation of sugar-cane or of cotton; then an embankment is crossed, and the same details reappear. To complete this picture there must be added the colours of the landscape, the green or gold of the crops, the yellow and pink of the sands and distant hills, with the bright grey-blue of the sky over all. The view, however, is one: for a great part of the year the distinctions in the crops are not apparent, while even the contrast of colours is subdued by the intensity of sunlight. And as it appears now so must it have seemed to the ancient Egyptians: a long, single river, with palm-shaded villages upon its banks; while from every point of view for hundreds of miles the limit of vision to the east and to the west was a wall of limestone cliffs, now advancing and now receding, sometimes pink, sometimes golden, purple or blue, responsive to the sunlight, but ever there, a stereotyped horizon, the boundary of life.

In addition, then, to the unity of the Nile itself, and to the regularity in the sequence of its natural phenomena, there must be borne in mind, also, in the list of factors dominating the nation's growth, the sameness of environment, affecting all individuals alike. Under such conditions the child-nation grew into youth and manhood; externally free from restraint or warping influences, internally tending to be knit together by common circumstance of life and common thought among its people.

These considerations explain the uniformity and conservatism of the ancient civilisation, and the perseverance of its customs through all political and religious changes. Any one of the numberless details which contribute towards these general tendencies reveals upon investigation the same influences constantly at work. Each feature is an illustration of a simple evolution, hardly ever of invention; for the effect of the uniformity of impressions is to leave the mind unimaginative. Just as Nature here moves in her handiwork slowly and smoothly from phase to phase, so too must the mind of a people nurtured with this example ever before them. But though, in consequence, uninventive and slow to change,

the Egyptians must of necessity be ready at all times to realise favourable opportunities. From these combined causes they would become watchful and observant, the students no less than the children of a simple nature. Descriptive power would characterise their literature, simple realism their painting, and fidelity of portraiture their sculpture. Illustrations everywhere abound to verify these conclusions. In the tomb-shrines at Beni Hassan, the paintings which decorate the walls are reproductions of scenes from daily life, often full of homely detail, boats upon the river, incidents in sowing and the harvest, birds, trees, fruits, flowers, and every motive that Nature presented to observation. The Lotus capital also, to take another illustration, remained with the Egyptian always a simple model of the natural flower; while in Greek lands the lively imagination that resulted from an ever-changing environment derived, or at



FIG. 3.—AN IMPRESSION OF EGYPT FROM THE NILE.

least readily adopted from it, the Ionic capital, in which the curve of the lily petal is continued to a symmetrical completeness. In comparing also the sculpture of these two peoples, each perfection of its kind, we find the Greek full of freedom, grace, and animation; while the Egyptian is severe, conventional, and tranquil as death. The lines along which Egyptian art could advance were laid down and fixed; perfection was to be obtained only by subtleties of technical skill, working on the same models as of old. Ideas of super-excellence ultimately found expression in size, colossal figures, pyramids, mighty temples, or in repetition, as in colonnades and rows of figures or statues. This unity in the progress of Egyptian art throughout three thousand years is characteristic of each aspect of its civilization.

The demonstration of continuous development establishes a standpoint from which it is possible to examine the problem propounded at the outset of this chapter, the basis of the Egyptian religion, and in particular the constancy

of religious custom revealed in the care for the dead. We may not be able to explain completely why this nation was religious, for that problem involves considerations far from the scope of archæology; but we can examine the evolution of its ideals, expressed to us in material development, and in doing so we may penetrate to the underlying source, which may explain why that aspect of its life predominated.

In tracing the evolution of the pyramid from a primitive grave we have already outlined a diagram that can now be filled in with a wealth of meaning. The gradual enlargement of the tomb indicates the growth of society and social institutions, with the consequent separation of a wealthy and influential class from those who could afford only the simple grave of their forefathers. The preparation of the special offering chamber, the separation of the shrine from the tomb and its gradual development into a funerary chapel and finally a temple, were accompanied by the appearance of priest-servants to minister in the tombs, and of a priesthood in the temples. This stage marks the origin of religious institutions. The furniture of the tombs also altered slowly as religious art improved; and embodied in that alteration is a whole history of cultural expansion upon which we cannot dwell. It is in contemplation of the pyramid itself, in seeking to realise the process of evolution, wonderful in its very simplicity, by which the kingship was exalted into godhead, that the answer to our inquiry first appears, amid a tangle of thoughts which the complex nature of the problem raises.

It has already become apparent, from the illustrations that have been adduced, that the paramount feature of Egyptian religious life was the care of the dead. We are now on sure ground in assuming from what is seen in historic times that this was so in prehistoric antiquity. Our internal evidence, indeed, dating back as far as there is evidence of man, discloses a people who buried their dead in tombs more durable than their houses, furnished with objects of better quality than those in common use.¹ The belief in a future life is the natural heritage of many peoples, but with the Egyptian a bettered existence on an earthly model was the only possible solution to the mystery of death. And the reason why he was so devoted to the things that concerned death, rather than life, in his religion, also becomes apparent when we ponder upon the circumstances that beset him. For with the sequence of Nature passing ever vividly before him, phase after phase, the one phenomenon that did not explain itself to his earthly experience was death. It was there that his mind was arrested: all else around him was ever changing, indeed, but ever

¹ *Vide, for example, Mahāsna and Bêt Khallāf, Chap. II.*

recurring. Amid the unique conditions of life in ancient Egypt there could be only one explanation of death: it was a change in life momentous and mysterious; but as surely as the sun which set in the west would rise bright in the east when the time of darkness was over, as surely as he himself ordinarily awakened from sleep refreshed, or the Nile each year overflowed to renew the parched land, so would the departed return to enjoy the next phase of life, and to enjoy it more. In the singleness of his mind the betterment of his condition would mean the improvement of his worldly lot, the attainment of



FIG. 4.—THE LIMESTONE CLIFFS WHICH BOUND THE VALLEY.

luxuries and comforts which in his present state were denied him. Other peoples have arrived at similar conclusions; it was in the impossibility of other explanation that the Egyptian outlook was unique. And the land fostered that which it had created.

Among neighbouring African tribes in a primitive stage, modern observations have disclosed the same customs with regard to the dead as those which must have characterised the Egyptians at the beginning, when the body of the dead was tended either in the house or in a separate building. For, with the savage, instinct finds the same conclusion: the dead warrior can be but stunned for a longer time than on previous occasions; his body must therefore be cared for and

food provided until such time as his strength return to him. Archæology reveals the Egyptian passing from this phase, awakening to the consciousness of his beliefs. Seeing that the body decayed, he made every effort to preserve it from corruption, first by drying, the process natural to the climate, then by burial, and eventually by mummification; and ultimately, lest these efforts should be unavailing, he made an image in human likeness whereto the spirit might return.¹ It became his chief endeavour to make the tomb a fit dwelling place for the long future; the wants and comforts of human experience were provided for,—household objects,² domestic utensils,³ the warrior's arms,⁴ the children's toys,⁵ in addition to the supplies of food⁶ which primeval instinct had suggested. It is this ultimate phase that our subsequent chapters chiefly illustrate.

It is, too, this pious care of the dead that first reveals the religion natural to the valley of the Nile. The practice was common and general; and, though the motive differed in each household and community, the development of society tended naturally to unify the system by upholding a common object of veneration. The head of a family would receive more attention than a junior member. The head of a village would be treated with correspondingly greater reverence. The offerings for his future would be more numerous and more costly. And when the head of a village became chief of a tribe, his tomb would be larger, the tribute far greater, than had been the case with any member of the primitive community. To a great warrior, to the uniter of tribes, to the founder of the nation, what then would not be accorded by national admiration, popular superstition, and eventually by tradition? His burying place became the shrine and sanctuary of his people. The deeds which he had done, deeds which his ancestors had done, became woven together in a shroud of legend to hide him reverently out of sight, until in time he became a fabulous personage, possessed in the popular mind of a power that was superhuman. His association was with the dead, and his power was that of kingship. So, with the lapse of time, there emerged before the Egyptian mind, nebulous at first, but taking the shape and appearance of Death, clad like a mummy, the divine Osiris, the dead ancestry of the monarchy now ruling dimly in the under-world. The chief shrine of the god was the burial place of the earliest kings at Abydos; and there the living and dead alike made their pilgrimage for several thousand years.

The basis of the Egyptian religion is thus revealed to us as a unified

¹ Cf. figs. 20, 93, 135, 136, 141.

² Cf. figs. 114, 115, 117, 118, 119.

³ Cf. figs. 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 112.

⁴ Cf. figs. 159, 160, 161, 165, 166.

⁵ Cf. figs. 150, 151.

⁶ Cf. figs. 21, 68, 97.

ancestor-worship: a monotheistic ideal in a pantheistic guise. Osiris was the chief of the gods: his worship, whether direct, or indirect in the perpetuation of burial customs, never ceased, in face of all the forms of religion that grew up in later ages. It never became an ethical religion nor even a conscious religious system like that of the Japanese: the development was different though the origin was the same. In each we see the nation's sovereign descended from the gods, standing in the natural position of mediator for his people. "May the King give this offering to Osiris" was the prayer of the Egyptian as he placed his gifts within the tomb. The changes of state-worship, the inconsistent prominence of local deities, the overflowing of the



FIG. 5.—EXCAVATION IN THE DESERT.

pantheon, and the mystical creations of theological thought in later times, affected this natural religion not at all. So far as we can tell, the Egyptian who furnished his tomb in the manner described in the ensuing pages, who repeated the prayers and renewed the offerings from time to time, did so in simple piety. He needed not and heeded little the jargon of the priest; for, as usual, religious custom outstayed the changes of theology. The conventional nature of the tomb furniture is no proof of insincerity; it might be all that could be afforded: in any case the objects were the emblems of ideas which, with the advance of civilisation, tended naturally to replace or explain the materialistic aspect.

The test of a religion is sincerity of purpose in fulfilment of its customs: with some this depends upon the dictates of instinct only, with others upon the acceptability of theological explanations. Theology must therefore be abreast of knowledge to satisfy the varying shades of human feeling and

intelligence. It must be all comprehensive; it must be able to combine all the expressions of the human mind and of scientific demonstration in a single harmony with which the soul of its people is atune. As were the cloisters in the middle ages in Europe, so the temples of Egypt, under the old conditions of the outer world, had been the centres of learning, and the priests themselves had led in the pursuit of knowledge. Mysticism must already have found its way into their theology; this, too, was natural in a land whose boundaries were so near yet harboured for the majority unknown terrors, separating for them life from death. The same feeling of mystery is reflected in the plans of temples built in later times. Some amount of complication also had ensued owing to the multiplication of local deities. But, on the whole, it would appear that down to the Beni Hassan period the priesthood still ministered more or less to a people to whom their doctrines were not altogether unintelligible.

During the early part of the second millennium, however, a new political environment enfolded Egypt. Babylonia had burst her boundaries upon the Euphrates; the Assyrians had established an independent state upon the Tigris; the Kheta had appeared in the north of Syria, and had made themselves felt further to the south. Amidst the turmoil in western Asia, Semitic immigrants pressed into Egypt, and eventually overran the country. The Aægean also was alive with a young and vigorous people, and the island of Crete had attained a high standard of civilisation. This was a complete reversal of the external conditions that had left Egypt previously free to develop its natural bent. New ideas poured into the country too fast to be assimilated. Complexity replaced simplicity; and though for a time held together by national enterprise, the decline and fall of Egypt quickly followed the disruption of its religion. One incident in this new phase will serve to illustrate the tendency of events, while throwing the light of contrast upon our subject. Under Asiatic influence a Pharaoh in the fifteenth century B.C. made efforts to introduce a new form of monotheistic religion in the face of twenty, or maybe of thirty, centuries of priestly tradition. It was the worship of a god of life, the solar disk, under whose beneficent rays his worshippers were glad. The effect of this new ideal upon those who joined with their king was remarkable. Emancipated from the restraints of mind and the contemplation of the hereafter that so long had circumscribed their lives, they spontaneously developed a freedom of art, a power of song, a joy of life, a freshness of ideas, that flashed bright for the moment against the solemn background of Egyptian history. But the effort was doomed to fail, for this new religion was not that of the land. The priesthood regained their authority, restored the state worship, and ultimately established themselves as a temporal power. Thereafter

the history of Egypt is the story of a people in whom the bonds of a national religion, that had held them together from the beginning, were snapped one by one; the priesthood strained to comprehend and inculcate ideas stirred within them by closer contact with different nations around. Their theology became a thing apart, separated by a wide and ever-widening gulf from the soul of the people, who remained the same simple children of the Nile.

Even the Egyptians themselves must have realised the growing anomaly. There is a striking picture on the walls of a tomb at Thebes, representing a scene which must have been familiar at the funerals of the time. The reciters are quoting various mystical formulæ, unintelligible to the mourners, in which the names of many gods occur in meaningless procession; and the voice of the priest is heard saying, "Oh, how beautiful is that which befalls him, because of the great love he bore to the God of Thebes." His words ring out in marked contrast to the lamentations of the bereaved wife, who cries to her dead lord, "Thou great one, forsake me not. What does it mean that I am now far from thee; now I go alone? Thou who didst love to talk with me, thou art now silent and dost not speak." And with her grief there mingles the wailing of the other mourners, who throw dust on their heads and cry, "Alas, the misfortune!"¹ We cannot doubt that the artist who represented this scene, and in decorative symbols handed down to us this lamentation, was voicing the heart of his people. Even at this distance of time we can understand in the widow's cry the yearning of her nature for the consolation of an intelligible religion, for the same simple and natural faith in a second life which had been from the beginning the heritage of the Egyptian.

Thus far we have considered only two elements of religion, namely, custom and theology, but this scene reminds us of a third psychological element, which dominates them both and is too often overlooked. For religion, which we regard singly, is a complex thing. It is expressed indeed by institutions and by formulated ideas which can be understood, but these are the expressions of feelings deep seated in the heart of man, and no less complex than the mind of which they are a part. And whether we consider the emotions of the individual or the religion of a nation we must realise from the beginning that this complexity of thought is beyond the scope of history. Though we turn the light of our knowledge into the darkness of the past, and gaze with straining eyes down the vista of ages, though we trace back successive stages of Nature's handiwork, we cannot learn her inmost secret; we can but follow in conventional paths some details of the working of her scheme. One ray may seem to focus in the distant

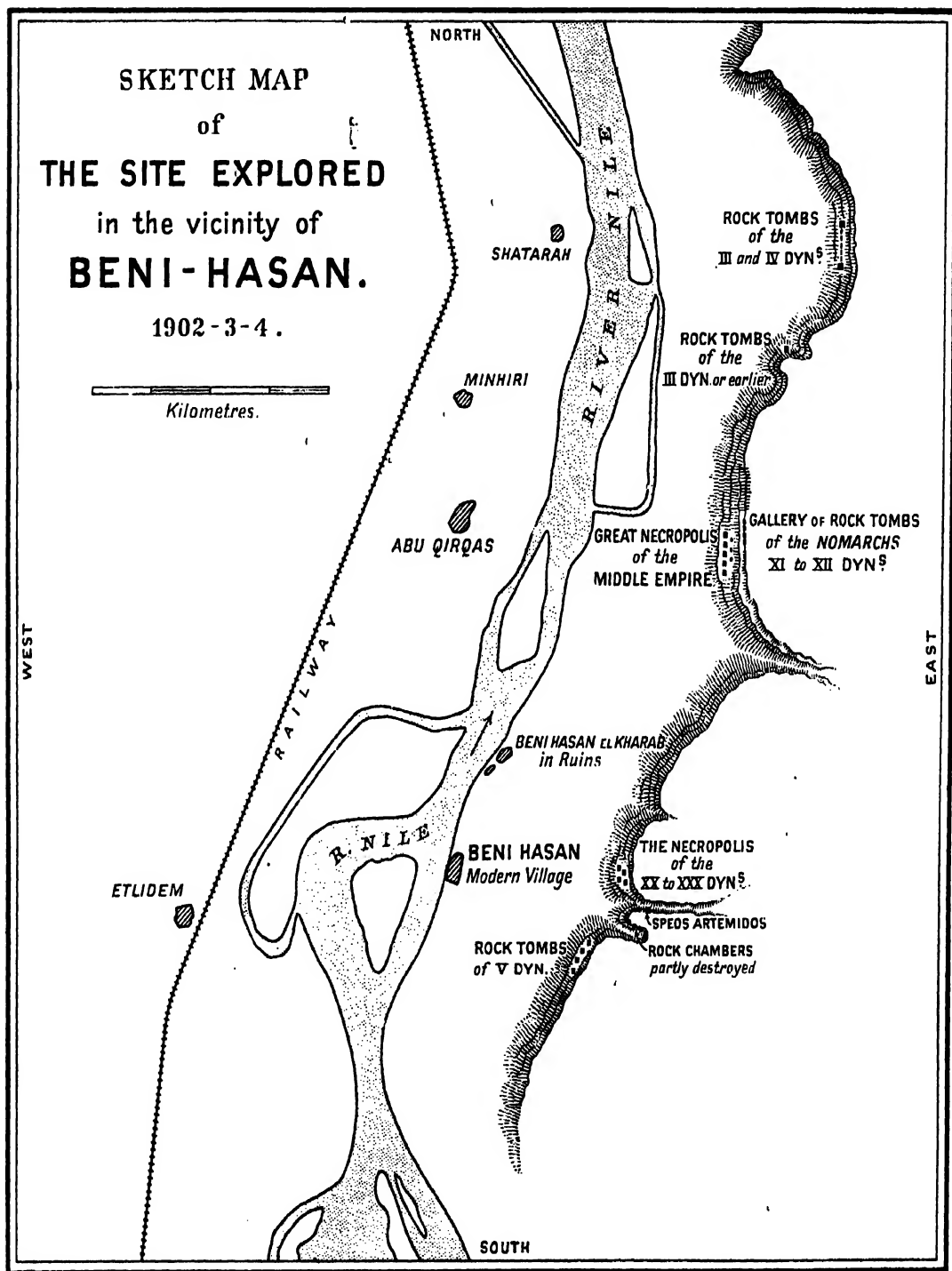
¹ Cf. Erman: "Life in Ancient Egypt," p. 321.

past upon a point which we fondly suppose to be the starting point of all the subsequent evolution. In reality it is only the narrowing perspective of our knowledge that draws together in the distance and makes all things seem as one. If we could span the gulf of time, if we could bring the microscope to bear upon those aspects of Nature which the telescope just renders visible, we should find all as complex, and The Source as far as ever upon the widening horizon of our view.

SKETCH MAP
of
THE SITE EXPLORED
in the vicinity of
BENI-HASAN.

1902-3-4.


Kilometres.



CHAPTER II.

THE SITE EXPLORED.

Situation. Beni Hassan is situated fifteen miles above Minia, on the right bank of the Nile. The river hereabouts flows somewhat closely to the eastern desert, so that the distance from the cliffs is only about a mile, and the strip of cultivated land upon this bank is hardly half that width. The modern village is the usual landing place for a visit to the Speos Artemidos and the rock-tombs for which the site is famous. The former is about a mile to the east, in the side of a ravine; the latter form a gallery about half way up the cliff-face, two and a half miles to the north. From the railway station at Abu-Kirkas the distance to the rock-tombs by the direct route, crossing the ferry at El Karam, is about three miles. The relative positions of these chief places in the district are shown in the accompanying sketch-map, in which there are also indicated the chief points of historical interest found in the course of our exploration along the desert over a tract about seven miles in length.

Historical Features. The earliest features are those furthest to the north, opposite to Shatarah, just above a hamlet known as Nuerat. Here a number of small rock-tombs are ranged along the face of the cliff. One row of these, opening to the west, is visible from the river, although separated by a sweep of sand of considerable width. The earliest of them, however, were found hidden away in the side of a little ravine. From the archaic character of the interments found within and near to these, it is probable that they date back to the IIIrd Dynasty or even earlier. The other groups, just to the north, to judge by their characteristics and the few objects found within them, may be assigned to the IVth Dynasty or thereabouts. These small tombs are described in the opening section of the next chapter.

The next period of local history is represented by a row of rock chambers at the southern end of our tract, just above the village of Beni Hassan itself. In these also there fortunately remained one or two original interments and other evidences, including a few inscriptions carved upon the walls. These seem to belong to the full development of the Old Empire, about the Vth Dynasty.

There are also the remains of some small chambers, probably of much the same date, in the southern flank of the gully which leads to the Speos Artemidos; but these had been so much quarried in Roman times that, with the exception of an inscription and a defaced group of statues, little evidence of their character remained. These are described with the other features of this group in the second section of Chapter III.

Towards the close of the Old Empire, as it is commonly understood, late in the VIth Dynasty, the chief burying place for the district was transferred to the range of cliffs which stands forward conspicuously towards the river, two miles to the north. This site, by its very prominence, not less than its physical advantages, was particularly suitable to the age. The entrances to the greater tombs that were hewn in its face are visible from any point of view in the fertile plains that lie away from its foot—an object of wonderment and admiration. The nature of the view to be obtained from the height must also have lent its attractions to the place. For nearly forty miles the Nile may be seen gleaming in the sunlight as it winds its way through the green valley from Rodah, until in the north, beyond the white cliffs of Kom El Ahmar, the distant minarets of Minia may just be seen where the river makes its final turn and passes out of sight.

Discovery of the Great Necropolis. Our excavations disclosed at the foot of the slope a series of rock chambers (described in the closing section of the next chapter) which mark the beginnings of the development of this site during the feudal period. The long famous "rock-tombs" of the XIth and XIIth Dynasties are ranged side by side along a terrace further up the cliff. These are really the mortuary chambers attached to the tombs of the local chieftains and princes, and they are evidence of the power and splendour to which the feudal courts of the locality attained during the Middle Empire. Their position on the hill-side may be seen in Fig. 6; the same photograph indicates also the site of the great necropolis of this age which is the chief subject of the present volume. Our excavations along the face of the cliff just below the tombs of the Nomarchs (as the chieftains of the nome or district have come to be called) disclosed 888 tombs of their courtiers and officials. These are described in Chapters IV—IX.

The search for this necropolis had been the chief object of our expedition. We had been prompted to undertake it by various considerations, based upon experience of other sites, chief among which was the fact that the early royal tombs of Egypt are never found isolated. In the 1st Dynasty the servants of the king seem to have been buried around their master's tomb. It was a primitive

custom, illustrated in the early history of other countries, to sacrifice slaves and others at their master's grave, that they might continue their service in the after-world; indeed, there are instances well known in which servant or wife made voluntary sacrifice of life in pious devotion at the tomb. In Egypt the original custom is not traceable to sacrifice, but the clustering of the servants' and retainers' graves around their master's probably arose from a similar ideal. The practice was in any case firmly established. Near the royal tombs of the IIIrd Dynasty at Bêt Khallâf, our expedition of 1901 had found a necropolis of



FIG. 6.—SITE OF THE ROCK TOMBS AND NECROPOLIS OF THE MIDDLE EMPIRE.

the same period. Again, in the Old Empire, when Memphis became the seat of the king and the centre of government, the chief persons of the court were buried under the shadow of the Pyramids. So now in the Middle Empire, when the feudal chieftain in the provinces emulated the pomp and ceremonial of the throne it was quite conformable with custom and tradition that his *entourage* should place their graves near to his own.¹ At Beni Hassan these were easily to be found. Some few were already visible, being open to the surface; and by moving the débris from below the long gallery of rock-tombs the others were brought to view.

Later History.—The history of the district from the time represented by

¹ Cf. Griffith and Newberry: "E Bersheh, II.," p. 40.

these tombs remains almost blank until somewhere about the XXth Dynasty. The single exception is the monument of the XVIIIth Dynasty known by the name which the Greeks gave to it, the *Speos Artemidos*, whereon is an unique inscription referring to the ravages of the Hyksos, the foreigners who during the period between the XIIth and the XVIIIth Dynasties overran the country. Unfortunately evidence is insufficient to explain this conspicuous absence of New Empire remains. It is possible, from the frequent representations of foreign immigrants in the tombs of the XIIth Dynasty, and from other suggestions, to conjecture that some of the invaders may have settled in the neighbourhood, and that when the monarchy was restored in the XVIIIth Dynasty their settlements were destroyed. Whatever may be the explanation, no graves were found to represent the continuity of local history during the New Empire, although before and after that period every age is represented. The later tombs near the *Speos Artemidos*, which carry down the story of the district to the end of the dynasties, are briefly described in the last chapter of this volume, when the full significance of this gap will become apparent.

The Nomarchs' Tombs.—Before turning to consider the early historical evidences of the vicinity, it will be of special interest to glance at the great tombs for which Beni Hassan is famous.¹ These chambers are thirty-nine in number; they are all hewn into the same stratum of the limestone about half way up the cliffs. Being for the most part side by side, they form a continuous gallery about a quarter of a mile in length. The dressing of the rock to give them perpendicular faces has widened a natural terrace into a broad pathway, on to which their doorways open. Fig. 10 shows this feature clearly. They are all of similar purpose, being in fact mortuary chapels or shrines attached to burial places, which can be reached for the most part by means of vertical shafts descending from the floors. In a few instances the descent is by a sloping passage; but in all cases the place for the interment is below the chamber. Inscriptions in twelve out of the whole number give the names of those by whom or for whom they were made. Of these, eight were great chieftains and governors of the Nome, two were princes, one was a prince's son, and one a royal scribe. The earliest date from the XIth Dynasty, and are found to the south end of the row. These are for the most part simple rectangular chambers, with the roof sometimes supported by living columns. The chambers of the XIIth Dynasty, as we pass along the terrace towards the north, become larger and more elegant; some of them are approached by porticoes, while the construction of their interiors

¹ For a detailed survey, see "Beni Hassan I., II.," by P. E. Newberry, issued by the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1893—4.

shows a corresponding elaboration. In these also the scheme of the mural decorations is advanced and the colour is in better preservation.

The Tomb of Amenemhat.—The last complete tomb of the range towards the north is that of Amenemhat, called also Ameni, who in the XIIth Dynasty under King Senusret II. was Great Chieftain of the Oryx Nome, bearing the king's seal, and claiming the confidential friendship of his sovereign. His tomb is one of the most perfect and remarkable. An ancient causeway fringed with stones leads straight towards it up the slope, as seen in Fig. 7. Its entrance is a portico *in antis*, supported by two octagonal columns. The details of the work suggest

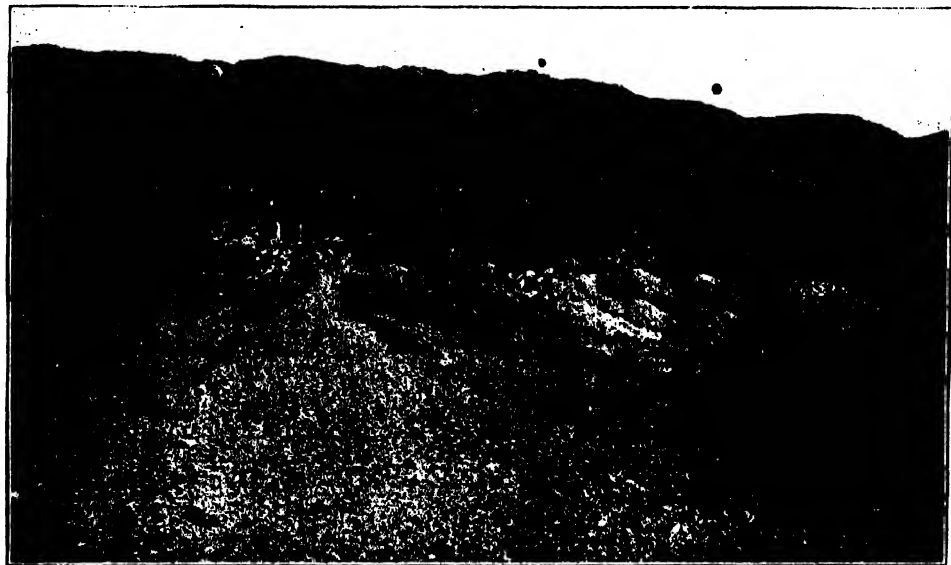


FIG. 7.—ANCIENT CAUSEWAY LEADING UP TO THE TOMB OF AMENEMHAT.

the prototype of a wooden verandah, though here hewn in the living rock. The interior is of great size and massive proportions, which are well brought out in the illustration (Fig. 8) by contrast with the height of the native guardian who is standing near the entrance of the inner shrine. Another detail which this photograph exhibits is the upper portion of a column still attached to the architrave as though supporting it, although in fact a portion of the drum of the column is broken away entirely. Two columns on either side of the main axis of approach from the door to the shrine divide the interior into aisles and nave, all of which are spanned by vaults cut in the rock. The columns are sixteen-sided and slightly fluted; their capitals are the plain square abacus, and their bases are

circular. They support stout architraves running parallel to the main axis, decorated in conformity with the general scheme of the interior. The decoration is almost entirely in colour. Some of the hieroglyphs alone are incised, notably a biographical inscription around the entrance on the outside, on which the signs are picked out with green. The subjects upon the walls represent various

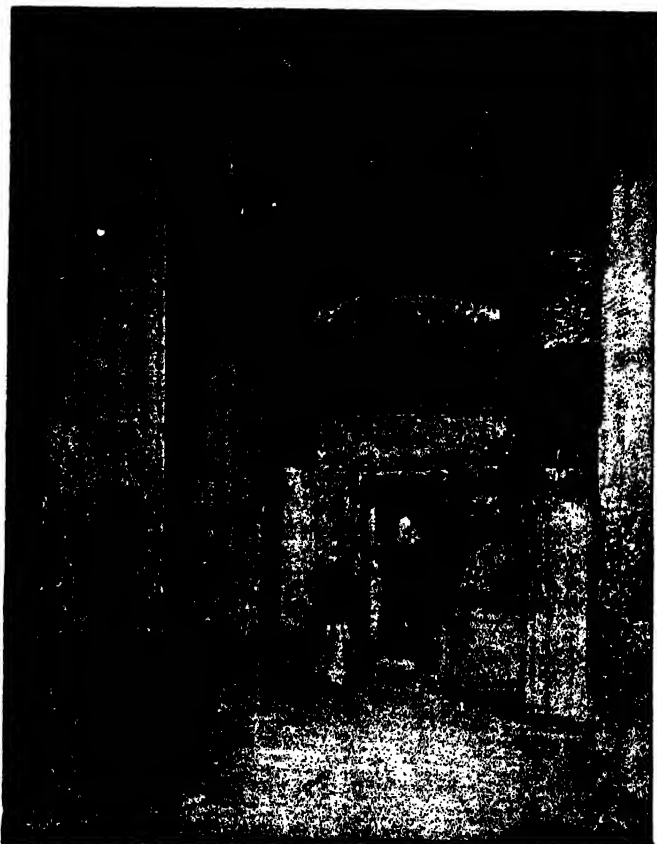


FIG. 8.—INTERIOR OF THE TOMB-CHAMBER OF AMENEMHAT.

industries of the age, which may be supposed to have been fostered by the deceased chieftain, in addition to religious and military scenes.

Decorative Scenes.—On the west wall of the interior, south of the door, are pictures of river and garden, fishing and fowling, the vineyard and wine pressing, and other outdoor occupations, as well as scenes from domestic life, the preparation of food stuffs and drinks, and the lady of the house among her attendants and musicians. All these representations are symbolic of the hope

for a continued supply of such earthly comforts for the dead in the after-world; and in this position upon the wall they were near to the burying place itself. To the left of the entrance on this wall the local industries are the theme of the paintings. The makers of flint knives and sandals, of bows and arrows, boxes and coffins, the gold and silver smiths, the potters and the flax workers, occupy successive registers. The lowest rows of the wall are devoted to agriculture, giving vivid glimpses of field life—ploughing and sowing, the harvest, and the threshing of the grain. The north wall is covered with prayers, and formal representations of priests and others bringing the tributes and sacrifice to lay upon the table of offerings which appears towards the right-hand side, as though spread before Amenemhat himself; for a massive image of the dead chief is carved in a recess in the middle of the eastern face opposite the doorway, looking towards the west. Above the recess on either side the theme is a series of lively wrestling attitudes and military exercises. An assault on a fortress and a battle scene occupy the middle portion of the wall; and below there are depicted the pilgrimages to the two chief sanctuaries of Osiris. The procession up-stream represents the customary visit of the dead chieftain to the shrine of Osiris at Abydos. His remains in a mummy case¹ lie on a bier in the stern of a boat, which is towed by two vessels with square sails spread before the wind. One of these has a complement of oarsmen, while the other with its military weapons seems to represent a guardship. The boats all point towards the shrine, and being on the left hand or north side, face southwards, in the actual direction of the voyage. The corresponding group, on the opposite side of the shrine, point in the opposite direction: the destination in this case was Busiris, an ancient sanctuary of Osiris in the north. The boats are three in number as before, but the place of the mummy is taken by a group of women in a cabin specially designed for them. The boats which tow are both manned by numerous oarsmen, and the sails are furled, for the course lies against the prevailing wind. These representations help to explain the significance of the model boats found in the excavations, as described in Chapters V. and VI.²

The scenes upon the south wall are of more religious and funerary character. There are two main subjects treated in similar fashion. To the left Amenemhat is seen seated before a table of offerings, to which numerous priests and servants, led by his son, are bringing their tribute in kind, which covers the table and floor in great profusion. Even living animals are brought as for the sacrifice, and the lowest row of pictures represents the act of sacrifice in several phases.³ The upper portion of the wall is filled with an account of the funeral offerings; while

¹ Cf. Fig. 181.

² See especially Figs. 86, 89.

³ See Chap. VI. and Fig. 96.

above the figure of Amenemhat is a list of his titles and positions of honour. It would seem that the feudal lord at this time was not merely the hereditary scion of the province, but was by that very fact head of the local army, and chief of the priests in the various local cults and temples.¹ To the right hand of the wall a similar scene on a smaller scale shows tribute being paid to his consort, who also was of noble birth, and held offices and honours in the province corresponding to her exalted rank. The burial places of the two lay almost side by side near to this southern wall.

Other Tombs.—We have dwelt at some length on the nature of these funeral



FIG. 9.—INTERIOR OF A TOMB CHAMBER WITH LOTUS COLUMNS.

scenes within this tomb because of the light they throw upon the objects found during the excavation of the general necropolis. Each of these great chambers as we pass along the terrace, contains, however, its special features of interest upon which we cannot linger. The next to that described, belonging to KHNEM-HETEP, who was administrator of the Eastern desert during the same reign, is not less splendid in itself, and is even more attractive from the general interest of the scenes and descriptions which decorate its walls. Amongst these

are pictures of weaving² and the storing of grain³ after the harvest, both painted on the western wall. On the north side is the well-known representation of foreigners, with whom the official work of KHNEM-HETEP had brought him into contact. Here they are being brought into the country with tribute of various kinds for the prince. Among the immigrants are a number of women whose custom was to carry their babies in a shawl or basket suspended over their shoulders.⁴ Here is also the famous ABSHA, the desert chieftain, whose title HEK-KHASET so much resembles the term later applied to the Hyksos leaders.

Architectural Features.—Passing along, the porticoes of some of these tomb-chambers are seen to be prototypes of the Doric order. Their date makes it probable

¹ Newberry, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 12.

² Cf. Figs. 133, 134.

³ Cf. Figs. 122, 123.

⁴ Cf. Fig. 138.

that they are the earliest historical examples of this system of columnar structure, though they are not necessarily the models upon which the architects of Asia Minor or of Greece based their later development and perfection of the system. It was a simple and natural result of the method of construction.

Further on, again, the interior of the tomb which bears the official number XVIII. seen in Fig. 9, is a striking example of Egyptian naturalism in art, although much of the effect has been lost by the defacement of its mural paintings with their realistic scenes. The columns, which as before are hewn in the solid rock, are derived in idea from a cluster of lotus-stems bound together : the buds



FIG. 10.—EXTERIOR OF SOME ROCK-TOMBS ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THE GALLERY.

form the capitals, crowned by a square abacus, which holds up the beams supporting the roof. The columns are not necessary for the safety of the structure ; they are purely the product of artistic feeling. In this instance, as in a previous example, the drum of one column has broken away, leaving the capital attached to the rock-roof.

The entrances to the chambers along the terrace to the south, as has been already mentioned, are without porticoes, and the interiors are less elaborate. These are the earlier tombs. A group of them is seen in Fig. 10. Notwithstanding this, the paintings in some are full of realism, and not less interesting than those which were constructed later. They are, however, in poor preservation. The colour has mostly faded from their walls, and the columns which at one

BURIAL CUSTOMS OF ANCIENT EGYPT.



FIG. 11.—EXTERIOR OF THE TOMB-CHAMBERS USED AS OUR HEADQUARTERS.

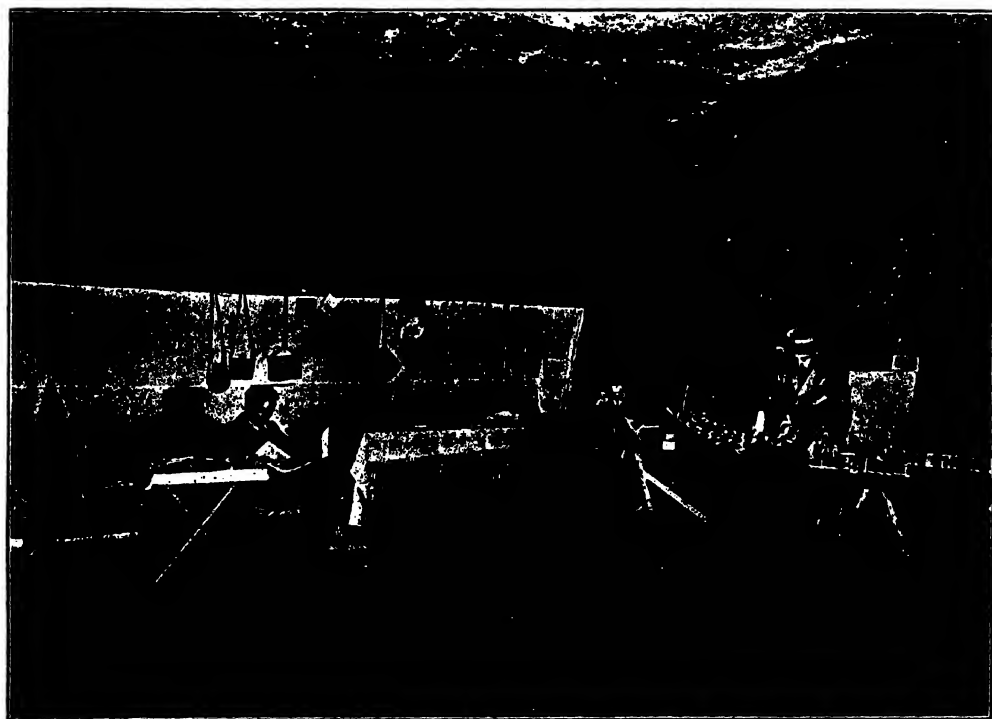


FIG. 12.—A CORNER OF THE CHAMBER IN WHICH WE LIVED.

time added to their magnificence, have now in many instances completely disappeared.

[One such chamber was used, with permission of the *Service des Antiquités*, as the headquarters for our expedition during the two years of our stay. It is seen from outside, with the temporary addition of a verandah, in Fig. 11; and the next illustration shows one corner of these airy and comfortable quarters during the second year of our work. An underground room, approached by a sloping passage from an adjoining chamber, served as dark room, and there an Arab boy, MAHMOUD ABD EL GELEL, developed more than a thousand negatives, from a selection of which this volume is illustrated. The Arab workmen lived in chambers further along the terrace. Many of these men had worked for us at Regagnah, and have subsequently joined our expeditions to other places up the Nile as far as Dakke in Nubia. Several of them took an intelligent interest in the excavation, the results of which astonished them not a little. Some of them have proved reliable and helpful; in particular SALEH ABD EL NEBI, of Awidat, chief foreman, a man of tact in dealing with his comrades and resourceful in emergency, has been the loyal and constant helper in many seasons' arduous work.]



FIG. 13.—GROUP OF ARAB WORKMEN AT BENI HASSAN.

CHAPTER III.

EARLIER HISTORY OF THE VICINITY.

BEFORE beginning an account of the chief necropolis of the Middle Empire, there lies before us a preliminary consideration, the origins and development of the burial customs in the locality. It is obvious from the high culture attained in the province during the feudal period that its beginnings must be looked for at a much earlier date. The very name of Menat-Khufu, "the nursing place of Khufu," applied to its chief town, is indication of local tradition at least as early as the first kings of the Pyramid Age.

This chapter is therefore devoted to a brief account of the early tombs disclosed by our exploration of the desert to the north and south: these are at the same time the fundamental evidences of the continuity of local history.



FIG. 14.—EARLY ROCK-TOMBS ABOVE NUERAT.

Section I. Tombs of the IIIrd and IVth Dynasties near Nuerat.

The disposition of these earlier tombs has been already indicated in the previous chapter. The row of small chambers seen in Fig. 14 is

probably the earliest group to which an approximate date can be assigned. This is inferred both from the character of the tombs and the archaic features of the interments in pottery vessels, which in other sites of Middle Egypt hardly survived the IIIrd Dynasty.¹ These rock chambers are all similar to one another in character and construction. A small cave is hewn into the face of the cliff, square in shape, with a shallow well sunk in the rock towards one side. The chamber is in some instances only a metre in height, and the shaft is usually not more than a metre deep. In some instances, as in the case pictured in Fig. 15, the mouth of the shaft

¹ "The Third Egyptian Dynasty": burials under pottery vessels, pp. 51—57.

TOMBS OF THE IIIRD AND IVTH DYNASTIES.

occupies the whole area of the chamber, which deepens immediately inside the door. At the foot of the shaft, in each case that had not been disturbed, there was found a burial enclosed within a pottery coffin of oval form. In a few instances only, the coffin chamber took the form of a special recess leading from the shaft. The position of the coffin as discovered in one such example is seen in Fig. 15. It is clear that as regards their construction these tombs, with their upper chambers and separate burial places, are direct prototypes of the great tombs described in the preceding chapter.

The nature of the coffin and the character of the interment are illustrated in Fig. 16. In the upper photograph the body of the coffin is seen to be oval in form, about 80 cms. in length, and made of stout pottery, 2 to 3 cms. in thickness. In the lid, which is domed, there are four small holes symmetrically placed; the purpose of these is not apparent, though they are useful for lifting and replacing the cover. When found, they had been filled up with mud. In the lower photograph it is seen that the nature of the interment was primitive; as indeed the form and small size of the coffin have already suggested. The body was huddled up with the knees drawn nearly to the chin, in the manner characteristic of predynastic burials in Egypt. Traces of a linen cloth remained, the remnants



FIG. 15.—POTTERY COFFIN IN THE BURIAL CHAMBER.

probably of a garment which the deceased had worn. A few burials of even more primitive character were found in front of these tombs, upon the same terrace, under or near the large stones seen in the foreground to the right hand in Fig. 14. They are a type commonly met with in the earliest dynasties. The burial lay under a large inverted pottery vessel which covered or contained them. At Regagneh it was observed that this custom, though not uncommon in the IIIrd Dynasty, rarely survived as late as the IVth or Vth Dynasty; and that these simple burials did not necessarily imply the poverty of the deceased. Evidence is wanting to supply a reason for the perpetuation of this method of interment, which is seen in a new light when found thus employed in small rock-tombs. Even the Arab who excavated these tombs was led to observe that while the coffin itself could be bought for a very small sum, the cutting

of the substantial cavern in the rock must have been both laborious and expensive.

The site of this series of tombs was on the side of a little valley, where the cliffs projected towards the west, as indicated on the map, Plate II. Further to the north, along the range of cliffs which lies some distance to the north-east,

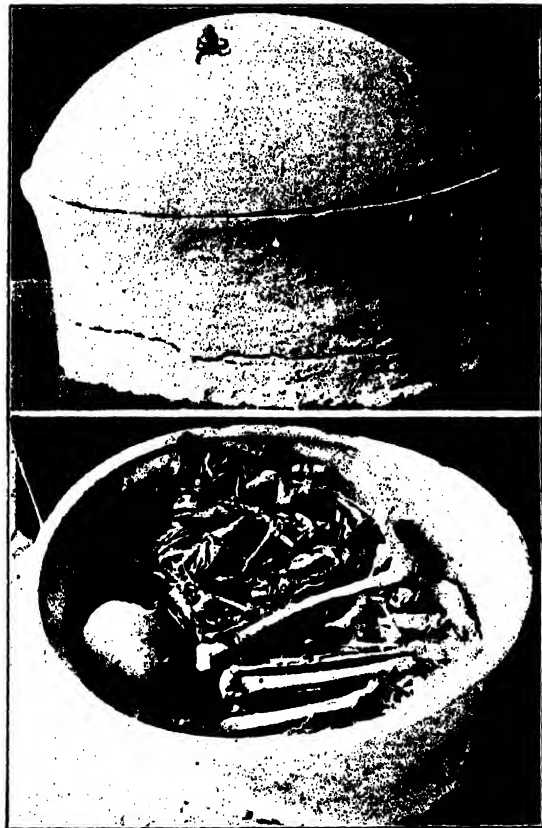


FIG. 16.—*a*. PRIMITIVE POTTERY COFFIN.
b. THE INTERMENT.

interment illustrated in Figs. 17 and 18. The size of the wooden box was just sufficient to receive the burial in the archaic contracted position. Considering the elaborate construction both of the wooden coffin and of the tomb itself, it is hardly probable that economy alone, whether of material or of labour, would determine this position. We can only infer that it was a time-honoured practice which had not changed.

The eastern face of the box, which is seen in Fig. 17, is divided into four

parallel in general direction with the valley of the Nile, a greater number of similar cave-tombs were found and examined. In some of these the shaft was long, as though it had been designed to receive a full-length coffin; in others again the shaft or the chamber which supplemented it could only receive a coffin of the size which has just been described. Only one tomb, however, was found which had not been previously disturbed. In this instance, leading from the small cave, to the left and to the right, shafts had been sunk to the depth of about one and a half metres beneath the level of the floor. The mouth of the shaft was about a metre square. Upon opening the one to the south, there was found within a pottery coffin and interment precisely similar to that illustrated in Figs. 15 and 16. In the other case, which lay to the left, that is, to the north, there was discovered a wooden coffin, unique in character. This is the

panels by the insertion of three vertical stiles, which are pegged to the upper and lower rails. The motive was common in architectural designs in the Old Empire, and it appears as early as in the royal tomb of the 1st Dynasty at Negadeh.¹ Two of the panels are partly closed, they even suggest a blind which might be rolled down from the top to the bottom. The ends of the coffin are each a single panel enclosed by a frame, after the manner of construction common at the present day. The western side also is plain, but made in two panels. The lid of the box is rounded over the top: it is made of several sections of wood, bound together by stout end-pieces, to which they are attached by dowels, as the illustration shows. Wood pins are also driven from the top to fix them in their places, and the pieces are further tied together by strings of twisted fibre which pass through holes pierced through them for that purpose. The



FIG. 17.—EARLY WOODEN COFFIN WITH
PANELLED SIDE.



FIG. 18.—THE INTERMENT: LIMBS WRAPPED IN LINEN.

corners of the box, as seen in the illustration, are bound together in this way by thongs of leather or twisted hide.

¹ This is one of the primitive features in Egyptian architecture which has direct analogy in Chaldaea and Babylonia.

In Fig. 18 there is seen the burial itself. It is important to observe, in addition to the contracted attitude in which the deceased was buried, that the limbs had each been separately wrapped in linen. The whole body was then covered with a further piece of cloth. It will be seen in the description of the interments of later days at Beni Hassan that in no case were the limbs separately wrapped; nor indeed was there any attempt at mummification suggested, except by the wrapping of the whole body in numerous folds of cloth, and the hardening of the skin as by drying. This instance is thus of special interest.

The burial customs illustrated by these tombs near Nuerat obviously represent an early phase of development. The construction of the tombs in the rock argues a certain advance upon the archaic methods; but the nature of the interments, unless they are local exceptions to the general rule, excludes them from any date later than the first days of the Old Empire. They fall into position without difficulty or much uncertainty in the transitional phase between the IIIrd and IVth Dynasties which links the archaic with the advanced culture of the Pyramid Age.

Section II. Tombs of the Vth Dynasty near Beni Hassan and the Speos Artemidos.

From the north we pass to the southern end of the tract explored, where are a number of large tombs in the side of the cliffs which overlook the modern village of Beni Hassan. These also for the most part were chambers hewn in the rock, and arranged in a continuous gallery. Others of them were "pit tombs"; that is to say, the burial-place was reached by means of a perpendicular shaft descending some distance beneath the surface of the rock, without any special shrine or chamber about the mouth. It is already apparent that the term "rock-tomb" is apt to lead to misunderstanding, if it be not borne in mind that it is usually applied to the accessible portion of the tomb, namely, the shrine, prayer chamber, or mortuary chapel. The burial place is generally situated beneath the floor of this chamber, and is reached by means of a shaft either descending through the floor of the chamber, or sloping to reach that position from some point on the outside. The chambers of this series of tombs were considerably larger than those previously described. In most of them it was possible to stand upright, and the floor space was in several instances four or five yards square. The inscriptions not uncommonly carved on the walls in these tombs, and the general features of the interments, so far as these could be ascertained, proved similar to the well-established types of the Old Empire. The tomb numbered 1015 is an illustration. The upper chamber was about four metres square and nearly two metres in height. From its south-east corner a shaft, descending only

about two metres below the floor, in the rock, gave access to the burial place. About half way down in the south end of the shaft a small recess was found, the purpose of which was not apparent. It was too small to receive a coffin of the full length of a person; it might therefore have been supposed that it was designed to contain a statue of the deceased, but for the discovery of one within the burial chamber.

Whatever may have been its original use, it had at any rate served one useful purpose, namely, to preserve from disturbance the more important features below. For dissatisfied, it would seem, with what the upper recess contained, plunderers who had otherwise ransacked the tomb, had here relaxed their efforts, and had not descended to the chamber hidden beneath. This was closed by a wall of brick; it was hollowed for the



FIG. 20.—NO. 1015.
[HEIGHT 17 INS.]



FIG. 19.—KA-STATUE IN POSITION.
TOMB 1015.

most part under the western side of the shaft, and extended a short distance under the southern end also. Upon removing the wall, a stout wooden coffin was seen. This was of the ordinary oblong shape and nearly two metres in length. At its foot there stood a statuette of wood in the characteristic dress and style of the Old Empire. In Fig. 19 this is seen in its original position, standing between the end of the coffin and the north wall of the chamber. The details of this figure are seen more clearly in Fig. 20. It was the Ka-statue, a representation

of the deceased, made in a material less perishable than his body, and placed within his tomb; so that if at any time the body should decay or be destroyed, the spirit of the dead should not wander forth, but should find a rest within this

emblem. The custom thus illustrated was already matured under the Old Empire. Thereafter all representations to the same end were derived from the same simple motive; but as they multiplied in quantity, they commonly deteriorated in quality and workmanship, ceasing to be a portrait, and conveying only in conventional fashion a human likeness.¹

At the other end of the chamber, by the side of the sarcophagus under the southern extremity of the shaft, there were found a number of jars of pottery, sealed with caps of mud, which had contained the drinks offered at the time of the funeral; while other simple pottery dishes indicated the usual provisions of bread and other eatables that had also accompanied the interment. These con-



FIG. 21.—HEAD OF A BULL WITHIN THE BURIAL CHAMBER.
TOMB 1017.

stituted the whole furniture of the tomb. The coffin itself was also plain; it was painted a dull yellow colour, and the only decoration of any kind were the two "sacred eyes" painted on the eastern side towards the north end. Within, the body lay upon its side, its face towards this emblem. The precise meaning of these eyes is not clear. The mythological records help little in determining the original and underlying motive. In later instances,

it will be noticed; the decorated coffins of the Middle Empire always preserved these emblems in the same relative position.² The body itself had not been mummified or preserved in any manner, nor did the contents of the coffin illustrate any further special features of the earlier burial customs.

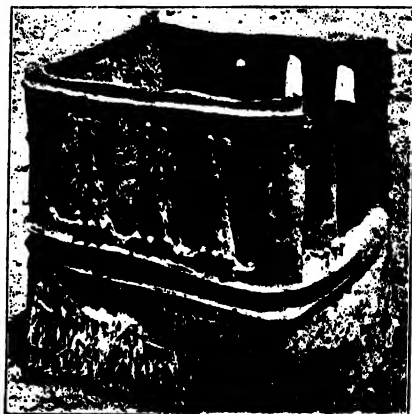
Very few of these rock-tombs had escaped the ravages of the plunderers. Fig. 21, however, shows the contents of another burial chamber that was found intact. In this case it is seen that in addition to the ordinary tributes of food, there had been placed within the tomb the head of an ox or bull which had obviously been sacrificed at the funeral ceremony. In the tombs of the Middle Empire, on which we shall dwell at greater length, it will be seen that in several instances the bones of the leg of such an animal were found within the burial

¹ Cf. Figs. 135, 136.

² Cf. Figs. 167, 169.

chambers.¹ The sacrifice then was so full of real meaning that those celebrating the rites at the graveside did not forget the wants of him who had left their world ; but furnished him with those portions of the animal which usage or tradition had sanctified. The head and leg of the sacrifice found in the tomb No. 1017 had been accompanied by other offerings in pottery vessels. The whole furniture of the tomb took the primitive form of food-stuffs for the dead. The coffin had been of wood, but it had entirely decayed, disclosing the bones of the interment, from which it was clear that the body had been laid in the same extended position as in tomb 1015, with its face towards the east.

Unfortunately few of this row of tombs overlooking Beni Hassan contained any evidence of their date and character. A time-worn inscription incised upon the wall of the mortuary chamber in No. 1009 mentions TETA, a "royal mother," UNA, another lady, and ANU, husband of the former, and other names characteristic of the Vth and VIth Dynasties. There was also found hereabouts an object of pottery, represented in Fig. 22, which is unique in its character. There is little doubt that it belongs to the same period ; but it had apparently been used by people of much later, probably Roman, times, who had plastered over its hollow spaces with a coating of mud, to provide themselves with a substantial and useful earthenware vessel. It is of a size which would have just fitted within the small upper chamber in tomb 1015 ; but it was found below



22.—POTTERY MODEL. [HEIGHT
28 INS.]

the terrace, a short distance away, covered and filled with débris. It is 70 cms. in height and about the same length and breadth. As seen in our photograph, a series of miniature pillars support the ridge which lies around the top, upon which probably a lid was placed. On the pillars points of clay convey the idea of studs or pins which fix them at the bottom and top. These suggest a wooden original for the model. There had, moreover, been an entrance or doorway in the side which is partly broken away. The object calls to mind distantly the cage of wicker used by the modern peasantry of Egypt to transport fowls or to keep them in. If there were any analogy for such a custom it might be thought that some live animal or bird was thus offered to the dead ; but it is possible to see in this object an architectural model.

¹ E.g., Tomb No. 1, p. 62, and No. 186, p. 83 and Fig. 68 ; cf. also Figs. 94, 95, and pp. 105, 106 B.C.

An interesting feature of this burial place is illustrated in Fig. 23, which shows a flight of steps hewn in the face of the cliff leading up to the mouths of several shafts, which descend vertically into the rock. These were the entrances of pit-tombs, of which the burial chambers lay in each case to the southern end, at the bottom of the shaft, at a depth commonly of five or six metres. The shaft to which the steps give immediate access, at the top of the flight towards the left,

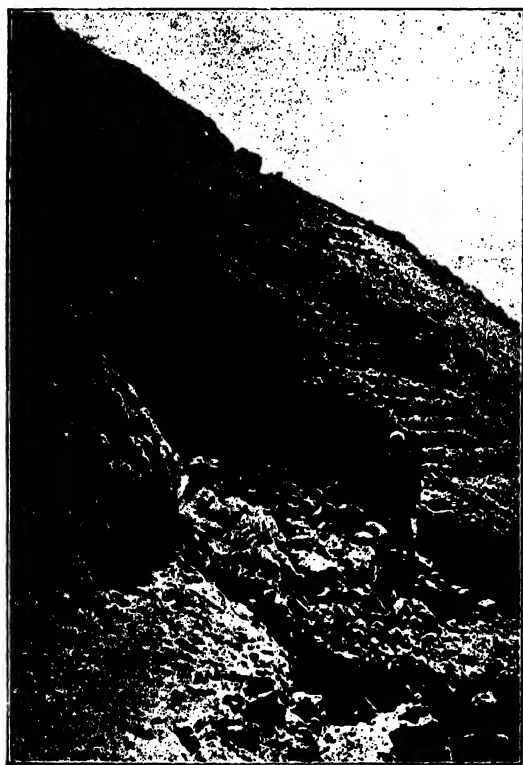


FIG. 23.—STEPS IN THE CLIFF-FACE LEADING TO THE TOMBS ABOVE.

is seen to be about two metres in length, so that the coffin might be lowered to the burial chamber without tilting. None of these chambers was intact; but in the one just referred to there were found the fragments of wooden models and figures, which clearly indicate the same burial customs as those which will be described more completely in connection with the tombs of the Middle Empire in the chief necropolis of the district. It is unnecessary to dwell upon these features in this instance, chiefly because the date of these particular models is not certain; and though they may belong to the Old Empire there is no evidence other than their environment to support that view. It would thus not be a fair conclusion to infer that the practice of placing wooden models illustrative of industrial or domestic processes within the tomb dates as far back as the Old Empire in this locality.

The tombs, however, which will be described in the ensuing chapters, show that the custom was so far developed by the Middle Empire that it became almost a mere convention.

Some VIth Dynasty Tombs near the Speos Artemidos.—We have hitherto confined our account of the Old Empire tombs to the row of chambers opening to the west on to a terrace in the cliff just eastward of Beni Hassan. It should be mentioned, however, that in the projecting knoll which forms the southern boundary to the gorge leading to the Speos Artemidos, seen in an illustration of

a later chapter, Fig. 214, a number of similar tombs 'honeycomb the rock. These, however, have in the past been so much quarried that it is hardly possible to give an adequate description of them. Our excavation tended to show that most of the destruction had been done in Roman times, indeed the labourers working in the quarry had obviously lived in these tombs. The defaced shrine shown in Fig. 24 is one of the more remarkable features. It represents a group of two figures, male and female, in the dress and pose of the Old Empire work. The figures are life-size, and are found in a dark interior chamber at the summit of the most westerly point of the rock. Further on, on the southern side of this knoll, the walls of one of the chambers still preserve a lengthy inscription, which is incised, and a funereal device in similar style. From the former we learn that the tomb was made for one BEBA, who was "First under the King" and "Superintendent of the Priests," probably in the VIth Dynasty. His wife was named UZAU. The scene which decorates the walls represents the priests and servants bringing offerings in kind to an altar before which the two are seated. The work is in the characteristic style of the VIth Dynasty; it seems to be distinctly more developed, and therefore of later date than the row of rock chambers along the ridge to the south, which has just been described. It forms a link with the earlier tombs in the main necropolis two miles to the north, to which we pass for further evidences of the local history.



FIG. 24.—DEFACED SHRINE NEAR THE SPEOS ARTEMIDOS.

Section III. The Earliest Tombs of the Great Necropolis.

The situation of the site famous for the Nomarchs' tombs, and its historical relations, have already been considered. Excavation traced its origins to a number of rock-hewn tombs at the foot of the hill-side in which the necropolis is found. These consist of an upper chamber or the mortuary chapel, with one or more vertical shafts descending from the floor and leading to the burial chambers proper. They are thus similar in design to the great tombs of the upper terrace, though generally much smaller in size. They are also similar to the rock-tombs

near the village of Bēni Hassan, described in the preceding section, but the paintings and inscriptions upon their walls, and other archæological features, place them in date towards the close of the VIth Dynasty, or in the period which links that age with the Middle Empire.

Unlike the rows of rock-tombs which have previously come under our notice, these do not open on to a continuous terrace, but were placed here and there to the number of ten or twelve wherever a fitting place had suggested itself to those who made them. They follow, however, a general contour, keeping somewhat to the foot of the steep cliff, and they are homogeneous in design. Only



FIG. 25.—DOORWAYS OF THE TOMBS OF APA AND TETA (NO. 481) AND BEBA (NO. 482).

two of them, however, retain any inscriptions. The doors of these, numbered 481 and 482, are seen in Fig. 25, and a description of the former, which is the best preserved, will help to explain the original nature of the rest.

The Tomb of APA. The tomb, No. 481, is the lower one to the left in the illustration. The approach from without is flanked on either side by low reliefs, representing the chief persons buried within. Fig. 26 shows one of these weathered sculptures: it is the figure of a man, in the attitude and dress which characterises the work of the Old Empire.¹ The sides of the doorway also had been carved in a similar manner, but these reliefs were worn and hardly recognisable.

¹ Cf. Fig. 20, above.

Upon entering the chamber, which now remains open to view, it is found to be fairly spacious, being about three and a half metres in depth, two and a half in width, and two metres (more exactly 1.95 metres) high. Its sides are decorated in colours, and an inner door faces the entrance. On the interior of the western wall, on either side of the doorway, are panelled false doors or shrines, represented in Fig. 27. From these we learn the names of those for whom the tomb had been prepared. The southern shrine, to the left in the illustration, is inscribed with a prayer that the king may give to ANUBIS the usual offerings for the dead,¹ whose name appears in three places as APA. He is referred to as a "confidential friend" of the king. Another name, probably of the same person, is HER-ABA, described in this instance as the "Head Man of the town" or district. The other inscription, to the right hand in Fig. 27, records a similar prayer for a lady whose name was SENB, who we must suppose was the wife of APA. She is entitled "The Royal Ornament," an expression corresponding to some royal decoration, or mark of favour accordant with her rank. Two of her daughters also are mentioned, the one named TETA and the other THENA. The latter was a priestess in the temple of Hathor. In the horizontal line of the inscription, in the centre, above the panelled door, occurs the formula "truly devoted to the great God" [OSIRIS]. Above this line of hieroglyphs there is a funeral representation of the lady seated before a table piled with offerings, with a lotus flower in her left hand. The design upon the shrine of APA was probably similar, but it is not so well preserved.

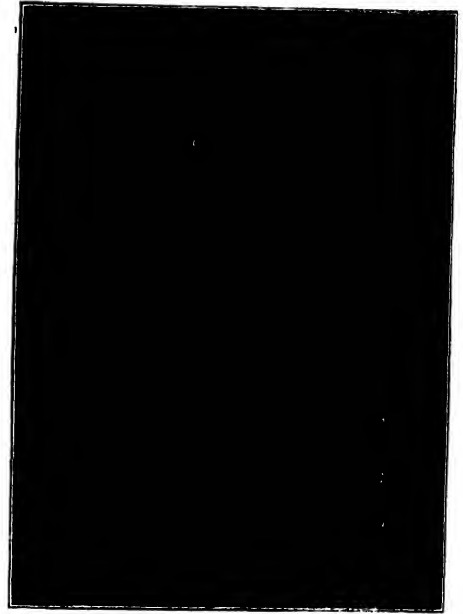


FIG. 26.—FIGURE OF APA IN LOW RELIEF.
TOMB 481.

The north wall of this chamber is decorated in an interesting fashion with agricultural scenes. In the bottom row the inscription speaks of the overseeing of the flax. The device of the middle row is a ploughing scene, and in the second row from the top, in which a group of oxen is depicted, there is a reference to a herdsman whose name is obliterated. The upper register of this scene contains some vivacious details. In addition to the usual monotonous row of

¹ See Chap. VIII., especially p. 188.

oxen seen partly behind each other, two of the animals have broken loose from the herd and are fighting. One of them is represented in the act of tossing the other; the latter rests with his knees and nose upon the ground, while his hind legs are high in the air. The herdsman is restraining the other animals from joining in the combat. The lower registers of this wall depict the scenes of the ploughing, the sowing, and the harvest in the stereotyped manner of the tombs of this period at Sakkara.

The decoration on the south wall, though not without features of interest, is

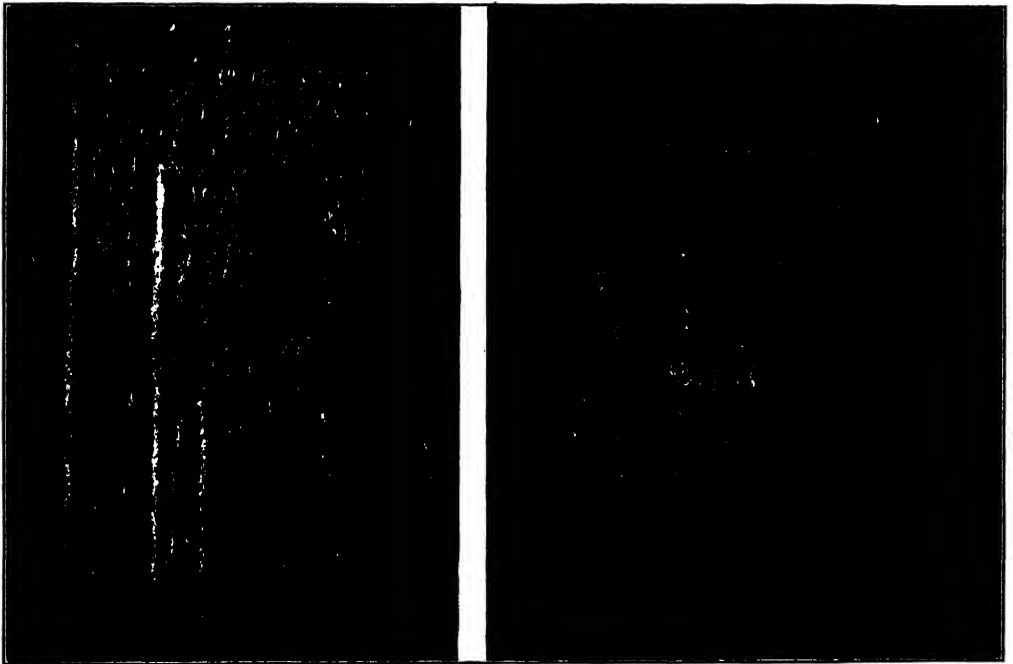


FIG. 27.—FALSE DOORS OR SHRINES OF APA AND OF TETA, WEST WALL OF TOMB 481.

conventional. The deceased is seated upon a chair, the legs of which are in imitation of those of a lion. The back of the chair is low, and a robe is spread hanging over the back and partly on the seat. The figure leans forward to touch with his left hand the table of offerings, which stands upon a single narrow pedestal reaching to the height of his knees. The offerings themselves, the birds, the oxen, the vessels of wine and beer, the loaves of bread, and all the customary tributes, form the theme for the decoration of the adjacent portion of the wall. The list of offerings is recorded in hieroglyphs above. Beneath the chair there stands a dwarf, who appears ridiculously small when compared with the

exaggerated scale of the central figure; but he is about 'waist high as compared with all the other figures of the scenes. Two overseers behind the chair are represented as moving towards the east, with their faces in that direction; they obviously form a portion of the subject treated on the eastern wall, for the face of the seated person is turned towards the west. In the lowest register there is represented a procession of servants, male and female, bringing the funeral provisions. A man carries the leg of an ox,¹ others carry small vessels, a third carries a brace of birds, two women carry baskets upon their heads and birds in their left hands,² while a man bringing up the rear of the procession bears two well-filled baskets, which are suspended by a yoke from his shoulders.³

The adjoining portion of the eastern wall, which is very faint, is devoted to a favourite aquatic scene. The master, standing in a boat of rushes,⁴ is seeking sport amongst the wild fowl; while in the register below are small boats upon the river, the occupants of which are struggling as in sport with one another. The realistic touch is supplied by the throwing overboard of one of the combatants. On the other side of the door, on the same wall, a figure is carved in low relief; it is similar to that outside the entrance, and probably represents Apa himself. Hereabouts also occurs the name KHENT-KAU.

Fortunately the wall-paintings were not the only source of our information concerning this tomb. Though the chamber had at one time remained open for a considerable time it was found on excavating the tomb shafts that one burial remained undisturbed; it was that of one of the three ladies mentioned in the inscription quoted. There were two shafts within the chamber, corresponding to the two shrines. These were quite similar to each other; their openings occupied the eastern half of the floor, with a narrow strip of rock alone dividing them. Their position was in each case north to south, and each measured about 1·70 metres in length and one metre in breadth. The southerly burial-chamber, in which probably APA himself had been buried, was found to be empty; but the burial-chamber gained from the northern shaft was more instructive. It was reached at a depth of two metres; and it had been hewn, of necessity, owing to the juxtaposition of the other shaft, under the north wall of the tomb. In this direction it extended some 2·15 metres, with a width of two metres, and a height of about 1·5 metres. It had thus been designed large enough to receive three coffins, corresponding to the names on the inscription described above. The eastern portion of the chamber had been rifled, but fortune had preserved a burial undisturbed along the western side. The coffin had decayed, and the body was

¹ Cf. Fig. 95.

² Cf. Figs. 47, 64, 77, 85, 98.

³ Cf. Figs. 62, 125.

⁴ Cf. Figs. 45 and 46 and the frontispiece.

found at once, extended on its left side, with head to the north. The bones were those of a female, and the tomb-furniture corresponded with this observation. An alabaster head-rest, pictured in Fig. 28, was under the head, and a mirror with a wooden handle lay before the face. At her feet was a group of alabaster vases, five in number, represented in the upper portion of Fig. 28, and also the traces of a pair of sandals made of wood and leather. This burial, with its deposit of alabaster vases, etc., formed obviously one of the original interments of a VIth Dynasty grave. The forms of the vessels agree in this respect with the character of the names inscribed upon the walls of the

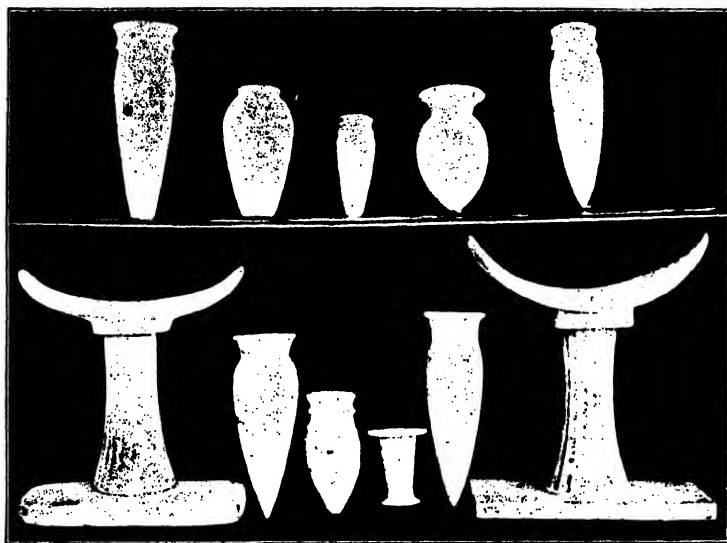


FIG. 28. —GROUPS OF VASES AND HEAD-RESTS OF ALABASTER. TOMB 481.

mortuary chapel above. Nothing else of moment was found in this part of the tomb.

Passing to the inner chamber, it was seen that it widened out to a somewhat greater size than the foregoing, measuring 4·80 by 2·75 metres as compared with the 3·65 by 2·58, the greatest length and breadth of the outer chamber. Its sides and floor had not been smoothly dressed, and there was a lack of any decorative work. There was no reason, however, to suppose that it was not more or less contemporary with the former, although so inferior in workmanship; indeed, the discovery of another original burial within it undisturbed definitely established that point. This was found by excavating a shaft which descended from the easterly half of the chamber: this shaft had an opening 2·10 metres in length, reaching north to south, and at a depth of about two metres gave access

to a burial chamber, which in this case for some reason was recessed under the eastern side. The recess was the same length as the shaft, and in width penetrated a further metre towards the east. Two interments were found, deep down in the space below the eastern wall. In the upper portion of the shaft, while clearing out the débris, there had been found portions of an inscribed coffin of wood and the decayed fragments of wooden models of boats and men, all of which, as will be seen hereafter, gave indication of re-use of the tomb in the Middle Empire. But these two burials belonged to an earlier stratum which had escaped disturbance. They lay in the usual position, their faces towards the east and fully extended. With one of them was a group of small alabaster vases, four in number, and a head-rest of the same stone, all of which are seen to the left hand in the lower portion of Fig. 28. A glance is sufficient to show that these were not widely separated in date from the deposits found in the main burial chamber of the outer tomb. The vases lay above the head at the extreme north-eastern corner of the recess, and the head-rest, as previously, was found under the head of the body on that side. The most interesting fact of all in connection with these burials is that the interment with which these vases were found was apparently that of a dwarf, of whom we have seen a picture carved in the outer chamber beneath the chair of APA. An anatomical examination of his bones did not show any signs of disease, but the back was rounded, the vertebrate bones were ossified to the curved position, and the limb bones were smaller than those of ordinary humanity. [A tomb near to this, but of Middle Empire date, No. 487, contained the remains of an exceptionally small but well-formed woman named SENB.¹ Her height was only about 1.40 cms., or 4 feet 9 inches.]

The traces of the re-use of this tomb during the Middle Empire were not confined to this burial chamber. There had been constructed, obviously at a later time, a second and a third shaft, which opened immediately to the left and right of the entrance to this inner portion. The former was empty, but the latter was somewhat similar to the first mentioned, though on a smaller scale, and the remains of a Middle Empire sarcophagus lay under a recess towards its western side. The names upon these intrusive coffins were KHNEMU-NEKHT, SEBEK-HETEP, and KHETY begotten of NEKHTA.

Such were the chief features of this tomb. It has been described first because it is typical in design of all the early rock-tombs which were found at the foot of the cliff. Each consisted essentially of a rock-hewn chamber, from three to four metres long and wide, and about two metres in height. In the floor were one or more shafts which lead down directly to the burial chambers. These chambers

¹ See Chap. VI., Pl. V.

might be either under the side as a recess, or a room definitely constructed, leading out from one end or other at the bottom of the shaft. The preference was for the south end, in which case the head of the deceased lay towards the opening and the face was commonly to the east. But if two shafts were contiguous, the burial chambers of the northern one would commonly be made to reach out towards the north, so as to avoid the other; or it might still find its proper position to the south by deepening the shaft, and so undermining its neighbour. As a rule a northern chamber was obviously deemed a thing to be

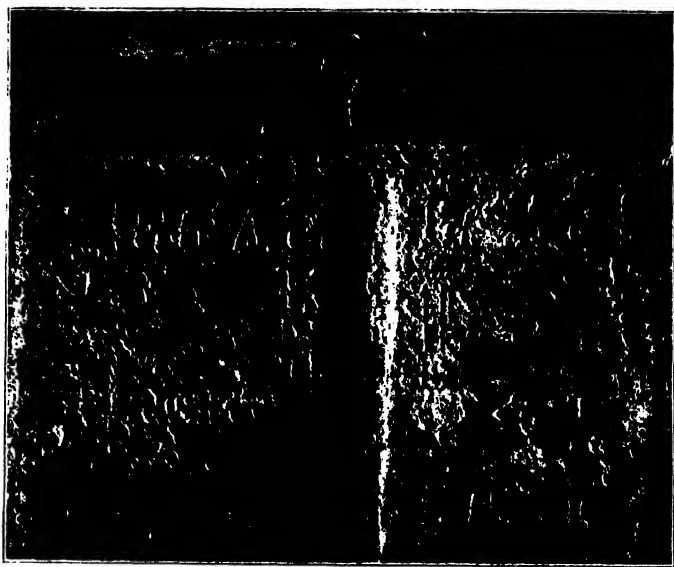


FIG. 29.—SHRINE OF BEBA AND PEPY-NA. TOMB 482.

avoided. These remarks will be found to apply almost with equal uniformity to the general character of the pit-tombs of the Middle Empire also, with the single exception that the burial place of this latter date never took the form of a mere recess under the side of the shaft.

Rock-tomb of BEBA.—The tomb which adjoined that of APA, No. 482 in our series, conformed entirely with the general plan of these early rock-tombs. Two shafts opened from the floor of the main chamber, but in this instance no interment was found; the burial chambers had been entirely ransacked. Upon the western wall inside the upper chamber there was inscribed a double panel reproduced in Fig. 29. The inscription is in each case a prayer that the king should present to Anubis the usual offerings for the Ka, or spiritual double of the deceased. The panel to the right hand bears the name Beba, who is entitled

Instructor of the Priests (*Se-hes-henneter*). The panel to the left bears in its centre the name of THENNA, possibly the wife of the person mentioned below in a horizontal line by the name PEPY-NA. The name of PEPY is enclosed within a cartouche. It almost appears that the combined name written in this way must have been inscribed during, or shortly after, that monarch's reign, late in the VIth Dynasty. The title of this personage appears as Nezem-ab; and in the right-hand column of the same panel there is a further reference to a lady, presumably his wife, who is described as the Royal Ornament, the priestess of Hathor. If her name was THENNA, then it is probable that this lady was the daughter of SENB mentioned previously in this chapter.

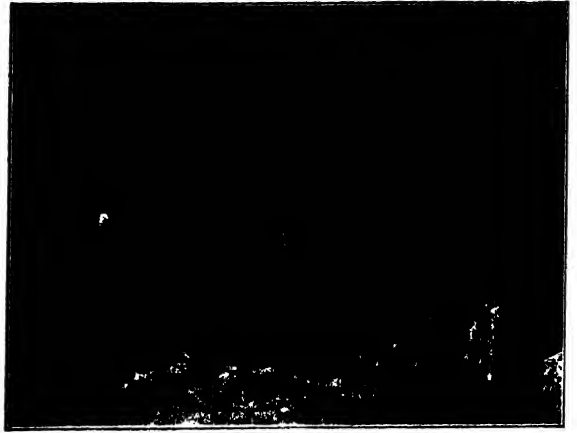


FIG. 30.—INTERIOR OF A SMALL ROCK-TOMB. NO. 81.

Other Early Tombs.—The other tombs of this character had in all instances been plundered or re-used, and they were not fruitful in information. Fig. 30 represents a typical interior; the pottery vases seen in the photograph are indications of re-use in the Middle Empire. Among the more interesting tombs of this class were those bearing the numbers 81, 107, 218, 287, 444, as well as Nos. 481, 482, which have been described. There were in addition a few shaft-tombs without any mortuary chapels, found also towards the foot of the cliff, which must be assigned to a date earlier at least than the XIth Dynasty, and hence not far removed from these. From one numbered 845 were taken two pointed alabaster vases, which are seen, Fig. 31, to be similar to some of those taken from the chief interments in the tomb of APA, 481. In the same tomb there were found the superimposed remains of XIIth



FIG. 31.—TWO VASES OF ALABASTER. TOMB 845.
[HEIGHT $6\frac{1}{2}$ INS.]

Dynasty deposits, and the two bronze vessels with ring handles shown later in Fig. 142.

Length of the Interregnum.—It is an important fact in the local history that

there is apparently no gap between the date of these tombs at the close of the VIth Dynasty and the earlier portion of the main necropolis, which began to be freely used in the XIth Dynasty. The main features of the local culture during the Middle Empire are directly traceable from the closing phase of the VIth Dynasty, and, so far as the Oryx Nome is concerned, there is no break in the archæological sequence or in the continuity of the local customs to bear witness to any long interval of time between those epochs of Egyptian history. In other words, whatever may have been the case elsewhere, whatever leaders and kings may have arisen to claim sovereignty in the country, and to found the dynasties of which tradition has handed down an uncertain indication, the history of Beni Hassan seems to have moved on continuously and swiftly from the time of Pepy, late in the VIth Dynasty, until the establishment of the XIth Dynasty. It would not be a fair inference to say that there was no interval of time between those ages, but there is at Beni Hassan an archæological continuity which links them more closely and more nearly than tradition indicates. This again is only one item of evidence of several which might be adduced, all tending to demonstrate that the traditional Dynasties VII., VIII., IX., and X., do not represent a succession of royal lines in the monarchy of Egypt. In view of all the facts it is more probable that three at least of these so-called dynasties preserve the tradition of powerful local chieftains who during the feudal period defied the throne and divided up the country. There is nothing more inimical to a correct understanding of Egyptian chronology and the sequence of its history than the blind acceptance of its traditions as a basis of argument, in face of the wealth of monumental evidence which the land has yielded up to modern inquiry.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TOMBS OF THE MIDDLE EMPIRE.

Their Nature, Construction, Preservation, and Disposition.

THE position of the tombs upon the hill-side, overlooked by the gallery of mortuary chapels and tombs of the Nomarchs, has been already indicated. For the most part these tombs were similar to one another in general design.

General Nature of the Tombs.—The characteristics of each were a shaft

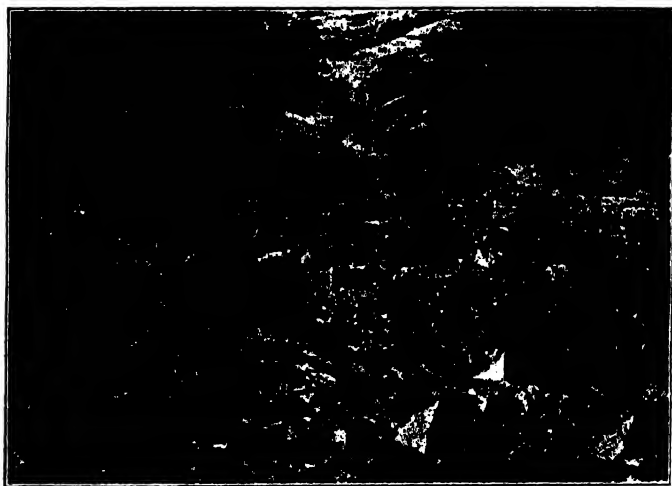


FIG. 32.—POSITION OF THE PIT TOMBS BELOW THE GALLERY.

descending vertically through the rock, and a small chamber or recess at the foot of the shaft towards the south, which was designed to receive the coffin and the funereal deposits. The mouth of the shaft was usually about one metre square. Its length, from north to south, might be as much as 1·25 metres, but the breadth was commonly not so great. The depth varied from 3 to as much as 10 metres, but the average was from 5 to 7 metres. The chamber was generally not larger than was necessary to contain the sarcophagus and the furniture; that is to say, in length, from north to south, about 2 metres; and in width a little narrower than the width of the shaft, and therefore about 80 cms. Its height was commonly

the same as its width,¹ but might be increased to 1·5 metres. In some cases, while the same shaft had continued to serve, the chamber had been enlarged to twice its width, or even more. Tombs 545 and 585 (the latter of which is described in the next chapter) are examples; in each case the roof of the addition was lower than the original one. In some exceptional instances the chamber may have been constructed originally of this greater size, in which case the obvious intention had been to place more than one coffin within the chamber. Tomb No. 140 was a special instance of this kind, in which the chamber contained no fewer than six coffins lying side by side, while a seventh had been placed in a recess which opened into the south wall of the same room. Tomb No. 177 contained three coffins in the chamber and a fourth in a similar recess, while a fifth lay in a suitable space hollowed in the floor. In the tomb No. 886 the two fine coffins of KEKA and NEKHT both lay in recesses in the floor, which had been covered with slabs of stone, but these seem to have been constructed at the same time. The enlargement of a chamber might even take the form of a solid shelf along one side, just big enough to hold a coffin. These variations, however, are exceptional and few in number. Quite 800 of the 888 tombs which were excavated were of the uniform and simple character first described.

Method of Construction.—A few instances of tomb-shafts which had been abandoned during their construction, for some reason or other, showed us the manner in which they had been excavated. The outline was first marked out with a pick, and the stone was then chipped out from the inside of the outline, to a width of about 20 cms. When a channel had thus been made inside the four sides to a depth of about 30 cms., the piece of rock which was left projecting through the centre was wedged or knocked away, and so the excavation continued by repetition of the process. The stone in the hill-side is generally soft and easily dressed. The surface had, indeed, in some instances, been rubbed fairly smooth, but for the most part the sides of the shaft were commonly left with the pick marks visible, as shown in Figs. 34, 36, and 37.

The tombs were so numerous that they honeycombed this ridge along the face of the cliff. There seems to have been no difficulty in their construction, other than the interference of large boulders of flint, which might be met with as the shaft descended. In such cases the boulder was commonly left protruding from the wall if it did not interfere with the freedom of the passage, or it might be entirely cut out, leaving a hollow space in the side of the shaft. In other cases where this difficulty could not be avoided, and the shaft was not already deep enough, the place had to be abandoned, and a fresh start made elsewhere; but instances of this kind were few.

Motives in Construction.—In Fig. 33 there is seen a typical view of a portion of the cliff with the mouths of numerous shafts brought gradually to view as the clearing of the surface proceeded. Some of the shafts are seen to be isolated, while others are arranged in rows.

In the latter cases, the shafts must have been constructed about the same time, or at least on a consistent plan. Such tombs are almost exactly similar: not merely are the shafts in a perfect row, but their depth is the same; and the chambers from their very proximity are all arranged side by side, and are approximately equal in size. There seems little doubt that in



FIG. 33.—PIT-TOMBS IN GROUPS AND IN ROWS.

cases of this kind, which occurred with some frequency, the tombs had been constructed by some person previous to their being required. There are two possible explanations of this fact: either that the tombs were the work of a speculator or funeral undertaker, who would invite those seeking a tomb to see the advantages of that which he had constructed; or that a series of this kind might be made by a group of relations or friends acting together for purposes of economy and security. The former view is more probable, for in one or two cases the chambers had not been completed in the shafts at the end of a row, suggesting that the speculator had been unable to find clients who would embrace his terms.

The construction of tombs before they were required, in speculation, seems to have been only one feature of a definite industry, the chief business of which

was to furnish and equip the chambers of the dead. This is further suggested by the general similarity not merely of the tombs, but also of the coffins and funereal offerings, through a period of several hundred years. It would seem as though the various objects necessary for a funeral could be chosen from amongst a ready-made stock in an undertaker's workshop. In many instances in which the formulæ upon the coffins were depicted in decorative hieroglyphs, a space had been left for the name of the dead to be filled in later. Rarely was this done in the decorative style of the hieroglyphic writing; more frequently it was hastily written in ink in a careless hand, while in some cases the blank had not been filled at all, and the coffin remained nameless. These, however, are only side-lights upon the customs of the time.

Danger of Tomb Robbery.—In cases where the chambers of adjoining tombs lay alongside, the workmen or others engaged in constructing a new chamber, seem to have consistently plundered that next to it. This they effected skilfully by removing a portion of the thin partition, which they subsequently filled up with a piece of stone in such a manner that it suggested nothing more than a crack in the wall. But it is doubtful whether even those who thus laboriously gained an entrance to the tomb chambers by boring through the rock, found much within to repay their labour. Their quest was jewellery and valuables; which, so far as our observations go, would be rarely found by these later plunderers, as they hardly escaped from the pilferings of those who performed the actual interment. In several instances in which we opened the doors of the tomb chamber for the first time, we found that the lid of the coffin had been hastily prised open. In other cases, where the lid itself had resisted, small holes had been made in the side of the coffin, through which the contents had been rifled. In two instances at least there seems to have been definite collusion between the robbers and the makers of the coffins; for an opening had been constructed in the side of the coffins near the head; this had been filled up with a piece of wood painted uniformly with the coffin to avoid detection, and fastened only with flimsy pegs which would readily yield to pressure.

Method of Protecting the Tombs.—Tomb robbery, indeed, had been a practice as old as the time of the pyramids, and it had probably been one of the motives for the deepening and strengthening of the tombs. Severe laws had from time to time been promulgated by the government against these acts of violation, and in the time of the New Empire the crime was punishable by death.

We have already alluded to the boulders of flint embedded in the limestone; many such, having been eroded by action of the weather, lay about upon the surface of the cliff. These were commonly used by the Egyptians

for filling up the tomb-shaft after the interment had been made. Those who were burying their dead would see in this an effective safeguard against violation; and those who had had their secret share in the robbery, which had already in most instances been effected, would be equally anxious to prevent any possibility of their crime being discovered. Fig. 34 is a typical illustration. The great piece of flint had lain in the length of the shaft, completely filling the mouth; but robbers had forced an entrance by turning the stone upon its narrow end, and creeping down in a dangerous and skilful manner between the stone and the wall of the tomb. In this photograph there is also evidence



FIG. 34.—PIT MOUTH PROTECTED BY LARGE FLINT.
NO. 323.



FIG. 35.—HAULING A GREAT STONE OUT OF A SHAFT.

that a stone slab had been placed over the mouth of the shaft to cover it completely, in that the cliff-face around the mouth had been dressed smoothly for the purpose.

Being so uniform in general character it is unnecessary to dwell upon the ordinary features of these tombs. The exceptions are of greater interest. In some instances more than one chamber was found as the shaft descended; indeed, as many as four have been counted all leading from the south end of the tomb. Rarely, if ever, was more than one chamber made when the tomb was first constructed. Others were sometimes added at a later time, and these for the most part are found at a higher level. In a few cases only it would appear that a

shaft had been deepened, and a chamber constructed below one already occupied. In one or two exceptional instances only, proving the strictness of the rule, was a chamber found leading from the north end of the shaft. Sometimes, as in Fig. 36, the proximity of the chambers associated with different shafts had led to their being made into one. In this instance even the shafts themselves have become one by removal of the narrow and dangerous partition

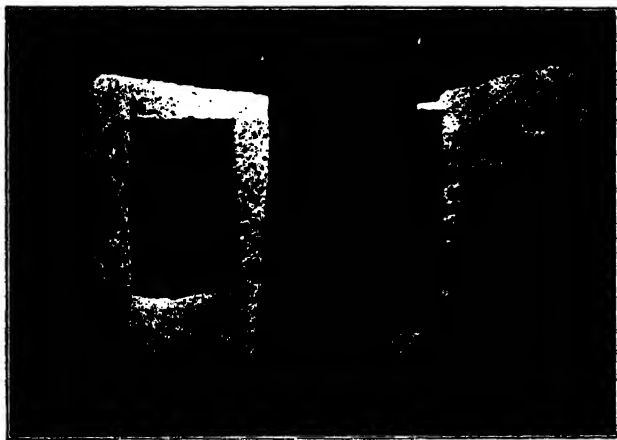


FIG. 36.—VIEW FROM INSIDE A TOMB-CHAMBER.
NOS. 86, 87.

wall between them. This photograph is taken from inside the enlarged chamber, looking towards the double shaft. The pillar in the middle is what remains of the dividing wall of the chambers. On the far side, leading from the north in this instance, there may be seen two chambers still separated. These belong, however, to a later time, in which the tomb had been re-used. The notches in the side of the shaft are footholds by which the workmen anciently ascended and descended.

An interesting variation from the standard type of burial chamber is represented in Fig. 37. It is, however, a unique instance. In this case a recess is seen to have been made under the side of the tomb-shaft. It contained a sarcophagus and interment of the XIIth Dynasty, and the side of the recess is seen to have been carefully walled up with masoned stones. This burial place was additional to the ordinary chamber leading from the south end of the shaft, in the door of

which the camera was placed when taking these views (see the upper photo, on the left). The southern chamber also contained a coffin and interment, with a wooden canopic box of special form (Fig. 187), and it may be presumed, therefore, that this recess was secondary to the original plan. The illustration shows that there had been some idea of making a chamber out of the north end of the shaft, but that the attempt had been abandoned.

The series of earlier tombs has already been described in the previous chapter. These, it was seen, were for the most part hewn horizontally into the foot of the cliff, and consisted of one or two chambers, from the floor of which shafts led down to the burial chambers. The upper chambers were thus the mortuary chapels, corresponding exactly to the great rock chambers of the Nomarchs' tombs. It may be a matter for much surprise that such shrines were not perpetuated in the construction of the ordinary tombs of the Middle Empire. The explanation is to be found probably in the fact that these tombs are chiefly those of the officials of the locality, each of whom sought to be buried in the same necropolis as the great chieftain he had served. The chapel and priests of the Nomarch would serve his own purposes also; indeed, probably his figure and name were painted upon the walls of his master's sanctuary. In two instances, however, these small tombs are found with a chamber of the kind attached. One was quite plain, and it lay at the extreme south end of the cliff, beyond the limits of the upper gallery. The other instance is that shown in Fig. 38, which would seem to have been prepared for some official who was attached more closely to the service of the king. It is not easy to make out the inscription within the

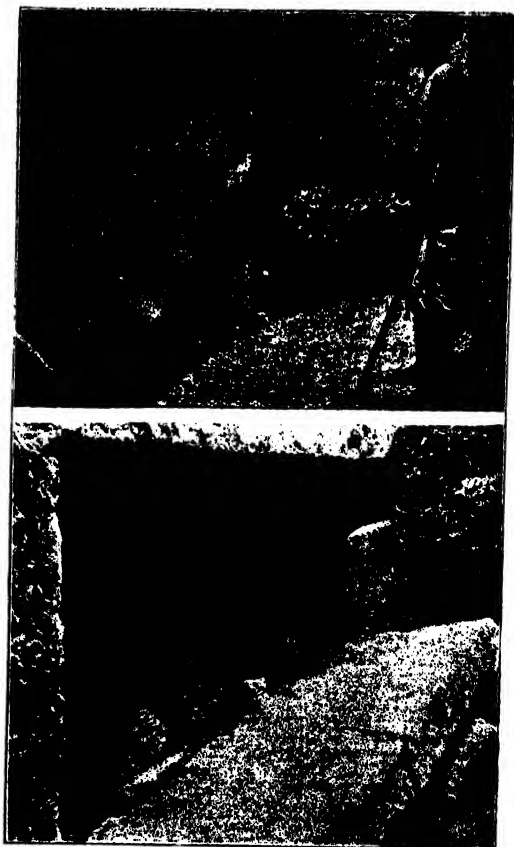


FIG. 37.—BURIAL RECESS IN THE SIDE OF THE SHAFT. NO. 134.

(a) As found; (b) Opened, showing coffin.

cartouche which appears upon the weathered surface of the rock, but it is probably the name of Senusret III. The nature of the tomb in this instance is significant: it more nearly reproduces, on a smaller scale, the style in vogue in the gallery above, and may have been the tomb of a greater personage than its size suggests. Unfortunately the inscription was almost illegible, and the tomb was hopelessly despoiled.

Other features of the burial chambers will be dealt with in Chapter VII. in the description of the interment, but it may be of interest, by reference to the plans of the site, Plates III., IV., to glance at the disposition of the tombs. The numbers attached to them are those assigned as the tombs were found during the process of excavation; they do not therefore show any sequence in position, though the numbers are consecutive from 1 to 888.



FIG. 38.—SHRINE AND TOMB. NO. 290.

It is noticeable also that the tombs do not begin immediately below the terrace on to which the mortuary chapels of the Nomarchs open. There were two apparent reasons for this; in the first place the chippings from the latter probably covered the ground immediately in front, except for the main pathway which led to the tomb, and could not therefore be disturbed; and secondly the level in front of the terrace falls away very steeply, as was found by excavation, and thus the more gentle slope somewhat further down the hillside was both

more suitable and more available. The number of tombs diminishes somewhat curiously towards the two ends of the range, though in the middle they are clustered thickly together. This was probably caused by the nature of the rock rather than by any other consideration. Otherwise it is natural to surmise that each official would have sought a tomb as near as possible to that of his master. As it was, a tomb on the same hillside served the purpose. We thus do not find, as it seems, the tombs of the officials and servants mentioned in the lists upon the walls of a mortuary chapel, lying in front of the entrance, or in any special relation to it. There is some uncertainty about this conclusion, for of the 900 tombs only some 200 disclosed the names of those buried within them (cf. Pls. VII.—VIII.). From these, however, an average estimate may be obtained. The tomb of the Nomarch AMENEMHAT stands almost alone. In front of it are the Nos. 767 and 140, belonging to KHNE-NEKHTA, HETPT, and KHNE-HETPA, a steward, names which do not occur in the Nomarch's tomb. Before the tomb of KHNE-HETP,

administrator of the eastern desert, there is, however, a considerable number of these smaller tombs, amongst which are Nos. 39, 123, 293, 320, 323, 324. These give us the additional names, *Uart-HETEP*, *NETER-NEKHT*, *nebt per*, *APU*, *nebt per*, *NETER-NEKHT* son of *Hetep*, *HENU*, and *NETER-NEKHT*. Several of these names certainly occur in the list within the upper tomb, but they are the common forms of *KHNEM-HETEP*, *HETEPT*, and *NETER-NEKHT*; and unfortunately the titles are wanting which might help to distinguish them. In the case of tomb 140, the title of *KHNEM-HETEPA* as a "steward of the household" does not correspond with that attached to the same name in the Nomarch's tomb, for the *KHNEM-HETEP* there mentioned is a "superintendent of the farmyard." On the other hand, the very distinctive names of two of *KHNEM-HETEP*'s officials, namely *MA*, a district inspector, and *NETERU-HETEP*, a steward of the household, are found in tombs numbered 500 and 75 respectively in other parts of the necropolis. The tomb of *KEKA* also, who was a steward of *KHNEM-HETEP* the Scribe, is found (No. 886) considerably to the north of that great person's tomb. These considerations, however, deal with minutiae: the presence of the officials' graves upon the same hillside sanctified by their master's tomb, and the tombs may be of his ancestors, testifies to the fulfilment of the custom. It is this aspect of the question that is suggestive.

There is another problem of importance on which our excavations threw no light. These tombs represent the oligarchy and the local bureaucracy, the grandees of a fleeting age. But the graves of the people, here as elsewhere, are not to be found, or cannot be distinguished. Here is the great problem that awaits the most careful inquiry that archæology can devote to it, to determine whether the people of Egypt, with their changeless nature and customs, shared in the progress and civilisation of the few who ruled, and prospered on the fruits of their labours. It is only the latter aspect of the Egyptian at this time that these tombs at Beni Hassan open out before us. But none the less it is full of interesting features, and to these we turn in the ensuing chapters.

CHAPTER V.

PROVISION FOR THE DEAD: ILLUSTRATED BY THE TOMBS OF FOUR OFFICIALS.

Section I. The Tomb of Antef, a Courtier. No. 1.—The first tomb to be opened was found at the extreme southern end of the rocky hillside, where the cliff was suddenly broken by a steep ravine. Its position is indicated by the workmen in the photograph (Fig. 39). The mouth of the tomb-shaft was already



FIG. 39.—POSITION OF THE TOMB OF ANTEF. NO. 1.

disclosed, for robbers had attempted to gain entrance to its burial chamber, but had been baffled by a number of huge stones which filled the shaft.

The Entrance to the Tomb.—The tomb proved on excavation to be similar in character to the majority on this site. From the surface a vertical shaft descended through the limestone rock to a depth of 4 metres; its mouth measured $1\frac{1}{2}$ metres from north to south, and about 1 metre across; its sides were fairly smooth and vertical, and those opposite each other to the east and west had been provided as usual with small footholds, by which the workmen had anciently ascended and descended. . Though the shaft was so small the clearing out of it occupied our

workmen for several days, for the eroded flints lying about on the surface (as described in Chapter IV.) had been used by the ancients to fill up the shaft, and it was with some difficulty that these great stones were secured and hauled up. The photograph reproduced in Fig. 35 has already illustrated the manner in which this was done. When eventually the bottom was reached, it was seen that a burial chamber opened from the south end, and that the doorway was closed by a walling of rough stones packed into the aperture. When these had been removed the chamber proved to be just large enough to contain a wooden sarcophagus, with wooden funerary models placed upon it and by its side. Our first glimpse of the interior is shown in the two next photographs, which were taken before the contents of the chamber were disturbed. Some quantity of limestone dust and chips had filtered in between the stones that closed the doorway, and had fallen upon the nearer end of the sarcophagus, as may be seen from the whiter appearance of that portion in Fig. 41; this débris alone was lightly brushed off before the photograph was taken. The funereal offerings are seen in these pictures, and in all other views of interiors which follow, exactly as they were placed in the tombs by pious Egyptians 4,000 years ago.



FIG. 40.—MOUTH OF THE TOMB-SHAFT.
NO. 1.

The Tomb Furniture.—The conspicuous object on the right, which the Arabs immediately named the “house,” proved to be a model of a granary; it is described below. To the left hand may be seen in the foreground a pair of sandals, while behind are glimpses of model figures and other objects. To get a clearer view of these the granary and sandals are moved for the purposes of the next photograph (Fig. 42), where it will be seen that to the right hand is a model of a rowing-boat of eight oars, with the prow and stern expanding. Traces of colour still remain upon it. To the left of this is a group of three figures; while beyond is the model of a bull, led by a man whose face is towards the back of the tomb, that is, towards the south. At the side of the sarcophagus there may also be seen the prow of another vessel; this is more clearly shown in the next photograph (Fig. 43), together with a number of different models, lying between the side of the sarcophagus and the western wall of the tomb. The nearer objects had been partly covered with débris, as previously mentioned, and their

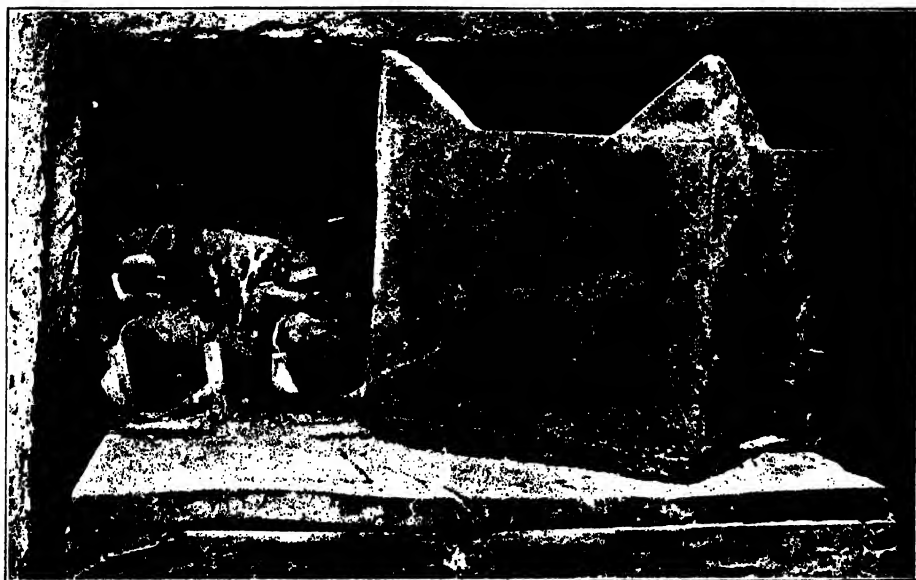


FIG. 41.—FIRST VIEW OF THE INTERIOR: FUNERIAL OFFERINGS UPON THE COFFIN.
TOMB NO. I.



FIG. 42.—VIEW OF THE INTERIOR: WOODEN MODELS UPON THE COFFIN. TOMB. NO. I.

condition was somewhat impaired. From this photograph there may be made out upon the end of the coffin a row of hieroglyphic signs giving the name and titles of the deceased; he was called ANTEF, and is described as *semer uarti*, an official position at court.

The Interment.—The individual objects are described later in this chapter. On removing them from the lid of the sarcophagus it was possible to gain a view of the interment. The photograph of this is not reproduced, chiefly because it discloses only the numerous folds of coarse linen cloths which covered and enfolded the body. The cloths were fringed; the body lay upon its left side, facing, that is to say, the east, and was without sign of mummification; round the head were the remains of a funeral mask, which had unfortunately decayed; before the face was a wooden head-rest; at the feet were a pair of sandals, similar to those found upon the lid; and a second head-rest of alabaster lay behind the knees. With this brief survey of the nature and disposition of the funereal offerings we turn to describe them individually in greater detail.



43.—OFFERINGS PLACED BY THE SIDE OF THE COFFIN. TOMB NO. I.

The Granary.—The wooden model of the granary, the interior of which is shown in the photograph, was in very good preservation. Its dimensions are about 37 cms. square and 27 cms. high, excluding the raised corners. The outside is quite plain, except that the wood seems to have been smeared roughly with white plaster of lime or other material for its better preservation.

The door, however, is a real model, working in sockets; and the door-frame is represented in dull red upon the wall. The wooden pin on the outside may be intended to suggest that the closed door could be tied and sealed from without. The door is closed from the inside by a beam of wood, which rests against the main building within. The interior represents a courtyard, and a low building with a stairway leading up to its roof. Three wooden figures are also seen engaged in different occupations. The building in fact represents four grain

bins, the doors of which are merely indicated by a dull red paint on a yellow-brown surface, while the holes through which they were filled are conspicuous on the roof. Of the figures, one is in the act of filling baskets with the grain, amid which he stands on the floor of the courtyard, while a second carries a basket up the stairs with the obvious intention of emptying its contents through the hole in the roof into the chamber below. The third figure represents a scribe or clerk of the works: he is seated comfortably in a corner upon the top with his writing table and palette upon his lap. From this position he keeps an eye upon the

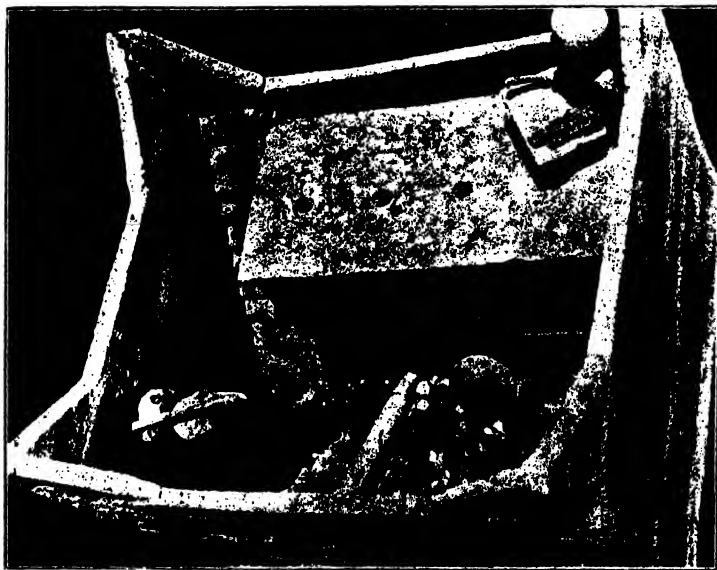


FIG. 44.—WOODEN MODEL OF A GRANARY: BIRD'S-EYE VIEW. TOMB NO. I.
[LENGTH $14\frac{1}{2}$ INS., HEIGHT $10\frac{1}{2}$ INS.]

workmen below, and registers the number of baskets emptied into the granary. The whole process is the representation in model of the familiar scene painted upon the walls of the great tombs in the gallery above.¹ The figures of the men are clad, in this as in other instances, in a short skirt hardly reaching to the knees, which is painted white upon their dusky bodies. The girdle knot is reproduced in most cases, and probably each figure was lightly wrapped in a piece of linen to give realistic effect. The figure climbing the stairs shows this clearly.

The Boats.—The next object to be described is the model of the rowing boat already mentioned. From the photograph in Fig. 45 it is seen to contain eight oarsmen and a steersman. The latter controls by means of tillers two great

¹ E.g., that of KHNEH-HETEP, Newberry, "Beni Hasan," I., xxix.

steering oars which pass over either side of the narrowing stern. It is cut in solid wood; and owing to the way in which the bottom has been shaped, the stern stands much higher than the bow, giving to the steersman a greater elevation, so that he may look over the heads of the oarsmen at the course beyond. The shape of the boat, with its outspreading bow and stern, recalls some of the designs painted in the large rock-tombs.¹ The decoration painted upon the sides is in lines of red, running lengthwise, with transverse lines of red and black. These seem to represent the binding of the frame together; and recall the primitive origins, when the boat itself was made of rushes and reeds bound together, like the toy-boat of a child. There are many parallel instances in which the models of objects which were in use in the days of the nation's



FIG. 45.—WOODEN MODEL OF A ROWING BOAT. TOMB NO. 1. [LENGTH 42 INS.]

childhood survive as decorative motives through future ages, particularly in objects used for religious purposes. For in such cases the rites, the customs, the offerings, and the *tout ensemble* of a funeral as it was in the beginning, become sanctified by the usage of generations, become embodied in the ritual enjoined for such occasions, and hence survive through all changes of culture. As illustration we may take the wicker pattern painted upon pottery vases placed in the graves of predynastic and early dynastic times. Better still is the example of the continued use of flint knives for certain ceremonial purposes long after the introduction of copper, and even of bronze. The very custom of placing funerary deposits within the tombs itself dates also in Egypt from a remote age. In the present case the decoration upon the boat, and the placing of a boat within the tomb, are both reminiscent of primeval usage which had become embodied in

¹ *E.g.*, the tomb of KHNEH-HETEP, *op. cit.*, I., xxxiv.

the burial customs as early as the middle of the predynastic age, some 2,000 or may be 3,000 years before.

The oarsmen of the boat are eight in number, and row in pairs, four on either side; the figures are represented either squatting, or possibly sitting, with their legs down in the well of the boat. The models, however, are quite conventional, the figures are fixed merely upon the deck of the boat, and their feet are not portrayed. They wear a characteristic wig of the Middle Empire, which hangs down to the level of the neck all round and covers even the ears. The oars themselves are attached by pieces of thread to the body of the boat, thus providing a fulcrum the use of which was similar to that of our modern rowlock.



FIG. 46.—WOODEN MODEL OF A SAILING BOAT. TOMB NO. 1. [LENGTH 42 INS.]

The steering apparatus is remarkably ingenious. The great steering oar is attached lightly at the end by its shaft to the top of a pole. It is turned by means of a short wooden lever, which serves the purpose of a tiller. A movement of the arm to the left or to the right thus turns the blade in the water, and the boat must respond by turning to the right or to the left respectively. A similar method of steering is in common use on one at least of the European lakes (Lake Como), particularly for barges carrying cargo; and a report says that the method still prevails on the upper reaches of the White Nile. In the present instance there are two such steering oars, and the blades were probably connected lightly with one another by means of a thread, which may have passed over the stern, thus at the same time securing a combined movement of the blades and preventing them from breaking loose and getting adrift. The apparatus adds to the picturesque appearance of the boat.

MODELS OF BOATS AND SERVANTS.

The boat seen in Fig. 46 is similar in general character, except that the action and attitudes of the figures suggest a sailing boat. The form and size of the vessel, and the nature of steering apparatus, however, are the same as in the former instance. In the bow stands the look-out, with arms outstretched, while just behind him on either side are two sailors, busy with punt-poles. The functions of these three sailors is characteristic of all sailing vessels on the Nile to this day, owing to the constant changing of the main channel of the river, with the formation of mud banks and shallows which impede navigation on its waters. The figures behind, three in number, are represented in the act of hoisting the sail, though neither sail nor rigging seems to have been provided in this instance. The yards, however, indicating a large square sail, lie at the foot of the mast. The latter is itself of unusual construction, being made in double; the two spars are bound together at the top, but are fixed apart at the base, so giving additional resistance against beam thrust. This construction also is sometimes to be seen on the Nile at the present day. Just in front of the steersman there is placed a canopy, supported upon four poles, which are even provided with tiny capitals, probably representing buds. This canopy is open on the top, the intention being probably that whoever sat within it would be shaded by a canvas hung over the top and around the sides, tent-wise. This model, like the former, was all made of wood. Its length is 42 inches from prow to stern. It was found, as seen in the figure, between the coffin and the western wall of the burial chamber.¹



FIG. 47.—MARKET-WOMAN.
TOMB NO. I.
[HEIGHT 19 INS.]

Market-woman.—The model of a woman, shown in Fig. 47, was also found by the side of the coffin. The basket on the woman's head may just be seen in that position in Fig. 43. This model represents a woman returning from market, with a brace of birds in one hand, while with the other hand she supports a large basket or bundle carried on her head. It recalls the picture of the *Khetet-per*, the house-girl, in the shrine of AMENEMHAT, in the upper gallery.² The carving and general appearance of the model are very rudimentary, although such details as the toes, lips, and eyes are

¹ For the beautiful painting of this model, which forms the frontispiece of this book, we are indebted to the kindness of Mr. George Hall-Neale.

² Newberry, "Beni Hasan," I., Pl. I.

supplied. Her dress is represented in white as a skirt reaching to the knees; but this figure, like most of the others, had apparently been wrapped also in a garment of linen, of which some traces remain.

Man Leading Bull.—The quaintest of these models, Fig. 48, is the group which represents a man leading a bull, as it were to the sacrifice. The animal has long horns, and its colour is white, dappled with black spots. The breed thus represented is that which through all time was reserved for religious ceremonial, notably that of the divine Apis; and so far did reverence for tradition permeate even conventions that all leather objects placed within the tombs are represented as made of the hide of this particular breed. In later examples there



FIG. 48.—MAN LEADING BULL. TOMB NO. I. [LENGTH 16 INS.]

will be seen shields, quivers, and other objects, made of leather, on which the black spots on a white ground are the characteristic decoration. The dress of the man is particularly well illustrated in this group, even though, as before, the carving of his figure is quite conventional. From the attitude of his right hand, and the hole which pierces the nose of the bull, it appears probable that the latter was being led by means of a rope. The length of the model is 41 cms. The significance of this group is indicated by the leg-bones of an ox found upon the coffin near to the entrance, towards the east side. It is clear that in this instance the customary sacrifice had been made, and the hind leg of the beast, as enjoined by the ritual, had been placed as an offering within the tomb. (The custom is further illustrated in Fig. 95, and p. 105.)

Sandals.—In Fig. 49 there are represented the two pairs of sandals which have been previously mentioned. The one pair was found on the top of the coffin and the other within, at the foot of the deceased. They are made of wood and leather, and painted all over with a white lime-made plaster. Their design is very simple, and though obviously not made for real use they probably represent more or less the fashion of sandal in use at the time. The sole is a flat piece of wood partly shaped to the outline of the foot, and three pegs of wood, about two inches

high, support the strap, which passed (in these instances) all round behind the heel. In some examples, which will be described later, the strap is discontinued behind. From the design it is obvious that the front peg must have been passed between the big toe and the second.

Head-rests.—The head-rests illustrated in the same figure, 49, are of the characteristic form. The one to our left is of alabaster, and the other is of wood. They were both found within the sarcophagus. The method of construction in each was very similar, the base, pillar, and curved rest being made in separate pieces joined together. The column of alabaster is carved with a suggestion of the clustering columns portrayed in the rocky tombs above, while each is provided with the small square abacus or capital characteristic of the primitive column. They are 15 and 18 cms. high respectively, from the base to the middle of the curve.

Beer-making.—In Fig. 50 there is represented a man who seems to be engaged in the process of making beer. This is a particularly conventional group, and were it not for the shape of the vats seen in the illustration and models of more realistic

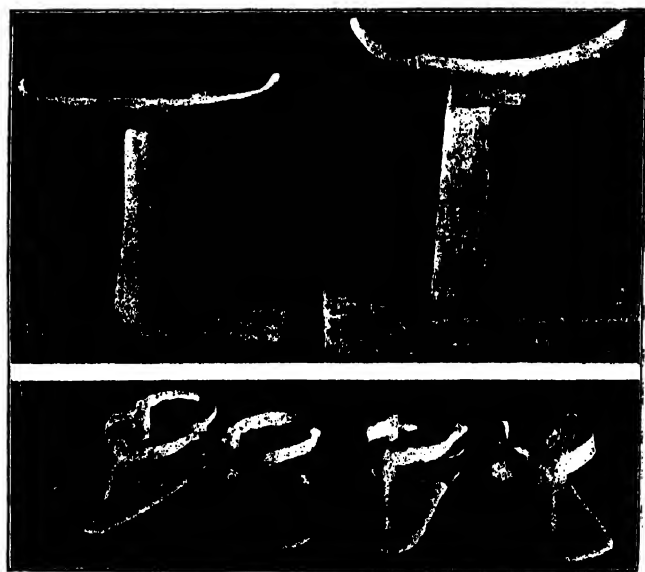


FIG. 49.—HEAD RESTS [SCALE 1:5] AND SANDALS. TOMB NO. 1.

character found in other tombs (see for instance tomb 116, Fig. 62) it would be difficult to realise the purpose of the group. The length of this model is 46 cms. over all. The central vat in this instance is painted black, the others, as usual, dull red.

Bread-making.—The last model from this tomb, illustrated in Fig. 51, represents the process of bread-making. Two women are apparently engaged in pounding the grain. They stand before a sloping slab, with the kneading implements in their hands. The general suggestion of the group calls to mind the method employed by the modern Nubian women for preparing bread for the oven, which was probably also a custom in primitive Egypt. The corn called *durra* is mixed with a small quantity of water and pounded diligently for an

hour or more upon a stone slab by means of a large smooth stone. The pounded mixture is caught as it runs off the slab in a broken potsherd, and though still coarse, it is placed directly in the oven: bread made in this way forms the chief



FIG. 50.—MAN BREWING. TOMB NO.
[LENGTH 18 INS.]

food for the natives of Nubia to-day.¹ The third figure in the group is that of a woman obviously raking the fire of the oven, in or on which the bread is to be baked, and the flames of the fire are represented as spouting from the top by pieces of wood painted red; the furnace itself is painted red and black. The woman shelters her face from the glare and heat of the fire with her left hand. In the centre of the model are two vessels with spouts, probably for water, and a third in which possibly the grain was kept. The length of the group is 43 cms.

There remain only a few details to

be mentioned. Between the coffin and the side of the tomb, lying on the ground, were a number of sticks. The skin of a snake was found within, and a similar skin outside, the coffin. The coffin itself was as usual of oblong rectangular shape, and was painted yellow on the outside. The lid gives the *Dehetep-seten* formula to Anubis for offerings for "the courtier," "the confidential friend of the king," ANTEF; and for a good burial. On the east side were painted the eyes, with the formula to "Osiris for a good burial for ANTEF," and on the west side the dedication was to ANUBIS, also for a good burial. At the north and south ends were formulæ to Anubis for *per-kheru* offerings.

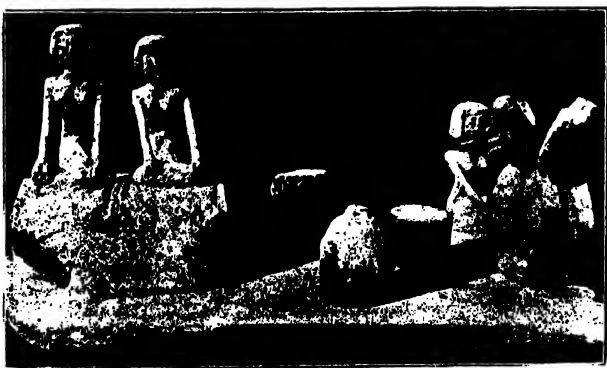


FIG 51.—WOMEN MAKING BREAD. TOMB NO. I.
[LENGTH 17 INS.]

There was no pottery found with this burial from which to date the tomb. But

¹ Cf. Fig. 126, and p. 128.

by comparing other data it seems probable that this grave was as early as any in the necropolis, somewhere towards the close of the XIth Dynasty. Before considering the general aspect of the funeral offerings which the tomb disclosed we turn to consider three other of the more important tombs similar in character and tomb-furniture, and, like this of Antef, found intact.

Section II. The Tomb of Neferÿ, a Physician. No. 116.

Situation.—An ancient causeway led up to the large tomb of Bakt, Great Chieftain of the Oryx nome, situated about the middle of the gallery of



FIG. 52.—POSITION OF THE TOMB OF NEFERÿ. NO. 116.

Nomarchs' tombs.¹ To the north of this road, well up the slope, excavation disclosed a number of small tomb-shafts, seen in Fig. 52; among these that of NEFERÿ, numbered 116, was found in a good state of preservation, and contained a series of interesting funerary models. The illustrations to this section, following the scheme of the chapter, show the process of excavation, stage by stage, by several photographs taken in the interior of the tomb by reflected light, and conclude with detailed pictures of the individual objects discovered.

¹ Newberry, "Beni Hasan," Vol. II., p. 41.

Nature of the Tomb.—The tomb itself, like that last described, consisted essentially of a vertical shaft leading to horizontal burial chambers excavated in the limestone cliff. The shaft descended to a depth of about eight metres, and the burial chamber, with which this section is chiefly concerned, was found at the foot of the shaft at the south end. There were two other burial chambers, likewise leading out from the southern end of the shaft, at depths of about three and five metres respectively. They were in each case just large enough to receive a wooden sarcophagus with the usual funerary offerings, of which, however, only fragments remained. These upper chambers had been previously opened and rifled; the air and the white ant, thus admitted to them, had almost completed

the destruction of their contents. Such fragments, however, as remained are scheduled at the end of this section and in the Appendix.



FIG. 53.—DOOR OF THE BURIAL CHAMBER. NO. 116.

The shaft was of the usual shape, about 1·25 metres from north to south and one metre wide from east to west. From the indications around it was obvious that it had been closed, as in the case of the tomb last described, by the great eroded boulders of flint lying upon the surface. An enormous piece of

stone of this character lay in the shaft just below the mouth of the second chamber; and the plunderers who rifled the upper chambers, striking this piece of stone with their instruments, had obviously concluded that the bottom of the shaft had been reached. Having with great difficulty hauled out this stone, our excavation was able to descend more deeply, until finally the closed door of the third chamber was laid bare, as seen in photograph (Fig. 53). It was closed only by rough fragments of limestone crammed into the mouth of the chamber. This, however, had been sufficient to prevent any serious infiltration of dust and chips, so that on removing the stones it was found that only the lower portion of the coffin and the deposits placed by its side upon the floor had suffered in any way (Fig. 54).

The Tomb Opened.—The chief furniture of the tomb, wooden models of wonderful interest, lay intact upon the lid of the sarcophagus in the position in which they had been placed nearly 4,000 years ago. A faint sprinkling only of

fine limestone dust temporarily obscured the colours, which were still fresh upon the objects.

Before proceeding to describe the nature of the tomb furniture, it may be of interest to glance at the details of the burial, which was examined as soon as the offerings had been photographed and removed. In Fig. 55 (*a*) there is seen an inner coffin, the lid of the outer case being raised. The wood of the outer coffin was about 20 cms. in thickness. The under side of the lid was plentifully

inscribed with religious text, two considerable portions of which were previously unknown.¹ The inner sides of the outer case also were painted and inscribed; a portion decorated with flowers and fruit representing offerings in kind is illustrated in Fig. 146 (p. 148). Another portion of the design contained apparently a representation of a tomb with a domed roof. The inner coffin, like the outer, bore around the outside the usual dedicatory formulæ to Anubis and Osiris for offerings, and for a good burial for NEFERÛ, a physician. The name may be seen in Fig. 55 (*a*) on the near end of the coffin, in the

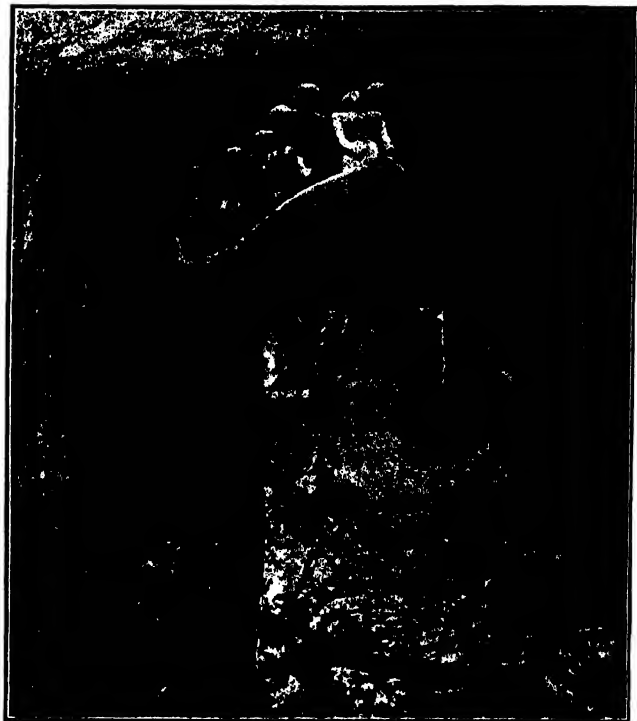


FIG. 54.—FIRST VIEW OF THE INTERIOR. NO. 116.

formula: "Devoted to the Great God, the Lord of Heaven, NEFERÛ, a Physician." On the inner side the thin wood of this coffin was lined with a layer of stucco; and upon this surface various offerings and inscriptions had been painted, almost in duplicate of those represented within the outer sarcophagus. The body lay upon its left side and was wrapped in folds of linen cloth, but as in the previous instance without any attempt at mummification. At the foot as usual there was represented a pair of sandals; while the head itself was encased in a painted

¹ These have since been fully copied and described by M. Lacau in the "Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte," IV., pp. 237—245.

cartonage, which however was in poor preservation. On such portions of it as remained there could be traced a band or fillet round the head, conspicuously decorated with a consistent scheme of alternating parallel strips in blue, white, black, white, and blue, placed between broader bands in red, blue, green, and yellow, likewise in alternation.

The Funerary Deposits.—But even the decoration of the coffins and the recovery of some pyramid texts yield in interest to wooden votive models which formed the chief feature of the furniture of the tomb. The object which first claimed attention upon the lid of the sarcophagus (Fig. 54) was the model of a



FIG. 55.—(a.) THE SARCOPHAGUS OPEN; (b.) THE INNER COFFIN OPEN. NO. 116.

rowing-boat. Behind that was a well-constructed model of a granary (Fig. 56), with the suggestion of other figures and groups beyond in the depth of the tomb chamber. These will be shown more plainly in their original positions in a later illustration (Fig. 61). They comprise a group of six or seven figures engaged in the process of making beer; a group bread-making; a man carrying a wine jar; and a woman with baskets and birds. These also will be described in separate photographs. By the side of the sarcophagus there had been deposited the model of a sailing-boat; and with it, also upon the floor, were found a common-place pottery dish and the bones of the leg of an ox.

The Model Boats.—The model of a rowing-boat, illustrated in Figs. 57, 58, is not only the largest of its class discovered during the course of the excavations,

but in other respects it differs from the conventional types. It is seen to contain twenty oarsmen who stand to their rowing, swinging back in good time and with a lively suggestion of movement. The ends of their long oars are curved and broadened to secure a good hold of the water; the look-out man in this case sits in the bow, and the steersman is a diminutive figure sitting in the raised part of the stern. The steering oar is of the type previously described; it is bound to the top of the pole near which the steersman sits, and works in a groove over the stern to which it is lightly lashed. A mast with two yards and a square linen sail neatly furled may be seen projecting slightly beyond the stern. Owing probably to the height and the limited space in the tomb, the mast has been taken down and is placed between the oarsmen, resting partly upon their shoulders. Two figures seated upon a low dais in the middle of the oarsmen with their hands raised up level with their faces seem to be in the act of beating time to the song and stroke of the crew. The attitude, the rhythm and the song recall the rowing of native sailors in the dahabiyehs on the Nile at the present day, and more vividly of the Nubians at Shellal in the large boats which

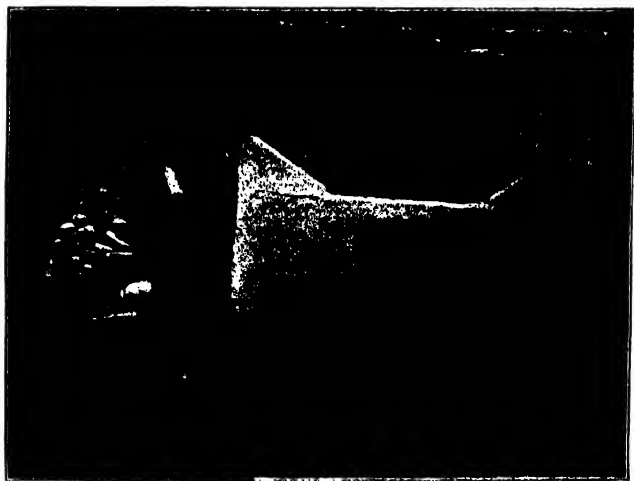


FIG. 56.—GRANARY AND OTHER MODELS UPON THE COFFIN.
NO. 116.

convey visitors across to the islands and the temple of Philæ. The rowlocks as before are represented as short lengths of cord passing through holes in the side of the vessel, to which the middle part of the blade is lashed. The figures, as usual in the case of men, are painted with dark red bodies and white waist cloths; they were all originally clad in real waist cloths of linen, which, however, have partly disappeared with time.

The length of this realistic model is 109 cms. down the middle line, exclusive of the steering oar. The hull is solid and has a red line running around the upper edge. The bow is sharp with a lengthy projection, and the stern, as in the boat previously described, rises high out of the water.

The sailing boat (Fig. 59) is not in such good preservation, owing to the fact that having been placed by the side of the coffin a certain amount of sand and

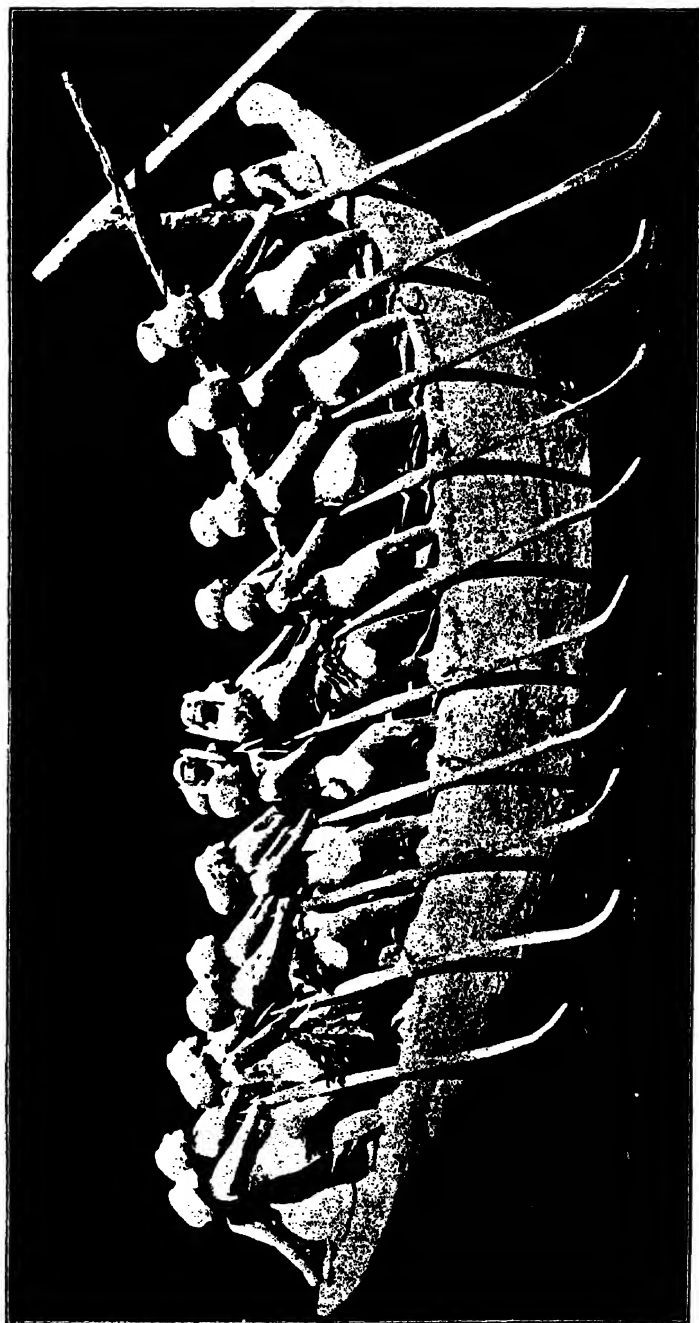


FIG. 57.—WOODEN MODEL OF ROWING BOAT OF TWENTY OARS. TOMB 116. [LENGTH 43 INS.]

débris had partly covered it. It was possible, however, before moving it to get a clear indication of the rigging which supported the masts and spars. The shape of the vessel is similar to its companion rowing-boat, the length of its hull is 81 cms., twelve figures represent the crew—one of them is the look-out standing with outstretched arm upon the bow, and another is the steersman sitting at the



FIG. 58.—ROWING BOAT OF TWENTY OARS: ANOTHER VIEW. TOMB 116.

top of the rising stern. Two sailors in the bows are vigorously punting from either side, as in the instance previously described. Of the other figures, three standing behind the mainmast are engaged in hoisting the upper yard by means of a rope which passes through a loop of thread tied to the top of the mast; one figure standing before the mast facing the stern seems to be trimming the sail as it is raised; while three figures, seated behind the three standing sailors, to judge from the arrangement of the thread which passes under a hollow block

behind the mast, are holding down the lower yard previous to making all taut. In this boat there is a further figure introduced, which seems to represent the owner or skipper of the vessel. He sits before the steering pole, with one hand upraised as though directing his sailors. The figures are represented with the same large wigs, the same dark colour of body, and the same white-painted loin-cloth as in the previous instances; and they had been similarly wrapped about the body with a small linen cloth.

Granary.—The granary, shown in Fig. 60, rested upon the coffin lid behind



FIG. 59.—WOODEN MODEL OF A SAILING BOAT. TOMB 116. [LENGTH 32 INS.]

the rowing boat. It has been seen in its original position in Fig. 56. This also was a model more striking in its completeness and its realism than any other of its kind. Like the others it is made of wood, coated with light yellow plaster. The outer walls are represented with raised corners. A door in the middle fore-side opens into a courtyard within, on either side of which are the grain bins, with doors modelled and painted. The floor is covered with grain, amid which the labourers stand knee-deep at their work. The whole conception is the same as that of the granary previously described. The doors are closed, to be tied and sealed by means of pins, one driven into the door and the other into the frame. A flight of steps leads up to the roof, wherein corresponding to each

bin are the holes through which the grain is to be poured. Three labourers are at work in the courtyard, filling the baskets which are to be carried up and emptied; while upon the roof in a conveniently central position there sits, as before, the overseer of the work, with a pen in his hand and a writing tablet upon his knee. At his right side is a small table, upon which is placed a combined pen-box and ink-wells. The dimensions of this model are 61 cms. in length and breadth, and 25 cms. in height, which becomes 33 cms. at the raised corners. Upon the outer wall, to the left of the door frame are three signs in hieratic writing, which are not, however, easy to read.

This method of storing grain is still employed in the vicinity of Beni Hassan; and at the nearest village of El Kram, which lies just on the opposite side of the river, the chief of the village uses a granary based upon the same idea. Even his door is tied in the same way, and the device of a large wooden seal is impressed upon a piece of mud which covers the knot of the rope. The opening through the roof enables the bin to be filled to the top, and the grain can be drawn off as required by allowing the door to open slightly. Store-houses of this kind are indeed used by the richer country people throughout Egypt, and are also seen in some parts of India; the mode of construction employed is not at all unlike that used even in the most modern methods of storing grain in the docks of great seaports, as, for instance, Liverpool.

Brewing Scene.—The photograph reproduced in Fig. 62 represents a group of figures seen in Fig. 61 to have been placed upon the coffin to the left-hand side in the extreme depth of the tomb. It represents seven men engaged in the process of beer-making. The process is apparently similar to that by which modern Egyptians make their *boosa*, in which the ferment is produced by souring bread. In this striking model there are depicted the various stages of preparing, mixing,



FIG. 60.—MODEL OF A GRANARY. TOMB 116.
[24 INS. SQUARE.]



FIG. 61.—VIEW IN THE BACK OF THE TOMB. MODELS UPON THE COFFIN. TOMB 116.

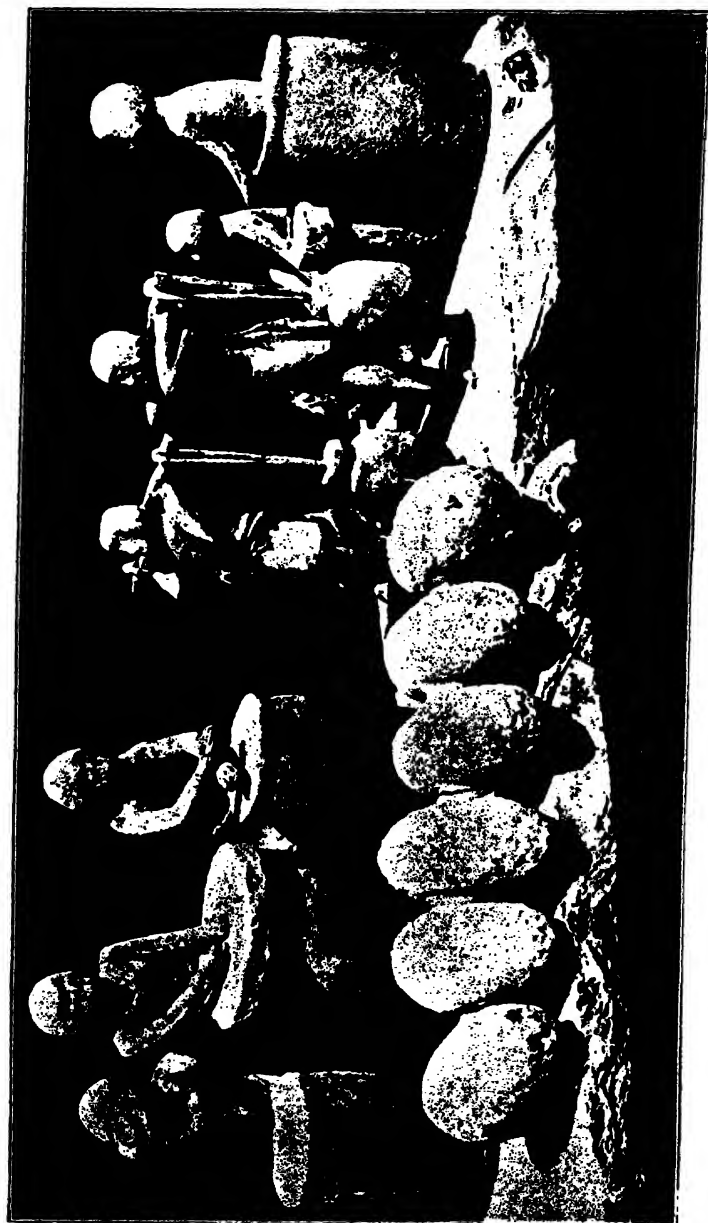


FIG. 62. - WOODEN VOTIVE MODEL: SEVEN FIGURES ENGAGED IN BEER-MAKING. TOMB 116. [LENGTH 25 INS.]

and straining the ingredients. Two water-carriers are seen bearing pitchers, suspended from a yoke which passes behind their heads and is supported by their



FIG. 63.—GROUP BREAD-MAKING. TOMB 116.

hands. A sixth figure is apparently preparing the bread, while the seventh, on the extreme right, is standing inside a large tub, apparently performing some process with his feet. He is probably kneading the bread¹; but the attitude is in a manner suggestive of the way in which the grapes are pressed in the south of France at the present time. A row of half a dozen casks lying on their sides completes the picturesque group. The characteristics of the

men, their clothing, etc., are the same as those previously described.

Bread-making, etc.—The scene of breadmaking in Fig. 63 is not so well modelled, and does not maintain the realistic standard of the brewing scene or the granary. There are three figures engaged in the process, two women and one man. The latter seems to be pounding the grain in a stone vessel by means of a long pestle. One of the women seen in the foreground of the group is preparing the dough for baking, while the second woman tends the oven and the fire. The kneading table in this case is supported upon two wooden legs, and the fire is represented as an open grate, in which the woman is stirring up the embers with the poker held in her right hand. (See also Fig. 61.) There are two small vessels, apparently water-pots, and a taller barrel-shaped object probably holding the grain. The board upon which these figures are placed is considerably longer than the space occupied by the group, and is provided with unused footholds; it therefore seems probable that some figures, possibly water-carriers or such, are missing from the



FIG 64.—MAN WITH WINE-JAR, WOMAN WITH BASKET. TOMB 116. [SCALE 1:6.]

¹ Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," II., 34; Erman, "Life in Ancient Egypt," p. 191.

board, though none but the three figures mentioned were placed within the tomb.

Two figures of wood.—In Fig. 64 there are pictured also two models which are seen in Fig. 61, standing at the far end of the tomb. The one is that of a man carrying a great wine-jar; the other is the usual representation of a woman coming as from market, with a basket upon her head and a bird held in her right hand.¹ Her figure had been wrapped as usual in a linen cloth, which however was partly decayed. Though conventional, this figure still retains some touches of realism; the bird which she carries is obviously a pigeon; the square-shaped object, broadening at the top, which she carries on her head is painted with red lines upon a yellow ground, in imitation of basket work; the mouth also, though crudely modelled, still portrays to some extent the drawn-out effect responding to



FIG. 65.—WRITING TABLET AND PEN BOX. TOMB 116. [LENGTH 14½ INS., WIDTH 7 INS.]

the pressure of the weight upon her head. The height of this figure is 48 cms.: that of the male figure is 28 cms.

Writing Implements.—An interesting writing tablet and pen-box is shown in Fig. 65. It was found like the other models upon the lid of the coffin, behind the baking scene. The board itself is 36.5 cms. by 18 cms. By means of stucco and paint a beautiful smooth surface had been imparted to it, from which one might suppose it would be readily possible to rub out any written accounts or other records as soon as their purpose was fulfilled. The pen-box which lay upon it was of the ordinary well-known type. Projecting from the opening of the box were a number of reed pens ready for use. At one end were two ink-wells, in which the remains of blue-black and red ink are apparent. The blue-black is a preparation of carbon, the red is simply oxide of iron.

Model Implements.—In Fig. 66 there is seen a group of small models of

¹ Cf. The *Khetet-per* in the tomb of Amenemhat in the upper gallery; and see Newberry, "Beni Hasan," I., Pl. X.

implements, such as were in familiar use at the time. The models are at the most three or four inches in length, and are proportionately well shaped. The handles are of wood and the implements of copper. They are five in number, namely an adze, a drill, a saw, a bradawl, and an axe. These were all instruments necessary in constructing the wooden coffin,¹ and they obtained thus a certain sanctity which led to the models being deposited in the tomb. The object next to the adze is made entirely of wood and at one end of it the remains of a piece of string are still attached. This was the bow of a model bow and drill; it was worked in the typical oriental fashion, by passing the string of the bow with one turn around the handle of the drill, so that an appropriate movement causes the drill to rotate.



FIG. 66.—GROUP OF MODEL TOOLS. TOMB 116.
[SCALE 1 : 2.]

were found inside a small canvas bag, the mouth of which was drawn together by a thin string run through the canvas.

The whole of this tomb deposit, including all the models described above, replaced in their original positions upon the great sarcophagus, has been arranged in a separate case in the museum at Cairo.

Contents of the other Chambers.—As already mentioned, the tomb furniture described above was taken from the lowest of these burial chambers leading from the same shaft. The other chambers were found in confusion with their contents mostly destroyed.

¹ Cf. the scene in the tomb of Amenemhat, Great Chief of the Nome, in the upper gallery. Newberry, "Beni Hasan," I, Pl. XI.

² Cf. Wilkinson, "The Ancient Egyptians," I, 400, where the illustration reproduces an implement very similar to this model.

The method is illustrated by the jeweller's drills of the present time. There was also found with this group a piece of wood, hemispherical in shape, one inch in diameter, with a hole in the centre of the flat surface; this was obviously the socket of the drill. This was probably to be held in the palm of the hand and the wooden end of the drill fitted into the hole, thus controlling the drill and enabling pressure to be applied to it without checking the rotation and without damage to the hand.² The drill itself is seen in the photograph next to the model of the bow. These implements

From the uppermost chamber, however, there were taken, in partial preservation, the remains of a wooden model representing the sacrifice of a bull (like that represented in Fig. 94 from the tomb of Khety, No. 366), and there were indications that models of boats and of a brewing scene had also formed part of the furniture. The leg of a chair also was found. The second or middle chamber was in somewhat better preservation; and there were seen in it the remains of a model granary, including the two sides, the stairway, the figures of a scribe, a man and a girl. There were also portions of a rowing boat and possibly of a sailing boat found amidst the debris. Some figures also had obviously been grouped upon a wooden stand which was sufficiently well preserved to enable a restoration to be made of a combined brewing scene and sacrifice. This group included the following figures; two water-carriers, a woman kneading, a woman at the oven, a man carrying a sack, and a man sacrificing the bull. Within the chamber was also found a small green scarab with a scroll pattern upon it. The date of all these deposits was probably about the age of Amenemhat, a great chieftain of the Nome in the XII. Dynasty.

Section III. The Tomb of Nefwa, otherwise called Mehti-em-hat, a Superintendent in the Treasury. No. 186.

The two tombs described in the foregoing sections have illustrated in general the manner in which the Middle Empire tombs at Beni Hassan were customarily furnished. To complete the impression two others have been selected for illustration from among some twenty which were found intact; but it will be possible to deal with these more briefly and to dwell rather upon the points of special interest.

The Tomb.—The site, the construction, and the characteristics of the tomb in which were laid the remains of NEFWA showed little variation from those already described. The mouth of the tomb-shaft is seen in Fig. 67, being marked by the basket which lies at its northerly end. The opening was about one metre square, and the depth of the lower burial chamber was 7 metres from the surface. An upper chamber, found at a depth of 4 metres, had been rifled, but this one had been preserved from the destruction of plunderers by an enormous stone which had been placed in the shaft at a depth of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ metres. In that position it was calculated to protect the mouth of the upper chamber; but the plunderers had avoided the obstacle in this instance by digging a narrow hole past the end of the stone, and creeping through this opening into the interior. The width of the stone was so great, however, that it wedged itself against the sides of the shaft so firmly that it was practically impossible to raise it. The

tomb robbers, even if they were aware of the fact that the shaft descended further, which is doubtful, had at any rate been baffled by this obstruction. Our apparatus also proved ineffective in our efforts to raise the stone clear of the shaft, but by digging cautiously under the stone it fell gradually until it reached the exact level of the doorway of the upper chamber. Having cleared the chamber of all accumulated débris, the stone was gradually levered, with its weight supported as much as possible by ropes from above, until it finally came to rest within the chamber itself, which it filled almost completely. It was then possible to descend, and, at a depth of 7 metres, the workmen's efforts were rewarded by the discovery of the second burial chamber, with its doorway closed up, as in



FIG. 67.—POSITION OF THE TOMB OF NEFWA. NO. 186.

the tomb of NEFERÿ; within this lay the remains of NEFWA, otherwise called *Mehti-em-hat*, a chief official in the Treasury Department of the Nome.

The Interior.—The wooden sarcophagi and the funereal models, which had been preserved by the limestone filling of the tomb, thus keeping them from all contact with the air, were found as fresh and intact as those which have been described. Upon the lid of the coffin, near the door, as shown in Fig. 68, there lay

the models of several boats, which will be found described in detail later in this section. Beyond these, in the depths of the tomb, still upon the lid of the coffin, the next photograph (Fig. 69) discloses on the left a model representing several industries (see Fig. 75), while further back is the model of a granary. To the right hand may be seen a figure of a woman with her basket and birds leaning against the wall of the tomb, and a fourth model boat with a man standing in the prow. These models were all made of wood, as before; they are severally illustrated in the photographs reproduced in Figs. 72-77.

The Interment.—Figs. 70, 71, show the manner in which the body was buried. It varies little from those which have been described. The outer coffin was decorated towards its upper edge by formulæ to OSIRIS and to ANUBIS, with a pattern of simple colours as a border. As in the previous instances, a thin coffin

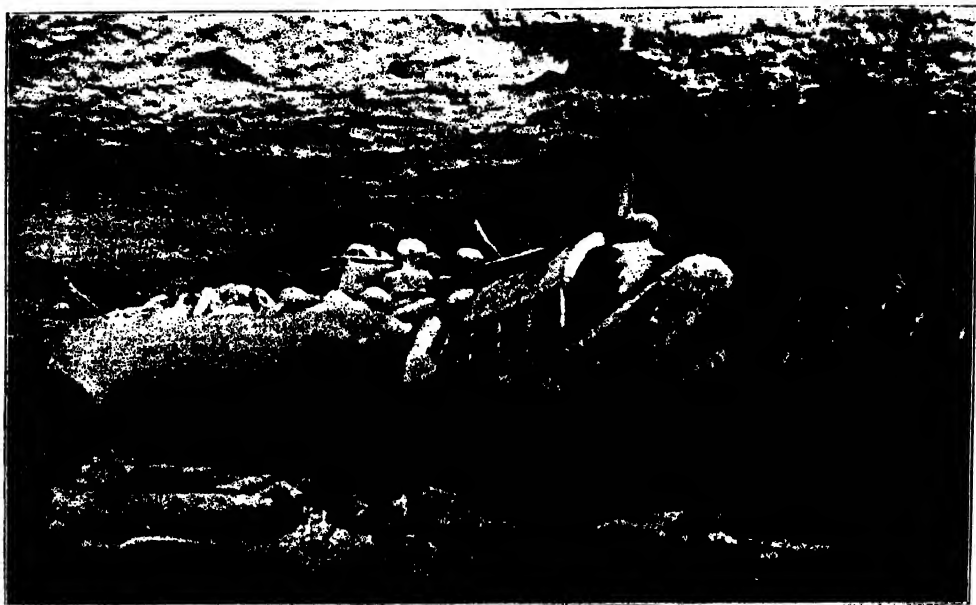


FIG. 68.—MODELS OF BOATS UPON THE COFFIN. TOMB 186.

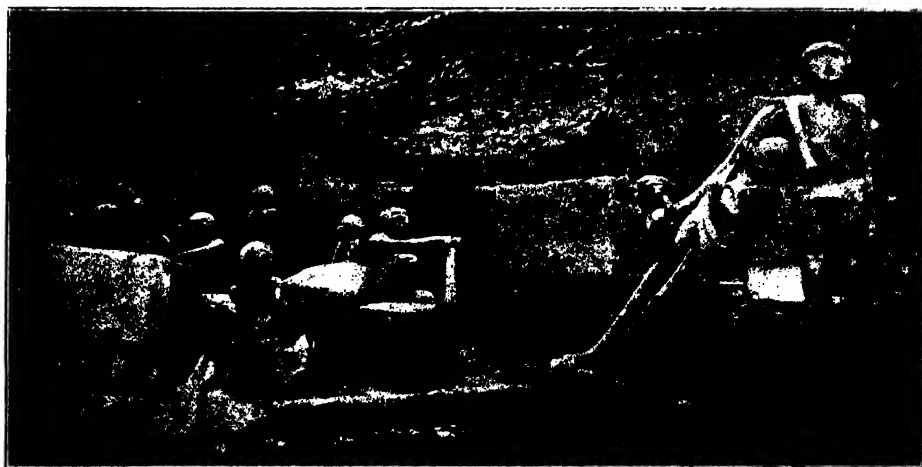


FIG. 69.—VIEW IN THE INTERIOR OF THE TOMB. NO. 186.

was within the outer cover, and inside this the body lay, wrapped in folds of linen cloth, whilst a fringed cloth of the same material was laid over the whole. By moving most of the covering there was seen at the one end, towards the north, the painted burial mask which covered the head. The body and mask lay upon their left side, facing the east. Opposite to this position of head and eyes

there are painted upon both coffins, inside as well as outside, the traditional "sacred eyes," familiar from a hundred similar examples. These seem to represent the windows of the tomb, through which the spirit of the dead looks out hopefully for the dawn of the new world. Beside the head, under the coverings, there was found also a wooden head-rest with fluted column (Fig. 78). The view towards the other end of the coffin, with the linen covering removed, shows the feet of the dead provided with sandals (*vide* Figs. 71 and 78); and a painting of a pair of sandals upon that end of the coffin, on the inner side.

The decoration and inscription of the outer case are repeated on the inner one, and in the illustrations (*e.g.*, Fig. 70 B) there may be read the formula: "Truly devoted to the great God, the Lord of Heaven, NEFWA." The formulæ down the sides are those ordinarily met with

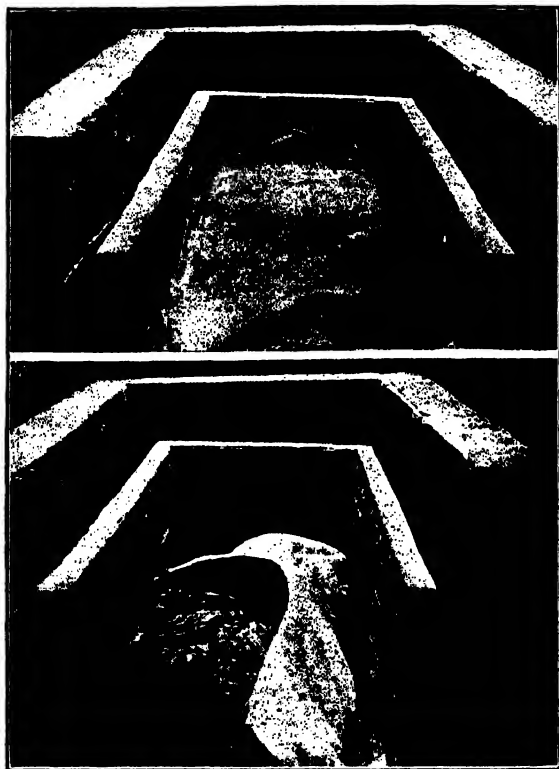


FIG. 70.

a. THE INTERMENT AS FOUND, LOOKING TOWARDS THE HEAD.

b. THE SAME AFTER MOVING THE LINEN COVERING.

upon these Middle Empire coffins, prayers to Anubis and to Osiris for a good burial and for ample provisions. (For further examples see Chapters VII., VIII.)

A feature of special interest in regard to this burial was a square wooden box found under the sarcophagus in a hole excavated in the rock to receive it, exactly as shown in Fig. 184. The box itself appears in Fig. 185 on the right, and its use is more fully described in the section on special modes of burial in Chap. VII., inasmuch as it was one of only three such cases. It is 43 cms. high by 41 by 38 cms.

Externally it is painted yellow. The decoration along the edges is in red and white. An inscription in blue hieroglyphs, an invocation to Osiris, runs around the four sides. It is divided internally into four compartments, each of which is dedicated to one of the four genii whose names are familiar upon the canopic jars of later times. In each compartment was a small roll, done up in cloth (cf. Fig. 186), simulating the vital organs and viscera, preserved according to ritual, and placed each under the care of its special guardian genius. But upon examining the rolls, Dr. Elliot Smith, of Cairo, came to the conclusion that they contained no human remains whatever. The parcels remained obviously as they had been supplied by the embalmers; but they proved to be mere bundles of rag. It was the same in the other instances, to be described hereafter, from the tombs numbered 107 and 585. This aspect of the subject, however, belongs more properly to a later chapter.

There is little to add in regard to the details of this interment. A collar of tubular glazed beads, blue and black in colour, similar to that illustrated in Fig. 101, had been placed around the throat of the dead; some pottery vases of poor quality lay by the east side of the coffin; the bones of the leg of an ox were conspicuous



FIG. 71.—VIEW IN THE COFFINS TOWARDS THE FEET.
NO. 186.

upon the lid of the coffin, near the opening; and, lastly, a snake skin was found twisted here and there in the interior, as in a previous instance. It remains to describe more completely the funerary offerings themselves.

The Funerary Models.—The first of these is a model of a sailing boat, which was found on the lid of the coffin towards the right. It is illustrated in Fig. 72; its length is 71 cms. The body of the boat is of the conventional shape, with projecting prow and uplifted stern. The figures upon it are those which illustrate the chief functions of the sailors, namely, three men hoisting a sail behind the mast, a look-out who stands at the prow with extended arms, and two who are seen vigorously punting. The steersman, as usual, occupies a raised position at the extreme stern. The sail of the vessel which is attached to this illustration was found rolled up and placed by the side of the vessel. It is of linen cloth, square in shape, and is well preserved; a simple pulley was provided apparently for hoisting it into position. The mast also was not in its place, owing probably to the roof of the chamber not being sufficiently high to receive it standing erect

(as may be readily seen in Fig. 68). In addition to these figures, which are similar to those which have already been seen in previous examples, there is fixed upon the deck of this small vessel a canopy supported upon a trellis work of wood. This is placed just before the steering-pole. The canopy is represented as being covered with leather or the hide of an animal, which is fixed down around the edge by a row of studs. Suspended to the roof of this canopy, on the further side in the photograph, is a large quiver, which probably is intended for a spear-case, being much too large for a quiver of arrows. This case also is made of, or covered with, the hide of an animal, likewise fixed by a row of studs; the black spots of the hide are reminiscent of the ox sacrificed at these rites. Just before

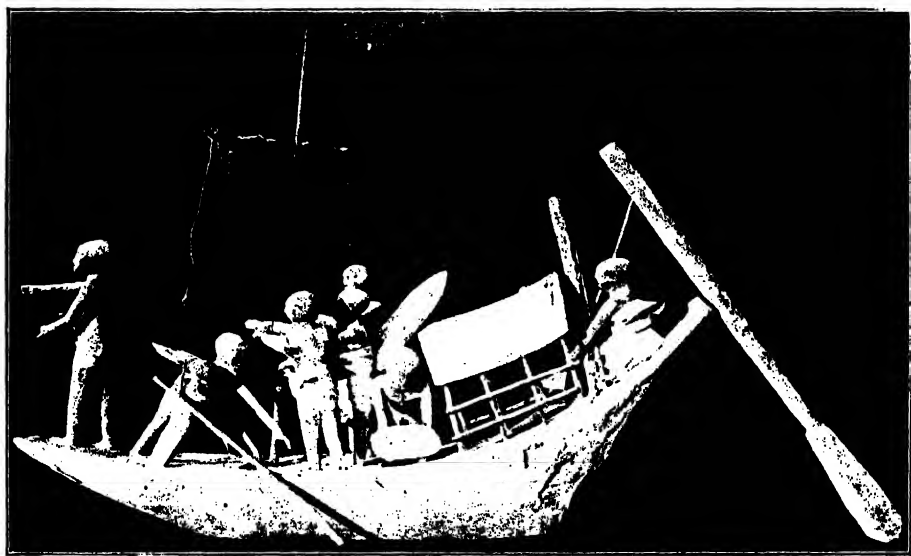


FIG. 72.—MODEL OF SAILING BOAT: MAN BALING SHIP. [LENGTH 28 INS.] NO. 186.

this canopy, and leaning towards the near side of the picture, is a figure in the act of baling the ship by means of a large wooden vessel. Just above him, supported by the canopy, is the model of a flat shield, with straight bottom and curving pointed top, which also is covered with a black spotted hide, studded around the edge.

This warlike equipment is finely illustrated in a second model taken also from this tomb, representing a boat intended for military expeditions by river. As it is unique in character, and does not illustrate therefore the ordinary furniture of the tombs, it is described in the section dealing with "War and Arms" in Chapter VI. It is illustrated by photograph in Fig. 142.

A third model vessel, seen in Fig. 73, though conventional in general

character, has to some extent a warlike appearance from the fact that the look-out man has been provided with a shield, giving an effect which is picturesque rather than realistic. The model is 66 cms. in length: it is of the usual shape and is steered in the usual manner. The figures are ten in number, eight of whom



FIG. 73.—ROWING BOAT: MAN WITH SHIELD. [LENGTH 26 INS.] NO. 186.

represent oarsmen sitting or squatting to their work. A sail is furled around two yards and a slender mast, and is placed amidships between the two lines of oarsmen.

The second of these illustrations, Fig. 74, represents a rowing boat of ten oarsmen, with the watchman and steersman as usual, or twelve figures in all.



FIG. 74.—ROWING BOAT OF 10 OARS. [LENGTH 25 INS.] NO. 186.

Its length is 25 inches. It adds no feature descriptive of these vessels which has not been previously illustrated. The small linen garments in this instance and the former are noticeably well preserved.

Industrial Groups.—Figure 75 represents a group of combined industries. Upon the left-hand side are three figures engaged in the making of bread. The

process is modelled upon the usual plan: a man grinds the corn, a woman kneads the bread which a second woman bakes in the manner previously described. The bread-board alone calls for any comment. Though at first glance it seems to be quite unlike the kneading trough previously described, yet upon examining the model it seems to have been placed by accident in a wrong position, so that the woman appears at the side of it instead of at the end. It is interesting to compare the sculptured forms in the Cairo Museum.¹ To the right hand, which is separated by a low partition, there are seen in the background two figures engaged in the process of brewing. One of these stands before a table, the surface of which is hollow like a tray and covered with cross-

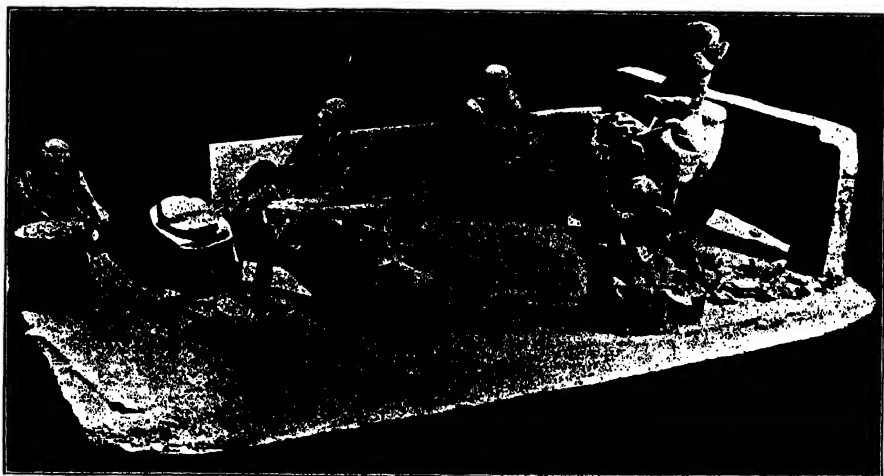


FIG. 75.—COMBINED GROUPS: BAKING, BREWING, AND SACRIFICE. NO. 186. [LENGTH 24 INS.]

lines like a sieve. The other stands behind three vessels, one of which is tilted and seems to have a gauze tied over its mouth (as may just be seen in the illustration). To the right hand side a tall figure projects above the others. This represents a man, as in No. 116, who carries a large jar of wine, but the figure does not belong to any of the groups of this model. It is seen on close inspection to be independent and to rest upon its own base, and it was probably placed inside this enclosure because the tomb-chamber was already full. Its height is eight inches (20 cms.). In the foreground of this portion there are seen two figures engaged in the slaughter or sacrifice of a bull, which, as in former instances, is white with black spots upon the hide. The animal lies with its four feet bound together, its head pressed to the earth, while one of the men pierces its throat

¹ Cairo Mus. Cat., p. 478, No. 237, etc.

with a knife. All these groups stand together upon a solid wooden base which is 61 cms. in length.

The granary of Fig. 76, though representing the same custom, is somewhat different in detail from those previously described. It is 43 cms. in length. Its interior consists essentially of six compartments separated by a gangway, which represents a courtyard. There is as usual an opening door at one end, and the figures of four labourers and a scribe are seen at work. The chambers of the granary, however, are not closed as usual at the top by a roof pierced with holes for admitting the grain, but are left entirely open, with the exception of that upon which the scribe is seated. The compartments contain several different kinds of grain, chiefly wheat and barley, and it was probably to show this that the chambers were not

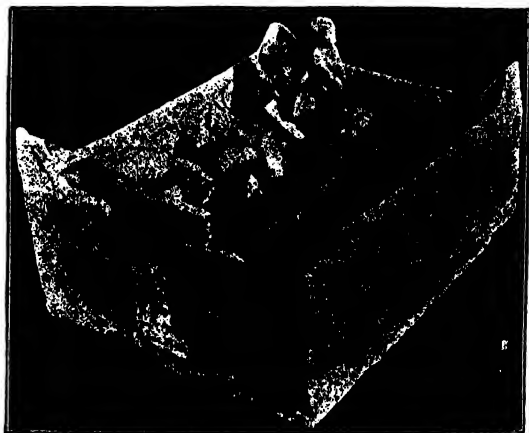


FIG. 76.—MODEL OF A GRANARY. NO. 186.
[SIZE 17 INS. BY 15 BY 9 INS.]

covered. Of the labourers, one stands close to the door; another is in amongst the grain; a third is preparing to mount the steps with a load on his shoulder; while a fourth is sitting at the top of the stair, possibly waiting till his companion has mounted. Within this granary, though probably not forming a part of it, were the remains of a small canvas bag, in which was a double set of model implements entirely similar to those previously described as found in the tomb of Nefery (p. 78, Fig. 66).



FIG. 77.—THE MARKET WOMEN. NO. 186. [HEIGHT 17 INS. AND 16 INS.]

In Fig. 77 there are seen two wooden models, representing in each case a woman with a basket on her head and a brace of birds in her right hand, in the stereotyped fashion. The photograph shows the linen cloths which drape these figures. The taller of these, which is 48 cms. in height, was found by the eastern side of the coffin, where it rested in the narrow space against the

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wall, supported from the lid by the left arm. The face and body of this figure are of dull yellow, the hair or wig is painted black, and the birds also are black. The



FIG. 78.—HEAD-REST AND SANDALS. NO. 186.

other figure was placed within the granary itself, of which, however, it formed no part. This figure is 40 cms. in height. The face and body are conspicuously darker than in the former case; but this colour is probably due to the wood itself, from which the paint has been worn away.

In Fig. 78 there are illustrated a wooden head-rest and a model pair of sandals. The former has some special interest, in that the column which supports the head-rest is fluted and rests upon a low square base or plinth with a simple capital of the same form. The sandals were found, as mentioned, at the foot of the deceased. Like those previously described, they are made of a flat sole of wood with three vertical pegs of wood also; through the tops of these there is threaded in each case a strap of leather, which was probably to bind the foot of the wearer.

The painted cartonage which forms the subject of Fig. 79 is unfortunately somewhat crushed; but it gives some indication of the form of burial mask which was apparently in common use at this period. These masks, when specially made, were apparently modelled to the visage of the deceased; other instances, however, are obviously conventional. The breast is usually covered with a painting representing a broad collar of glazed beads and pendants, like those found within the coffin in this instance. Some excellent examples of this ornament are painted on the figures in the great rock-tombs of the upper gallery. The face of this mask is painted yellow; the eyes and eyebrows are dark blue, with a wig of the same colour. The body



FIG. 79.—DEATH-MASK OF CARTONAGE.
NO. 186.

covering, which reaches only to the waist, is coloured white. Upon this background the collar of beads is represented in alternating colours of blue, red, and yellow; the lowest row of pendants is in blue.

This funereal mask, the model of a boat manned with armed warriors, and the canopic box, are the three special features of this grave. They will be alluded to again in describing the customs which they illustrate. A form of canopic box with some variation of detail appears also in the tomb which we have selected to complete the subject of this chapter.

Section IV.—The Tomb of Khnem-Nekhtha and Neter-Nekhtha. No. 585.

In making a selection to illustrate the ordinary furniture of the Middle Empire tombs we have followed no special sequence but have described hitherto three graves found with their contents undisturbed in the numerical order of their discovery. Owing to the general similarity of these deposits it is possible to omit from present consideration the tomb of JA-ÿ, No. 75, the tomb of KHETÿ, No. 366, the tomb of MA, No. 500, the tomb of KHETÿA, No. 575, the tomb of APA, No. 707, and the tomb of SEBEK-HETEP, No. 723, all of which were furnished after the manner already illustrated.

At the conclusion of this work there will be found in an Appendix a list of the contents of each of these tombs, from which it may be seen that their furniture for the most part consisted of the customary wooden models representing boats, granary, bread-making, beer-making, the sacrifice, and other familiar subjects. Among them, however, are some objects which claim special notice, either as being in themselves unusual, or because they illustrate special features of the burial customs in vogue. These will be referred to in the next chapter, under various heads.

We turn, then, lastly, to the combined tomb of KHNEM-NEKH^{TA} and NETER-NEKH^{TA}, which differs from those already described in that it contained two sarcophagi and a proportionately greater number of offerings associated with the two interments. As may be seen by a glance at Fig. 80, the objects themselves contain several features which are new, and show a variety of detail which helps to complete our impression of the manner in which the Egyptians of that time were wont to furnish their dead.

The tomb-shaft itself is like those described in the earlier part of this chapter. It was five metres in depth, and it contained, as in previous examples, two chambers, the one at a higher level than the other, and both towards the south. The upper chamber in this instance also was found disturbed. In it were the remains of two wooden coffins, partially destroyed, both of which seemed to date

from the time of the Middle Empire. The names inscribed upon these coffins were Khnem-hetép and Khetya. The latter, which lay towards the west, seems to have been the first placed within the chamber.

Undisturbed Lower Chamber.—The lower chamber, however, as in previous instances, had escaped disturbance. Its mouth was closed by a great piece of timber, which measured about 170 by 80 by 18 cms. dimensions. This had

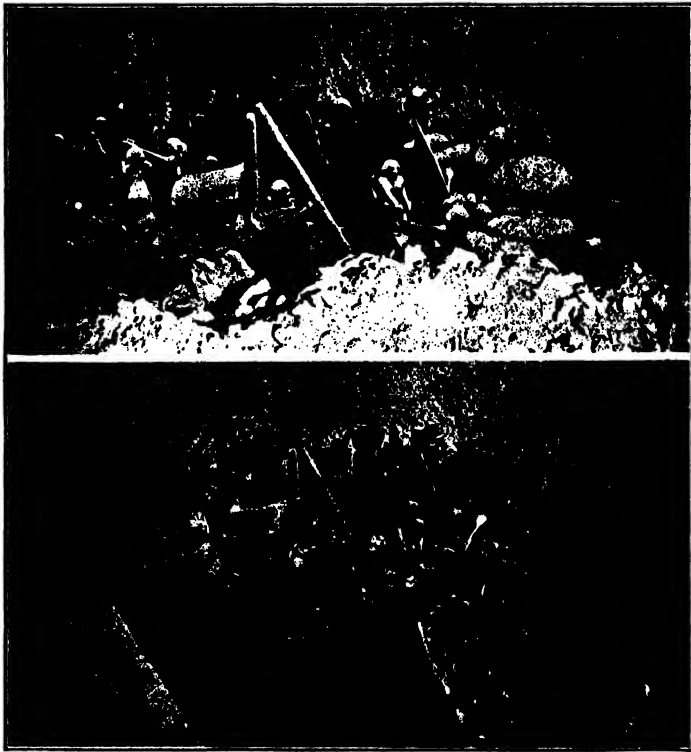


FIG. 80.--*a.* INTERIOR OF TOMB TO S.W. AS DISCOVERED.
b. THE SAME AFTER REMOVING THE DÉBRIS.

partly decayed at the right-hand top corner, and had admitted a considerable amount of limestone dust and chips into the chamber and on to the objects within. After moving this door the chamber disclosed was seen to be considerably larger than those previously described, and to contain two great sarcophagi of wood. By glancing at the roof of the chamber it was seen that it had been constructed at two different times (see Fig. 82) and that probably in its first inception it had been designed to contain a single coffin, and that afterwards there had been added the recesses which lay away to the right hand and now contained a second

coffin. Curiously enough, all the funereal models lay upon the sarcophagus furthest from the door, as may be seen in Fig. 80, in which our first impression of the interior is reproduced by a photograph taken from the entrance.

After moving all the débris, which had found its way in so far as partly to cover with stones and dust some of the models themselves, it was possible to gain a clearer impression, not only of the nature of the offerings themselves (Figs. 80 B and 81) but also of the reason for this apparent disorder within the chamber. The models were found in some instances piled upon the top of others; and it seemed that at some time offerings placed upon the first sarcophagus had been

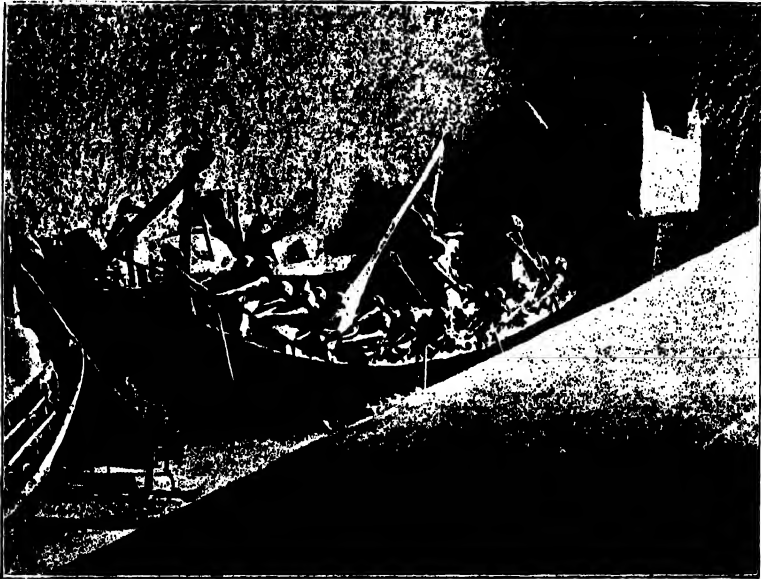


FIG. 81.—VIEW OF INTERIOR TO N.W. AFTER REMOVING DÉBRIS. NO. 585.

hastily transferred to the top of the other, upon which the offerings were already in position.

This had been done apparently by someone whose object was to gain access to the interior of the coffin, the lid of which showed that it had been forced open and hastily closed down. This pilfering may quite possibly have occurred at the time of the second funeral, for had it been the work of the systematic plunderers of the Roman times they would not have left the chamber without opening also the innermost coffin, upon which the models remained *in situ*. There is also a further consideration in this fact, that in order to introduce the second coffin (the presumption being against their having been placed there at the same time) it would be necessary to move the coffin which was already in the chamber towards

the west into the added recess to make room for the new one. Therefore in all probability the westerly coffin represents the earlier burial. This is not then merely a case in which those who introduced the second coffin plundered the earlier burial in order possibly to furnish the former. It seems rather as though someone whose duties kept him in the tomb-chamber to the last, before it was closed up, had hastily despoiled the deceased of his jewels, or whatever may have been valuable about his person. Of the two coffins which lay within this chamber that which was nearer to the door was considerably larger than the other, measuring 213 cms. in length by 99 cms. by 63 cms. (or 7 feet by 3 feet 3 inches by 2 feet 3 inches), and it was inscribed with the name of Khnem-Nekhta (Pl. VIII.).

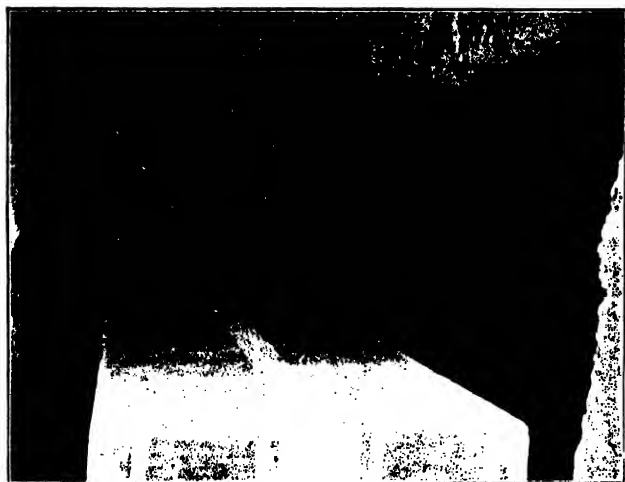


FIG. 82.—THE SARCOPHAGI AFTER REMOVING THE OFFERINGS. NO. 585.

The coffin, which lay to the right, within the recess on the western side, measured 192 cms. in length by 76 cms. by 56 cms., and the inscription upon it showed that it contained the remains of Neter-Nekhta. From the general similarity of the coffin and the votive offerings it is probable that the burials were not far removed from each other in point of time.

A special feature of the furniture of this tomb is the wooden box which is seen in

Fig. 81 at the extreme right hand, below the model of the granary. When it was opened, as shown in Fig. 83, it was shown to be divided into four compartments. In each of these was a cartonage mask a few inches only in height, of the same style as those which usually covered the head and shoulders of the dead. In each compartment, also below the masks, there were the remains of a small parcel of cloth, which was, however, very much decayed. With the addition of the miniature masks, this instance is similar to that described in the foregoing section from the tomb of NEFWA. There is here again an early form of the canopic box for preserving the vital organs of the dead; but as in the other case observed there was no sign that the embalming of those organs had been actually performed. We have in this example only a demonstration that it was customary to separate the vital organs from the body and to preserve them

separately. It is not possible to say whether the embalming of the vital organs was regarded as essential to the future state of the dead. From these examples it is not clear whether the embalmers had deceived the relatives or those who piously sought to fulfil the ritual, or whether, on the other hand, the latter were satisfied with the outward form of the box with its dummy packages as symbolising an ideal preservation in the care of the gods to whom these emblems were dedicated. The latter hypothesis is accordant with the general nature of the funerary offerings, in which models of boats and groups of servants are emblematic of the hope for a plenty of such comforts in the life after death. The alternative is perhaps more probable, that the embalmers had merely practised the deception to save themselves from trouble. It is interesting to observe that in the tomb of IOUIYOU and TOUTIYA (discovered at Thebes in 1905) the vital organs are seen in that instance to have been wrapped each in a separate linen cloth, covered over by this tiny mask, and the whole placed within the canopic jar. That burial dates only from the time of the New Empire; the objects found in this tomb show that the custom in its detail has a much earlier origin.

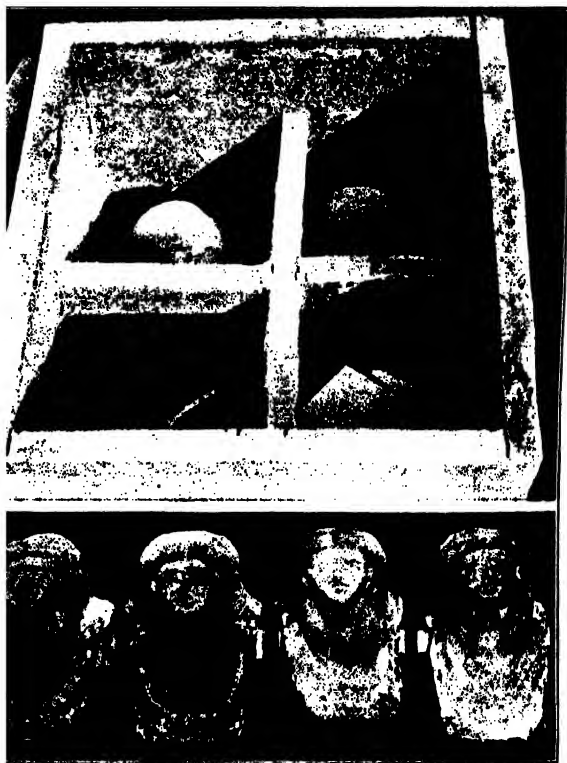


FIG. 83.—a. WOODEN CANOPIC BOX, INTERIOR.
b. FOUR SMALL CARTONNAGE MASKS. NO. 585.

The Models.—The funereal models with which the tomb was so well provided represent much the same subjects as those described earlier in this chapter. From the series of photographs, however, it may be seen that they provide some interesting variation of detail. In Figs. 81, 82 it has been seen that the objects were found piled upon one another in some confusion. It was possible, however, to some extent to separate the two groups which had accompanied each interment. With the coffin of KHNEM-NEKHTA, there had probably been associated

a rowing boat of ten oarsmen (Fig. 87); a sailing boat with seven figures and open canopy (Fig. 88); a rowing boat with twenty oarsmen and a warrior (Fig. 163); one of the granaries in Fig. 90, and the combined group seen in Fig. 84 B. With the other coffin there were associated a rowing boat of eighteen oarsmen (Fig. 86); a sailing boat with closed canopy (Fig. 89); the other granary in Fig. 90, and a combined group illustrated in the upper part of



FIG. 84.—GROUPS ENGAGED IN BAKING, BREWING, SACRIFICE, &c. NO. 585.
[23 INS. AND 27½ INS. RESPECTIVELY.]

Fig. 84. In addition there were a few objects, namely, a pair of sandals, a group of two female figures (Fig. 85), and the square canopic box already described (Fig. 83), which could not be assigned definitely to either interment.

The model seen in Fig. 84 obviously is intended to represent by a few figures the processes of bread-making and brewing and the slaughtering of the black-spotted bull, now familiar from the earlier examples. Accompanying these is a group of two female figures, one of whom is carrying upon her head a basket which is steadied by her left arm, while with the other arm she carries a great pitcher. The second figure is represented as holding in her left hand

a delicately-painted fan and in her right hand a large vase, which was painted white, with a wide plinth and dark-coloured lid. These two figures are made with some special care: the paint upon them is more carefully placed; the colour of beads and pendants around their necks is suggested, and the fan is particularly conspicuous for its detailed work. The length of the wooden base is 58·5 cms.

In the lower part of this illustration there is seen a complementary group from the other burial, in which the same process is illustrated with more realism of detail. Upon the left-hand side the women who prepare the dough at a raised board and the woman who sits before the fire are a group by themselves. On the right-hand side a man engaged in some process connected with brewing is surrounded by the vats and barrels necessary to his work. Among these are two vessels upon their sides and conspicuous for their net-work coverings. In the centre the usual sacrifice is represented with severe conventionality. The legs of the ox are tied together. The butcher kneels with one hand pressing the head of the beast to the floor, while with the other he severs with a knife the jugular vein and throat of the animal. The length of this model is 70 cms.

The group shown in Fig. 85, taken together with that just described, completed the ideas represented in the combined group of Fig. 84 A. In this instance, however, the woman who carries the basket is seen in the more usual act of holding a bird in her right hand. Her companion carries a wine vessel of an interesting shape, which is familiar in the pottery vases of this date. The height of this model is 38 cms.

Model Boats.—The boat shown in Fig. 86 is 81 cms. in length. It is manned by eighteen oarsmen, who sit with their feet hidden in the well of the boat in a more realistic attitude than some which have been described. A *reis* or watchman, as usual, stands in the bow, while the diminutive steersman sits in the highest part of the stern. In addition to the piled oars and the yards which lie amidships, there is seen a shield, the surface of which is represented as covered with black spotted hide fixed with studs around the edge. The boat represented in the next illustration (Fig. 87) is manned by only ten oarsmen, and



FIG. 85.—GROUP OF TWO
SERVANT-WOMEN. NO. 585.
[HEIGHT 15 INS.]

it has the usual characteristics. Its length is 75 cms. In Fig. 163, however, there is reproduced a rowing boat, also from this tomb, which is manned by twenty oarsmen and is accompanied also by a figure of a warrior, who stands



FIG. 86.—MODEL OF ROWING BOAT WITH 18 OARSMEN. NO. 585. [LENGTH 32 INS.]

amidships, holding in his left hand a shield with rounded top, and in his right hand the model of a battle-axe of wood. On account of its special features the

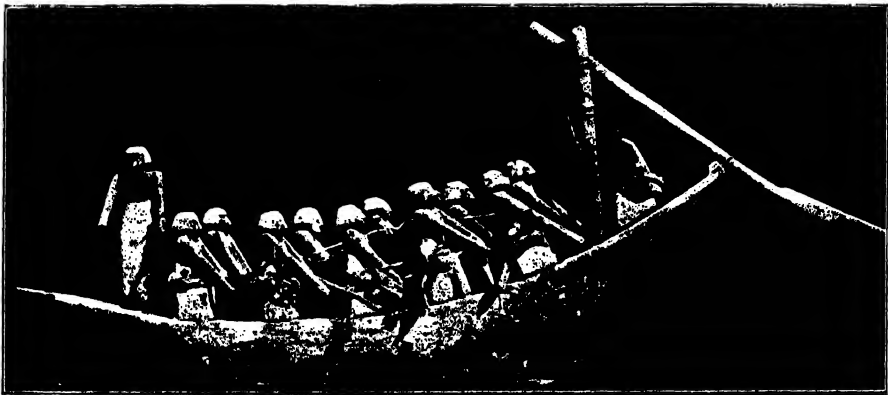


FIG. 87.—MODEL OF ROWING BOAT WITH 10 OARS. NO. 585. [LENGTH 31 INS.]

description of this vessel also is deferred to the section on "War and Arms" in Chapter VI. The length of the model is 41 inches.

In the two other boats in Figs. 88, 89, there are some further special features. The former represents a sailing boat manned by seven figures in the usual way. Before the steering pole there is an open canopy supported by a trellis, in a manner previously described, and a figure is seated in the shadow which it affords. A

shield of black spotted hide is hung on the side, and the outer side of the canopy is decorated with a similar device. The model is 61 cms. in length. In the last



FIG. 88.—MODEL OF SAILING BOAT WITH FIGURE SEATED BELOW OPEN CANOPY. NO. 585.
[LENGTH 24 INS.]

example, however, Fig. 89, the canopy is closed; there is obviously represented in this case a boat of a different purpose. This is apparently a pleasure boat with

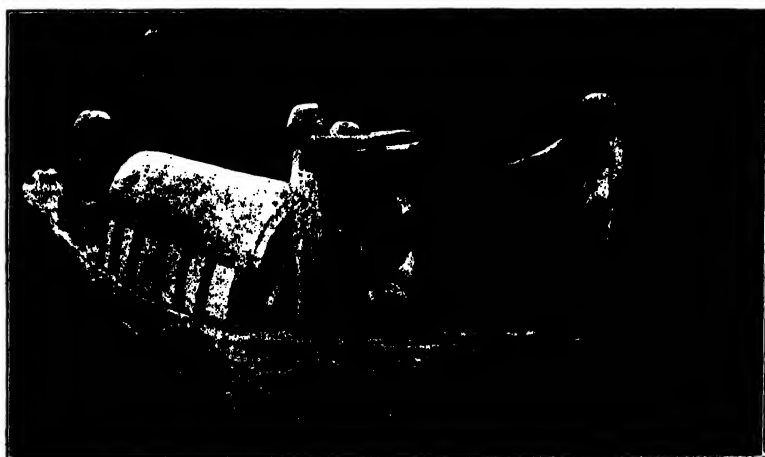


FIG. 89.—SAILING BOAT WITH CLOSED DECK-CABIN. SEVEN FIGURES. NO. 585
[LENGTH 28 INS.]

a closed cabin upon its deck, intended for the use of the harim or ladies of the house. Indeed within the cabin there are two figures, one of whom is obviously the mistress, examining her face in a mirror; the other is her servant, who from

behind is proffering some object to her. The boat is manned by five sailors ; the model is 71 cms. in length.

There remain only the granaries (Fig. 90) amongst the illustrations of this tomb. They are similar to each other in general plan, and less realistic than some which have been previously described. One of them shows the grain-bins without their roof, and the other shows the roof complete but without the holes through which the grain should be poured. The workmen within the courtyard gathering up the grain, and a scribe seated upon the roof, are already familiar. The details, such as the doorway of the granary and the pen-box of the scribe, are represented in paint instead of in model. A pair of sandals seen in Fig. 80 (*b*) upon the coffin are of the type already described.

The interments themselves illustrated no new feature. The burials lay as

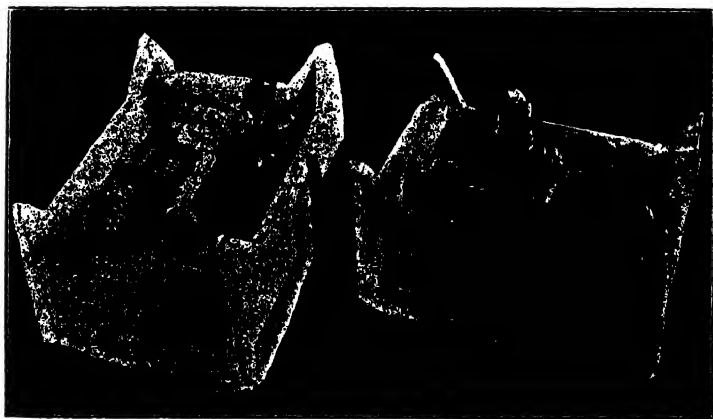


FIG. 90.—TWO MODELS OF GRANARIES. TOMB NO. 585.

usual within a thin inner wooden coffin, while both the inner and the outer coffins were inscribed with stereotyped formulæ to ANUBIS and OSIRIS.

NOTE.—The four tombs which have been described in the foregoing sections are typical of the majority. They were the graves of officials and notables connected probably with one or other of the great feudal houses of this locality and its neighbouring provinces, the "middle classes" of an oriental country. These rock-hewn tombs were too expensive for the poor country labourers ; but could not compare, on the other hand, with the elaborate abodes and shrines provided for the hereditary chieftains and their families. The funerary models which constituted their chief furniture are equally illustrative of a convention which seems to have prevailed, not merely in their construction and the subjects they represented, but in the simple religious ideas of which they are the emblems.

Provision for the after-world took the form of providing for wants familiar to earthly experience. It is only an elaboration of the earliest instinct of the Nile's people, with here and there the addition of an article of luxury or of special signification. The well-filled granary, the servants engaged in the making of bread or the brewing of pleasant drinks, would fulfil all the requirements of the flesh; while the models of river boats, whether propelled by numerous oarsmen or wafted smoothly by the wind, betokened a vague hope for luxury and comfort in the hereafter which was possibly not attained in life by those whose hopes were thus expressed. In some cases there is introduced a model representing the sacrifice of an animal, which not only recalls a definite act of ritual at the burial of the dead, but ensures the deceased a continued supply of fresh meat for the long future. A double meaning attaches itself similarly to nearly all of these emblems. Another object familiar in these instances is the model of the serving woman, the *khetet-per* of the Egyptians, carrying her basket and birds. But on the whole a tomb of the Middle Empire seems to have been properly equipped after the manner in vogue if the models of a rowing and a sailing boat, a granary and the groups of servants making bread and beer, were deposited within the closed-up chamber. An analysis of the contents of eleven well-preserved graves shows that the models of rowing boat, sailing boat and granary were found in each instance; models of bread-making and beer-making occurred in ten cases, the market-woman in nine; while the sacrifice scene appeared only six times. To these there should be added the head-rest and sandals found in nearly each case within the coffin, and the paintings and texts which decorated the coffins themselves.

Fortunately our record of the tomb furniture does not close with these conventional representations. Human variability is more interesting and natural than conventionality. Some variety of detail in the models of boats furnished with shields and weapons has already been noted; other cases, which also remain to be described more fully, have a more directly funerary significance. Such boats are provided with a bier upon which the mummy of the dead is laid under the shade of a canopy, mourned maybe by the divine figures of Isis and her sister Nephthys at the head and feet. Nearly every tomb, moreover, however conventional might be its furniture in general, must have contained some object or objects of special interest. Such are the more artistic products, pieces of sculpture, of faience, paintings, vases, trinkets and the like: and in rarer instances the real property of the dead, battle-axes, bows, arrows, throwing sticks, a drum, harp and flutes, table, beds, chairs and stools, weaving reeds from a handloom, and so forth. It is with these in their relation to life rather than to death that the next

chapter is chiefly concerned. Two things may be noted in conclusion—that the objects being all found within the tombs, their significance is primarily funerary ; and that in only a few instances out of some nine hundred graves were the whole contents of a tomb recovered. The objects which illustrate the next chapter, being more or less isolated discoveries, may therefore be appropriately classified into various sections.

CHAPTER VI.

FURNITURE OF THE TOMBS.

Section I. Funereal Rites and Emblems.—The objects found in the tombs are a surer indication of what the Egyptians really did for their dead than are the stereotyped formulæ and mystical religious texts. Having in the previous chapter described the appearance of the funerary chamber, when furnished according to the local custom of the Middle Empire, we turn to consider the significance of individual objects. By far the greater number of these were found in tombs which had been disturbed, and we therefore deal with each separately, deferring a complete account of its associations to the Appendix. Many of these objects, again, introduce elements of ritual not previously suggested; while others present interesting variations of subjects already familiar.

The Model Boats.—From the description in the previous chapter of several interments found with their entire deposit it has been seen that the models of a rowing boat and sailing boat usually formed a part of the tomb furniture. This, in most of the instances described, conveys an impression that they were models representing objects which would be useful and desirable in the more comfortable existence upon which the deceased was one day to enter. The representation of the pilgrimages to Abydos and Busiris in the tomb of AMENEMHAT, referred to in Chapter II., suggests another reason, which may account, in some instances, for the presence of the models of such boats within the tombs.¹ In the case of the funereal barques illustrated in Fig. 91, for example, a real motive is apparent.

In the first of these there are seen the sailors in the act of hoisting a large square sail (which in the photograph is furled); the watchman stands in the bow as usual, while a diminutive steersman in the raised part of the stern controls the enormous steering oar. In front of the steering pole, to which the end of this oar is attached, there is a canopy supported upon four poles. Such poles are commonly shaped and painted to suggest a bundle of reeds tied together, recalling their primitive origin. Beneath the canopy in each case is the model of a mummy, while

¹ Note especially the boats in tomb No. 585, Figs. 86—89.

small figures seated at the head of the stern and by the sides represent the guardian deities or chief mourners.

It is interesting in this connection to recall that in the well-known scene from Thebes, previously referred to in Chapter I., the barque bearing the mummy conveys also the women who sit weeping on the deck, while a relative stands in the bow and calls to the helmsman "Steer to the West, the land of the Justified."

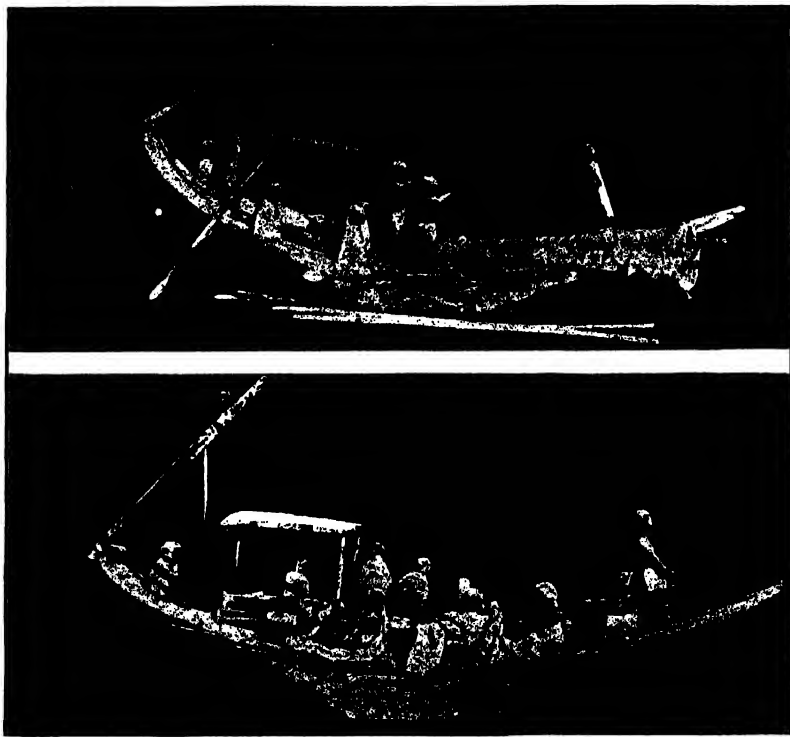


FIG. 91.—MODELS OF BOATS CONVEYING THE MUMMY OF THE DEAD. TOMB 500.
[LENGTH 29 INS. AND 33 INS.]

Other boats convey the male relatives, colleagues, friends, and others who have come to do honour to the dead.

In the second instance the boat is not propelled by sail, but by ten oarsmen, whose oars are neatly done up along the upper rail of the boat. Two large casks or vessels suggest the provisions necessary for the long journey which lay in front of the deceased. The former model is 73 cms. in length, and the latter 83 cms. Both were found upon the lid of the same coffin, which was that of MA, numbered 500 in our notebooks. It is particularly noticeable that these two boats from the same tomb are almost identical in their significance,

although one is a rowing boat and the other a sailing boat. An object of peculiar beauty is the steering blade of the sailing boat, which is painted with a floral decoration derived from the lotus.

In Fig. 92 there is seen on the left hand a small wooden figure which may be presumed, in the lack of more definite evidence, to have been the representation of the mummy in a barque of similar character to those just described. Otherwise it might be taken for an early instance of a Shawabti figure. Such figures, representing in a conventional manner the servants of the dead, became common in the New Empire, but it seems probable that the models of servants engaged in their various industries represented the same idea in the Middle Empire with more realism. It is of much interest to notice in this connection that the models upon the boats, like the figure in question, are clearly representations of mummified figures, or at least of figures tightly bound within their wrapping and in that sense embalmed; yet in all the eight hundred and eighty-eight graves of the Middle Empire which we excavated in this necropolis, there was no instance of actual mummification, distinguished by the use of resins, spices, or other preservatives. A mere wrapping in many folds of cloth, but not in bandages, was the usual method of protecting the body, apparently after the viscera had been removed.

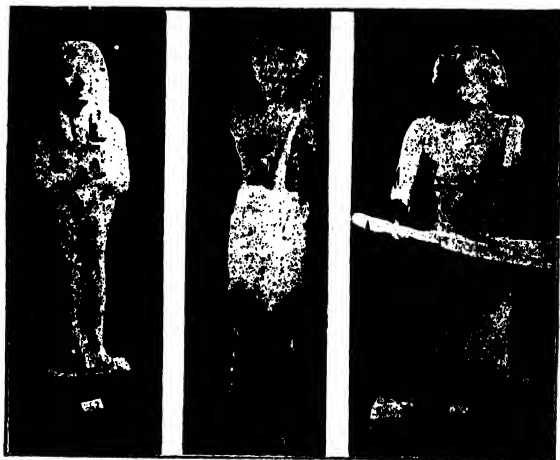


FIG. 92.—THREE WOODEN FIGURES. [SCALE 1:2.]
NO. 81. NO. 36. NO. 81.

The Ka Figure.—In Chapter III. (Fig. 20) we have had occasion to speak of the Ka figure, the original purpose of which was to preserve the likeness of the dead in a permanent material. Some good examples from these Middle Empire tombs are described in Sec. IV., Figs. 135, 136, as special illustrations of the sculptor's art. In the tomb of SEBEK-HETER, 723, the Ka figure was found inside the inner coffin, before the face of the dead, as seen in the photograph, Fig. 170 on p. 168. The best of these images was found in a tomb (No. 420) so much disturbed that no evidence was to be got as to its original position. In Fig. 93 there is a unique illustration of this class of object. Here in the eastern face of the coffin, near the eyes which it was customary to paint on that side, there had been laid

into the wood a small panel, painted uniformly with the rest of the sarcophagus. On removing this it was found to conceal a tiny recess, inside which a small wooden figure in a seated posture was disclosed. It is of course impossible to give a sure explanation of this unusual discovery, but a simple hypothesis suggests itself at once, when we consider the care with which the Egyptian consistently attempted to preserve the dead body from corruption, and the contents of the tomb from violation. This motive, which was probably paramount in the evolution of the tomb structure, led also to the custom of placing within the

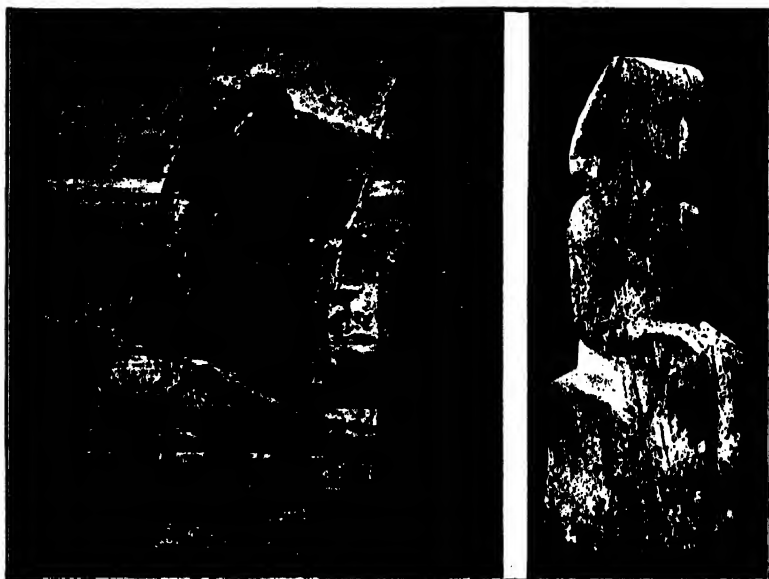


FIG. 93.—KA FIGURE HIDDEN BEHIND A PANEL IN THE COFFIN. TOMB 75.

tombs a figure of the deceased, and of hiding this from observation. This image might preserve the form and features of the dead after the body had decayed, and if hidden securely away might also survive the destruction of the tomb and its contents in later times. So this unique instance may result simply from the effort to preserve the Ka figure from discovery by hiding it away in the thickness of the wooden side of the coffin, where it was discovered as it were only by chance. The same idea is illustrated on a large scale in many ways. The royal funereal chambers in the great tombs of Thebes at a later time were in many instances hidden from view behind a doorway plastered up and painted in keeping with the rest of the wall; while numerous false passages and secondary interments assisted in keeping the secret. In the tombs at Beni Hassan the wooden canopic box in

which the vital organs of the dead were supposed to be interred was found in three out of four cases in a square hole in the rock underneath the sarcophagus itself. Tomb robbers and others might hastily despoil the tomb, might ransack the coffin for its jewels, but might deem it unnecessary to drag out the ponderous wooden box to look below it for the worthless remains, whose preservation was so essential in the ritual associated with the dead. It has been seen that a statue or relief, in which the features of the dead were portrayed, was often found in the mortuary chapels. A reflection of this custom is seen in the case of tomb No. 214, in which at the foot of the shaft two figures were roughly carved in outline, one on either wall. One of these was presenting a vase towards the mouth of the chamber; the other was a crude representation of a man standing without



FIG. 94.—THE SACRIFICE. TOMB 366.

any objects in his hands.

The Sacrifice.—The group illustrated in Fig. 94 represents the sacrifice of a bull, a feature of the funeral that was of first importance. The paintings upon the great tomb-walls illustrate this rite in many stages. The animal first was led to the place where the sacrifice was to be made, as represented in the model found in the tomb of Antef, Fig. 48. His legs were then bound tightly together, and without much difficulty he was brought helplessly to the ground, as shown in this illustration. As in this instance the chief slaughterer cut the jugular vein, "allowing the animal," as they said with some irony, "to yield." A second person carefully collected the blood of the sacrifice, probably in perpetua-

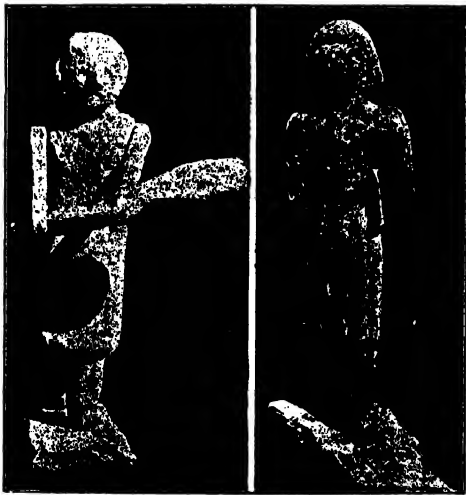


FIG. 95.—i. MAN HOLDING LEG OF SACRIFICE
ii. FIGURE OF AN OVERSEER.
TOMB 275. [SCALE 1 : 2.]

tion of an immemorial custom. Dismemberment of the animal next took place, and the heart was taken out, being estimated as a choice piece for sacrificial purposes.

From the accounts which the Egyptians have left us, the ceremony was not wholly given up to the friends of the deceased; a priest had to be consulted, who by examination of the blood and flesh of the animal, could declare the sacrifice to be pure. Possibly this official might dally, waiting for some special inducement to be offered to him before he appeared, and those taking part in the sacrifice impatient to proceed, would make complaints. In one mural painting the slaughterer is represented holding up a limb of the ox, and asking, in a vexed tone, "Will not the priest come to this leg-bone." The model illustrated in



FIG. 96.—FLINT IMPLEMENTS USED FOR SACRIFICE AND OTHER RITUAL. [SCALE 1:2.]

Fig. 95 (left), seems like a direct illustration of this incident. Naturally in many instances, and with the lapse of time, the custom became shorn rather of its religious significance, especially as the greater part of the animal was handed over to the friends assembled around the graveside to feast upon at the end of their day's work. In modern Egypt commemorative sacrifice at the tomb side is maintained; but, except in cases of superstitious women who secretly perform the act, food is not buried with the dead. The attendant (the *negib*) of the tomb receives a portion of the animal sacrificed, including the head, and the feasters consume the rest. The custom is not confined to special dates or religious festivals of the Mohammedan calendar: even a wedding is often deemed a fitting occasion for a sacrifice, but the tomb of some local *shêkh* is the proper place, that

his good spirit may grant a blessing to those concerned.¹ So far is this an established practice that it is regarded almost as a duty, and any accident befalling those who neglect to pay this tribute, or in any way offend against the local tradition, is regarded as a direct punishment meted out by the revered dead.

The flint knives illustrated in Fig. 96 are direct testimony of the antiquity of funereal sacrifice; for flint knives would not have been thus used, in an age when better ones of metal were available, unless they had been the only instruments procurable for the purpose by the originators of the rite. So remote, indeed, must have been their association with this rite, that they had already become sanctified by custom for the purpose even before the 1st Dynasty; for in the earliest graves of that age metal knives are found in other connections, but are never seen to take the place of flint in relation to sacrifice. It would seem, too, from one or two of those which are represented, that a considerable skill survived in the art of shaping flint knives for this and other religious observances, which implies a continuity of the industry.

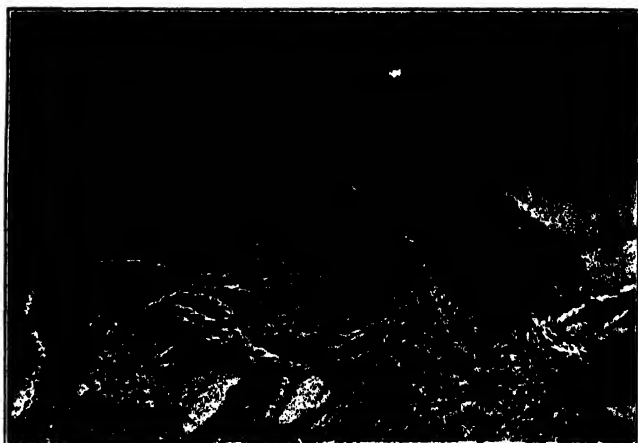


FIG. 97.—CHAMBER CONTAINING POTTERY VESSELS.
NO. 67.

Pottery Vessels.—A curious offering is illustrated in Fig.

97. In the course of the excavations there was disclosed the interior of a small chamber, filled with large vessels of pottery, all of which contained dregs of beer or other drink. Some great dishes of pottery suggested also offerings of foods. The pottery vessels were in each instance sealed by a piece of canvas, tied with string about the neck; the knot of the string was covered with a cap of clay, upon which was the impress of a scarab seal. The device of the impression was in symmetrical curves, in the style which characterises the XIIth Dynasty. The offerings had been covered with mats, and a further large mat had been used in closing the door of the chamber. Each large pot also was still enfolded by a net-work of rope, with a suitable loop, which had been used to carry it when full. This feature is visible in the present illustration, but a later photograph, Fig. 214, illustrates it

¹ The tomb known as SHÉKH TÀBIT at Awidat is one of many instances.

more clearly. This small shrine was not clearly related to any of the tombs in its neighbourhood, and it is possible that it was associated with the great personage interred in the large tomb of the gallery above the spot where this was found.

The offerings of bread and beer, no less than the sacrifice of the bull, were enjoined in the ritual, and regularly observed by the custom of the people. They were described as offerings given by the king; this also is a reflection of old-time, when people of high rank were buried in the vicinity of their monarch or tribal chief, and their graves were furnished from the royal treasuries as a mark of honour. Like all customs, this, too, might become a mere convention with lapse of time; the recitation or inscribing of a formula, the tenour of which was to pray that the kings would make the customary offerings to the gods, might often be considered a satisfactory fulfilment of the obligations due to the dead from those relatives who saw him to the grave. Yet even this commonest of all religious formulæ, however devoid of real meaning, preserves by the very changelessness of its form an expression of supreme interest; for it is obvious from the words that the king was regarded at all times as the natural mediator between the people and the gods of the dead.

Having considered these few objects whose relevance is primarily funereal, we turn to consider other aspects of a selection of the objects which formed the furniture of the tombs.

Section II. (a) Clothing and Adornment of the Person; (b) Furniture and Household Utensils.

The conventional character of the models representing the human person exhibited little variety of detail in regard to their clothing and personal adornment. The main features have already been made apparent by the illustrations reproduced in earlier chapters. The model of the woman with birds and basket, Fig. 98, is a characteristic wooden figure. In addition to the modelled and painted skirt, the body is seen to have been wrapped in a piece of cloth passing over the left shoulder, where it was tied. In fact, the dress commonly in use among the servant classes was very similar to that worn by the peasant women of Nubia to-day. It consisted of a single garment hanging from the shoulders, and reaching to the knee, made of unbleached linen cloth of coarse texture. The pale yellow colour of the unbleached linen was reproduced also in the colour with which the modelled skirt itself was painted. The flesh tint used for the women appeared yellow in contrast with the dull red which generally distinguished the figures of the men. In modern times the peasant women, being more indoors and more completely clothed, are less exposed to the sun's rays and to the tanning

effect of the dry winds, and so retain a much lighter colour than the men. Our excavations do not illustrate the clothing of the official classes or the nobles, but the peasants' garment was of the simplest character, a loin-cloth tied around the waist with a girdle, the tie of which is commonly reproduced, as in the figure of the man leading an ox (Fig. 48). The material seems to be the same unbleached linen. In Nubia to-day the peasantry have commonly adopted for ordinary wear the Arab dress, which reaches almost to the feet; but labourers at their work in the heat of day or at any time while manipulating the *shadoof* upon the river's bank, are commonly seen dressed in the simple primitive fashion. The central model of the three reproduced in Fig. 92, from tomb 36, represents a variation, in which the garment is suspended by means of a brace which passes over the left shoulder. This form of garment is precisely that in which the female spinners of flax are represented in the tomb of the great chieftain KHETV,¹ in which the longer dress also of the dancing girls and girls at play is suspended similarly by a brace.

The foot-gear of the people is better represented. It seems to have been a sandal similar in design to those which have illustrated earlier sections of this volume,² though the models found in the tombs were probably a conventional reproduction only of the sandals actually worn. In these the sole was a flat piece of wood, roughly shaped to the outline of the foot, to this were fixed three short pegs, through the top of which passed a leather strap. Two of these supports were on either side of the heel, and the other must have been clasped between the big toe and the second. The painting upon these models, however, leaves no doubt that the soles were commonly made of, or covered with, leather. In accordance with tradition the representation of the leather used for these funereal purposes was generally the white hide with black spots, which distinguished the sacred animals; but it is not necessary to infer that the articles of



FIG. 98.—MODEL OF FEMALE SERVANT. TOMB 707.
[HEIGHT 18½ INS.]

¹ Newberry, "Beni Hasan," II., Pl. XIII.

² Cf. Figs. 49 and 78.

daily use were made of this special skin. Some of the models indicate clearly a row of studs passing all round the upper rim of the sole, as though to fix a leather covering or to bind several layers of leather together. Another form of sandal shown in Fig. 99 dispenses entirely with the heel-pieces, and recalls the "house slipper" of the modern Turkish people. The photograph shows three pairs of such sandals lying as found upon the coffin of DETET-ANPET, "Royal Ornament," in tomb No. 800. It is seen that the leather strap is fixed to the sole on either side of the heel and rises over the instep, being supported at the

top by the toe-piece as before. The same picture indicates clearly the double row of studs used to bind the sole together. Sandals were found in many tombs, amongst others Nos. 1, 36, 116, 275, 585, 723, and 800; the interesting model of a leather worker from tomb 275 is reproduced later in Fig. 138. Another type of sandal, made of woven papyrus, seems to have been also in use at this age; for though no perfect specimen was obtained, yet soles of sandals made in this way were discovered in several instances [*e.g.*, tomb 592].

Adornments of the Middle Classes.

—Though there was no indication in these tombs that garments of

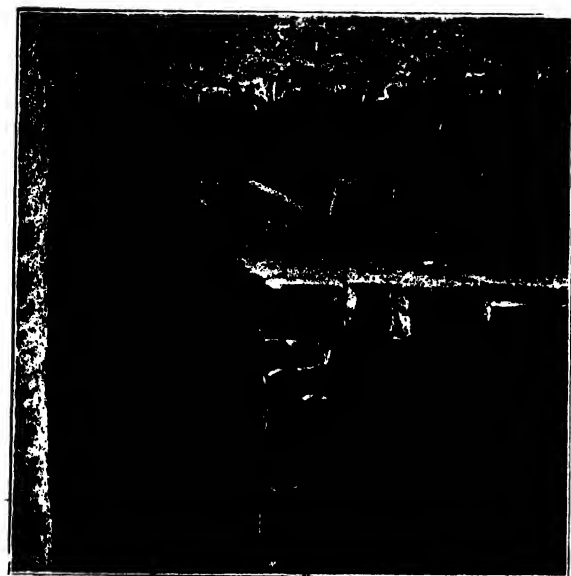


FIG. 99. —SANDALS IN THE TOMB OF A LADY OF
TITLE. NO. 800.

special quality were worn by the officials, they have handed down some of the beads and jewels with which they were adorned. There is no reason to suppose, moreover, that these were not worn in life, at any rate on special occasions. In a few cases, necklaces and collars of beads were found undisturbed upon the person; while the majority of the tombs yielded up to careful sifting, beads of diverse materials, colours, and form. The annexed illustration, Fig. 100, shows some characteristic necklaces. The upper string from tomb 39 is composed for the most part of tiny beads of blue-green glaze, and, in the lower loop of the same, a few beads of red carnelian and two silver pendants representing hawks. The second string illustrates a rarer variety, which proved upon close examination to be made of quartzite which had been glazed with

green. The beads are globular in form and have a beautiful translucent appearance. They were found in the same tomb, No. 39 (iii) and are now in the MacGregor collection. In this illustration they are separated by small beads of glaze, but the arrangement is not original. The next necklace consists of amethyst beads, of the type characteristic of this period, globular in form and of a light purple tone. The fourth string is composed of large globular beads of faïence, glazed green, the surface of which has become partly decomposed by time, and the lowest necklace of all consists of globular glazed beads of a smaller size, interspersed with small narrow beads of an elongated form, thickening towards

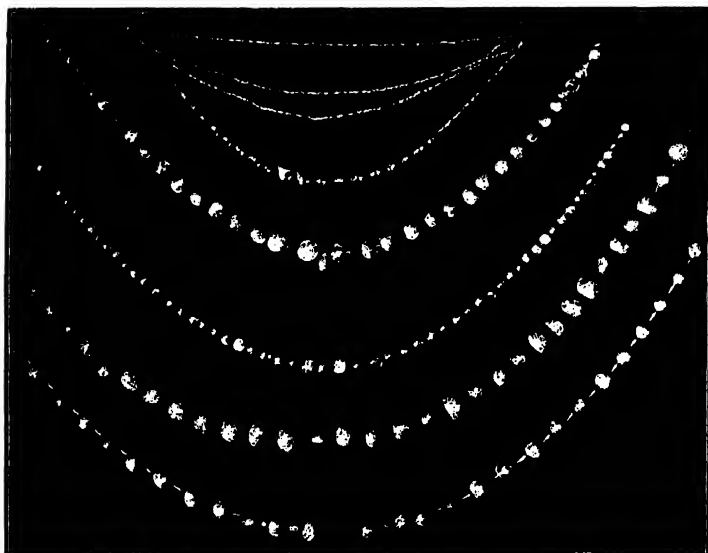


FIG. 100.—BEADS FROM TOMBS 39 (TWO STRINGS) AND 65 (THREE STRINGS).

one end. The beads were all found together, but the arrangement is not necessarily original. This string, like the two former, was found in the tomb numbered 65. Other varieties of materials employed in making beads include garnet, jasper, carnelian, and mother-of-emerald: the last named has a delicately soft green surface.

Such beads as have been mentioned were generally strung in necklaces of like kinds, and it is not often that there is any suggestion of elaborate patterns being devised at this age. A conspicuous exception is seen in the collar of beads, Fig. 101, which reproduces as nearly as possible their original arrangement.¹ In painted representations of the Nomarchs in their shrines this ornament was

¹ Kindly rearranged and threaded by Mrs. Grant and Mr. Thomas Gibson.

reproduced upon them, and from later copies of the Book of the Dead it would appear that the wearing of this collar was a rite categorically enjoined. In several tombs where the burial was found in good preservation, it was seen that this custom was adopted by the middle classes. In some of these instances the position of the beads found lying around the neck, with here and there the threading fibre preserved, enabled the collar to be rearranged, with results similar to that shown in the photograph. Examples of this kind were taken from the coffin of Khety-a, No. 575, in which the cylindrical beads were black, separated by rows of small beads of blue; and that of Nefwa, which was mentioned in Chapter V., Sec. III. Funerary masks, like those illustrated

in Chapter VII., were commonly adorned with the representation of similar collars. From the colours in such paintings it would appear that precious stones replaced the beads in special cases, and several large drop pendants of carnelian, 3.5 cms. in length and nearly 1.5 cms. in thickness, were found in one of the tombs. These are provided with a loop threading-hole at the top; they had probably been members of the lowest row of such a collar, from which they had become detached at the hasty pilfering of the tomb in ancient times. But, as

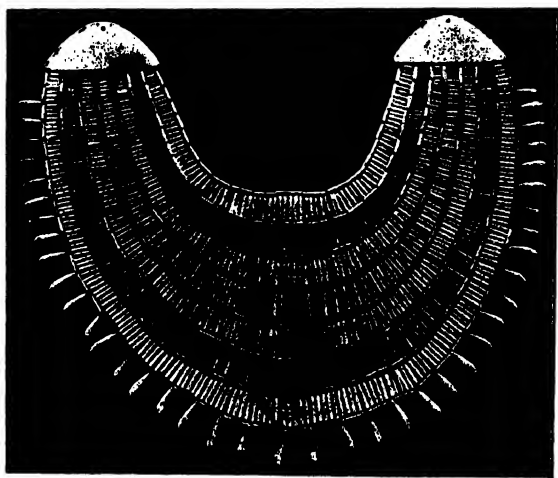


FIG. 101.—COLLAR OF GLAZED BEADS AND PENDANTS. TOMB 761.

seen in this illustration, glazed beads of white and blue or green were the fashion. They are cylindrical in form and of varying length, suitable to the curved shape which it was desired to obtain in their arrangement. The clasps which bound the ends of this collar to the shoulder were also of glaze. These were for the most part plain and semi-circular in form; they were pierced with a series of holes along the edge to which to fix the requisite number of rows of beads when ranged side by side, while other holes around the curved end enabled them to be affixed to the garment on the shoulders. Sometimes these clasps assumed a more elaborate device, reproducing the head of a hawk, modelled occasionally with much skill and beauty, with the eyes and feathers indicated in black glaze. Their use was precisely similar, and the birds' heads were arranged on the shoulders looking towards one another. The custom of employing such designs seems

to have gone down late into the dynasties, and it must also have had an early origin. At any rate it became absorbed into the ritual prescribed in the Book of the Dead.

Jewels in the tomb of Senb.—Jewels of precious metal, with the exception of small pendants representing birds and fish, were found but rarely. This was probably due, not so much to economy on the part of those interred, as to the depredations of those concerned with the interment, or of the organised bands of robbers who in later times despoiled the Egyptian graveyards. A notable exception is found in the case of the tomb of SENB, lady of the household, the daughter of ATY (No. 487). Robbers may have neglected this coffin owing to its small size, which made it appear like that of a child; for the body of the lady SENB measured only 145 cms. (4 ft. 9 in.) in height. The interior of the tomb, as it was found when the door was opened, is shown in Fig. 102, Plate V. The interment lay to the left of the entrance, amid the decayed remains of the coffin, which may be seen in the photograph. This will be referred to again in Chapter VII. Lying in the sand where they had fallen from the breast there were found some pendants of gold, silver, and precious stones, and a scarab seal mounted as a ring; these are illustrated in Fig. 104, and the next photograph of this series shows them lying in the sand as they were discovered. The fish pendants, which are the largest jewels of the set, have bodies of silver and tails of electrum: the two portions are bound together by a thin thread. The scarab seal which forms the central object in the upper row is decorated with a device which is merely a symmetrical pattern of hieroglyphic signs. A gold band encircles the stone, which was attached to the finger by a thread. The charm-case seen below it is a beautiful specimen of filigree work on which the pattern in zigzag lines is composed of numerous small points of gold, minutely soldered on to the surface. Two caps of gold cover the ends and help to preserve a tiny roll of papyrus which lies within. The broken bracelets and lion-shaped pendants are silver. The beads in the lowest row are mostly carnelian and jasper, with some of gold. There are three specimens of the characteristic pendants formed by a number of varicoloured beads threaded on wire, with caps of gold to complete each: the beads are of carnelian, green and black glaze, and gold.

Toilet Requisites.—In addition to the pottery vases conspicuous in the photograph (Fig. 102) there were also found in this tomb the fragments of a wooden toilet box which had become much decayed. This may be seen in the right hand of the entrance. A number of small toilet objects had been deposited within the box; some which were made of wood had fallen apart, but their pieces were readily put together, while others made of less perishable materials were

found in good condition. Figs. 103, 106, 107, illustrate the variety and interest of these small objects. In the first of these there are reproduced three small boxes made of wood, inlaid with ebony and ivory. They were neatly made, and their lids were fitted and fastened with an ingenious contrivance which is worthy of mention though not uncommon. In one end of the lid is a notched cross-piece, which fits into a groove in the end of the box corresponding to it. When those are in place the other end of the lid is fixed down by a thread wrapped around the knob affixed to it, and tied to the knob which is seen projecting from the corresponding end of the box. The string that tied down the lids of two of these small boxes was found still adhering to the knobs. The larger box in the upper row is made of wood, and the edges are inlaid with ebony; the central inlay of the lid, which runs down its length, is ivory; two cross-pieces pass under the bottom of the box and form its legs. In the smaller box the design is similar; the material, however, is ivory, with the edges inlaid with ebony, and a central inlay down the length of the lid of the same material. The box below is much the same; its corners and its ends, however, are not inlaid. These three objects are specimens of delicate and pleasing workmanship. They must have been used to contain small articles of the toilet, some number of which were discovered, and are illustrated in the next picture, Fig. 107.

In the lower row of this photograph are a number of hairpins made of ivory, and to the left hand there may be seen a small flat grinding palette with a pestle which was used for pounding the antimony and other materials employed for darkening the eye-brows and eye-lashes in the manner still affected by Egyptian women. The shell, which is also seen in this picture, was probably used for mixing these compounds after they had been ground. Some fragments of the antimony in ore were found in the same deposit. The powder itself was contained in small alabaster vases, of which Fig. 106 gives the best examples. The upper portion of Fig. 107 shows two of the most elegant of the smaller articles. The one is a small vase, cylindrical in shape, with a projecting rim and lid. It is glazed and decorated in black, with a pattern derived from the lotus flower. The other object is made of ivory, and it is carved and decorated with great skill. It seems to represent a wooden bucket bound together at the ends, and strengthened by a net-work which is reproduced by incised lines. It stands upon four short legs, and the handle—a thin piece of metal—is fixed by pins at opposite sides near the top. This more friable material has partly perished.

Some interesting objects used for similar purposes were discovered in tomb No. 287. Unfortunately the date of these is uncertain, for the tomb contained, in addition to its original deposits, which lay in confusion, obvious traces of



FIG. 102.—THE TOMB CHAMBER FROM THE DOOR.

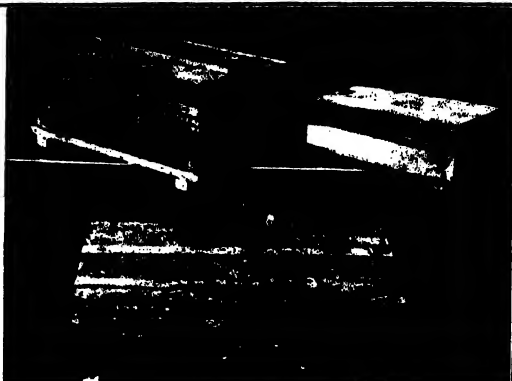


FIG. 103.—THREE SMALL BOXES INLAID WITH EBONY AND IVORY.

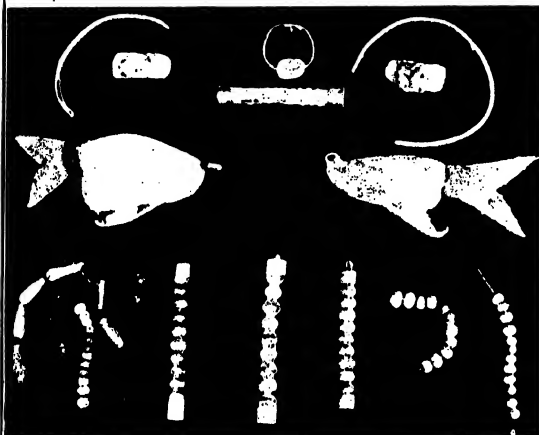


FIG. 104.—PENDANTS, CHARM CASE, SCARAB RING, ETC.



FIG. 105.—THE JEWELS AS FOUND IN THE SAND.

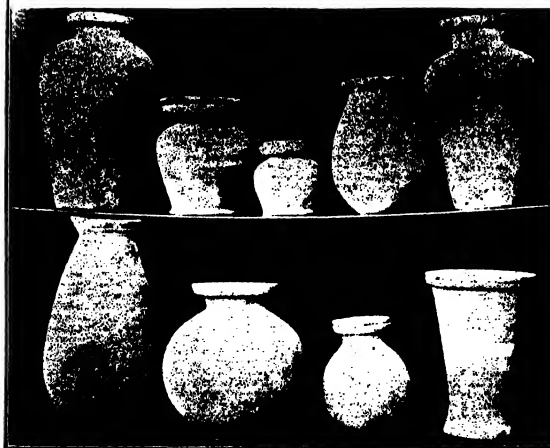


FIG. 106.—TOILET VASES OF ALABASTER.



FIG. 107.—IVORY BOX AND HAIRPINS, GLAZED VASE, ETC.

re-use in the early New Empire, to which date most of these toilet articles may belong. They are, however, of interest in this connection. From among them Fig. 108 shows two kohl vessels of wood. These are small boxes, with several compartments used to contain the antimony and other cosmetics. The one is composed of four cylinders covered by a single lid, which moves upon a swivel. The groove, which may be seen running down the front of this object, corresponds to the notch in the edge of the lid, and was used to close and fix the lid by passing the thin end of the kohl stick through both. The stick, unfortunately, was not to be found in this case. Such sticks, however, are very common; they are usually made of wood, sometimes of hæmatite or obsidian, ending like an elongated pear; their length is generally 5 cms. to 7.5 cms., and greatest thickness not more than 1 cm. This box is seen to be inlaid with oblong pieces of ivory and ebony. The other box was obviously used for similar purposes; it is square in shape, and is drilled internally into four cylindrical compartments. It is also inlaid down the middle of the faces and around its upper edge. It retains two metal toilet implements, the one a tiny spoon with a long handle, the other more of the nature of a pointed needle.

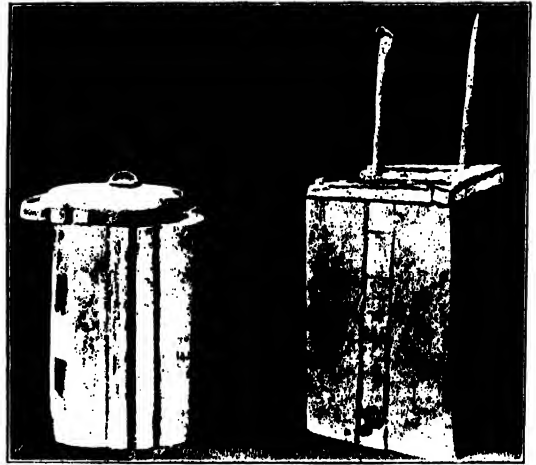


FIG. 108.—TOILET VESSELS OF WOOD, INLAID.
TOMB 287.

In Fig. 109 there are shown a further series of small toilet objects found in the same tomb. In this case also it is not possible to assign definite dates to these objects from the evidences which the tomb itself afforded; but those figured in the photograph cannot well belong to a date later than the beginning of the New Empire, and they may be earlier.¹ They are seen to include a small toilet box, somewhat similar to those which have been described. In this case the box stands upon short legs which are continuations of the square corner pieces. The lid slides in a groove in a projecting top piece, and is thus securely held down. It was fixed by tying a thread round two studs, arranged as in the previous instances as the photograph shows. The central object of Fig. 109 is a wooden dish which was once covered by a swivel lid. It is decorated on the inside with a rosette pattern incised in the wood. In this design there are six petals enclosed by two

¹ Cf. the nature of the tomb deposits, Appendix, No. 287.

concentric rings, and the spaces between the petals and between the rings are filled with punctuated dots. A small vase of alabaster for holding kohl completes the lower row of this photograph. This object had been wrapped in cloth and the lid had been tied down by a string around the neck. The much smaller wooden vessel in the upper left hand of the photograph is similarly wrapped and tied; on removing the cloth it was found to be inlaid around the top. The small bi-cylindrical kohl vessel of wood which stands next to it is similar on a smaller scale to that previously described. The three implements to the right hand are apparently made of bronze. The cutting edge on the upper one, which is a well-known form, is the curved portion at the end which is stopped by a notch. The

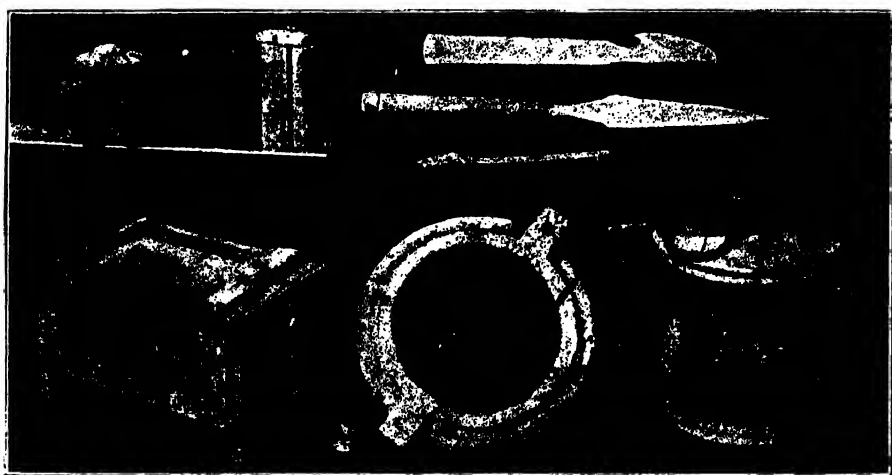


FIG. 109.—GROUP OF TOILET UTENSILS, POSSIBLY OF THE XVIIIth DYNASTY.
TOMB 287.

second one, upon which the wood handle remains perfect, is a pointed knife with double edge. The smaller implement below may have been an article of the toilet; its sharper edge is turned upwards to the left.

Examples of Alabaster Vessels.—It was seen in the case of tomb 487 that small alabaster vases were commonly used for toilet purposes. We do not meet in the Middle Empire with the large bowls of this material, which in the earliest dynasties were freely placed in the tombs of the kings and others to contain offerings. The very forms in use in this early age had disappeared from fashion and on the whole less use seems to have been made of the material. Some fragments found in the débris around the mouth of one of the Nomarchs' tombs showed that if called upon the Egyptians were still well able to work this material into delicate form and finish. In this case the object was a dish of

alabaster, the rim of which was indented symmetrically in the manner which in pottery is typical of the XIIth Dynasty. The pattern is seen in the rim of type 54, and more particularly in the dish which follows it on Plate XV. But for the most part the vases found within the tombs of the officials were of less elegant design, and their forms follow a series of standard patterns from which custom apparently warranted little deviation.

Those which were found in the tomb of Senb have already been seen in Fig. 106. These were for the most part nicely shaped and polished. They may be divided into five distinct types of form, all characteristic of the XIIth Dynasty. Group *a* comprises the end vases of the upper row, *b*, the second and third of the upper row, *c*, the fourth of the upper row and the first of the lower row, *d*, the two central globular vases of the lower row, while *e*, the standing cylindrical vase, narrowing towards the base, at the right hand of the lower row, represents a well-known class by itself. The first variety is clearly related in form to vases as old as the IIIrd Dynasty,¹ though the size is smaller than was

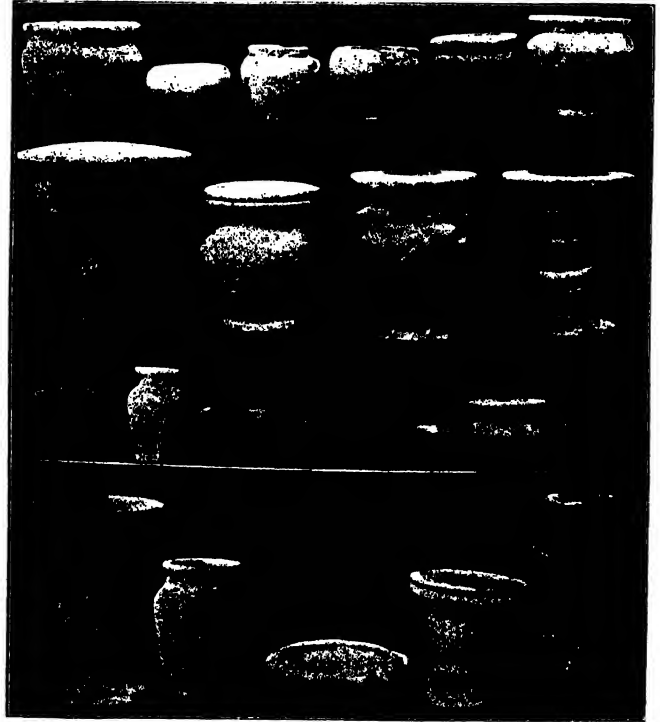


FIG. 110.—VASES OF ALABASTER AND DARK STONE.

common in the earlier times. The globular vases and the cylindrical vase are typical of and almost peculiar to the XIIth Dynasty. The kohl vessels are less distinctive, but it is nearly always possible to separate those of the Middle Empire from those of the New Empire. They are in nearly all cases made of alabaster. In Fig. 110 there are reproduced a series of the common forms of household and funerary vases made of this material, with a few of dark stone (chiefly serpentine and steatite). They call for only a few comments. The plinth on the last vase in the second row is not common. [The scale of this portion of the

¹ Cf. the forms of stone vessels in "The Third Egyptian Dynasty."

illustration is 1 to 2; that of the lower half 1 to 3.] There is also in the third row a small vase standing upon a pedestal of four small legs—the third from the end of the row. This type is not infrequently found in sites of the Middle Empire, and was worked in basalt, serpentine, blue marble, or, as in this instance, in alabaster. The pedestal and the rim of the object were carved separately, and had been attached to the body of the vase by cement. The lower row introduces a new form of vase, found in tomb 275. This figure at the right hand is seen to have been made in two portions, which join at the greatest width of the vessel. The base is rounded. This form of vessel was coming into use as early as the Old Empire, and, like many others, is traceable from much earlier origins. The dish which is reproduced in the centre of this row had also had an unusual

feature in the handle, which was broken away. It seems to have been a single handle, reproducing, in the same way as the metal dishes illustrated in Fig. 142, the form of the Egyptian hieroglyph for K. Handles are not commonly found upon vessels of the XIIth Dynasty; in fact the presence of handles may in general be taken to indicate a date for pottery or stone vases in the XVIIIth Dynasty or later. This is, however, rather a perplexing fact, for the pictures which the Egyptians themselves have handed down to us of the vases used in the Middle Empire¹ show that handles were quite well understood and freely used.

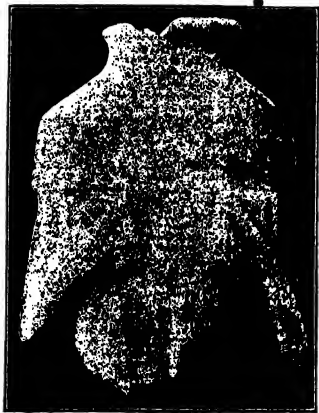


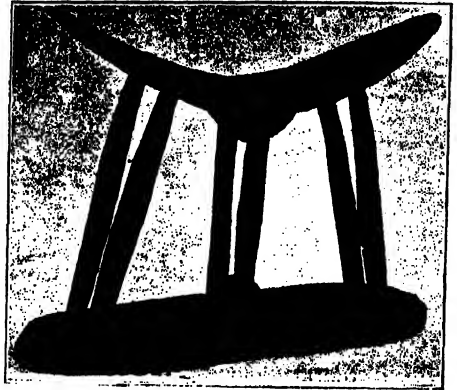
FIG. 111.—ALABASTER VASE.
TOMB 684.

It is a matter of surprise, therefore, that amongst the thousands of pottery vases found in the tombs of this age at Beni Hassan not a single case of a handle of the XIIth Dynasty can be adduced. Handles of an elementary character were freely used on stone vases in primitive times, and developed during the earliest dynasties to a more definite form. But in pottery vases they occurred in those days with greater rarity, and from both sorts seem to disappear in the Old Empire from common use.

The object in alabaster which is illustrated in Fig. 111 shows a marked variation from the conventional funereal vases of the Middle Empire; indeed, its own date probably lies nearer the XVIIIth Dynasty, for it was found in association with a group of 82 pottery vessels, which are characteristic in themselves of the earlier stages of that epoch. The vase is decorated with a device which seems to represent the webbed feet of a duck. It is in general of stouter material and of somewhat less delicate workmanship than the best examples of the XIIth Dynasty.

¹ See Newberry, "Beni Hasan," I., Pl. XI.

Objects of Wood, Basket-work, etc.—One striking feature of the antiquities discovered in this site is the frequency of wooden objects, which are rarely found in places where the tombs are in sand. Here the limestone-dust had happily preserved them. In Fig. 112 there is seen a head-rest of wood of unusual character. It was found in tomb 202, in which the beads and small antiquities were characteristic of the XIIth Dynasty, which is presumably the date of this object. The base is simply a flat piece of wood, and the head-piece is curved in the usual fashion. These two portions are connected by six wooden supports which are fixed into each. The whole is kept from coming apart by a simple device of tying the two portions together with string, which passes through loops grooved in the wood. These features are illustrated in the photograph. The next picture, Fig. 113, reproduces some further objects from tomb 287. In the upper row are two wooden head-rests;



—HEAD-REST OF WOOD,
TOMB 202.

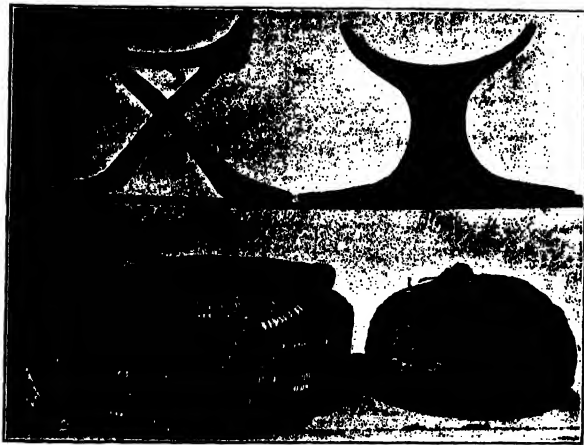


FIG. 113.—HEAD-RESTS AND BASKETS. TOMB 287.

that to the right is the usual type of such objects, being carved in two pieces of wood and fixed together by wooden tongues. Sometimes the pillar of the head-rest is carved separately and fitted to the base and to the pillow, but the form is characteristic and stereotyped. That to the left hand, however, is of unique character. It is collapsible: the two cross-pieces of wood which support the head-piece are connected by a rivet, and one of these is further joined to a curved portion of the pillow by a pin which enables it to move. The other leg, being pointed at its top end, fits into a hole prepared to receive it in the head-piece, so that the moment pressure is applied to the pillow the whole tightens up and becomes rigid. By withdrawing the point of wood from its socket, however, the system is released, and the whole head-rest may be

folded up so that the pillow comes into contact with the foot, while the legs spread themselves and overlap each other.

In the lower portion of the same photograph there are seen two baskets of simple form, with their lids. These are entirely similar to those which are still made in parts of Egypt, and particularly at the oasis of El Kharga. In modern practice the natural yellow surface of these baskets is decorated with designs of purple and green. The staining is done, it would appear, before the basket is made, and the grass or fibre of requisite colour is chosen as the process continues. There seems little reason to doubt, from the general similarity of the nature of these ancient baskets, that they were coloured in the same way,

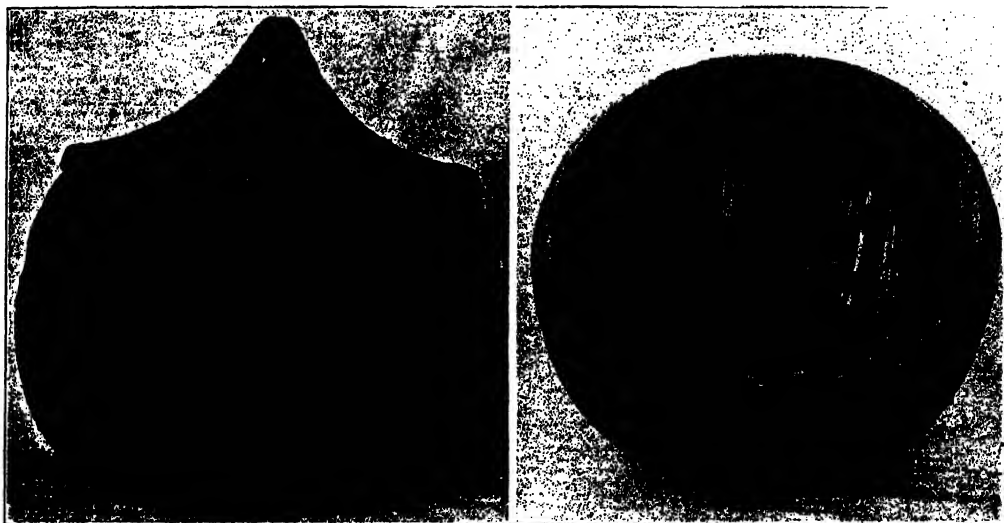


FIG. 114.—WICKER BASKET, CONTAINING LEGS AND SEAT OF CHAIR. TOMB 183.
[HEIGHT 19 INS.]

although they have become darkened with the lapse of time and the bright colours are no longer apparent. In one of these baskets there were found two inlaid wooden kohl vessels, illustrated in Fig. 108, while the other contained dôrn nuts.

The most remarkable example of this class of work is found with other objects in tomb 183. It is a large basket of the shape exactly like many which are sold on the river bank at Esna and elsewhere, with a high peak to the lid, seen in Fig. 114. The basket is unusually large, being about 48 cms. in greatest width, and 43 cms. high at the extreme top of the lid. The lid itself is 38 cms. across, and the height of the basket alone 28 cms. Inside it, as seen in the right-hand view, there were found the four legs of a chair and

the cane seat of same; these are shown more clearly in Fig. 115. The legs had obviously been united by cross-pieces of wood, which, however, had not been placed in the basket. As the photographs show, the cane seat was in fairly good preservation. It was made of split reeds, held together by five strands of fibrous string. The same tomb contained a large earthenware pot, still bound in the rope and sling by which it had been carried; and also a large mat of reeds. Other objects found were an arrow-case and broken bow, described in Sect. VI., Fig. 160; a wooden head-rest; a large drum, illustrated in Fig. 155; and a four-legged table, which is seen below in Fig. 117. There were also some fragments of models, a granary, and

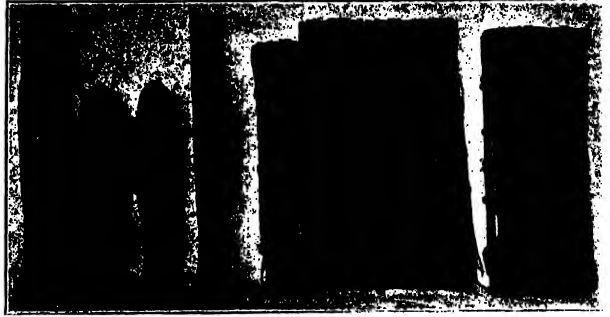


FIG. 115.—LEGS AND SEAT OF A CHAIR.

so-forth, which possibly indicate a date in the Middle Empire for the whole deposit.

Amongst this class of object there may be included the string basket shown in Fig. 116. This was found in tomb 87, together with some beads and small objects indicating the XIIth Dynasty as its date. It is made of fibrous string twisted and woven together with cross-threads; its height is 18 cms. Two loops of twisted thread form the handles at either side.

Furniture, etc.—The most conspicuous object in tomb No. 183, in which was found the basket just described, was a small table placed near the entrance. This wonder-

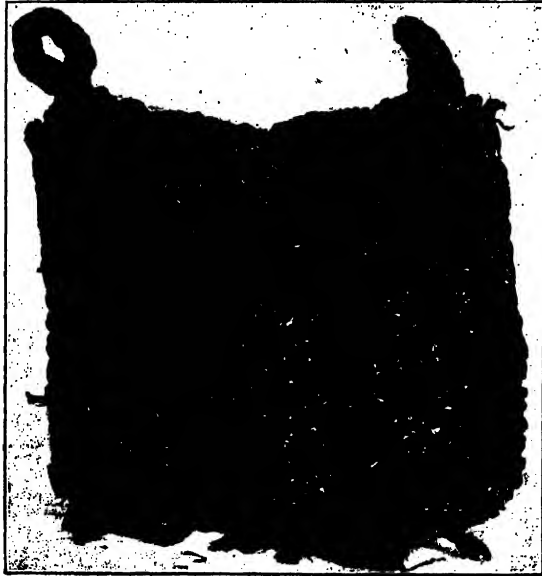


FIG. 116.—STRING BASKET. TOMB 87.
[HEIGHT 7 INS.]

fully preserved object is reproduced in the upper portion of Fig. 117. It is stoutly made of acacia wood; the frame is pinned together with wooden pegs and strengthened by cross-bars of the same material, which are fixed to the

legs by tenons. It is 59 cms. in length by 35 in height by 27·5 in width. It is thus a small and low table, suitable for dining in the oriental fashion. The chair found in the same tomb has already been described; it must have been quite similar to that found in tomb 569, which is also shown in Fig. 117. It is seen to be a precisely similar model, with four vertical legs, bound together with wooden cross-pieces. The seat must

have been similarly made of wicker-work, but that was not preserved in this instance, though traces of it remained. Its size is also much the same, being 1 ft. 6 in. square and 1 ft. 5 in. in height. It was found with other objects of the Middle Empire. A chair of different form is seen in the next figure, No. 118. This was found in tomb 287, and is of the nature of a camp-stool of modern times. The cross-legs are riveted together, and the chair is thus portable and collapsible. Unfortunately again, the seat is not preserved in this instance. The frame of the low bed discovered in the same tomb is also shown in the same photograph. In this case some trace remained of the thongs of leather which crossed from side to side and formed obviously the two supports of the mattress. Its length is about 1·75 cms. A bed of different construction is illustrated in the next instance, Fig. 119, tomb No. 541.

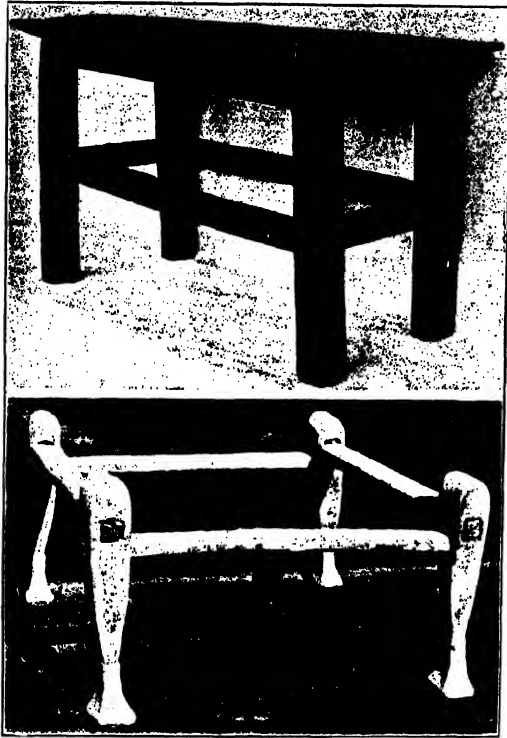


FIG. 117.—a. WOODEN TABLE. TOMB 183.
[LENGTH 23 INS.]
CHAIR FRAME. TOMB 569.
[WIDTH 18 INS.]

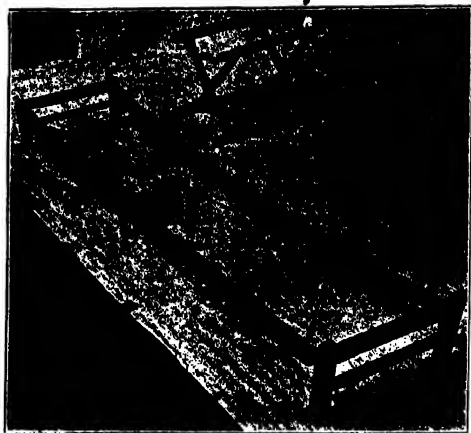
The bed, as may be seen in the photograph of the interior of this tomb, Fig. 190, was used in this case in the place of a coffin, and the deceased child, wrapped in a mat of fine cane, lay upon the bed within the tomb. The construction and character of this bed is clearly indicated by the photograph. It is strengthened by cross-pieces, which join the legs at the head and foot and also by two cross-pieces connecting the side-rails. The traces of the leather cross-thongs which formed the mattress are to be seen in the photograph.

The objects of domestic character or use described in the foregoing

paragraphs are a selection only from a great number which these 900 tombs contained. We have been guided in our choice of illustrations by the general interest of the objects rather than their technical features. The latter aspect is treated in various other sections of this chapter, and a full list of the objects is given in the catalogue which forms the appendix to this volume.

*Section III. Industries — Agriculture —
Brewing and Baking — Building —
Weaving.*

Agriculture.—Many of the models introduced into the tombs, though of a primarily religious significance, nevertheless give a lively idea of the industrial processes and the occupations of daily life. Some of these have already been described in the earlier chapters. They do not give as complete a picture of country life in the Middle Empire as do the paintings in the tombs of the Nomarchs, but being reproduced in the round, they give a keener



118. —WOODEN STOOL AND BED.
TOMB 287.

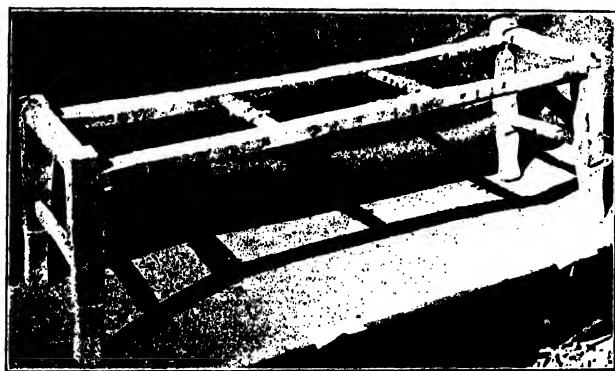


FIG. 119.—FRAME OF A BED. TOMB 541.
[LENGTH 4 FT. 5 INS.]

sense of realism than do Egyptian drawings in the flat, which are devoid of all technical perspective. The man leading an ox in Fig. 48, the sacrifice of an ox, Fig. 94, are also glimpses of real life. The numerous granaries which have been found in the different tombs, Figs. 44, 60, 90, for example, which embodied the idea of providing a well filled store-house for the deceased in the future world, also tell us how

the wealthy landowner stored his grain. Fig. 120 of this section is a further illustration; it was found in the tomb of APA, 707, together with an interesting group of models similar to those described in Chapter V. It consists of a courtyard and three grain-bins, the whole surrounded by a wall. The bins are

covered by a flat roof, and they are provided with doors which open upwards in grooves at the side. A hole in the roof, as in previous instances, enables the grain to be poured down from the top, and so to fill completely the chamber below. The labourers gather the grain in baskets from the floor of the courtyard, and carry it up by means of a ladder to the roof. Here sits the scribe of accounts, accompanied in this instance by an overseer, or possibly the owner,

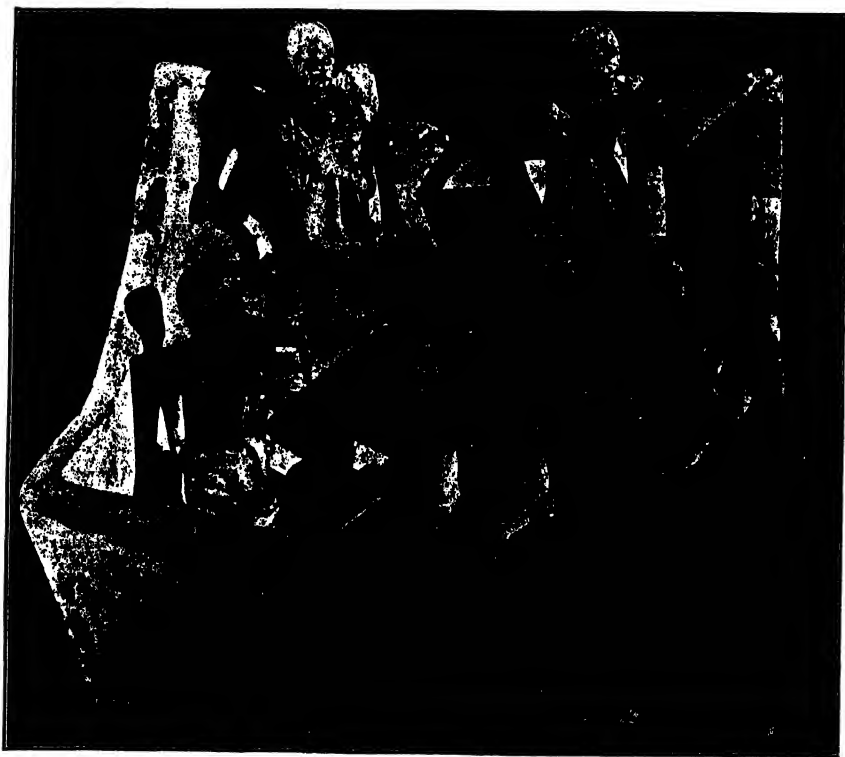


FIG. 120. —MODEL OF GRANARY WITH LABOURERS AT WORK. TOMB 707.
[LENGTH 14 INS., BREADTH 12 INS., HEIGHT $8\frac{1}{2}$ INS.]

who directs the work with an admonishing finger outstretched. There are six figures included in this model, and its size is 34.5 cms. by 30.5 cms., with a height of 21.5 cms. It is interesting to compare this with the painting in the tomb of the Nomarch KHNEH-HETEP.¹

The next photograph, Fig. 121, illustrates a different funereal type. In this example, which is from tomb 575, as in others which have been described, the tops of the chambers are not roofed; but this is probably only to show

¹ Newberry, "Beni Hasan," I., Pl. XXIX.

the contents of the chambers, which may be seen to be well stocked with grain. In the bins of this model there were stored several distinct varieties of

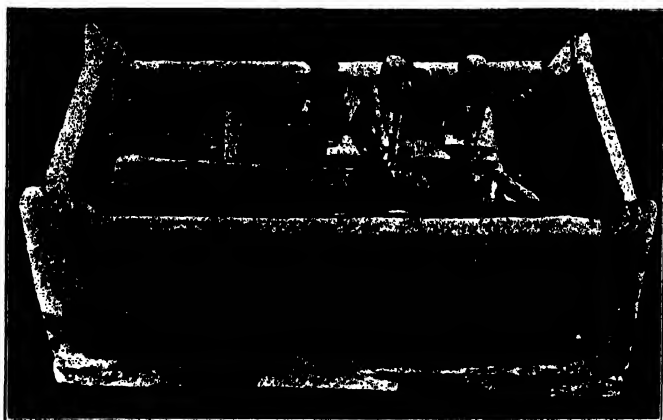


FIG. 121.-- MODEL OF GRANARY WITH OPEN BINS. TOMB 575.
[SIZE 20 INS. BY 12 INS. BY 8 INS.]

grain, two of which may be recognised as barley and wheat. Most of the granaries contain some quantity of grain, and barley was most generally employed for this purpose.

Agricultural implements are represented by real specimens in only a few examples. Two winnowing fans may be seen on the right hand side in Fig. 122. These are similar to those which are used by the modern peasantry of Egypt, who grasp the rounded portion below the projection, and taking one in each hand, scatter the threshed grain and so separate the chaff. In the same picture there may be seen portions of two hoes of wood which are similar in

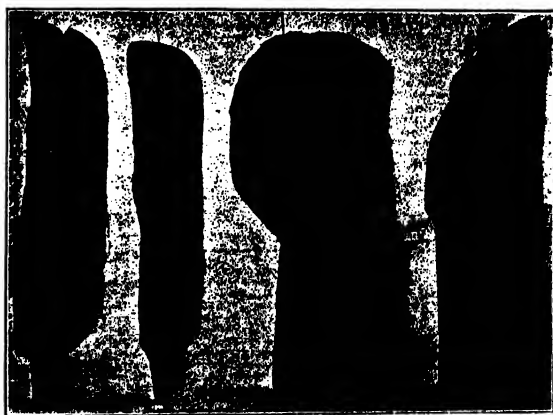


FIG. 122.—BLADES OF WOODEN HOES. TOMB 121.
WINNOWING FANS. TOMB 30.
[SCALE 1:6.]

design to that shown in the hand of the labourer in Fig. 128, and in the group of models from the tomb of NEFERY, Fig. 66. The thin projection of the blades was fitted into a hole at the end of the handle, the two portions were then attached by a rope. The type is well-known, and

is illustrated by perfect examples in the museums at Cairo, Florence, and elsewhere.

A somewhat decayed model, Fig. 123, represents a man in the act of feeding an ox, which is lying down to enjoy its meal. This quaint group has its counterpart in the paintings of the Nomarchs' tombs.¹ It forms the first scene of the story completed by Figs. 48 and 96.

The figure of the marketing woman from tomb 707, Fig. 98, is an interesting example of a conventional subject. In the Nomarchs' tombs, for instance that of Amenemhat, and even as early as the small tomb of Apa, No. 681, described in Chapter III., the *khetet-per*, or household messenger-girl, is a familiar representation. In her right hand she carries a bird, which she has grasped by its wings. On her

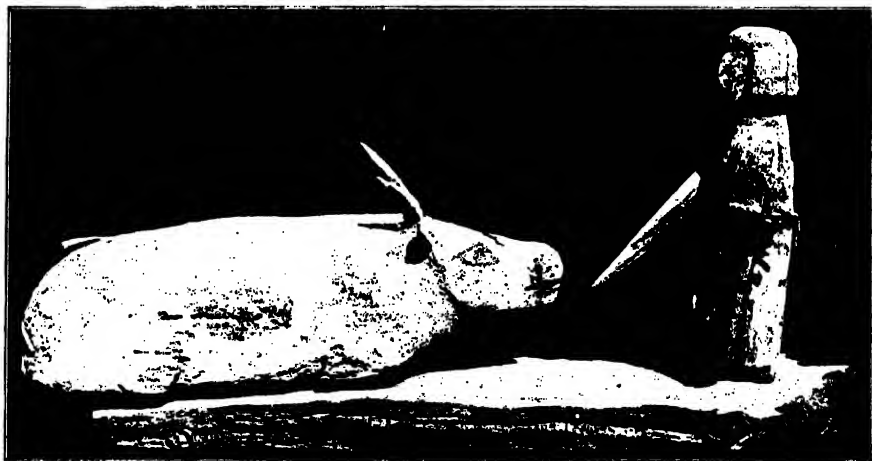


FIG. 123.—MODEL OF A MAN FEEDING AN OX. TOMB 275. [LENGTH 11 INS.]

head, steadied by her left hand, there is poised a large basket, the pressure of which is softened by a coil of rope or cloth, in the same way as the modern peasant women carry their water pitchers. The suggestion of weight in the basket, which is communicated to the neck, shoulders, and general attitude of the figure, is particularly striking; the artistic sense in the modelling of the whole figure is much above the average standard of these conventional representations.

Baking and Brewing.—The processes of beer-making and bread-making have been already illustrated by several examples, noticeably Figs. 51, 62, 75, 84.

The tomb of Kheta, No. 366, provided a splendid model illustrating both these processes; this is reproduced in Fig. 124. A man on the left is seen to be grinding the corn in a mortar by means of a very large pestle. Two women behind,

¹ Cf. the north wall of Khnem-hetep's tomb.



FIG. 124.—WOODEN MODEL: EIGHT FIGURES BAKING AND BREWING. TOMB 366.
[LENGTH OF BOARD 19 INS.]



FIG. 125.—WOODEN MODEL, THE MAKING OF BEER. TOMB 707. [LENGTH OF BOARD 20½ INS.]

bending over the kneading trough, are preparing the dough, which is apparently in this instance shaped by a man on the right, whose back is towards the group; the tray on which he is at work is covered with tiny loaves of bread. The woman who rakes the fire holds her left hand up, as if to protect her face from the glare and heat of the flames, which are represented by red streaks of paint upon the outside of the furnace.

The two men with yokes upon their shoulders are the water bearers. There is some suggestion in this group, particularly towards the right, of the representa-

tions of beer-making, which is possibly confused in this model. This process, however, is seen clearly in the next illustration, Fig. 125, in which a group of six figures is shown at work, the bread-making to the right, and beer-making to the left. The bread-makers are, as usual, the women, two of whom prepare the dough while the other attends to the fire. We have previously spoken of the way in which the Nubian women of the present day pound up their corn mixed with water in such a manner that when ground it is already in the form of dough. The accompanying photograph, taken at Dakke in Nubia, shows a girl at work in this manner. The present model is a further illustration of such a process. The accumulated heaps of dough may be seen at the foot of the tray in front of the women. This explanation is not that which is usually offered as the function of these figures, for the two piles at the foot of the slab are commonly regarded



FIG. 126.—NUBIAN GIRL PREPARING BREAD.

as the pounded grain now become flour; but the fact that with the single exception of the model last described, in which there appears to be some confusion of ideas, no figure represents the separate preparation of the dough for baking, points to the conclusion that the processes of grinding and kneading were combined. Brewing is performed by the men, one of whom is mixing the beverage, while another is bringing up supplies of water in vessels which are suspended from the yoke passing over his left shoulder. The other male figure, wielding a long pole between his hands, is placed in the group as though assisting in the beer-making. By reference to the last figure and to others, as for instance Fig. 63, it may be surmised that he was concerned chiefly with giving a preliminary pounding to the grain

before it was passed on to the two women who made it into dough. This model also, with the granary mentioned above, Fig. 120, was found in the tomb of Apa, No. 707.

The next illustration, Fig. 127, represents a group occupied within a courtyard wall upon similar duties. A man is pounding, two women are grinding and kneading, while a third woman tends the fire; a man who stands before a cask, upon which is depicted a perforated tray or strainer, does the actual brewing; while two other men approach, as though from the doorway, with the water pots



FIG. 127.—WOODEN MODEL: BAKING, BREWING, AND SACRIFICE. TOMB 575.
[14½ INS. BY 13½ INS.]

suspended as previously from the yokes which pass over their shoulders. There is, in this instance, the addition of a further group, which represents the slaughtering of an ox in the manner previously described. The legs of the ox are bound together, and the butcher stands by the throat of the animal with the broad bladed knife ready for work. This model comprises in an economical form the three groups of workers which custom prescribed for the funereal furniture. Its length is 37 cms., its width 34 cms., and the walls are 9 cms. in height. In all these instances of wooden models the female figures are painted yellow and males dark red. The beer vats are dark red; and the ox has a white skin with black spots.

Even the tombs which were not found intact generally contained the remains of similar groups; some of the isolated models from these have special features of interest. Among them are those shown in Figs. 92 and 95. In the former are seen the mummy figure and the spinner described in the first section of this chapter, and a third representing a scribe from a model granary. He is seated, as usual, with his writing tablet upon his knee. Other

figures, such as the water carrier, the brewer, the butcher, were commonly found. In Fig. 95 there are two further examples. On the left is the man who holds up the leg of the ox at the sacrifice; while of equal interest is the figure, to the right hand, of a man in the act of walking, clasping under his arm an object which probably represents a book or writing tablet.

Artizans and their Implements.

—In the lower part of Fig. 128 there is photographed a pen-box similar to those represented in paint or model amongst the apparatus of the scribe. At the end are two ink-wells, in which were the dregs of red and black ink. These were found upon analysis to have been simply red oxide of iron and carbon respectively. The pens themselves are seen projecting from the opening of the com-

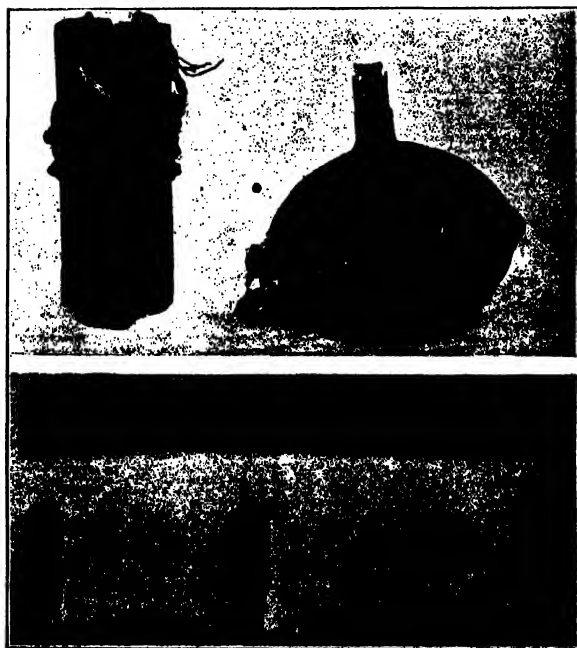


FIG. 128.—*a.* SCRIBE'S PEN BOX. TOMB 08.
[LENGTH $12\frac{1}{2}$ INS.]
b. MASON'S LEVEL. TOMB 166.
[LENGTH $3\frac{1}{2}$ INS.]
c. LEATHER GOURD. TOMB 183.
[HEIGHT 3 INS.]

partment provided for them, from which one could be taken out at will. In the same picture is illustrated a leather gourd, which is of uncertain date, like the rest of the objects from tomb 183. By the side of this gourd is an object from tomb 166, which may be recognised as a mason's level. It is a simple and ingenious contrivance of three equal pieces of wood, about 8·7 cms. in length, square in section, of which two are joined by a string, as represented in the illustration. The string is made to pass over the outer edges of two of the blocks, and the third loose piece is used for testing the trueness of the surface

between them by moving it along and noting its relation to the string, with which it should just remain in contact.

The group shown in Fig. 129 continues the series of models illustrating the various aspects of building and its related industries. These three figures seem to be engaged in making bricks. The man who stands to his work is preparing the clay, while the figure to the left is clearly shaping bricks in the wet earth by means of the oblong frame which he holds in his hand. The outlines of the bricks may be seen in the ground in front of him, arranged in rows. The other figure may be supposed to be in the act of preparing the ground with water, or pouring water over the ground which the labourer is turning up, though from his idle attitude he conveys the impression that he constitutes that



FIG. 129.—BRICK-MAKERS AND LEATHER-WORKER. TOMB 275.

essential feature of oriental labour, the friend sitting down to gossip. This process of brick-making is just the same as that employed by the modern Egyptians, who afterwards dry and harden their bricks by the sun. The figure placed on a pedestal apart introduces a different industry; in this a leather worker is represented in the act of cutting the soles of sandals from a piece of leather with his sharp curved knife. These instructive figures were found in tomb 275, in which, as the inventory will show in the appendix, were found undisturbed a complete group of the usual offering of pots, boats, granary and other models.

Two wooden vessels are depicted in Fig. 130. The upper one, found in tomb 633, is a large round bowl, provided with an attachment for affixing the swivel lid. Its diameter is 29 cms. Its use is not certain; but the special purpose of the lower one from tomb 796 is more clear. This object is furnished with ropes, as though to suspend it from the shoulders on account of the weight

of its contents. It measures 53 cms. in length and 28 cms. in width. The traces within it leave no doubt that it was used by a builder's labourer for carrying mortar or plaster, which seems to be a preparation of fine mud and limestone dust, and may even have been used for closing up the crevices in the tomb door or for some other process of the funeral. It is quite customary to deposit an object used for such a purpose within the chamber itself, having first taken out the quantity of the plaster necessary. As early as the IIIrd Dynasty the tomb of SA-NEKHT, at Bêt Khalláf, illustrated a similar custom, only in that instance the vessel used was a large broken potsherd.

The next four illustrations are specially instructive. In Fig. 131 there



FIG. 130.—WOODEN BOWL. TOMB 633. PLASTERER'S DISH. TOMB 796. [SCALE 1 : 8.]

are three poorly made models taken from tomb 575. That to the right is the familiar figure of the marketing woman; and the diminutive figure of a man next to it obviously represents a dwarf carrying a heavy burden on his head. The three figures to the left are of more interest. A woman standing up is engaged in spinning in the ordinary way, holding the thread in her hand, while the spindle revolves. In the other hand she holds another

spindle; and though the action is not represented, the idea obviously intended is that which is painted with much realism in the tomb of the Nomarch Baqt, where women are seen skilfully controlling and working two spindles at the same time. The other seated figures apparently represent women at work upon a horizontal loom; the frame and the woof threads are faintly represented upon the board. It is possible that they are making mats, or perhaps weaving by hand. The mat-making, as represented on the walls of the same tomb in the upper gallery, is apparently done on the horizontal loom¹; and the same method is employed for the more elaborate mat which is being made in the tomb of KHETV. In this striking scene, the spinners, being men, seem to be content with a single spindle. There are three such at work; one draws his flax from a loose pile; the second, who

¹ Cf. Newberry, "Beni Hasan," II., Pls. IV., XIII.

is seated, draws it from a bucket, passing it over an upraised hand; and the third has seated himself comfortably in front of a forked stick over which the flax is



FIG. 131.—SPINNING AND WEAVING; DWARF CARRYING LOAD, &c. TOMB 575.

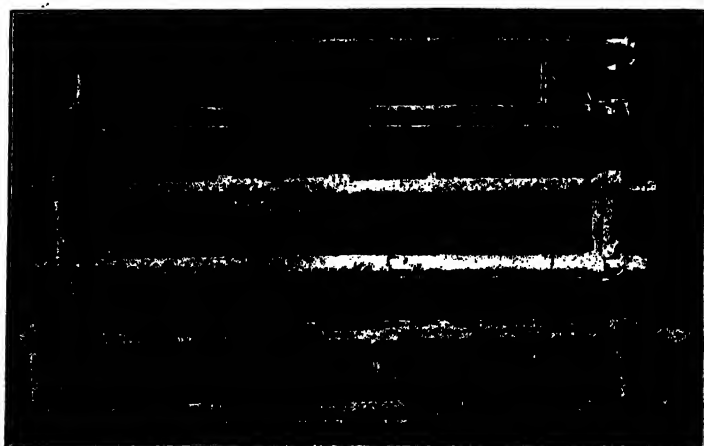


FIG. 132.—TWO ANCIENT WEAVING REEDS. TOMB 693. [SCALE 1:9.]
AT THE TOP, MODERN REED FROM ABU-KIRKAS.

passing. Other spinners in the row below are using two spindles. The method of weaving in these instances is apparently not the best of which the experts of this time were capable; but the copies in the volumes quoted are published on

too small a scale to enable one to judge of their methods. In Lepsius' "Denkmäler," II., 126, the spinning and weaving at Beni Hassan are shown on a larger scale. The spinner is helped in this instance by a woman who dresses the loose flax before passing it into the bucket; and the weavers are seen at work at an upright loom, which is simple in its construction. The threads of the warp are separated by two rods; and a long staff which is held by the operators, one at each end, serves to pass the woof through from one to the other. A loom of



FIG. 133.—HAND-LOOM WEAVING AT ABU-KIRKAS.

the New Empire¹ is much more elaborate in structure, and approximates more nearly to the devices employed in modern hand-loom weaving in this country and elsewhere. There seems to have been a definite advance in the art at this date.

This reference enables us to understand more clearly the three illustrations which follow (Figs. 132, 133, 134). The first represents a pair of reeds taken from tomb No. 693. They are 27 and 29 inches in length respectively, and are

¹ Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," II., p. 171, and Fig. 387.

precisely similar in general form. They are constructed on a system of nineteen or twenty reeds to the inch, and they may be seen to be exactly similar to the modern reed pictured at the top of this photograph. This modern reed was taken from a loom figured in Fig. 133, at Abu-Kirkas, which remains at this date a centre of the hand-weaving industry of the country, and is only some three or four miles from the scene of these excavations. The reed through which the warp passes may be just seen behind the four healds which separate these threads; the use of the two rods is still retained, as the photographs show; and a shuttle



FIG. 134.—SPINNING AT ABU-KIRKAS.

is used in the ordinary way. The operator sits in the shadow behind the machine, working the beam with his hands. This loom seems to be a nearer explanation of the picture cited by Wilkinson than the interpretation given by Erman¹; and we must conclude that these two ancient reeds were used in looms almost exactly similar to those wherever hand-weaving is done. It is not possible, unfortunately, to assign a precise date to these objects. They were found in a tomb which contained no other remains; this tomb was surrounded by others, all of them likewise very much disturbed, but equally characteristic of the general nature of the Middle Empire tombs and containing nothing but Middle Empire objects. Since in general few tombs of this site show signs of intrusive burial of

¹ Erman, "Life in Ancient Egypt," p. 449.

a later age there is no reason to suppose that these objects are of any date later than the XIIth Dynasty. From the illustrations previously referred to it might have been more accordant with general evidence to have assigned them to the New Empire, but the circumstantial evidence points rather to the Middle Empire. There is one point of detail extremely valuable in this connection. The reeds comprise on the average nineteen to twenty cross-reeds to each inch. An ordinary piece of cloth taken from the wrapping of one of the Middle Empire interments of the site measures about eighty warps to the inch. This cloth is undoubtedly of the Middle Empire, and to attain this quality one would infer that a reed of the precise nature of those discovered must have been employed, the weaving being done in fours. This would lead us to suppose that the loom was almost similar to that illustrated, from the village of Abu-Kirkas. The modern reed from that loom, however, shows an important difference in the increased number of twenty four cross-pieces to the inch, imparting a finer texture to the cloth produced. The last illustration of this section shows men and women spinning in the same village.

Section IV. Arts and Crafts.

The purpose of this section is to define more clearly the standard of art illustrated by the furniture of these tombs. It is thus concerned not so much with art as with the products of art. Nor is it proposed to attempt to trace the development of the local arts and crafts upon the material before us: inasmuch as all the objects found in this excavation are products of art in various forms, to treat this subject exhaustively it would be necessary to pass them again in review, and to re-study them from this standpoint. But the wooden models in particular which have been described in the preceding pages, however full of realism and life, strike us for the most part as being roughly made, illustrating neither the best skill of the sculptor nor even artistic feeling. Our interest in them arises chiefly from the subjects they suggest or represent. Hence the objects selected to illustrate this portion of our subject are those few which, though having another significance, primarily attract attention from an æsthetic standpoint, as works of beauty, feeling, or technical excellence. Not that we shall attempt an æsthetic treatment of the subject. Few, indeed, are qualified by temperament and training to undertake so difficult a task as to criticise the art products of others: how much greater is the difficulty in dealing with an ancient civilisation, the spirit and circumstance of which we can only vaguely understand? Nor must it be understood that by thus singling out a few examples of wood-carving, metal-working, painting or faience for more detailed description,

these are regarded as representative specimens of Egyptian art in general. It is customary to judge the art of a civilisation by its best products, and in that exalted category none of these could claim a place, unless it were the bronze bowl's illustrated in Fig. 142, and may-be an object of faience or the painted side of a highly decorated coffin. The common objects are, however, the best criterion of the standard of civilisation ; and in any case the wider subject is beyond our scope.

Wood-carving.—The models and figures which have been illustrated in earlier chapters were for the most part crudely made. The desired form was roughly shaped in wood, which was then plastered over with stucco, and the details were generally suggested by paint. In the case of the figures, a pinch of the plaster produced the nose, while two rough depressions represented the eyes. The feet and hands were hardly modelled at all. But in the few instances where a figure representing the deceased himself was made, a noticeably different method and special skill were employed in the effort to reproduce the human form and likeness. An early example was seen in the tomb No. 1015, wherein a Ka statue, reproduced in Fig. 20, not only recalls in its style the well-known sculptures of the Old Empire, but in itself conveys an impression of portraiture. In this case some quantity of plaster-work supplied deficiencies in the carving, but in the Middle Empire such figures were carved entirely in wood.

The most notable and best preserved example is that found in the tomb of NETER-NEKHTA, No. 720, illustrated in Fig. 135. Unfortunately the chamber had been disturbed and the contents largely destroyed. This was the more to be regretted in that some of the figures from the ordinary funerary models, and other small objects, found in the débris, could be seen to have been of a higher quality of work than usual. One arm and both feet of this statuette had been broken away, but these portions were recovered by sifting the contents of the chamber. The height of the figure is 30 cms.; it is carved apparently in cedar-wood. It represents a man standing with left foot forward, the left hand clasping a staff (which had perished and has been replaced), the right hand clenched as though grasping some object. The head is shaved ; and a ribbed loin-cloth is worn suspended by a band from the waist. The chief attention of the sculptor has been concentrated, it would seem, upon the details, leading to a disproportion in the figure as a whole ; for the head, arms, and feet, though attempted with much care, all seem too large for the body. The head is lightly poised, with a slight up-turn of the face. The skull is carefully studied, and the ears are in full relief. The eyes are large and open ; the cheek bones are high ; the mouth and chin are carved with some precision. Indeed, the

whole face is conspicuous, if only by contrast with the hundreds of other figures, for some delicacy of modelling, revealing a knowledge of the sculptor's craft absent in the rest. The muscles, too, are in general subtly suggested, and the whole displays some knowledge of anatomy and of the construction of the human figure. The charm of this object, such as it is, is not adequately reproduced in the photographs. It lies in an undefined expression, suggested by the half smile

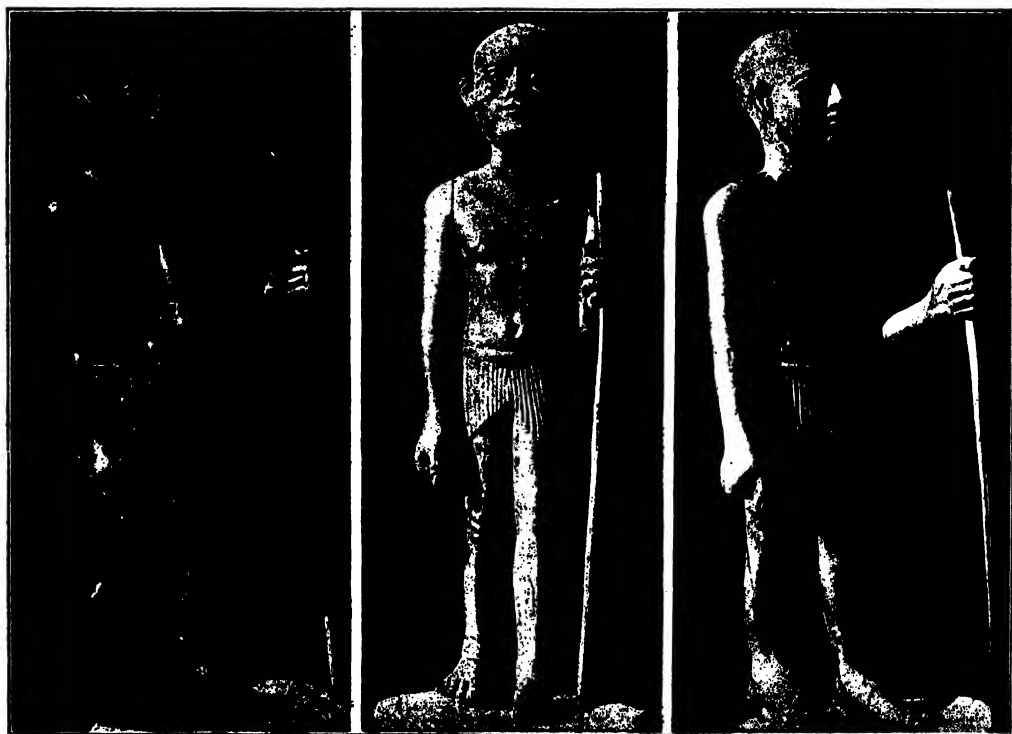


FIG. 135. —KA STATUETTE IN HARD WOOD FROM THE TOMB OF NETER-NEKHTA. TOMB 720.
[HEIGHT 8 INS.]

seen in the right-hand picture, the tranquillity of death in the human face. Opinions may differ as to the technical skill of the hand that produced this statuette, but one impression which it conveys to all is the typically Egyptian feeling and mind of the artist himself, and the responsive sympathy with which he has treated his subject.

The neighbouring tomb of SEBEK-HETEP, No. 723, contained also a small figure of this nature, represented in Fig. 136. The burial was found in this instance undisturbed, with the statuette lying in front of the face inside the coffin, where it may be seen in Fig. 170, in the photograph which shows the interment

with the linen cloths removed. This figure differs in quality and style from the foregoing: the attitude is much the same, except that the arms hang by the side, and the body is nude; the carving is generally poor, and the limbs are clumsy; the waist is drawn in, the shoulders out of ordinary proportion. There is, however, something which redeems it and places it above the mere crudeness of the mass of the model figures. Perhaps this lies in the occasional traces of traditional art, as in the modelling of the knee, or the pose and expression of the head and face. Other wooden Ka figures in a less perfect state were found in Tombs 688, 139 and 700.

From the sculptor's standpoint none of the foregoing can compare with the fragment pictured in Fig. 137. It is a singular misfortune that only a portion of this statuette was found.



FIG. 137.—TORSO OF A WOMAN. TOMB 556.

The legs had been broken away, while the face and head and part of the front were decayed past restoration. The photograph shows, very imperfectly, the back view of what remained. But in spite of these blemishes, it may be seen from the delicate and sensitive modelling of the torso that in this instance at any rate the feeling of the human form was thoroughly understood. So, in general, it may be concluded that though in the ordinary furniture of these tombs no high standard of sculpture was attained, there is indication that such might have been forthcoming had the deceased or his friends been able and willing to employ the necessary skill. It may be inferred, also, that in the tombs of the great chieftains of this site and age there must have been deposited objects of art of every kind which would rank among the best products of the land. The excellence of the mural paintings on their walls is a testimony pointing to the same conclusion.

In Fig. 138 there is illustrated a statuette of different character and interest. The surface of the wood is too much worn to enable a sure opinion to be formed of the original quality of its work. The figure is 15 cms. in height. It is the



FIG. 136.—KA STATUE OF SEBEK-HETEP. TOMB 723. [HEIGHT 7 INS.]

representation of a woman, clad in a long embroidered skirt reaching nearly to the ankles. On her back she carries a child, suspended in a shawl, which passes over her shoulders and is crossed in front. The baby's face is seen in this photograph looking, as it were, out of the picture behind her neck. Its head is not



FIG. 138.—FOREIGN WOMAN WITH
BABY. TOMB 181.
[HEIGHT 6 INS.]

carved from the same piece as the figure, but is attached by a short peg. The woman's hair is arranged thickly around the head, and in the extreme top a small hole suggests that possibly a load was carried in the usual way, as in the representations in the mural paintings as well as the models found in other tombs (cf. Fig. 98). The features of the woman are striking and peculiar; the long nose, protruding chin and lips, seem to be deliberately portrayed. The figure had been painted, and some traces of a pattern remained upon the skirt, presumably representing embroidery, or a design woven in colours in the cloth itself. It is difficult to account for the presence of this figure in the tomb otherwise than to represent the person buried therein, a special form, in a word, of the Ka figure. The paintings upon the walls of the Nomarchs' tombs have already prepared us for some such representation.¹ In one of these a group of foreigners is seen approaching the person of Khnem-Hetep, who was chieftain and governor of the district under AMENEMHAT I. in the XIIth Dynasty. The men seem to have adorned their hair with large feathers, and are often supposed, not without reason, to have been Libyans. The women of the party are represented as carrying their babies in this manner, or in baskets, on their backs. Other bands of

Semitic immigrants have already been mentioned, amongst those bringing tribute to the shrine of the later KHNEM-HETEP, who in the time of SENUSRET II. was administrator of the eastern desert. In the latter instance there is a clear association between the official function of the deceased and the appearance of these desert people; but in the former case, which is of more present interest, it

¹ See Chap. II., p. 22.

is not clear by what circumstances the women with children upon their backs came to be represented upon the walls of the tomb. It may be conjectured that they were immigrants into the district, or possibly that they were associated with mercenary troops employed at the time. In any case, the sight of such bands must have been familiar to the artist, whose attention was arrested by the strangeness of their features and dress, no less than by the quaintness of their habits and customs.

Among other carvings in wood the palm-capital represented in Fig. 139 is specially worth notice, not merely on account of the beauty of its design, derived purely from the natural form, but also from its importance in the history of ancient Egyptian architecture.¹ The objects associated with it in the tomb (No. 279) are all characteristic of the Middle Empire. The model obviously formed part of an ornamental column, or some feature of an architectural design. The pin projecting from the top shows that there was some attachment above; and at the bottom also it is not in itself complete. Possibly it was a builder's or mason's model.

Another small object of decorative character in wood is shown below in Fig. 141, from tomb 294. It is shaped somewhat like a long scoop. The device of a bird's wing is delicately carried out over the back by fine incisions, and on the other side the end is modelled into the form of the head of a hawk.

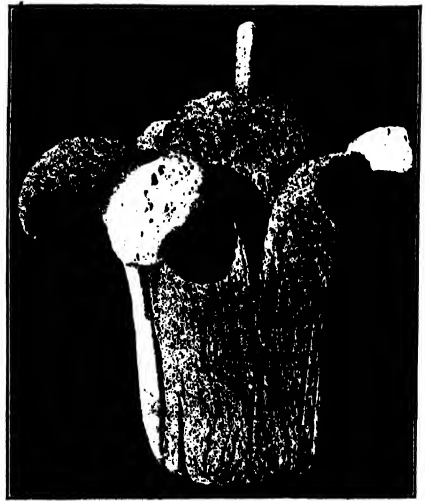


FIG. 139.—WOODEN LOTUS CAPITAL.
TOMB 279. [HEIGHT 8 INS.]

Faience.—In the course of the excavation there was found a variety of small glazed objects of the types familiar in other sites of the period. The beads of various kinds, some of which have been described in an earlier section of this chapter (Figs. 100, 101), are an illustration; and the present photograph, Fig. 140, shows some special examples of this art. The small hedgehog from tomb 655 is the most attractive of the series. The colour is rich torquoise blue, with the features and details marked in black. Its length is only 5·8 cms. and its small size is an additional testimony to the skill with which it was modelled and then glazed. The base of this object was plain; if it was designed for a seal the device must have been supplied by a separate cap of metal. The small

¹ Cf. Griffith and Newberry. "El Bersheh," I., Pl. IV.

vase seen above it in the photograph was unsurpassed for richness of colour; the glaze was a brilliant blue, and the surface retained a high polish, free from any sign of decomposition. The dish from tomb 81, seen in the same photograph, is also an admirable specimen. The lotus pattern is marked in black upon the blue surface; the inside is plain; the glaze is rich in colour and in good condition except a small patch which has been rubbed. Its diameter is 7·8 cms. The fourth object of the group, a figure in high relief from tomb 65, is somewhat poorly modelled, and the glaze upon it is not well preserved. It has, however, a special interest. It probably represents the Ka figure; but it seems almost like

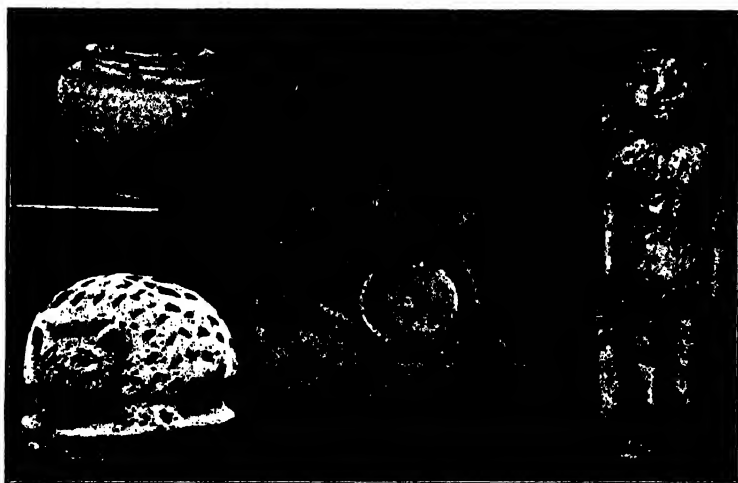


FIG. 140. —GLAZED OBJECTS: VASE, 180; HEDGEHOG, 655; DISH, 81; FIGURE, 65.
[SCALE 1:2.]

a forerunner of the glazed *Shawabti* figures which became so common in the New Empire. There is, however, no uncertainty as to its date, as it was found with a characteristic deposit of the XIth or XIIth Dynasty. The colour of this specimen tends towards green; its height is 11 cms.

Metal-working.—Objects in metal proved somewhat rare, and for the most part these took the form of ordinary articles of tomb furniture, mirrors, models of implements, razors, tweezers, pins, staff and axe-heads and so forth.¹ Both copper and bronze were used somewhat indiscriminately, as will be made apparent in Chapter IX. Some few objects, however, were of unusual character and perfection. One of these, the battle-axe from tomb 511, is described in a later section of this chapter.² The small statuette illustrated in Fig. 141, though so much

¹ E.g., Chap. V., Fig. 66.

² See Fig. 165.

corroded, is none the less interesting as an early example of the figure of a private person in metal. This instance of portrait work, like those in wood, indicates a Ka statue as the probable nature of the object. It was taken from tomb 294, and is 9 cms. in height. Another small figure in bronze, forming part of a seal, is illustrated in the appendix.¹

The vessels illustrated in Fig. 142 stand pre-eminent among all objects found in the necropolis as perfect examples of art. It is difficult to analyse perfection of quality, to point out the various features of these objects which combine to place them in a class apart from all the rest. The proportion of height to width, the size and nature of the handles, the relation of these to usefulness, added to grace of form, simplicity, and technical skill, are all features which combine to make them beautiful. The one is about 39 cms. in diameter, with a depth of 12 cms.; the other is some 3 cms. wider and not quite so deep. Both are made of an alloy of copper and tin. They are light and thin, another feature of their quality. Each has one handle only, suggesting the Egyptian hieroglyph for the letter K. They were found in tomb No. 845, which had unfortunately been plundered so that its contents were disarranged. Two vases of alabaster lay within the chamber in the place where the head of the interment would have been in the normal position. These, as seen in Fig. 31, are of the pointed shape most familiar in the Old Empire. From the analogy of the vases found in the tomb of Apa and Teta,² No. 481, these may be dated in this instance to the rise of the New Empire, at the close of the VIth Dynasty or just later. The metal dishes were found in the same chamber as the vases, and the only other objects found within the tomb were twelve figures of wood from models of boats and granary of the now familiar types, others which had decayed, and some nine vases of pottery and one dish, of types characteristic of the necropolis in general. The full schedule will be found in the Appendix. These details are mentioned because they are evidence for the belief that there was no intrusive element in this tomb of a date later than the XIIth Dynasty. It is difficult, on the other hand, to reconcile these deposits as belonging to a single period without allowing more elasticity to the range of the types



FIG. 141.—BRONZE FIGURE AND
WOODEN SCOOP. TOMB 294.

[SCALE 1 : 2.]

¹ Fig. 230, Tomb 691.

² Cf. Fig. 28, Chap. III., Sec. 3.

of objects discovered. These considerations are important, for the two vessels of metal illustrate some features of rare and beautiful style with which archæology is not otherwise familiar in Egypt earlier than the XIIth Dynasty. In the upper vessel the handle is a loop of metal the ends of which are bound with wire; the ring passes through a broad moulded attachment which is riveted to the

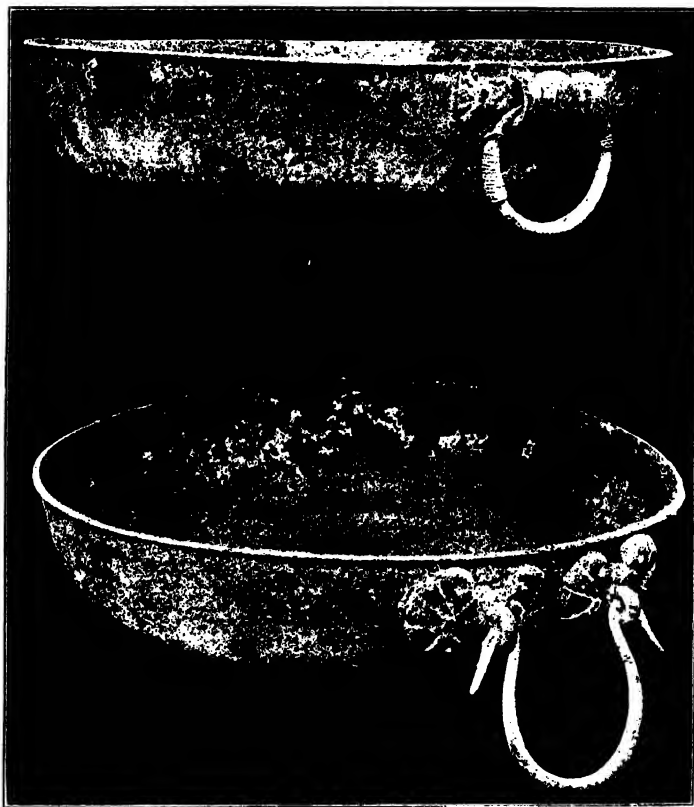


FIG. 142.—BRONZE BOWLS WITH SINGLE HANDLES. TOMB 845.
[DIAMETER ABOUT 16 INS.]

bowl. The photograph illustrates this feature, which is difficult to describe in words. The lower vessel, though slightly larger, is similar in all respects except the handle, which is hooked on to two rings of metal; these in their turn each form a part of a decorative attachment riveted separately to the bowl.

Apart from the beauty of these specimens and their unique character, they raise some questions of archæological interest. The use of wire coils, illustrated in the upper photograph, is significant of the age when Egyptian decorative art was adopting the coil and the twist as ornamental motives. Examples are to be

found on the scarabs and even on a mural decoration of the XIIth Dynasty. The coil of wire, so easily made in practice, is a natural origin from which to trace the so-called spiral patterns. This is strikingly suggested by objects from the Bronze Age in Europe exhibited in the Museum of Natural History at Vienna, where the development of the double spiral from the double coil is illustrated by the series of metal brooches taken from the Halstatt graves. This instructive series not only illustrates primitive ingenuity in the use of metal, but traces the evolution of the derived forms, the coil, the re-entrant spiral, and concentric circles, which it may be readily conceived would form the original motives of these devices in decorative art. These at any rate are among the new designs found upon the scarabs and other artistic products of the XIIth Dynasty in Egypt. The rosette patterns and radiating lines, which are suggested on the handle-fittings of the lower vessel, are also ideas which had not previously been freely used. The evidences of metal working within the country give no satisfactory explanation of the origin of these new features in Egyptian art; nor is there anything to suggest that they were developed locally, for they appear, like the scarab itself, fully matured.¹ We are led to look, therefore, for traces of

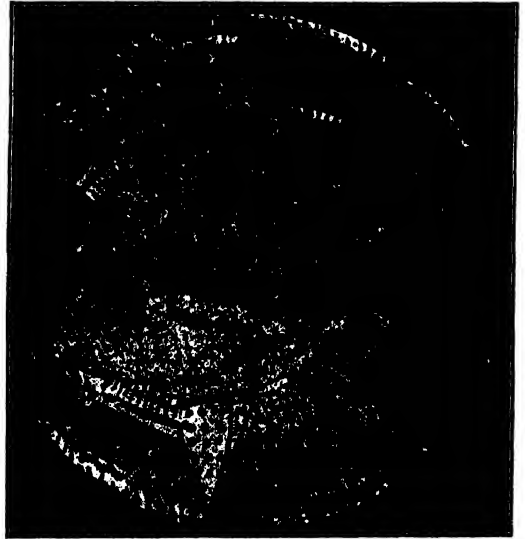


FIG. 143.—PAINTED DISH OF POTTERY. TOMB 294.
[DIAMETER 7 INS.]

contact with a people skilled in the working of metal at this age. It remains for further research to reveal the pathway by which these ideas found their way to Egypt, and to trace it to its source.

Painting on Pottery.—The pottery dish illustrated in Fig. 143 was found in the same tomb as the bronze figure previously described. It is made of plain earthenware, and has a diameter of about 18 cms. It is painted on the inside with a pleasing design representing a trussed goose lying in the dish amidst lotus flowers and green leaves. Painting on pottery was rare at this age; it did not become a common practice until the middle of the XVIIIth Dynasty, though it is traceable at an earlier date. Even then the method of decoration was of a simple kind; bands

¹ Cf. Professor Newberry's conclusions: *Scarabs*, p. 82. Note also the use of the coil-pattern on the Sumerian statue of Gudea in the Louvre.

of paint around the narrowest and widest parts of the vessel suggested the string wrapped around more primitive pottery at the places where breakage was most liable; and between these bands sometimes other vertical lines, straight or wavy, divided the surface into panels. But that was all; no paintings in the ordinary acceptance of the word decorated the surface, indeed the pottery of dynastic times, with few exceptions, cannot compare in this respect with that produced before the monarchy was founded. So that this little vessel stands alone, the tribute of an artist mind. The dish itself is of commonplace type, which may be recognised in the illustrations of Chapter IX. (Plate XV., No. 57).

Two small painted figures of earthenware from the tomb of SENB, No. 487, are illustrated in Fig. 144. These are also unique, so far as this site is concerned,¹ and, even without considering the use of colour, are unlike the pottery figures freely found elsewhere in the necropolis.² They are poorly modelled, and it is



FIG. 144.—MODELS OF PAINTED EARTHENWARE.
TOMB 487.

hardly possible to feel sure of the subjects they represent. The one on the left in the picture is more clear than the other, recalling the figures in wood engaged in making beer.³ The group on the right consists on the one hand of a curious creature like an ape but wearing a wig, who sits facing an animal somewhat like a sheep. Probably this childish modelling is intended to

represent a man with a dog. These are interesting only as examples of painted earthenware, and possibly as children's toys.

Before passing to the subject of painting on wood there may be noticed incidentally the model of a mace represented in the upper portion of Fig. 145. This is a charming little object. Its length is 18 cms. The shaft is of wood, rounded, and is decorated at the end and just below the head with rings of lines incised. The head itself is a knob-form piece of blue paste, 2 cms. in thickness, capped with a domed piece of carnelian, which represents the head of the pin that fixed it to the staff. The lower object in the same photograph is the blade of a steering paddle, which must have formed a part of a model funerary barque like those described in earlier chapters. It was found in tomb 75, from which came also the finely-painted coffin of Neteru-hetep (Plate 6), and other decorative pieces. The basis of colour is dull yellow, but this is hardly seen on the blade,

¹ Similar pottery figures have been found at Abydos in the year of publication, 1907.

² Cf. Figs. 203, 204, 206.

³ Cf. especially Fig. 50.

which is mostly covered with a design in green derived from the lotus, into which a religious aspect is introduced in the Sacred Eyes painted upon a broad band of reddish brown which crosses its widest part. The motive of the painting may be wholly ornamental, but it is possible to see in it the endowment of the steering oar with a sense of vision by which to keep the sacred boat in the course.

The steering blade previously shown in Fig. 91 bears also an interesting decoration. The lotus again is prominent in the scheme ; but upon the red-brown background, to which the green cap gives way, the secondary device takes a cruciform and symmetrical shape, with the ends of the cross spreading on either

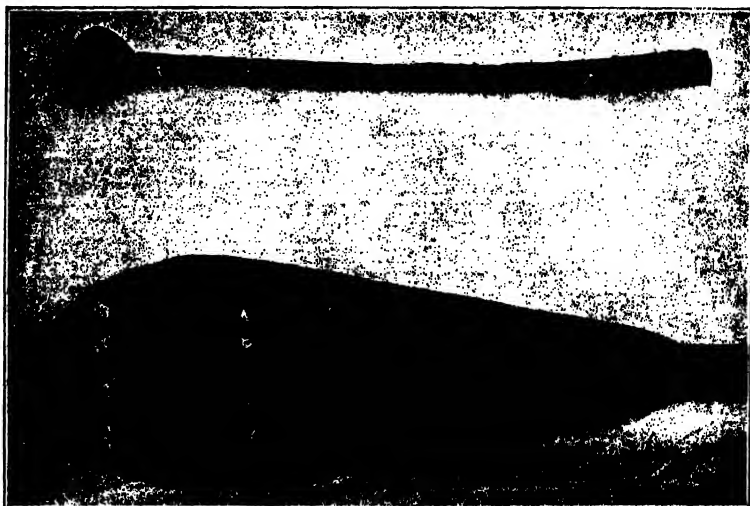


FIG. 145.—MODELS OF MACE (TOMB 125) AND STEERING OAR (TOMB 75).

side, and the intervening space in each case filled with a leaf and tendrils. The cross is in yellow, with red and black transverse bands alternating, and the leaves are naturally in green.¹

These objects have been specially instanced because they exhibit some freedom of design. The same might be said of the panel from the inside of a coffin illustrated in Fig. 146, which rises above mere convention in the attempt of the artist to attain a realistic effect. The subject of the decoration is a tribute of flowers and fruits, etc., to the dead, and these are arranged so as to fill the surface allotted to the purpose. To the right hand there may be seen cakes placed upon a small tray or table of wood. A bunch of flowers comes next. They are the usual lotus flower and buds, but their presence in the scheme, not

¹ This blade, with the boat, is now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

being utilitarian, displays an appreciation of the beautiful. A bundle of onions is arranged to the left over the tops of two pottery vases with ornamental stoppers, which rest upon suitable stands. On either side of these is seen a bunch of grapes, while to the extreme left is a representation of a piece of meat with the bone clearly shown. The upper register contains an ordinary series of representations of clothing and ornaments, and on the right two curved bows may also be discerned. This is only a portion of the coffin of NEFERRY, which will be referred to again in the next chapter. It serves to show, however, that the decorative art displayed in the tombs keeps itself free from stereotyped designs, even though permeated with Egyptian feeling. If we turn to examine the outsides of the

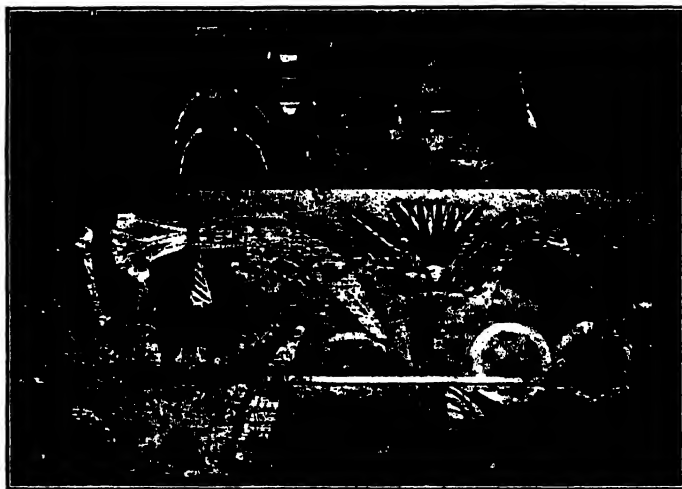


FIG. 146.—PANEL OF A COFFIN DECORATED IN COLOUR. TOMB 116.

coffins they are seen to have been often decorated with minute attention to detail, which, coupled with a sense of harmony in arrangement and colour, sometimes produced a marvellous effect. The subject of the coffin in general will be specially dealt with in the next chapter, but two examples are reproduced here to illustrate these features. In Fig. 147 there are shown the two sides of the coffin of the warrior USERHET, the end of which, as it appeared in the tomb, is to be seen in Fig. 180. These are filled with an elaborate design, the beauty of which lies firstly in the blending of its colours. The edge of the lid is divided into numerous short strips of red, green, and blue, separated from each other by bands of white between lines of black. The colours are carefully chosen and subdued, noticeably the red, which verges on maroon. Their arrangement and treatment disclose a sense of harmony and discord, and a knowledge of the painter's art. The usual scheme

seems to have been the alternation of red, blue, green, blue, in repetition: this is followed in both this instance and the next (Fig. 147). In the large coffin of KHNEK-NEKHTA, however (Fig. 167), a fourth colour, yellow, is introduced, the order being red, blue, green, yellow, with the blue at the ends. The sides of the coffin of USERHET are each divided into three panels by columns of blue hieroglyphs upon yellow ground, connected with a row of the same along the top. The panels are thus framed on three sides, while the ground serves as the base. In each panel the motive of decoration seems to be the door and interior of a building; but it is almost strictly geometrical in detail, and though there is a

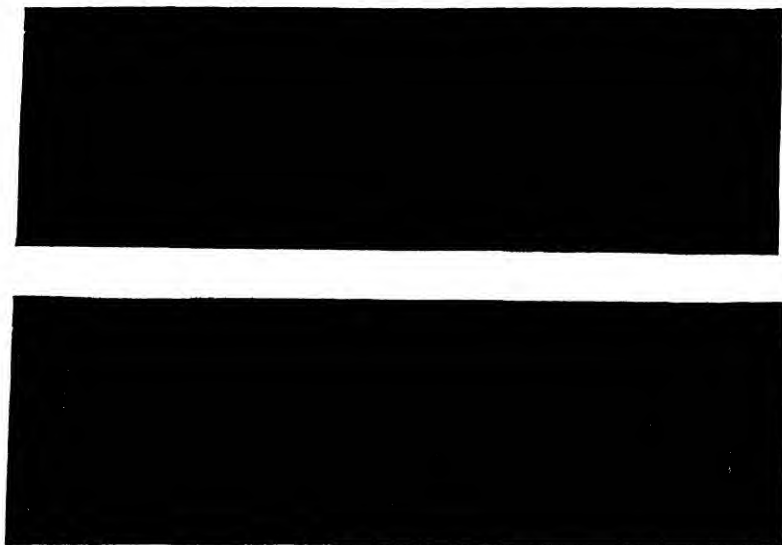


FIG. 147.—PAINTED SIDES OF THE COFFIN OF USERHET. TOMB 132.

suggestion of columns and perhaps of windows, the architectural features are obscured in the elaboration of design. The same comments apply in general to the end panel of the coffin of MA, shown in the tomb-chamber in Fig. 148. In this case the hieroglyphs are not in monochrome, but are coloured with an eye to decorative effect, while not neglecting altogether the real colours of the birds and animals represented. This is again a superb example of decorative art, to which a photograph cannot do justice. Indeed, this aspect of our subject cannot be properly treated without a series of facsimile illustrations reproducing the original colours, which is unhappily not practicable within the scope of the present work. The subject of Egyptian decorative art is one of the brightest pages in the history of its ancient civilisation; and the province of Beni Hassan obviously nurtured

in its midst those in whom the national feelings were alive. A glance at the walls of the Nomarchs' tombs is sufficient to show that realism of detail and convention in religious emblems could not cause the artist to neglect the main decorative motive of his work, evidenced both in composition of his subjects and arrangement of colours in the scheme. So, too, in a humbler way, the illustrations of this volume, though shorn of their colours, reveal the fact that the tomb furniture of the middle classes, though for the most part poorly representing the arts and crafts even of this locality, was none the less fashioned by hands

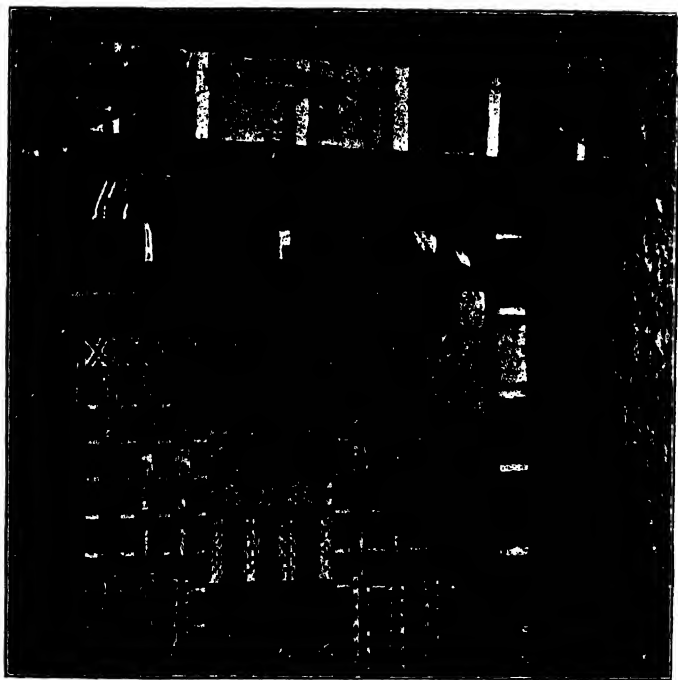


FIG. 148.—DECORATIVE PANEL ON THE COFFIN OF MA. TOMB 500.

responsive to the instincts of the nation. The execution might be poor, the colours garish or monotonous, but somewhere the Egyptian revealed himself, whether in the grouping of dummy figures,¹ the attitude of an oarsman,² the decoration of a fan,³ or the design upon a coffin. Let us not forget that were it not for survival in modern Egypt, almost our whole impression of the former civilisation would be but a reflection from the eye and mind of the Egyptian artist. So we shall appreciate the more the quality of the genius that saw and interested itself so keenly in the works of Nature.

¹ Cf. Fig. 125.

² Cf. Fig. 57.

³ Cf. Fig. 84.

Section V. Music and Games.

No great variety of recreation was illustrated in these excavations. The most interesting scene is that shown in Fig. 149, which represents draught or chess-players on a war vessel, from the tomb of Nefwa, No. 186, which was previously described on page 79. The game here illustrated is of the usual Egyptian type. The board is divided into three rows of ten squares each; but unfortunately only one of the pieces remains in position. This is being touched by the hand of one of the players, as though in the act of making a move. The game was fully described by Wiedemann¹ at the congress of Orientalists at Geneva, 1894. Some representations occur in the tombs of the Nomarchs Baqt and Khety, but they are seen in conventional profile only, and do not add much to our knowledge of the game. Each player apparently starts with a row of pieces, the two rows being of different shapes. Draughtsmen of different forms and materials, chiefly in glazed paste, were freely found in the tombs, but in no case was anything like a complete set obtained.



FIG. 149.—OFFICERS PLAYING DRAUGHTS ON BOARD SHIP.
TOMB 186.

Another game, which seems to have been rather popular amongst children, was played by means of a number of small balls like marbles, and cubical pieces of stone which vary in height from one inch to two inches, something like miniature playing-bricks for children. No certain explanation of this game has yet been offered, but Prof. Petrie has suggested a possible arrangement by which the three cubical blocks are built into the form of a doorway, the game being played by rolling as many marbles as possible through the door without upsetting it. It more nearly resembles the child's game known in England as *cheques*. Portions of the materials for this game were found in several tombs, but throw no further light on the method of play.

¹ "Das Brettspiel bei den Alten Aegypten," p. 37, pt. 4, sect. iv. *Actes du dixième Congrès International des Orientalists*, 1894. Cf. also *Revue Archéologique*, N. S. XII. (1865) p. 56; *P. S. Brit. Arch.*, 1902, pp. 341—348; and *Annales du Service*, V. (1904), p. 98, note 1.

The dolls pictured in Figs. 150 and 151 represent another class of children's toys. These are generally made of wood and string, or entirely of string, and even bedecked with beadwork. Each particular specimen naturally illustrates the likings of its youthful maker or owner rather than any set convention in the fashion of such objects. That which has the wooden body is about 15 cms. in length; it is obviously shaped to be held in the hand, as arms and head are only suggested, while the lower part is rounded as a handle. The hair is decorated by small beads which dot it at regular intervals; these are made

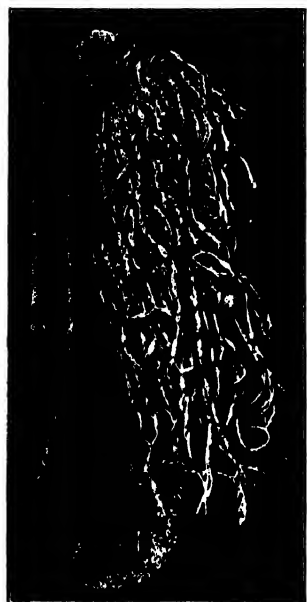


FIG. 150.—DOLL. TOMB 01.
[HEIGHT 6 INS.]

of small pieces of clay pinched around the string. In another example with wooden body, 18 cms. in height, from tomb 106, the face and other details were painted in colour upon the wood, which was shaped as in the case described. The larger doll shown in Fig. 151 is a work of considerable skill. It is made of lengths of string which are tightly wrapped to form the body and limbs. On the left leg there is an anklet of beads, while a collar and necklace of beads of various kinds encircle the neck and upper portion of the figure. There is no head definitely outlined, but the hair is represented in abundance, by lengths of string reaching to the ground on either side; the ends are decorated with clusters of small beads of blue. The smaller figure is only 6 cms. in height against the 10 or 12 cms. of the other, and differs also in its head-dress, which, by tiny clusters of small beads, represents rather the curled locks of the negro than the long hair which in an exaggerated fashion recalls the appearance of the Bisharin who lived in the eastern desert of Upper Egypt. It is difficult to

see in these representations any religious significance. A doll was found by Prof. Newberry, at Thebes, in the grave of a child who was buried about the time of Thotmes III., in the XVIIIth Dynasty; while Prof. Petrie, at Hawara, observed similar instances dating from Roman times. It is most probable that just as the soldier was sometimes buried with his weapons or the lady with her jewels, so the children who died were accompanied to the hereafter by their toys and playthings. Dolls of a very similar character, made with a wooden body and abundant locks of hair, sometimes clothed in bright cheap cottons, decorated profusely with tinsel ornaments and even coins, are common playthings of the children of Nubia at the present time.

Music is represented by four instruments, the study of which adds considerably to our appreciation of the art in ancient times. Fig. 152 shows the opening of a tomb (No. 287) in which the end of a harp is just seen projecting from between two coffins in the position in which it was discovered. This harp itself is more clearly pictured in photograph No. 153. It is 87 cms. in length, with a greatest width of 12·5 cms. and depth of 7·5 cms. It consists essentially of the sounding box, which was probably covered with parchment, and the curved arm to which five strings were attached. Along the edge of the box are pairs of holes at intervals of 7·5 cms., which were probably used for tying down the parchment or skin. Also by means of pegs the instrument could be tuned; one end of the strings would be fixed to these while the others were attached to a central rod running down the middle of the instrument. For the latter purpose small notches were cut into the under side of this rod at distances of 3·8, 7, 10, 12·6 and 15·5 cms. respectively from the end of the rod where it was bound to a short cross-bar with string. It is clear then that the five stretched strings must have passed through

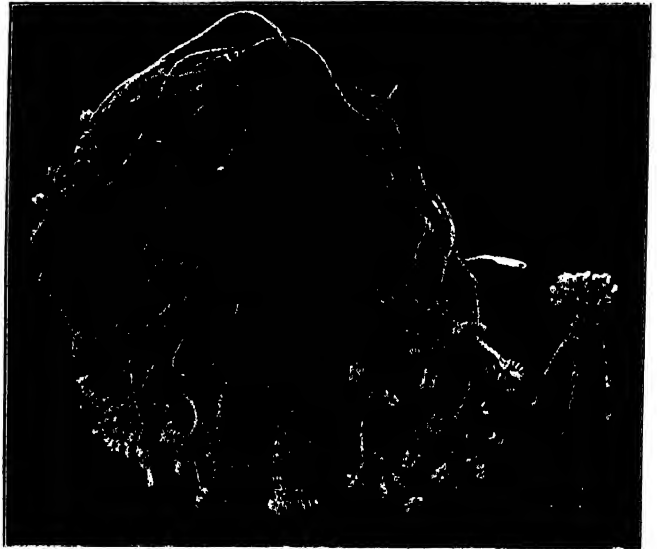


FIG. 151.—STRING AND BEAD DOLLS. TOMB 420.

[SCALE 1:2.]

holes or slits in the parchment, and also that, as there was no third leg to support the tension, the whole effect of the instrument depended on the rigidity of the joint between its two chief portions. This being all of wood no joint of permanent strength could be obtained, and the instrument must have been short of resonance and liable to get out of tune. There is of course no possibility of judging of the notes to which such a harp would be tuned. Similar instruments from Egypt, in some of which the parchment remains, may be seen in the museums at Paris, Turin, and the British Museum. This type of harp is therefore well known—indeed, the neighbouring states of equatorial Africa have them of very similar design; and, though without a third leg, it was really the forerunner of the perfected harp of to-day.

In the case of the other two musical instruments, the flutes, which are shown in the same photograph, it has been possible to study the question of the ancient



FIG. 152.—TOMB-CHAMBER, SHOWING HARP BETWEEN THE COFFINS. NO. 287.

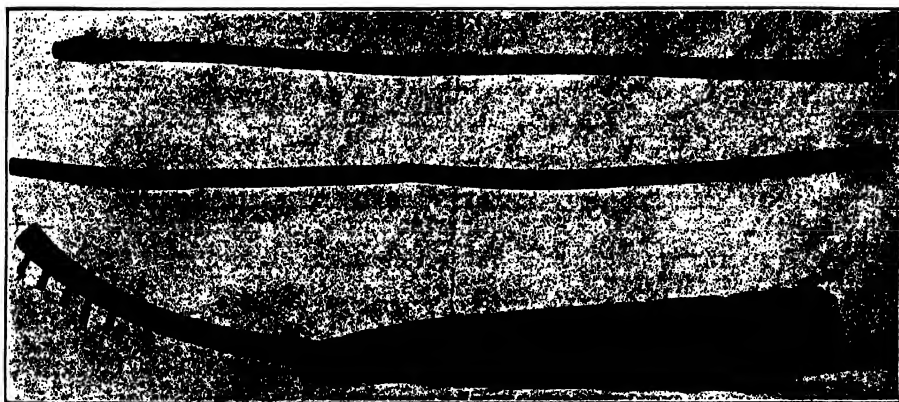


FIG. 153.—TWO REED FLUTES (TOMB 437) AND A WOODEN HARP (TOMB 287).

Egyptian music further.¹ They are respectively 90 and 95 cms. in length. They are made of coarse water-reed known as *Arundo donax*. Each has four notches in the course of its length, and these must have been bored or burnt through the

¹ On the subject of these instruments, Mr. Southgate contributed an instructive article to the *Musical News* in August, 1903.

outer skin of the reed. The tubes are open throughout; the mouth end is not chamfered, but there is noticeable a slight thinning as though a mouthpiece, or at least a band of some material had been attached to that end. This, however, was not present in the tomb. There are three finger-holes of 5 mms. width, and the distance of these from the mouth end is 62·5, 68·6, and 81 cms. in the upper flute. The natural note of the open 95 cms. tube is about E natural, while that of the shorter flute seems to respond to F. In the former case the finger-holes give, theoretically, the following notes: E, F, G, B flat; and in the latter case, in which the holes are 56·2, 63·3, and 76 cms. from the mouth, the following is the scale: F, F sharp, A, sharp, C. These sounds are those which theoretically should be produced, and of which some suggestion may be got by carefully blowing across the open mouth of the reed. It is only occasionally that an unskilled player can get a musical tone unaided by any mouthpiece. An Arab



FIG. 154.—ARAB FLUTE-PLAYER.

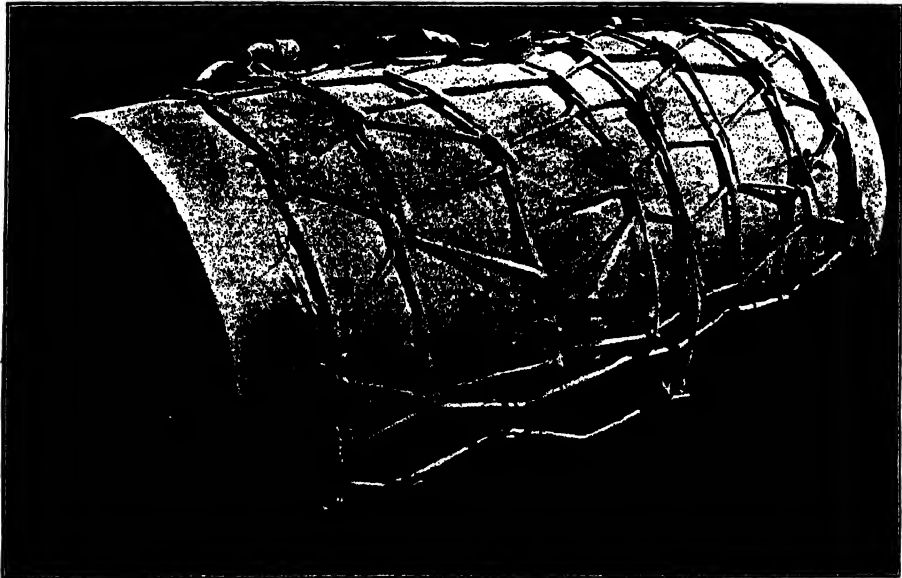


FIG. 155.—DRUM WITH PARCHMENT ENDS BOUND BY LEATHER THONGS. TOMB 183.
[LENGTH 26 INS.]

flute-player at Beni Hassan, however, had no difficulty whatever in playing this instrument, and he is represented in Fig. 154 in the position of doing so. His own instrument is not very dissimilar in principle, though it is made from a

part of an old gun barrel cut down and bored with a greater number of finger-holes.

The drum reproduced in Fig. 155 is an instrument even more remarkable. The barrel is carved in a single piece of wood, taken presumably from the trunk of a tree. Its length is 65 cms. and its breadth 29 cms. The ends are of parchment, connected together by a network of leather thongs. There is to be seen in the photograph the leather attachment for suspending the instrument; and there is also a coil of leather which was obviously used for tightening up the thongs, being twisted with a short stick, and thus enabling the requisite pitch of the instrument

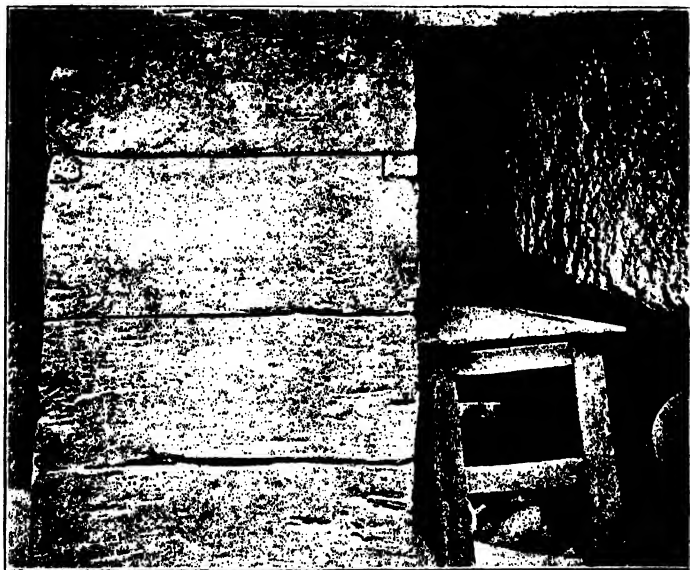


FIG. 156.—INTERIOR OF TOMB, SHOWING TABLE, DRUM, &C. NO. 183.

to be maintained. The tomb in which this remarkable object was found, No. 183, contained also the small table and large baskets which have already been mentioned (Figs. 116 and 119). The annexed photograph (Fig. 156) shows the entrance to this tomb, with the furniture lying to the right hand, between the coffin and the wall, and extending under a recess in the wall itself. The wooden table fills the foreground; the large basket lies just beyond; while in the depths of the chamber the drum may be seen lying aslant, the upper end just appearing above the edge of the table. Within the coffin there were found a bow and arrow case, which are described in the ensuing section. It is unfortunate that all the objects from these tombs (Nos. 183 to 287) are of somewhat uncertain date, as the harp, flutes and drum are of special interest.

Section VI. War and Arms.

The models and actual implements of war discovered in these tombs illustrate somewhat completely both the method of conducting the local wars of the Middle Empire and the types of arms and armour chiefly in use at that time. We have already referred in Chapter V. to the models of vessels, the purpose of which was clearly indicated by the presence of armed soldiers upon them. The tomb of NEFWA contained several interesting examples. In Fig. 73, for instance, a man is seen standing in the prow of the vessel with

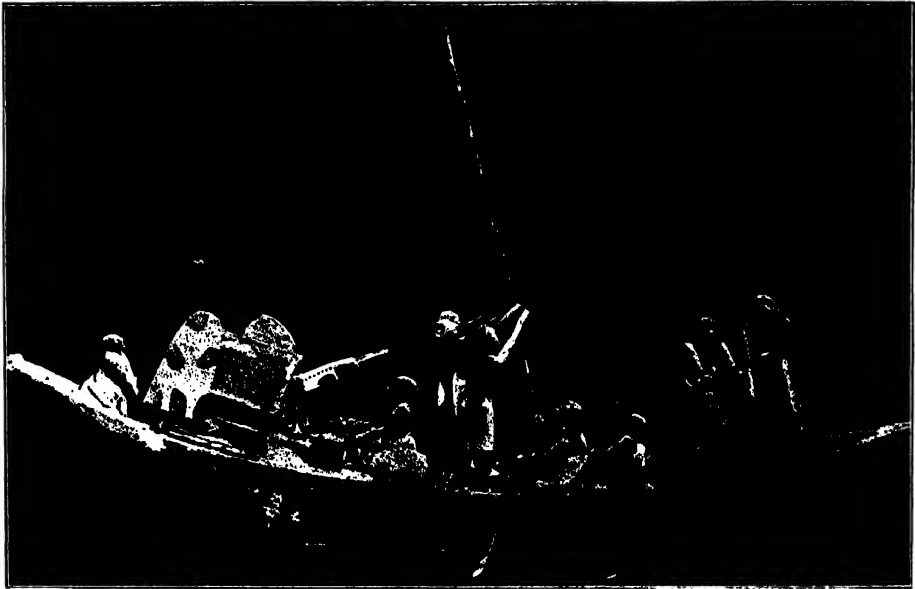


FIG. 157.—MODEL OF A RIVER BOAT FOR MILITARY PURPOSES. TOMB 186.
[LENGTH 37 INS.]

a large shield upon his left arm. This is shown more clearly in the detailed photograph below (Fig. 164). The tomb of KHNE-NEKHTA also contained a striking model, seen in the annexed photograph (Fig. 157). The chief interest in this boat lies not so much in its aspect as a funereal model as in the glimpse which it affords of the riverine expeditions, such as the kings of the XIIth Dynasty occasionally dispatched into Nubia and elsewhere. The length of this model is 93 cms. It contains in all fourteen figures, of whom, apparently, eleven represent the sailors. Of these, one is the steersman, seated in the stern; and one stands, as usual, in the prow, though not in the conventional attitude generally representing the look-out or watchman, but facing, in this instance, towards the

starboard side. Of the others, six are oarsmen seated at their work before the mast, while three are in the act of hoisting the sail. This sail was made of linen cloth and was well preserved; it was of the usual square shape, with two yards,



FIG. 158.—NEGRO ARCHER. TOMB 186.

but it is not shown in the photograph so as not to hide the group of figures. In addition to these sailors there are three figures which are obviously associated rather with the military object of the expedition. Near to the look-out on the prow there stands a negro, painted black with vivid white eyes, offering a marked contrast to the red bodies of the other figures. He is also somewhat shorter in stature. He is better seen in the detailed photograph (Fig. 158). In his left hand he holds a long bow, reaching up to his shoulders, and in his right hand a pair of arrows. Towards the stern there is seen an open canopy supported by a trellis exactly similar to those previously described

in Chapter V.

The covering of the canopy was of similar black spotted hide; and two shields, which are hung upon the outside, are covered with the same material. A quiver of great spears is fixed on the under side of the canopy, and by reference to Fig. 149 this also may be seen to be covered with the same spotted hide, fixed in the same way with rows of studs. Partly under the shelter of this deck-house are seated the two figures playing draughts referred to in the last Section. These are obviously not interested directly in the navigation of the ship, but probably represent the warriors, or leaders of the expedition, who thus while away the tedium of the voyage.



FIG. 159.—ARROW CASE IN THE COFFIN. TOMB 183.

Bows and Arrows.—The arms used by the negro in the model just described are happily illustrated to us by the actual weapons found in other tombs of this site. On opening the coffin of the tomb numbered 183, in which was found the drum described in the last Section (see Figs. 155, 156), there was seen a small wooden box lying upon a finely worked mat which covered the burial, as shown

in Fig. 159. These objects are better seen in the next photograph, Fig. 160. The box was presumably a case for arrows, but none of these were found. Their place was taken by the two pieces of a bow which had been broken and placed

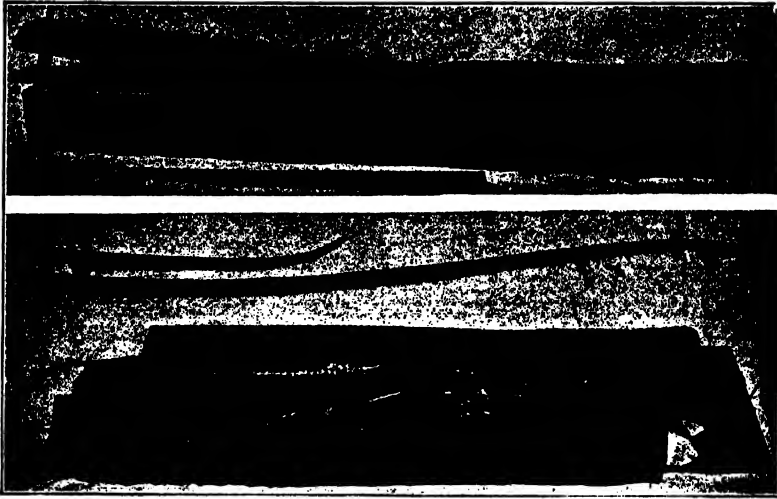


FIG. 160.—ARROW CASE, BROKEN BOW, AND MAT. TOMB 183.

within it. These when joined together form a weapon some five feet in length, of the characteristic shape with slightly curving ends. In another instance also,



FIG. 161.—GROUP OF SEVEN ARROWS. TOMB 723.

a bow was found to have been broken, and there is recalled to us by this fact the custom of the earliest dynasties, when even the pottery and stone vessels which were placed in the tombs of the great dead were broken or rendered useless in some way, in obedience to the primitive instinct. It is not alone the danger of robbery, which would naturally

attend on the rumour that useful and valuable objects were to be found within these graves, that prompted this action. Probably there is involved also the idea that being, so to speak, thus sacrificed and dead, the offerings were more appropriate furniture for a house for the dead ; and likewise would be more akin to the ghostly condition of him whose double might have need of such. The conception of a future life, however deeply based upon earthly experience, is rarely

unaccompanied by vague imaginings of a spiritual and unmaterial world, a land of shades. The same custom is illustrated by the habits of many primitive

peoples. Even in the ceremonial attached to the burial of European monarchs a very similar custom, partaking now of a different significance, may be found perpetuated.¹

Although no arrows were found with this interment, yet a set of seven good specimens was discovered later with a bow in the tomb of SEBEKHETEP, No. 723. These are about 1 metre in length; they are illustrated in Fig. 161, while a second picture shows the details of the feathers and tips of these upon a larger scale. The arrows were commonly tipped, as these relics testified, with a tiny piece

of sharp flint. In one instance, which is the second from the top in Fig. 162, the point was provided also with a sort of barb, though this may

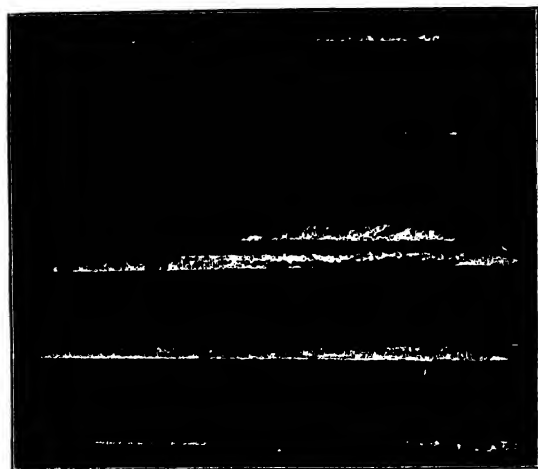


FIG. 162.—FEATHERS AND TIPS OF ARROWS.
TOMB 723.



FIG. 163.—MODEL OF A ROWING BOAT CONTAINING AN ARMED MAN. TOMB 585.
[LENGTH 41 INS.]

have been merely a decorative feature, as a barb of this shape would hardly be effective. The feathers are quite similar to those used throughout the history

¹ The Lord Chamberlain broke his staff of office at the funeral of Queen Victoria.

of archery, being three in number, placed almost at equal distances around the shaft quite near to the notch, which on its part is perhaps a little larger than those now employed.

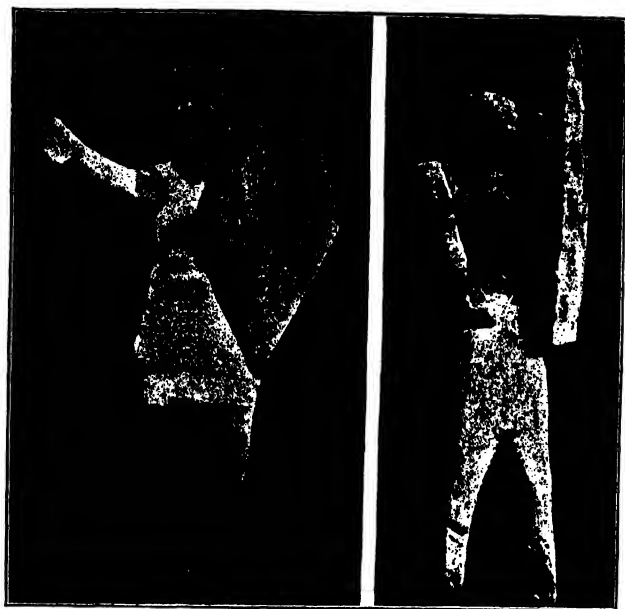


FIG. 164.—MAN WITH SHIELD (TOMB 186); WARRIOR WITH AXE AND SHIELD (TOMB 585).

Another class of weapon is introduced by Fig. 163, which represents another boat to which a military character has been given by the introduction of an armed man. This model was found in tomb 585, which was described in Chapter V., Sec. IV. The boat is 104 cms. in length; it contains 23 figures, of whom 20 are the oarsmen and two others the steersman and the look-out. But the chief interest centres in the figure of the warrior who stands amidships, of which a larger scale photograph is reproduced in Fig. 164. From this the

nature of the arms is more apparent. On his left arm is a shield with rounded top. It is covered with white hide, black spotted, and fixed with

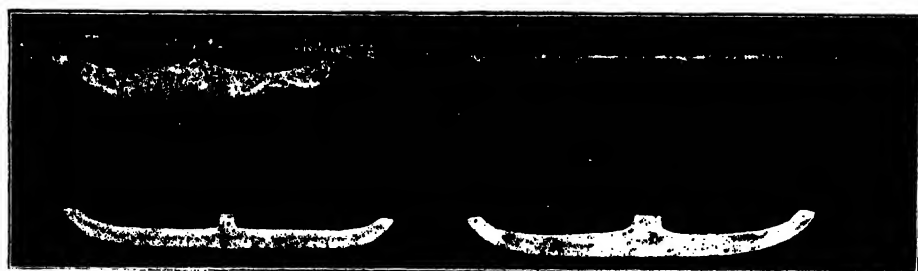


FIG. 165.—BATTLE-AXE OF COPPER, WITH CHERRY-WOOD HANDLE. TOMB 511.

[LENGTH 37 INS.]

HEADS OF TWO SIMILAR BATTLE-AXES. TOMBS 655 AND 757.

studs around the edge. In shape and construction it is the characteristic Egyptian shield of the period, illustrated in several other models. In the

companion picture, which is that of the look-out of the rowing boat shown in Fig. 73, from tomb 186, there may be seen a shield of similar character. In the right hand of the warrior, again, there is a tiny model of a battle-axe, shaped like the axe used for carpenters' work at the time. It is, however, the original form of the axe, as disclosed by the copper implements found in the earliest graves of the country. Possibly we have in this case again an example of the survival of a time-honoured prototype in connection with the burial customs. This seems to be borne out by the discovery in another tomb, No. 571, of a real battle-axe of different form, which is shown in Fig. 165. Its full length is 94 cms. Here is a real implement of war, formidable in its character and perfect in its preservation. It is similar to

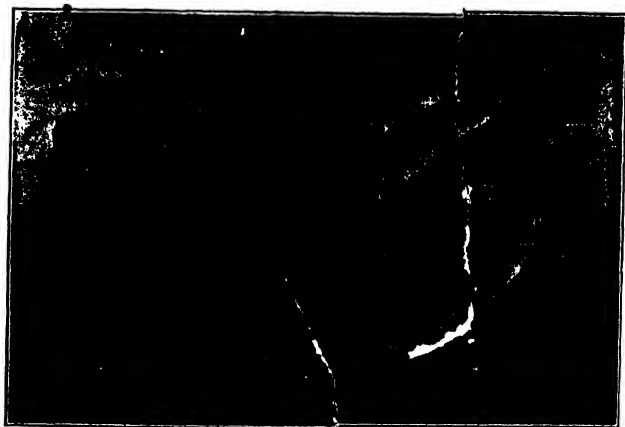


FIG. 166.—THROWING-STICKS, TOMBS 287, 437, 42.

those seen in the mural paintings of the Nomarchs' tombs. The handle is of cherry-wood, bound at each end with a cap of metal. The lengthy and heavy copper blade has three perforated projections for fixing it to the handle. The shaft is strengthened by bands of copper at three corresponding points, each band having in it an oblong hole to receive one of the fore-mentioned projections of the blade. The three projections being in their places, the head was fixed by binding these with thongs which passed around the shaft and through the holes provided for that purpose. There is no indication that rivets or other metal fittings were used. The weapon is now in the Museum at Cairo. The heads of two similar specimens were found in tombs 655 and 757; these also are figured in the illustration.

Throwing-sticks.—Our list of weapons ends with the five throwing-sticks shown in Fig. 166. These, however, are implements for sport and the chase

rather than weapons of war. The three uppermost are from tomb 287, the others from Nos. 437 and 42. Upon comparison with boomerangs from Australia, New Zealand, and elsewhere, it is found that these Egyptian implements were not curved so as eventually to return in their flight to the thrower. They were thus not really boomerangs, but throwing-sticks of a special kind, modelled to patterns which experience had suggested. It is interesting to compare these and all the foregoing varieties of weapon with those depicted on the walls of the Nomarchs' tombs. (Cf., for instance, Newberry, *op. cit.*, I., xi., xiii., xiv., xvi., xlvii., and II., xv.)

CHAPTER VII.

THE COFFIN AND DETAILS OF INTERMENT.

THE mode of burial generally in vogue in the Middle Empire has been made apparent in the foregoing pages. The present chapter is devoted to a more detailed account of this subject, with special reference to some selected examples of the coffin, the burial mask, the canopic box, and other common features of the interment. These instances have been chosen with a view both to illustrate

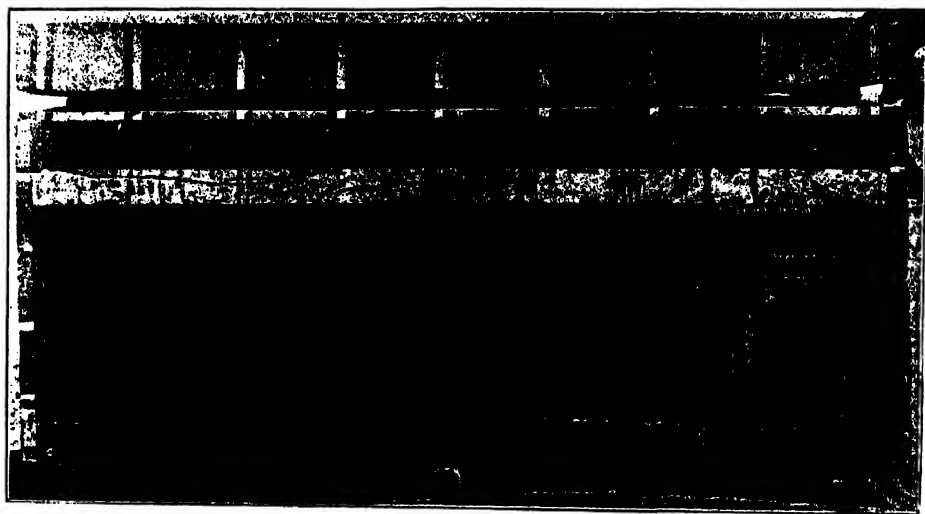


FIG. 167.—EAST FACE OF THE GREAT OUTER COFFIN OF KHNEM-NEKHTA. TOMB 585.

afresh the ordinary types of funereal furniture, and at the same time to define the limits within which custom sanctioned variation of detail.

The Coffin.—The usual form of coffin was an oblong box, about 180 cms. in length, 40 or 50 cms. wide, and 50 to 60 cms. high. The precise dimensions were proportionate in some instances, but not always, to the stature of the dead. The sides of such a box, if well made, generally consisted of two or three boards, dowelled together. The end-pieces were usually made in the same way; and in the more careful work care was exercised that the end and side-joints should not come together at the corner; otherwise there was a

danger of the upper and lower portions of the coffin separating. The corners were mitred and bound together from each side by pegs, which, not being in the same plane, but biting the wood in two directions, firmly resisted any effort to break the corners apart.

A further strength was given to the construction by an ingenious method which is easiest described by reference to the diagram in Fig. 168. The chamfer at the top of the end-pieces was stopped, and a piece was cut from the adjoining portion of the side wherein the projecting triangular stop fitted, as shown in Figs. 2 and 4 of the diagram. The stop of the chamfer on the end-pieces thus overlapped the top of the side-pieces, and by driving a peg vertically down through both (as shown in Nos. 5, 4, and 2) the whole was bound together in a third direction, and formed a very rigid frame. The method of construction may thus be described briefly as a stopped mitred joint, pegged in three directions.

The bottom boards fitted inside the box, to which they were pegged all round, and they were dowelled also to each other. The box was supported usually on four battens or cross-pieces of wood, to which the sides and the bottom boards again were fixed by wooden pegs. The battens are well shown in Fig. 167.

The lid presented some greater difficulties; custom desired a solid appearance which the scarcity of wood made it difficult to reproduce throughout. The top, therefore, was usually made in three pieces, lengthwise, of which the central board was a plank of ordinary thickness, from 2 to 3 cms.; but the outer boards thickened from that point towards the edges, having thus the section of a right-angled triangle. The sides which contained the right angle were cut off square, forming the outer edges, while the side opposite the right angle, that is the inside, was sometimes slightly hollowed. The diagram, Fig. 168, Nos. 1 and 3, represents all these details more readily than a verbal description. The three portions of the lid were dowelled together. The section of the system (viz.,

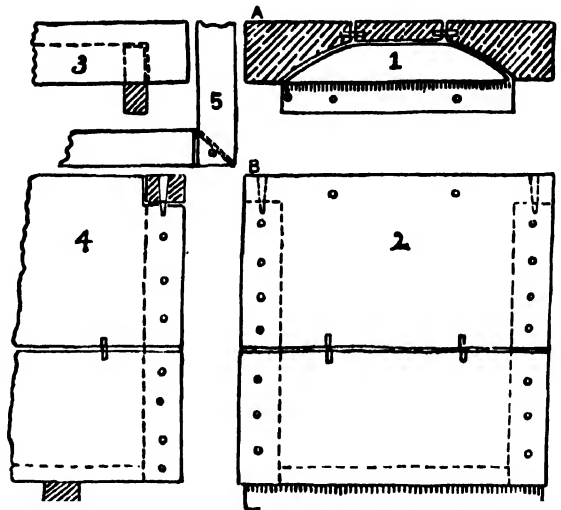


FIG. 168.—DIAGRAM SHOWING CONSTRUCTION OF COFFINS.

- 1, 2. Elevation of ends of lid and coffin.
3. Section of end of lid along middle line.
4. Elevation of side.
5. Plan of corner, showing joint of 2 and 4.

No. 1) was thus flat over the top and concave below. The whole was made firm by suitable end-pieces, shaped according to the curve inside, and flat at the bottom, to which the boards were stoutly pegged. A second end-piece of similar form was fixed inside these again, but this was made to descend some few inches within the coffin for a special reason. When the lid was in position these two pieces of wood, projecting downwards, fitted against the ends of the box; and when it was desired to fix down the lid this could be done easily and securely by driving pegs through the ends of the coffin into these internal end-pieces. If the pegs were strong, it would be almost impossible to raise the lid when once they had been driven home; and in many instances, even after the lapse of 4,000 years, it was with the greatest difficulty that they could be forced by means of a steel lever. Indeed, in several cases they baffled all attempts to open the coffin in this way without damage; and it was often found easier to remove the struts from the bottom and force out the bottom boards, or to drive in the pegs which held down the lid, or to cut these away entirely by boring through their length.

Such was the construction of the ordinary coffin, and these details were observed for the most part even where a thin coffin was enclosed in a very stout case. In some special instances, as those from tombs 116, 186, 575, 707, 723, and that from tomb 585, shown in Fig. 167, this outer sarcophagus was constructed of timber as much as 15 or even 20 cms. (8 inches) in thickness. The lid in such cases was usually solid, being of 2 or 3 stout boards dowelled firmly together; otherwise the same details of construction were carried out.

Decorations and Inscriptions.—The decoration of such coffins has been already noticed. The essential feature was an invocation upon the eastern side to Osiris, the inscription reading from north to south, and on the other side to Anubis, the inscription reading in the same direction. The coffin of UAT-ANKH from tomb 39, shown in Fig. 169, is a typical illustration. The two sacred eyes also were invariably placed at the northern end of the eastern face of the coffin: towards these the face of the dead was turned within the coffin. In the present example the eyes look out over the painted representation of a barred and bolted door, surrounded by a decorated frame. On the earliest full-length coffin of the site, from tomb 1015 of the Vth Dynasty, the only decorative feature was the pair of eyes in the position indicated. It has already been mentioned that the head of the burial laid invariably to the north, with its face towards the east; so that, without entering into a consideration of the formulated ritual handed down in the Book of the Dead, in this position the invocations read from head to foot of the coffin; the prayers to ANUBIS were appropriately on the western side, where lay the realm of that god; while the position of the prayer to OSIRIS, of the eyes and

of the door, on the eastern face, suggests some indefinite association with the sunrise and the idea of resurrection.

Parallel formulæ decorated the ends of the coffin, being usually short prayers to ISIS and her sister NEPHTHYS, guardians of the dead. In the best examples the figures of these goddesses, or of suppliants in prayer to them, were painted on the end of the coffin, in a panel enclosed by vertical columns of hieroglyphs, one on either side. The coffin of USERHET, shown in Fig. 180, is one such instance. In such cases the sides of the coffin also were usually divided into three panels by columns of hieroglyphs, which were short prayers or dedications of the dead to the eight minor deities. The nature of these inscriptions will be more fully described in the ensuing chapter. The panels thus formed were commonly left

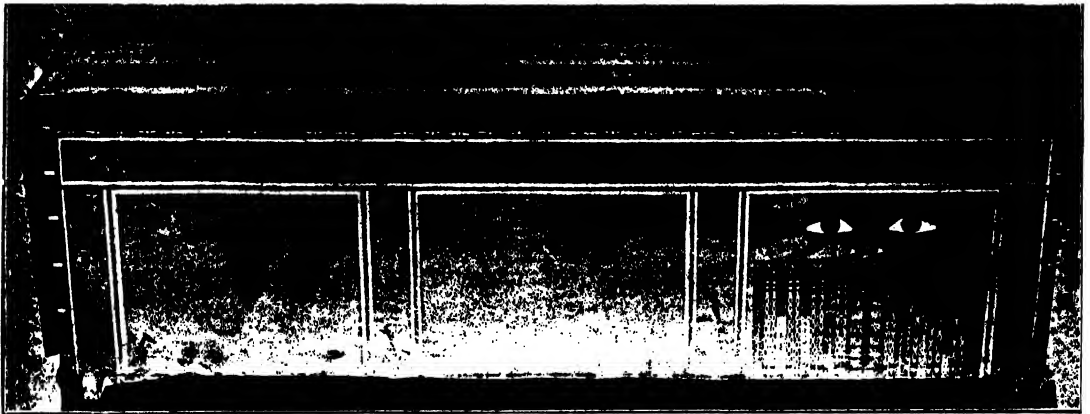


FIG. 169.—EASTERN FACE OF THE COFFIN OF THE NEFT-PER UART-ANKH. TOMB 39.

blank, with the exception of that which contained the sacred eyes, as in Fig. 169; but in special cases they were filled with geometrical designs in colours, in which a door was the central motive. The coffin of USERHET, Fig. 146, is a good example. On the coffin of MA, Fig. 147, the panels at the end also are filled with a similar decoration in place of the figures of the two goddesses which were more commonly found there. It might also be noticed that upon one of the earliest of these coffins from the tomb of ANTEF, No. 1, the invocations on the north, west, and south were all addressed to ANUBIS, that on the east being to OSIRIS as usual.

The lid of the coffin was usually inscribed with a single row of hieroglyphs, running from head to foot down the centre; these constituted in nearly all cases a short stereotyped prayer to ANUBIS. Some special instances, like the coffin of USERHET, which had also two prayers to OSIRIS inscribed upon the lid, will be

noted in the next chapter. In those cases where the coffin containing the body was enclosed in a stouter case the formulæ and decorations upon the outer were commonly repeated on the inner one. Such an instance is seen in the tomb of SEBEK-HETEP, illustrated in Fig. 170, where the inscriptions along the lid and sides of the inner shell, on the outer side, are repetitions of the corresponding prayers upon the outer coffin. The formulæ at the ends are addressed in this instance to ANUBIS.

Our description hitherto has been concerned chiefly with the outsides of the coffins; but the present illustration shows that the decorations of the insides were sometimes even more elaborate. In addition to the monotonous formulæ, there

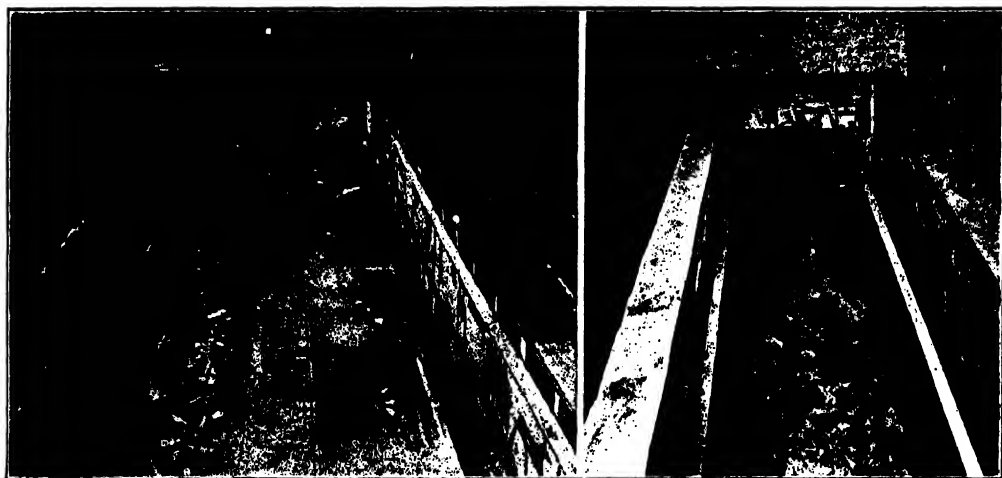


FIG. 170.—TOMB OF SEBEK-HETEP, SHOWING THE INNER COFFIN BEFORE AND AFTER RAISING THE LID. NO. 723.

are painted upon the boards in this and other cases representations of various ornaments, fruits, flowers, and tributes dedicated to the dead. A similar instance was seen in the preceding chapter, on the coffin of NEFERY, Fig. 146. In regard to the present illustration, Fig. 170, there may be noted the KA statue lying before the face of the dead in the near end of the right-hand picture. The face of the figure, which is not shown in the photograph, was turned towards the east. The sandals placed over the positions of the feet, on the far end of the inner coffin, are also of interest, especially as the paintings upon the inner ends of both coffins included sandals among the tributes represented.

The subject of such paintings is illustrated in detail by the black and white reproductions on Plate VI. These are taken from the coffin of Neteru-hetep, tomb 75. Fig. 171 represents the vases and other offerings painted upon the

inside of the head end of the coffin. The names of the objects or their contents are given in difficult hieratic writing. On the panel from the opposite end, Fig. 172, the two pairs of sandals are conspicuous, together with two *Ankh* signs, all of which seem as though offered on a low wooden table.

The underside of the coffin lid was sometimes fully inscribed in cursive hieroglyphic writing with religious texts, chiefly portions of the ritual in the Book of the Dead; but in no case was this portion of the coffin decorated in colour or in any other manner. Some further account of the inscriptions will be given in the next chapter; for the present it is apparent that so far as the coffin was concerned it conformed both in construction and method of decoration to a standard pattern, characteristic of the time and place, from which custom sanctioned little deviation. The same uniformity is seen in each feature of the burial customs which we proceed to examine in further detail. The nature of the burial chamber was indicated in Chapter IV., and the general method of interment was illustrated by the undisturbed burials described in Chapter V.

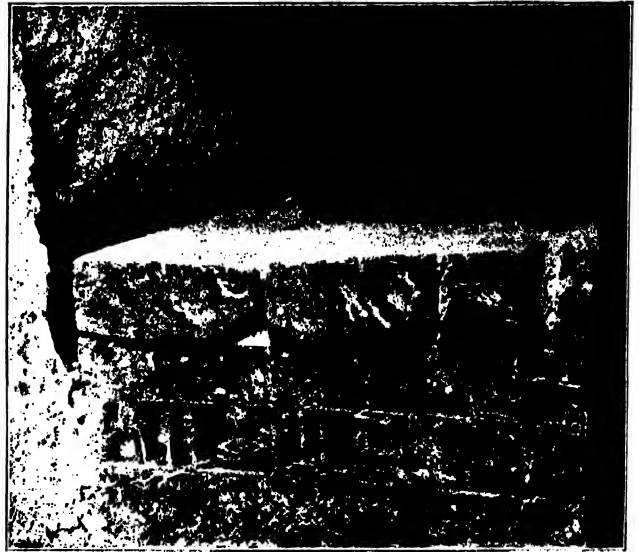


FIG. 173.—COFFIN OF APA WITHIN THE BURIAL CHAMBER.
TOMB 707.

A Typical Interment.—In

introducing, then, the example of a further typical burial of the age, from tomb 707, it is with a view to dwelling upon the details of interment rather than those other aspects of the funereal customs which these tombs suggest.

The tomb was that of APA, who was steward or comptroller in a great household, and claimed, according to the inscription upon his coffin, to have been "beloved of his master every day." The position of the outer sarcophagus within the burial chamber is seen in Fig. 173. The customary funerary models were not found as usual upon the lid, but lay upon the floor in a recess to the east of the coffin, which is indicated by the deep shadow to the left in the photograph. It was necessary to enlarge this opening slightly in order to gain a clear view and to obtain a photograph of these objects. Their position down by the side of the

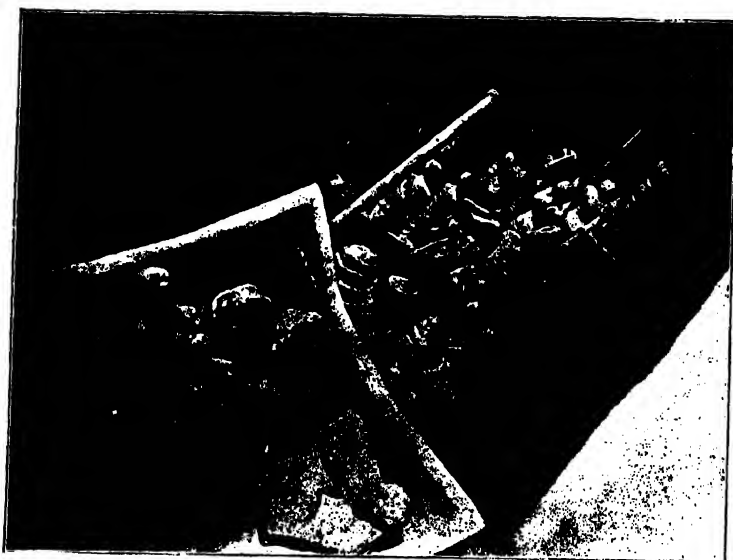


FIG. 174.—VIEW OF THE WOOD MODELS ALONGSIDE THE COFFIN OF APA. TOMB 707.

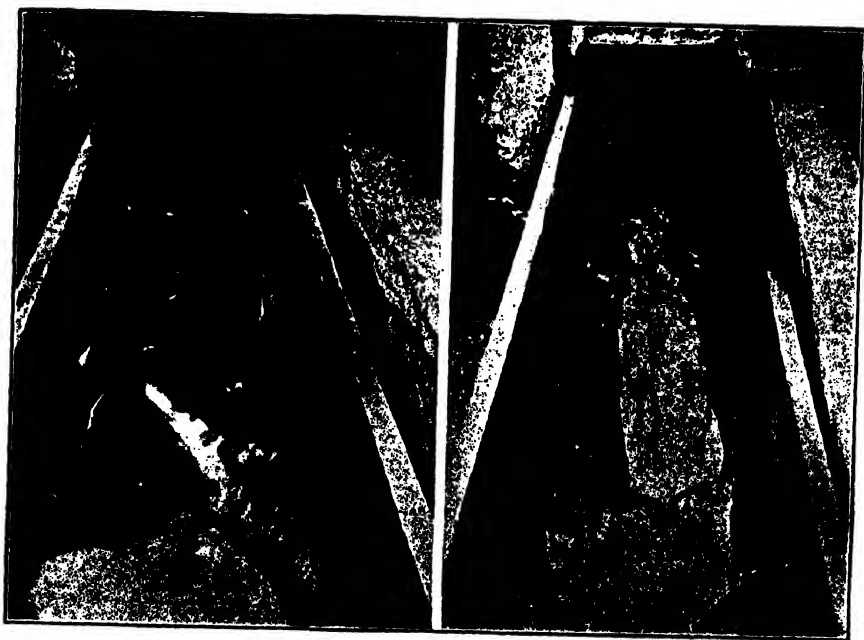


FIG. 175.—BURIAL OF APA BEFORE AND AFTER REMOVING THE WRAPPINGS. TOMB 707.

coffin is shown in Fig. 174. They consisted of the conventional series of models in wood: the granary, the rowing and sailing boats, the beer-making, the bread-making, and the woman returning from market, as illustrated elsewhere in these pages (*e.g.*, Figs. 98, 120, 125). Upon these it is not necessary to dwell. The outer coffin contained, as usual in important tombs, an inner case, in which lay the remains of the dead official, covered plentifully with a linen cloth, and with his head enclosed in a funereal mask or cartonage. These details are illustrated in Fig. 175.

Preservation of the Body.—Upon removing the wrappings from this burial, an exceptional feature was disclosed. Obviously by some definite process, the flesh of the deceased had been preserved in perfect condition, like the dried and shrivelled bodies occasionally met with even as early as prehistoric times. This is the nearest approach to a mummified body that the necropolis produced. Nowhere, and in no instance among the Middle Empire interments, was there any trace of the process of mummification, as it is commonly understood, by embalming the body and wrapping it in bandages and preserving the whole human form by a free application of bitumen and resins.

The Mask and Features.—The mask itself, reproduced in Fig. 176, reached to the waist. It was made as usual of cartonage, layers of linen cloth pressed and fixed together and covered with a thin stucco, upon which the features were painted. It is seen to be a more or less conventional object, suggesting only roughly the fact that the deceased wore a beard and moustache.



FIG. 176.—DEATH MASK OF AFA.
TOMB 707.

Upon the neck there is suspended a gorgeous collar of tubular beads and pendants. They are all coloured black except the middle portion, which is done in red. The thin connecting rows are alternately black, yellow, red and yellow, counting from the top. The black probably represents glazed paste of that colour, the red carnelian, and the deep-yellow gold. The body is coloured yellow, which shows between the beads; the hair and wig are a deep shade of blue. The head and shoulders were covered with the mask, by which some attempt was evidenced to preserve the memory of the features of the deceased official. There was in this instance no KA figure or statuette of an imperishable material to perpetuate its

form and likeness, the mask and the wrappings were probably deemed sufficient to accomplish that end; sandals and a wooden head-rest were provided according

to ritual; models to keep him supplied with the necessities of life, grain, bread and drink; boats provided his means of transport, whether for pilgrimage or for pleasure, and the invocations to OSIRIS and ANUBIS upon the coffin were not forgotten. Nothing was omitted that custom had sanctified or ritual enjoined. It was in every respect a "good burial" without extravagance, and illustrates to us what was deemed necessary for the dead; it lacks only the superadded and unnecessary features of human interest that tell us of individual thought and feeling.

The head of APA, which is illustrated in Fig. 177, was in an equally

remarkable state of preservation as the rest of the body. Though it had suffered somewhat by the action of the air before this photograph was taken, the beard and moustache and the curly hair may still be plainly recognised.

Other Burial Masks.—

The burial mask which covered the head of APA, as just described, is typical of the general character of these objects, which was illustrated by several specimens. That shown in Fig. 178 is another similar instance. It is from the tomb



FIG. 178.—DEATH MASK OF JA'Y, A STEWARD. TOMB 275.

of JA'Y, who, curiously enough, bore the same title and qualifications as APA himself, namely, "steward of the household" and "beloved of his master." This mask is somewhat unusual; it gives the impression that a more careful effort at portraiture had guided the brush of the painter where he outlined the eyes and

other features of the dead thereon. In other respects it is similar to the last. The material is cartonage, the basis of colour is yellow, but in this instance the hair and features are represented in a dark shade of olive green. It was found, unfortunately, in a friable condition and has partly perished.

The next illustration (Fig. 179) illustrates the fact that the burial customs of the age sanctioned even in this respect some measure of variety. In this example the cartonage does not stop short at the waist, but is continued almost the full length of the body. It was found in tomb No. 140, which had not apparently been disturbed, although most of its contents had been destroyed by the ravages of white ants. In the main chamber six coffins had been ranged side by side, of which only one preserved a name, seemingly that of a lady HETEP. In a recess behind these was a seventh coffin in good condition bearing the name KHNEH-HETEP, steward of a house. This cartonage was found in one of the coffins that were uninscribed. It was the same length behind as in front. The face is beautifully modelled and a wooden beard is attached. The wig comes down, as usual, in front over each shoulder. The collar of beads and pendants is represented in bands of red, blue, and black, while the general surface of the body is yellow as before. An invocation is inscribed in blue-coloured hieroglyphs down the middle of its length; but the name of the deceased has not been inserted in the space provided for it. The prayer is an ordinary formula which reads "That the king may give to the OSIRIS a house of offerings . . . and all things good and pure, for the soul of—" the rest is blank. The prayer was vain. The beautiful face, too, was perhaps a mockery, fashioned in the workshop, sold to any who would pay the price. These are the hollow emblems of ritual.

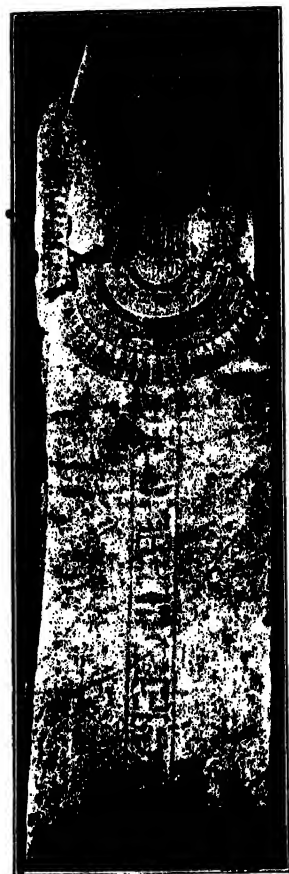


FIG. 179.—A NAMELESS MASK. TOMB 140.

A Unique Inner Coffin.—The tomb of USERHET, which is shown in the photographs of Fig. 180, illustrates a unique feature of the interment, which may appropriately be described at this stage. The coffin was beautifully decorated, as already seen in Fig. 146 of Chapter VI. It lay inside a small chamber made to receive a single sarcophagus; it was unaccompanied by any funereal models or actual utensils; a few pottery vases which had contained provisions constituted

the whole furniture of the tomb. Upon removing the lid of the coffin it was seen that a full-sized coffin moulded to the human form lay within, and this contained the body of the deceased warrior. A photograph of this striking object is reproduced in Fig. 181. It resembles to some extent the mummy-cases of later date, but none the less it seems to be a development from the cartonage masks which have been just described. In this case it is made of wood, plastered and painted. The body is white, but the face in marked contrast is black. The wig comes down, as previously, in front of the shoulders and the chin is bearded. The usual collar of coloured beads and pendants hangs around the throat; and a curiously bungled inscription is traced in hieroglyphs of blue down the middle, con-

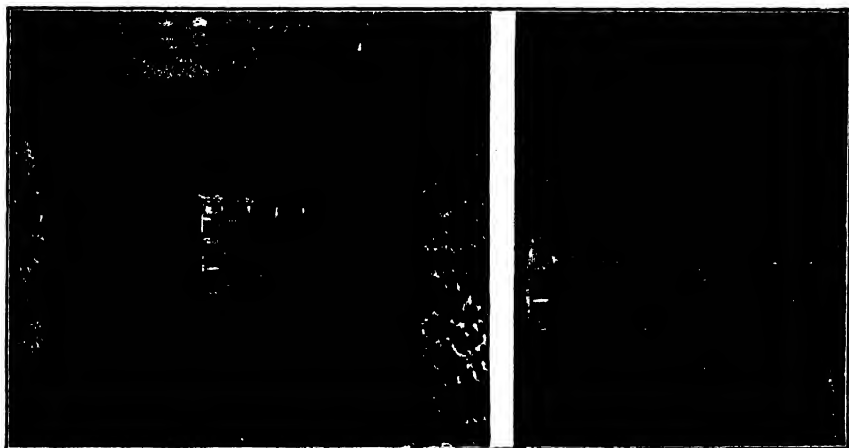


FIG. 180.—THE TOMB AND COFFIN OF USERHET, A WARRIOR. NO. 132.

taining the name and title of the "Warrior, USERHET." The bottom of this inner coffin was plain but similarly moulded. There is obviously here no case of ready-made tomb furniture, and the details of this interment seem to have been carried out with forethought and special preparation. The evolution of the moulded sarcophagus, so characteristic of later times, followed naturally upon the extension of the practice of mummification. The present instance, which seems to be unquestionably of the XIIth Dynasty in date, is therefore the more remarkable in that it is seemingly anterior to both, at any rate so far as the district of Beni Hassan is concerned. The case is unique, and its nearest prototype is the series of burial masks previously described.

A Unique Form of Mask.—Another unique kind of burial-mask was found in tomb 287, but in this instance there is a doubt as to the real date of the interment. The coffin itself is seen from the outside in Fig. 189, below. Its ends are raised

above the level of the lid, which is itself slightly curved. This shape alone is not evidence against an early date, for it almost reproduces on an extended scale the form of the wooden coffin from Nuerat described in Chapter III., Fig. 14. It also resembles the form represented on the mural paintings of the Middle Empire.¹ But the details of construction, the general appearance, and the nature of the inscriptions, as well as the form, do not harmonise with the characteristics of the Middle Empire coffins of the necropolis, or even with others found within the chamber. The interment also disclosed a point of difference in that the body as seen in Fig. 182 lay upon its right side, facing west. It was, however, covered with a linen cloth as in the typical examples, and was seemingly undisturbed. The mask which covered the head and shoulders, seen from back and front in Fig. 183, is, however, the most remarkable feature. In one respect it is similar to some of those previously described in that it reaches to the waist and is decorated with a collar of beads painted upon it, and has a semblance of a human face. At the bottom it differs from the others in the narrowing continuation in front and behind, down which in the former case a short but nameless formula is inscribed. But a special motive obviously underlies the decoration, representing the wings of an eagle spread on either side of the face; the claws are clasping a branch at the side, hardly seen in the illustration, and the tail-feathers reach down behind. The decoration representing the feathers is minute and attractive, especially over the head. The colours employed are green, blue, and red; the head is studded with raised points, covered with gold foil, one, as it were, to each feather, while raised bands of the gold cross the throat and are similarly fixed with studs at the ends. The face itself is represented in miniature, proportionate to the size of an eagle's head in the scheme of the design, and is covered with gold foil. The whole design is carried out with striking and decorative effect; and, though the colours are bright, the effort is not garish or displeasing to the western eye. It may be noted that tiny faces of this kind have been found occasionally in tombs of the Middle Empire. These are made, as a

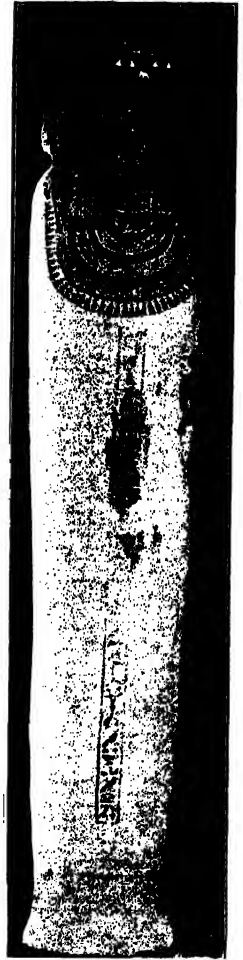


FIG. 181.—INNER COFFIN OF USERHET. TOMB 132.

¹ In the tomb of AMENEMHAT carpenters are depicted at work on a box of this shape.

rule, of plaster, which fitted apparently into a cover of stucco. Such instances, and the history of the custom, are described in a previous Report of Excavations made at Abydos.¹ The present example, however, is hardly similar. The smallness of the face seems to have been dictated by the general scheme of the device, rather than by any custom in vogue. Upon removing the cloth which covered the burial within this coffin it was found that the body was tightly wrapped in cloth, even the limbs being separately treated; the whole was bound together in a large coarse sheet of linen which was sewn up at intervals. Unfortunately no objects



FIG. 182.—INTERMENT WITH MASK LYING ON RIGHT SIDE. TOMB 287.

were found within this coffin, and it is a matter of difficulty to assign even an approximate date to the interment and the mask, which might under some circumstances be deemed as late as the Ptolemaic Age at least. After considering carefully the intrinsic evidence, the nature of the burial, of the cartonage mask, of the coffin and the few hieroglyphic signs upon it, as well as the objects found in the other portions of the tomb,² their natural relation, and the customs of the locality, it seems most likely that this mask, as well as many of the small objects found within the tomb, belong to the early days of the New Empire, somewhere, at any rate, after the close of the Middle Empire and before the middle of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

Having considered the nature of the coffin, the burial mask, the treatment of the body, and other features of the interment, we come in conclusion to a further point of detail in relation to the preservation of the dead. This was the separate treatment and interment of the vital organs of the body. In later texts of the Book of the Dead this is treated as a recognised portion of the ritual, and doubtless the origins of the custom belong to earlier date. Possibly in most of the burials in this site the vital organs were removed; but only a few instances of special preparation for their interment were illustrated by excavation, and these have accordingly a special interest.

Canopic Boxes.—In the floor of tomb No. 107 a cubical box was found under

¹ Cf. El Arabah, Pl. XIV., and pp. 10, 11.

² Figs. 109, 113, 118, 150, 151, 153, 166, and the Appendix.

the bottom of the coffin, in a hole specially cut to receive it. The photograph in Fig. 184 shows its position, the bottom of the coffin having been turned up for the purpose. The tomb in this case had been disturbed, and its contents were mostly destroyed in consequence. The bottom boards of the coffin alone remained intact, and the plunderers had not thought it necessary to look under these for further spoils. The box is seen on the left in Fig. 184. It is decorated with a pattern in lines of colour, and an inscription in blue hieroglyphs runs around it.

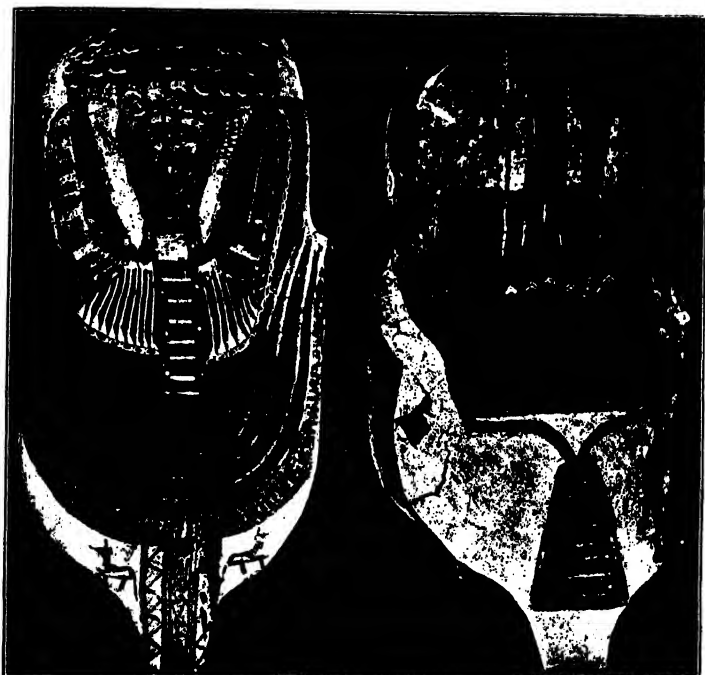
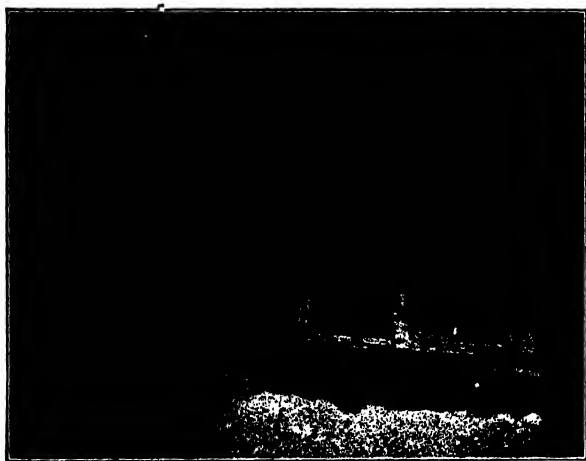


FIG. 183.—FRONT AND BACK VIEW OF CARTONAGE MASK. TOMB 287.

On the lid there is a brief dedication to ANUBIS in a single line. Upon opening it, it was found, as seen in Fig. 186, to be divided into four compartments, each of which contained a small bundle, like a parcel wrapped in cloth, and a piece of linen cloth was placed lightly over the contents. In each corner was written in hieratic writing the name of a deity, giving the four names familiar in the dedications on so-called canopic jars of later times,¹ namely AMSET, HAPY, DUAMUTEF and KEBHSENUEF. The other box shown in Fig. 185 is precisely similar; though its colours are different and it is slightly smaller in size. (The

¹ Cf. Fig. 221.

dimensions in this case are 43 by 41 by 38 cms.) It was found in the tomb of NEFWA, No. 186, and the circumstances of its discovery were the same. It also



served a similar purpose, and the details of its construction, as well as the inscriptions upon it and within, completed the analogy. There is clearly illustrated to us in these instances the fulfilment of a custom which must have been familiar, namely, the removal of the vital organs and their separate preservation, each under the protection of a special divinity. The sequel illustrates this fact conclusively, for upon examining the bundles it was found¹ that

FIG. 184. CANOPIC BOX UNDER THE COFFIN. TOMB 107.

they contained no traces of human or animal remains whatever. The whole thing was a simulation. We cannot doubt the piety of the intentions of those who directed that the embalming should

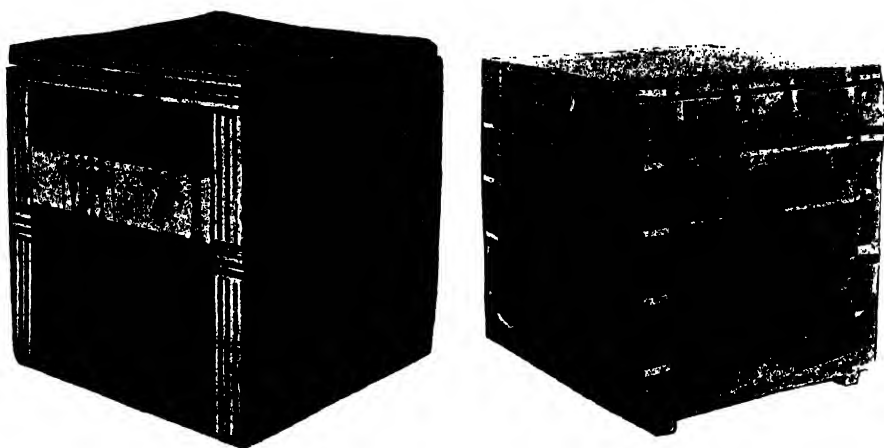


FIG. 185.—I. CANOPIC BOX OF KHNEM-HETER. TOMB 107. II. CANOPIC BOX OF NEFWA. TOMB 186. [SCALE 1: 10.]

be done, but it is evident that the embalmers were so far accustomed to such a process that by simply rolling up bundles of cloth they pretended to have done their work. It is not a single instance, for the same result attended the search

¹ This examination was kindly made by Dr. Elliot Smith, F.R.S., of Cairo.

through all the packages discovered, both those from these tombs of KHNFM-HETEPA and NEFWA, and a third set from the box found in the tomb of KHNFEM-NEKHTA and NETER-NEKHTA previously described.¹

A Special Case.—A further illustration in Fig. 187 shows a canopic box of more matured form. The ends of this were raised, and the lid curved up in the centre, much in the same shape as the lid of the coffin in Fig. 17. The inscriptions upon this box were all painted in bright green, and the eyes were decorated with gold foil and colours in decorative but somewhat tawdry fashion. Unfortunately it was found in poor preservation. It contained four jars of wood, and each jar had apparently been covered with a lid shaped in the form of a human head, in the fashion which, from the New Empire onwards, was not uncommon.² In this respect they differ from the four canopic vases of alabaster of later times, reproduced in Fig. 231; for the latter are provided with lids which, according to more usual convention, reproduce the heads of the four genii to whose care the organs were dedicated. There is some room for doubt as to the date of this canopic box. The tomb chamber seemed to contain only one interment, which, from the style of the fragments of coffin preserved in the débris, seemed to be of the Middle Empire. The tomb was undoubtedly of the general date and character of the necropolis; and that this chamber had contained an interment of that age is rendered probable by the addition of a second burial chamber under the side of the tomb-shaft, as previously described in Fig. 37. But unfortunately the name upon the coffin of the former chamber was not preserved; indeed, nearly every scrap of wood, except the canopic box, had been eaten by the white ant. The name upon the box was apparently SENBY-EN-RES, who is described as a *Mer-per*. On the whole it would appear that the absence of evidence to the contrary leaves the object to the Middle Empire, and at the same time demonstrates that this form and construction of box was a type of the period. The latter conclusion is

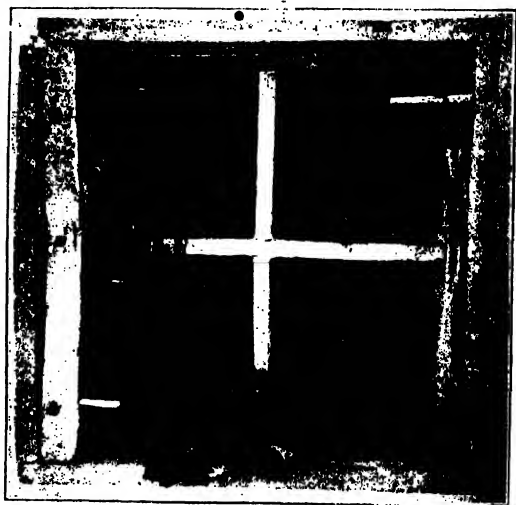


FIG. 186. - INTERIOR OF BOX. TOMB 186.

¹ Vide Chap. V., Sect. IV., Fig. 83.

² The vases in the so-called tomb of Queen Týi at Thebes are an example.

of much importance in regard to the date of the coffins in tombs 183 and 287. There is little to be added to the foregoing descriptions of the characteristic details of interment as illustrated by this excavation. Features which were incidental but not general are illustrated elsewhere in these pages.

Closing of the Tomb Doors.—When the burial had been completed the tomb was closed in various ways. In some instances, but not often, a door of



FIG. 187.—CANOPIC BOX. TOMB 134.

masoned stones was built up, which completely filled the opening. In one case only was the opening built up with brick. In other instances a large mat of reeds bound with fibre rope was deemed sufficient protection. In such cases the effectiveness of the mat depended chiefly upon the nature of the filling first poured into the tomb. If this was of limestone chips and of small stones, which was commonly the case, these would do little more than press the mat inwards towards the coffin; where limestone dust and sand were freely mingled with the chips, the contents of the chamber were commonly destroyed, as this finer material found its way in between the reeds. Perhaps the most common method was to fill up

the opening to the chamber by a pile of rough stones; and this was on the whole the most satisfactory method, for in the case of a masoned door a small crevice would admit a constant flow of sand, but the rough heaping of stones together, though full of crevices, presented no line of flow for the sand to effect its entrance.

Anyone familiar with the burying-grounds of Egypt must be struck by three things, the homogeneous character of these tombs, the preservation of funereal furniture made of materials that are most apt to perish, and the proportion of burials found intact. Perhaps the most remarkable feature is embodied in the first, that the necropolis belonged almost exclusively to the Middle Empire, and was so

free from admixture with remains of later date. As a rule the use of a convenient site continued; and even though the local fortune declined with the feudal period, there still existed a number of permanent, well-made tombs for the re-use of later generations. Whatever may have been the explanation, burials of later date

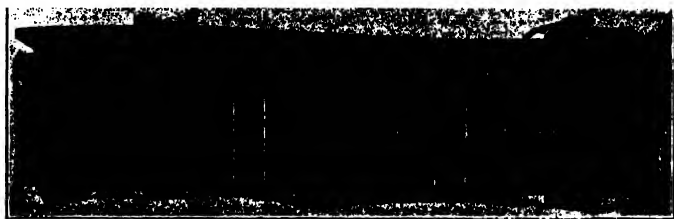


FIG. 188.—COFFIN BOX CONTAINING THE BONES OF THE PRIEST NEKHT. TOMB 130.
[LENGTH 39 INS.]

within its boundaries were very rare; and these were, moreover, so markedly distinct that their intrusive character was at once apparent. They, therefore, do

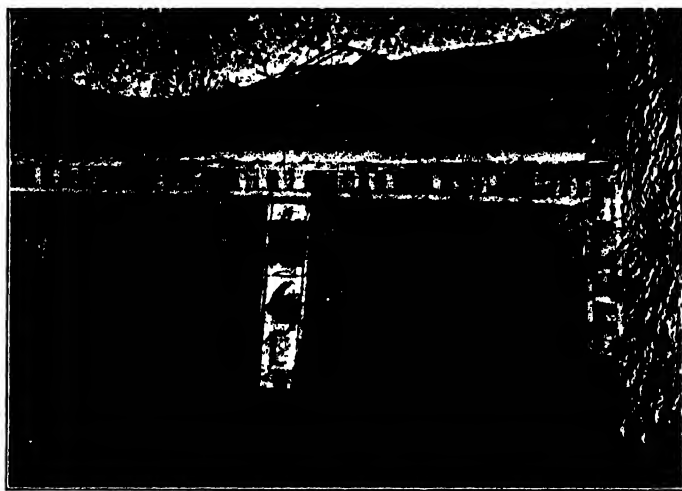


FIG. 189.—BURIAL IN BUNDLE OF REEDS UPON A COFFIN WITH RAISED ENDS. TOMB 287.

not present any difficulties, nor, indeed, many features of interest; but three cases may be quoted as examples.

Three Intrusive Burials.—The first of these is a small coffin-box only 99 cms. in length. It was taken from tomb 130, wherein it was found tied up with ropes, upon a heap of sand removed from the débris of other interments with which the tomb was littered. The decoration upon the box, the formulæ, etc., are accordant with the patterns of the Middle Empire. The lid, in addition to the inscription

to ANUBIS, which runs, as usual, down the centre, is decorated with the skin of a leopard, an emblem of the priesthood. Upon opening the box it was found to contain nothing but the mere bones and skull of a man, which were neatly packed within, and entirely filled it. There is no illustration here of a burial custom; it is a single instance amongst over a thousand interments. Conjecture may naturally differ in the attempt to explain this occurrence. Possibly tomb-robbers had disturbed the remains of a priest within this tomb, and the fact being discovered by others when, maybe, the tomb was required a second time, this small box was made and his bones were reverently re-interred. It is, at any rate,



FIG. 190.—INTERMENT OF A CHILD UPON A BED. TOMB 541.

fairly clear from intrinsic evidence that no long interval of time can have elapsed between the burials which were primary in the tomb-chamber and the making of this box.

The second case was found in tomb 287, in which there was an obvious but interesting instance of intrusive burial. The large bundle of reeds which is seen in Fig. 189 lying tied up, upon the top of the uppermost coffin, enfolded a mummified body, and others of a similar nature were found in other parts of the chamber. It seems clear that people of a much later time, probably during the first millennium B.C., had made use of this chamber, either as a family vault, or for the disposition of those who may have been carried away by an epidemic and hastily buried. The coffin upon which this lay has been the subject of earlier comment in connection with the burial mask illustrated in Fig. 183.

The third instance is remarkable but not altogether exceptional. It is the burial of a child, lying wrapped in a fine mat upon a bed. This may well belong to the Middle Empire; for though interments of children were naturally uncommon in a site devoted to notables, yet in the few instances that were found, three in all, they were of this kind. No coffin was ever made specially for a child, though in one instance a mother and child were buried within the same coffin.

These exceptional instances, it may be seen, only illustrate more convincingly the uniformity of the burial customs of the vicinity during the Middle Empire.

CHAPTER VIII.

NOTES ON THE INSCRIBED OBJECTS.

INSCRIPTIONS were found only on two classes of object, namely, a few tombstones, or stelæ, and on the wooden coffins, which were numerous. The nature of the inscriptions was in every case formal, including nothing of historical character. The most important examples were some new texts of the Book of the Dead, written on the inner sides and under the lids of the coffins in tombs of NEFERY (No. 116) and NEFWA (No. 186). These have been described, with copies *in extenso*, by M. PIERRE LACAU in the *ANNALES DU SERVICE DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'EGYPTE* (1905).¹ Having been thus published in full, it is not necessary to repeat the copies of the texts; and their interpretation is a matter for special study. The other inscriptions were religious formulæ of a stereotyped character, the nature of which can be gleaned from a few examples. These were mostly copied by PROFESSOR NEWBERRY during a visit to the excavations in 1903, who kindly placed his copies and notes at our disposal; while in the same year PROFESSOR SPIEGELBERG also made a catalogue of the names and titles on all the coffins and fragments discovered up to that time. From these memoranda and our notebooks of the next year's work, MR. HOWARD CARTER has prepared the table of names and titles reproduced in Plates VII. and VIII. These names have been duplicated only when they show differences of spelling, or for some other special reason; a full list, translated, is reserved for the Appendix, when each tomb is treated separately. PROFESSOR VALDEMAR SCHMIDT has also spent much time in examining these inscriptions, and the tentative translation of the lists of Festivals on Plate X. is compiled chiefly from his notes.

Stelæ.—The number of stelæ discovered was disproportionate to ordinary experience on a XIIth Dynasty site. Not more than ten were found in the whole necropolis of nearly 900 tombs, representing twice that number of interments. It may be inferred from the generally good preservation of the tombs that the inscriptions upon the coffins made it possible to dispense with the tombstone. On the other hand, if it was the custom to place stelæ upon the surface at the

¹ Cf. also the Catalogue of Inscribed Sarcophagi in the "CATALOGUE GÉNÉRAL," by the same *savant*.

NAMES AND TITLES FROM INSCRIPTIONS ON COFFINS, &c.

TOMB	NAME & TITLE	TOMB	NAME & TITLE	TOMB	NAME & TITLE
1	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	85	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	181	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣
16.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 (𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣) 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	90.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	"	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣
"	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	"	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	183	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣
"	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	94.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 var 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	186	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣
"	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	"	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	"	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣
23.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	96.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	188	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣
"	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	112.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	202	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 var 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣
"	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	116.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 (𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣)	211	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 (𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣)
"	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	"	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	258	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣
39.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	"	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	263	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣
43.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	120.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	264	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣
"	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	124.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	269	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣
"	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	128.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	270	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣
48.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	132.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	271.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣
47.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	134.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 (𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣) 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	275.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣
61.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 var 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	134.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	279.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣
"	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	135.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	283.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 (𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣) 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣
63.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	140.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	284.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 var 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣
65.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	163.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	"	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 var 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣
"	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	172.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	"	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣
"	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	177.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	"	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣
75.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	"	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	"	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣
81.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	177.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	287.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣
"	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	180.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣	293.	𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣

NAMES AND TITLES, &c.—Continued.

TOMB	NAME & TITLE	TOMB	NAME & TITLE	TOMB	NAME & TITLE
294	ᠳᠠᠭ ᠤᠨ	482.	ᠭᠣᠨᠠᠳᠤ [ᠳᠠᠭ]	627.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ
"	ᠭᠣᠨᠠᠳᠤ ᠤᠨ	487.	ᠳᠠᠭᠤ ᠤᠨ	655.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ
"	ᠭᠣᠨᠠᠳᠤ ᠤᠨ	500.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	662.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ
"	ᠭᠣᠨᠠᠳᠤ ᠤᠨ	507.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	676.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ
320.	ᠭᠣᠨᠠᠳᠤ ᠤᠨ	515.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	707.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ
323.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ	516.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	711.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ
329.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	"	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ	717.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ
360.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	534.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	723.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ
362.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	545.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ	743.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ
365.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	561.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	773.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ
366.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	564.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	774.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ
367.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	571.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	777.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ
384.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	573.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	800.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ
392.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	576.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	832.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ
393.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	577.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	834.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ
400.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	579.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	850.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ
412.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	583.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	861.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ
413.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	585.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	"	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ
481.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	"	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	863.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ
"	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	"	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	870.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ
"	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	"	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	879.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ
"	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	608.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	883.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ
"	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	612.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	896.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ
482.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	617.	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ	"	ᠰᠠᠵᠤ ᠤᠨ

mouth of the shaft, then it is possible that these had been anciently removed. Our observations did not throw any light upon this point, as the few examples were all found at the foot of the tomb-shafts, which had apparently been previously dug out.

The five best examples are illustrated in Figs. 191—195. The great stone from tomb No. 85, shown in Fig. 191, was very faintly inscribed, and partly defaced.

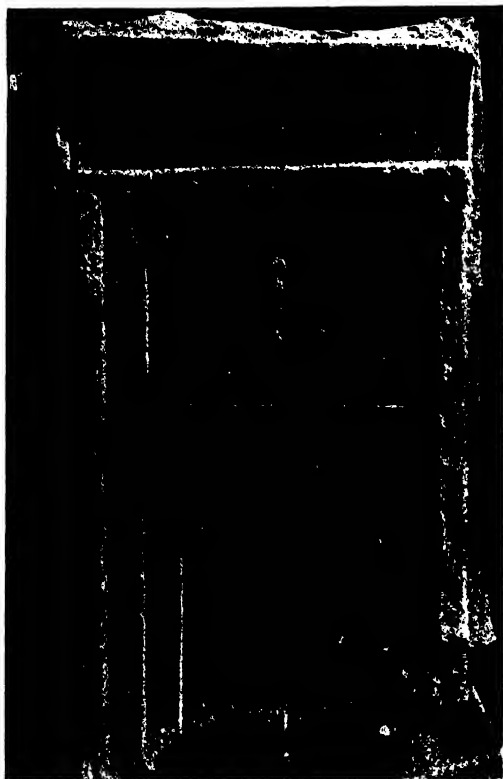


FIG. 191.—STELA OF HEFT.
TOMB 85.



FIG. 192.—STELA OF USERHETA.
TOMB 163.

The mouldings representing the false door are somewhat unusual. The inscription begins in the middle of the top row and reads in both directions; it continues in the inner registers in a similar manner, ending in each at the foot with the name of HEFT, whose title was *Neb(t)per*. The inscriptions are the familiar prayers on the one hand to ANUBIS (of UT); on the other to OSIRIS (of BUSIRIS), that the king might give the usual *per-kheru* of drink and flesh. A horizontal line, almost wholly effaced, probably mentioned "thousands of oxen." The right-hand vertical column ends with a dedication of the dead "to the great God, the Lord

of Heaven." Another column, to the left, which is unfortunately separated from its context, speaks of AMENY [son of] KHNEM-HETEP, [son of] KHNEM-HETEP, "true of voice." Fig. 192 shows a tall stela of sandstone, broken into three pieces, but almost complete. The inscription is all legible. In the upper panel the deceased USERHETA is seated facing his wife NEFER. A formula carved above and behind the male figure is a dedication to Osiris, in which it appears

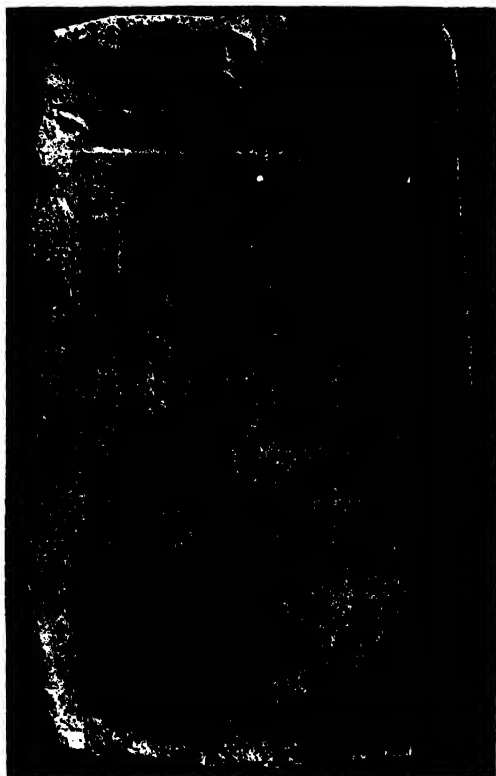


FIG. 193.—STELA OF HOR-HE-REKHYT-HETEP.
TOMB 211.

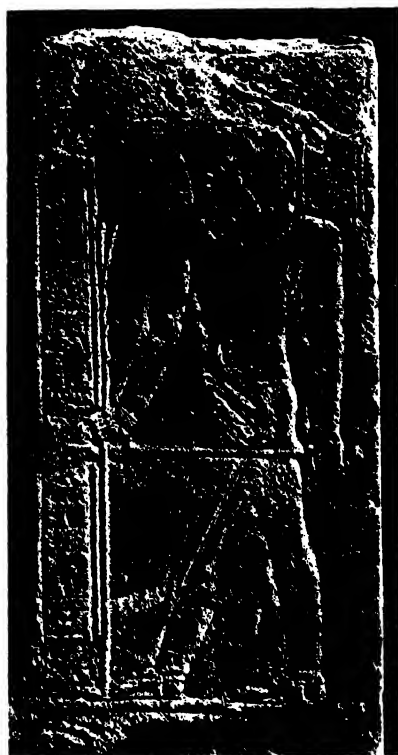


FIG. 194.—STELA OF NETER-NEKHT.
TOMB 320.

that the deceased was a *mcr-per*, or steward. Below, the inscriptions begin in the middle as before, reading in both directions, and continuing down the sides. To the right the invocation is to OSIRIS (of BUSIRIS and ABYDOS), with the usual prayer for the intermediation of the king for *per-kheru* offerings, ending at the bottom with the name and title of the dead. The corresponding invocation to ANUBIS is similar. A short line, horizontal, which is partly broken, seems to give his mother's name as *Meft*.

The stela illustrated in Fig. 193 is the best of the series. It is smaller

than the foregoing. There are two horizontal rows of hieroglyphs, cleanly incised, at the top, with a column on either side. They enclose a figure of a man seated before a table which overflows with offerings and tribute. Below are the two sacred eyes, as in the two previous instances, looking out over the false door. The upper row, commencing from the right, dedicates the deceased to the great God, the Lord of Heaven (OSIRIS). His own name is best seen in the second row, a similar dedication to ANUBIS, where it reads the son of HENY, HOR-HE-REKHYT-HETEP. Down the right and left margins are the ordinary *seten-hetep-de* formulæ to Osiris and Anubis respectively for *per-kheru* offerings for the dead, whose profession is not mentioned.

In Fig. 194 there is seen a salt-worn stela of fine sandstone, inscribed down the left margin and at the top of the right with incised hieroglyphs, while a well carved figure in high relief occupies the main portion of the stone. It is possible to infer from the absence of the sacred eyes and false doors that some portion is missing. In the representation of the deceased the wig, collar, skirt and girdle, sandals, and bâton are noticeable features. The formula down the front is addressed to OSIRIS for *per-kheru* offerings for NETER-NEKHT born of HETEP. The name was repeated in the right top corner.



FIG. 195.—STELA OF NEHERA. TOMB 360.

The next photograph, No. 195, the last of this series, shows a stela in limestone, broken into halves. Inside a high moulded border is a frame of incised hieroglyphs enclosing the figure of a man standing before a table, holding a lotus to his face as usual. The sacred eyes surmount a false door of curious and interesting design, which suggests a flight of steps in the middle, leading up to the feet of the man. The formulæ both begin in the middle of the upper row of the inscription, that to the right being addressed to ANUBIS and that to the left to OSIRIS: both are prayers for *per-kheru* offerings, with the mediation of the king, for NEHERA, born

of ZAT.¹ It is a noticeable fact in this, as well as in the foregoing inscriptions, that the form *n-Ka-n* (for the Ka of) is never used.

Another small stela from tomb No. 16, which is not illustrated, contained a dedication in two rows of hieroglyphs to OSIRIS for *per-kheru* offerings for the warrior BAKT'S son KHNEH-HETEP. A seventh, from tomb 283, was for the warrior HEMENY'S son USER-NEKHT, mentioning his wife, whose name was obliterated. A few other fragments of inscribed stone were found, probably portions of stelæ, but no names were preserved upon them.

Other inscriptions on stone have already been referred to in Chapter III. The false doors in the tombs of APA and BEBA (Nos. 481, 482, Figs. 27, 29) partake of the nature of fixed stelæ. They have already been partly discussed; but it is interesting to look back at them as belonging to an earlier period of the necropolis. That of APA contains a *scen-hetep-de* formula addressed to ANUBIS, with a short dedication to OSIRIS. The deceased is described apparently as head man of the town, with a second name NEHERA. That of SENB, upon the north side of the entrance to the tomb, is almost precisely similar. She is alluded to as the Royal Ornament, and one of her daughters, whose name occurs three times, was named TETA, and the other THENA, who was a priestess of Hathor. The same arrangement and formulæ are observed in the tomb of BEBA and PEPY-NA which adjoined. The wife of the latter was named THEN-NA, and being a priestess of HATHOR and a Royal Ornament it may be conjectured that she was the daughter of APA and SENB, to whom reference has just been made.

The Coffins.—With the exception of the few long texts from the Book of the Dead, which have been mentioned, the inscriptions upon the coffins were, no less stereotyped than those which we have examined upon the tombstones. There were, however, some additional deities introduced into the dedications, in accordance with a mythology which had obviously long been formulated. The major deities to whom the dead were devoted were always OSIRIS and ANUBIS. But the more elegant coffins contain also short invocations to other mythological deities, ISIS, NEPHTHYS, GEB, and the like, from which it is clear that each dead person was regarded as an OSIRIS, and the prayers express a hope that his body should be protected in much the same way as legend supposed that of OSIRIS to have been tended. This is one of the most interesting aspects of a general survey of such inscriptions. Their uniformity, though tiresome and monotonous, argues extreme antiquity of origins as well as popular acceptability. They reveal a care for the dead akin to general worship of the great Osiris. It is an

¹ Cf. Newberry, "Beni Hasan," II., p. 14, where it is shown that this official lived in the reign of Senusret II., of the XIIth Dynasty.

unconscious survival and revelation of the original ancestor-worship of the country.

In the earlier coffins, presumably of the XIth Dynasty, the inscriptions were seemingly confined to prayers to ANUBIS and OSIRIS. The coffin of ANTEF (tomb No. 1) is an example. A prayer to OSIRIS, the *seten-hetep-de* formula, that the king might present the *per-kheru* offerings of drinks and meat, was painted along the east side in a row of hieroglyphs, beginning from the north end. On the two ends a similar short prayer was addressed to ANUBIS, whilst on the lid and western side ANUBIS was again invoked for a good burial. It is not possible to feel certain that the earlier coffins were all inscribed in this simple fashion. The suggestion is certainly borne out by the plain coffin of the Vth Dynasty found in tomb 1015 in the range near the Speos Artemidos¹; and several instances similar to that of ANTEF were found in the same end of the burying-ground. The evidence, however, was rather fragmentary. However that may have been, the majority of the coffins were divided into three panels on the sides, in the manner illustrated in the preceding chapter,² by four vertical columns of inscriptions. These were brief formulæ addressed chiefly to the deities, MESTHA, GEB, SHU, PTAH-SEKER, DUA-MUT-EF, HAPY, NUT, TEFNUT, and QEBH-SENUEF. The ends of the coffin in such cases were framed by short inscriptions along the top and down the sides, making, as it were, a panel within. The horizontal lines almost invariably were filled with short prayers to ISIS and NEPHTHYS respectively, while the columns were variously devoted to SELK, NEITH, the Great and Little Cycle of gods, and so forth. A good example of this class of coffin, which was by far the most common, has already been seen in Fig. 169. The hieroglyphs were painted blue on a yellow band, which was separated from the plain wood by lines of black, white, blue, white, black successively. The lid recorded a prayer to ANUBIS (of SEPA), of a somewhat fuller character than usual. On the east side OSIRIS was invoked with a *seten-hetep-de* formula for *per-kheru* offerings; while on the west side ANUBIS reappears again, as previously, in the prayer for a good burial for UART-ANKH in her tomb of the underworld. ISIS and NEPHTHYS were the deities addressed in the horizontal inscriptions on the ends. The brief dedications down the sides, forming the panels, refer successively to MESTHA, GEB, PTAH-SEKER, and DUA-MUT-EF (beginning from the north end of the east side); followed on the south end by the Little and Great Cycle of gods; with HAPY, NUT, ANUBIS (NEB-RESTAU), and QEBHSENUEF on the west, and NEITH and SELK on the north.

The coffin of SENU-MUT-EF, tomb 94, was very similar. The lid and ends

¹ P. 166.

² Cf. Figs. 168, 169.

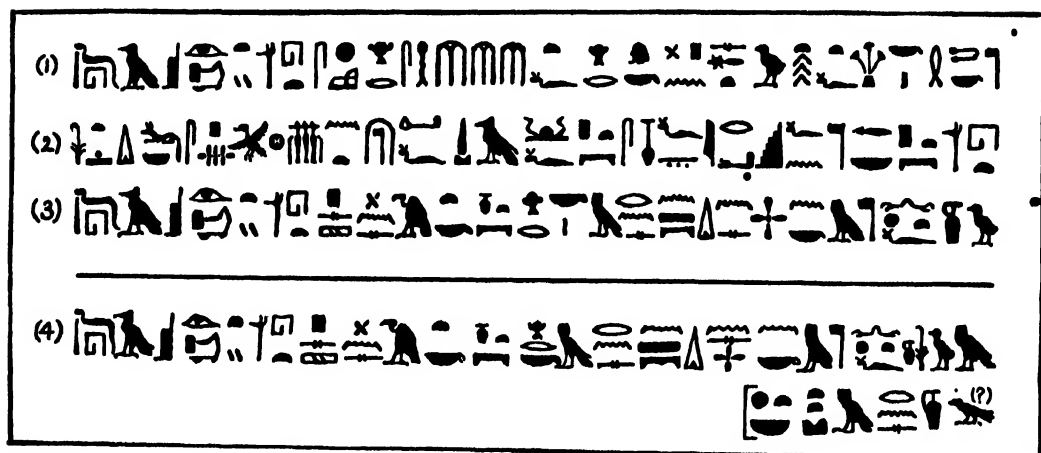
were missing. A line of blue hieroglyphs along the top of the east side gave the *seten-hetep-de* formula to OSIRIS for *per-kheru* offerings. Along the west side was the corresponding formula to ANUBIS for a good burial, etc. The vertical columns of inscriptions referred to MESTHA, GEB, MUT, and one other deity whose name was illegible, and on the other side, the west, to HAPY, TEFNUT, QEBHSENUF, and one other whose name was not preserved.

Another typical example of this class was the coffin of HETAU-USER, from tomb 177. The lid and west side were inscribed horizontally with formulæ as usual to ANUBIS. The former is like the inscription on the lid of the coffin of UART-ANKH, being identical, with the addition of a single attribute to the god ANUBIS (of SEPA). It thus contained a prayer for a good voyage.

On the sides are *seten-hetep-de* prayers to OSIRIS and ANUBIS, in the former case for *per-kheru* offerings, and in the latter for a good burial in the Land of the West. The deities mentioned in the vertical columns which divide the panels, beginning with the north column on the east side are—HAPY, GEB, ANUBIS (NEB-RESTAU, lord of the underworld), DUA-MUT-EF, MESTHA, SHU, TEFNUT, and QEBHSENUF. On the ends this coffin was somewhat exceptional in that the panel was not framed by two columns of hieroglyphs, but was divided down the centre by a single column, which on the south was addressed to the GREAT CYCLE OF GODS, and on the north to Nut. A horizontal column, also at the latter end, contained a short prayer to NEPHTHYS.

A further variation from this standard form of coffin is well illustrated by the coffin of USERHET, from tomb 132, which has already been seen in Figs. 147, 180. In this and similar examples, like that of MA (Fig. 148), the panels formed by the columns of inscriptions were filled up with a decorative design in colours. On the end panels there were commonly representations of ISIS and NEPHTHYS, to whom the horizontal columns would be dedicated in such cases. The inscriptions, however, varied little from the common forms. The minor deities referred to on the sides of the coffin of USERHET were MUT, GEB, SHU, MESTHA; HAPY, TEFNUT, NUT, and QEBHSENUF. At the ends were also brief invocations to the Great and the Little Cycles of Gods, on the north, and to SELK and NEITH on the south. The horizontal rows at the ends were addressed to NEPHTHYS and ISIS respectively, whose representations are painted in the panels below. The major deities, OSIRIS and ANUBIS, were involved as usual in the main inscriptions along the east and west sides respectively. The prayer in the former case was that the king would "present to OSIRIS, lord of Busiris, the great god, lord of Abydos, a house full of offerings of drinks and meat, clothing, incense, wax, all things good and pure for the KA [double] of the warrior USERHET." The

corresponding prayer to ANUBIS asked for a good and pure burial. Thus far there is no difference of character between these formal inscriptions and those previously described. But on the lid there were three lines of hieroglyphs which occurred in this case only. The text is reproduced below, from a copy by MR. HOWARD CARTER. Lines 1 and 3 are addressed to OSIRIS; but the middle line, No. 2, is a *seten-hetep-de* formula to ANUBIS, such as was familiar in this position.



The lowest line, No. 4, is a copy, written out, of the column of inscription on the inner moulded coffin of USERHET, described in Chapter VII., Fig. 181. This address to OSIRIS, it is pointed out by Professor Schmidt, was probably painted by a copyist unfamiliar with the meaning of the symbols, for one group of signs seems to have been misplaced.

There is another class of coffin which is specially noteworthy, though rarer than any of the foregoing, in which inscriptions were painted around the inner sides also. These were generally enclosed in an outer case, with the inscriptions repeated in duplicate. The coffin of SEBEK-HETEP, Fig. 170, is an illustration. In such instances the inner sides of one or both coffins were commonly decorated with representations of fruits and flowers, as noted in the case of the coffin of NETERU-HETEP, Fig. 146. In a few instances, of which the last-mentioned is one, the lid and inside were freely inscribed with involved religious texts like those in some of the pyramids of the Old Empire. A typical example of this class was found in the tomb of NEFWA, which was described in Chapter V. The lid of the outer coffin was inscribed with a line of hieroglyphs, blue on a yellow ground, with a *seten-hetep-de* formula to ANUBIS, lord of Sepa. On the east side were the usual prayers to OSIRIS, lord of Busiris and of Abydos; while on the west as usual

ANUBIS was again invoked, as lord of TA-ZESER, for a good burial in his tomb of the underworld and in the western desert. On the north end was a dedication to the Great God the Lord of Heaven, and on the south end to ANUBIS. These inscriptions were all repeated around the top of the inner side, in the corresponding position. The remainder was occupied chiefly by the pyramid text already mentioned, in 69 columns of cursive writing. These have been fully described by M. LACAU in the *Annales du Service*. The inscriptions on the inner coffin, both inside and out, were practically a verbatim repetition of those upon the outer case, and the same portions were strictly observed in addressing the two gods. In the formula to OSIRIS on the east side it appears from the concluding words *Amakhy Mehti-em-hat ren-ef nefer Nefwa*, that NEFWA was strictly the "good name" of the deceased, whose proper name was MEHTI-EM-HAT. The former name, however, is used alone in all other instances.

Such, in brief, was the nature of the inscriptions upon the coffins. With the exception of the few additions to, or new texts of, the Book of the Dead, they contained intrinsically little that was specially noteworthy, and, unhappily, nothing that was directly historical or biographical. The chief interest is in their very sameness, and the constancy with which purely formal invocations were repeated. There may, however, be noticed a list of festivals which occurred in twelve columns of cursive writing alongside the ordinary vertical inscriptions on the coffin of MA, tomb 500. The writing was difficult to decipher, and in bad condition: the facsimile copies prepared by MR. HAROLD JONES, reproduced as Plate IX., give the whole of the series so far as they could be recovered. The order of the columns 1—12 is taken around the coffin, from the north end of the east side southwards, there being six columns to each side. The following tentative translation is compiled from some notes made by PROFESSOR SCHMIDT.

East Side :—

1. Offerings of bread and beer on the 5 intercalary days [Epagomenes] of the Year, in all the festivals of the Underworld, all the Festivals of the Earth, the festival of the renewing of a good life-time [?] in the Valley [?] for the Ka of the revered MA.

2. Offerings of bread and beer on the 12 half-moon festivals, the 12 Sed-festivals, the 12 New Year festivals, the Zent [?] great and small, for the Ka of the worthy before SEKAR, Lord of the Holy Shrine [*sheta*], MA.

3. Offerings of bread and beer, flesh and fowl, on the Seker festival . . . in the Underworld [*Restau*] on the occasions of the Mid-Summer [great heat] and Mid-Winter [small heat] festivals; the *Zehi* [?] festival, for the esteemed by Anubis, Lord of the Underworld, MA.

4. Offerings of bread and beer, flesh and fowl, on the 12 full moon festivals, the 12 *Spr* [?] festivals, when it appears [?], the 12 festivals of . . . , the 12 Sixth-festivals on the First-days of the Decades [?], for the esteemed by Ptah-seker, lord in the Underworld, MA.

5. Offerings with bread and beer, flesh and fowl, on the *Uag* [?] festival, the great festival, the Festival Zehti [?], the festival of the *great cloth of the skin* [?], the Seker festival, the small festival; for the district inspector MA.

6. Offerings of bread and beer, flesh and fowl, all kinds of clothing, offerings to the gods, with every good and pure thing for the gods on festivals, on the festival of . . . the New Year [??], for the *Ka* of MA.

West Side :—

7. Offerings of bread and beer on the day the soil appears [after the inundation], the day of the 12 festivals, for the esteemed by the great god, the Lord of the Heaven, MA, “true of voice.”

8. Offerings of bread and beer, with great dress of cloths, with refreshments, with incense, with every good thing, given by the soil [?].

9. On the Festival of the Great Year and the Small Year, on the Festival of Navigation, when the reservoirs are receiving [water], on the festival of the appearing of the *Sothis* [heliacal rising of the star Sirius] for the *Ka* of the General MA.

10. Offerings with comestibles—salt [?]¹—all kinds of gifts of good pure things, on which the gods live.

11. On the Festival Nektu [?], being given in offerings for deceased, for MA, who is born of [the Lady] SENEN. . . .

12. Offerings with bread and beer, beef and geese . . . [here follow the names of different articles not easy to translate, including something from acacia or cedar] for the *Ka* of the District Overseer MA, born of [the Lady] SENEN.

CHAPTER IX.

MISCELLANEOUS ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

The Pottery.—The total number of vases of pottery of all kinds found in the tombs during the course of the excavation was more than 4,000. They were mostly plain red fabric without polish or slip, and in spite of their numbers, they showed so little variety in form and technique that they could be readily grouped into a dozen classes. Photographs of forty-nine selected types are reproduced in Plate X. These may be resolved into six classes, grouping them according to some conspicuous feature. The twelve vases in Fig. 196, and the first three of Fig. 147 are allied by the fact that they stand upon a flat base. The distinction is purely one of convenience for classification, for it may be seen in Figs. 198, 199, 200, that the general contour of many of these reappears in others of rounded or tapering bases. These fifteen vases may again be separated into five groups, which are distinguished in the photographs by some peculiarity of detail or of contour. Instead, however, of analysing these groups so closely, we have found it more practical in ranging the bulk of pottery into classes, to number the types consecutively after arranging them into classes in the manner indicated. This will be found carried into effect on Plates XII.—XVI.

In this classification there are not included the pottery objects of special forms, like the figures of men, or birds, or animals, some types of which are illustrated in Plate XI. Figs. 202, 209, belong to the same class of object as Fig. 201. The last is a model of a granary, the bins of which are domed; six of them are arranged as a courtyard, and the whole forms an interesting comparison with the wooden models with flat roofs, *e.g.*, Figs. 120, 121. Many of these little models of grain bins were made separately, and their tiny doors were fitted with the peg by which they were made fast and sealed. The form of granary which they suggest was probably in more common use in the farmsteads and ordinary houses of the people than that which the wooden models recall. Large pottery bins for storing the grain are a familiar sight in all country houses of the people of Upper Egypt. In Nubia they are often domed; the grain is poured through the roof and drawn off through a small hole at the bottom. This hole is plugged with a conical piece of clay, which is sometimes baked. When the grain is not required the surface of the bung is smeared with clay, and a design is marked upon the surface whereby the owner can detect any

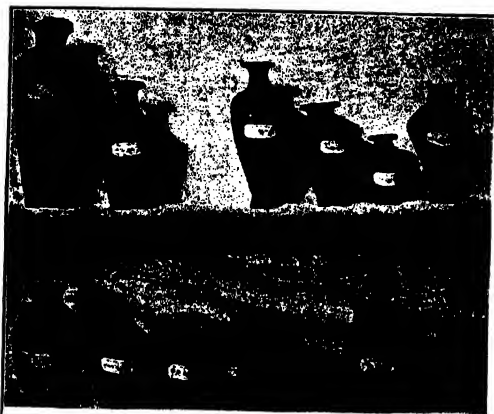


FIG. 196.—VASES OF CLASS A.



FIG. 197.—THREE VASES OF CLASS A.
THREE VASES OF CLASS B.



FIG. 198.—VASES OF CLASS C.

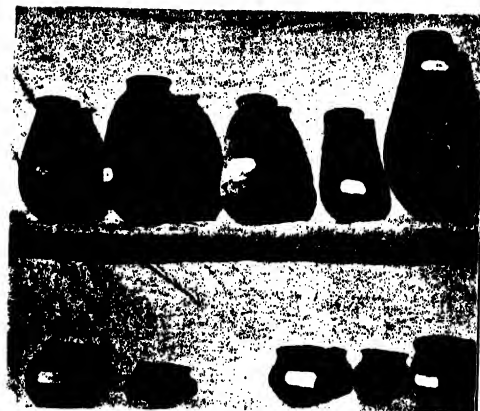


FIG. 199.—FIVE VASES OF CLASS D.
FIVE VASES OF CLASS E.

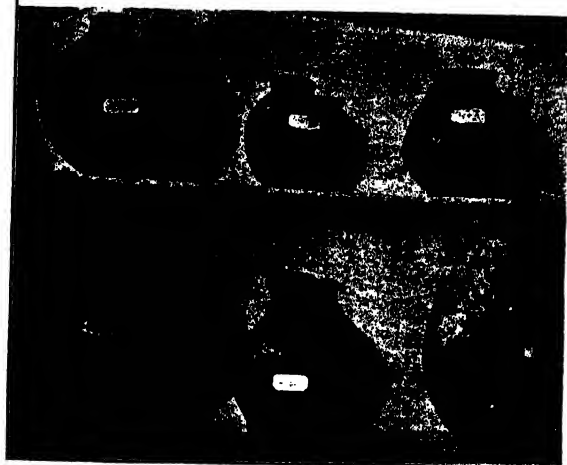


FIG. 200.—VASES OF CLASS F

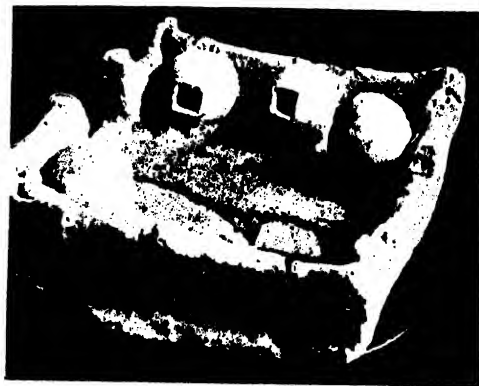


FIG. 201.—POTTERY MODEL OF A GRANARY.

MISCELLANEOUS POTTERY OBJECTS.

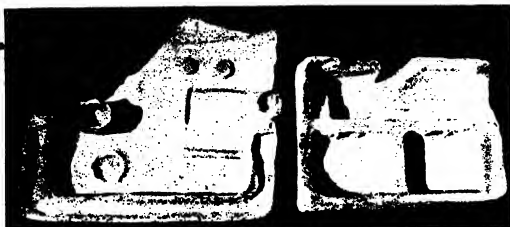


FIG. 202.



FIG. 203.



FIG. 204.



FIG. 205.



FIG. 206.



FIG. 207.



FIG. 208.

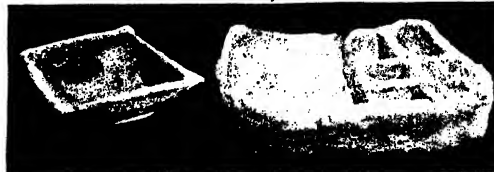


FIG. 209.



FIG. 210.



FIG. 211.



FIG. 212.

FIG. 202.—POTTERY VOTIVE ALTARS.

FIGS. 203, 204, 206.—POTTERY FIGURES.

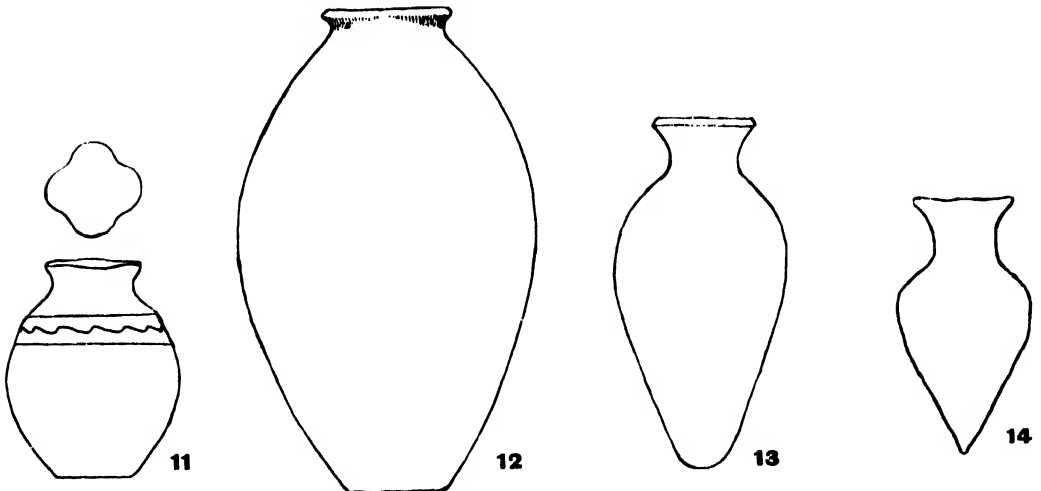
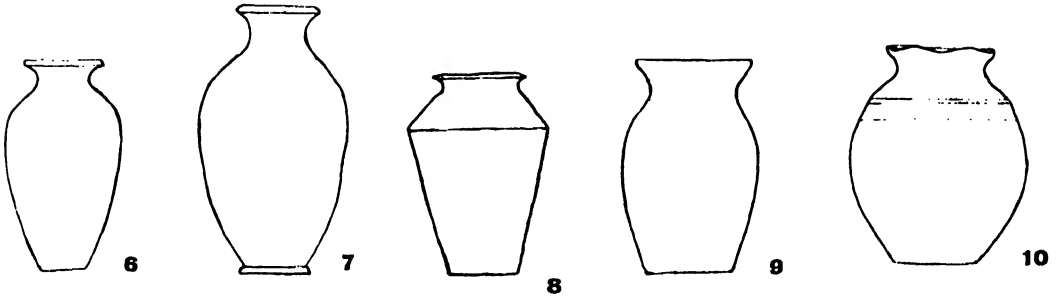
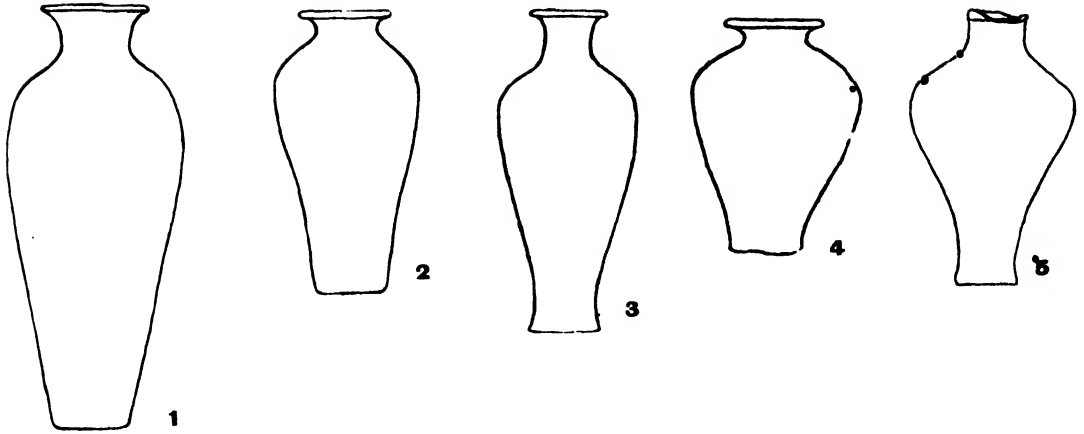
FIGS. 205, 210, 211.—POTTERY STANDS WITH FIGURE ORNAMENTS.

FIGS. 207, 208.—POTTERY BIRD FORMS, ETC.

FIG. 209.—POTTERY MODEL OF GRANARY, ETC.

FIG. 212.—POTTERY OFFERING BOWL.

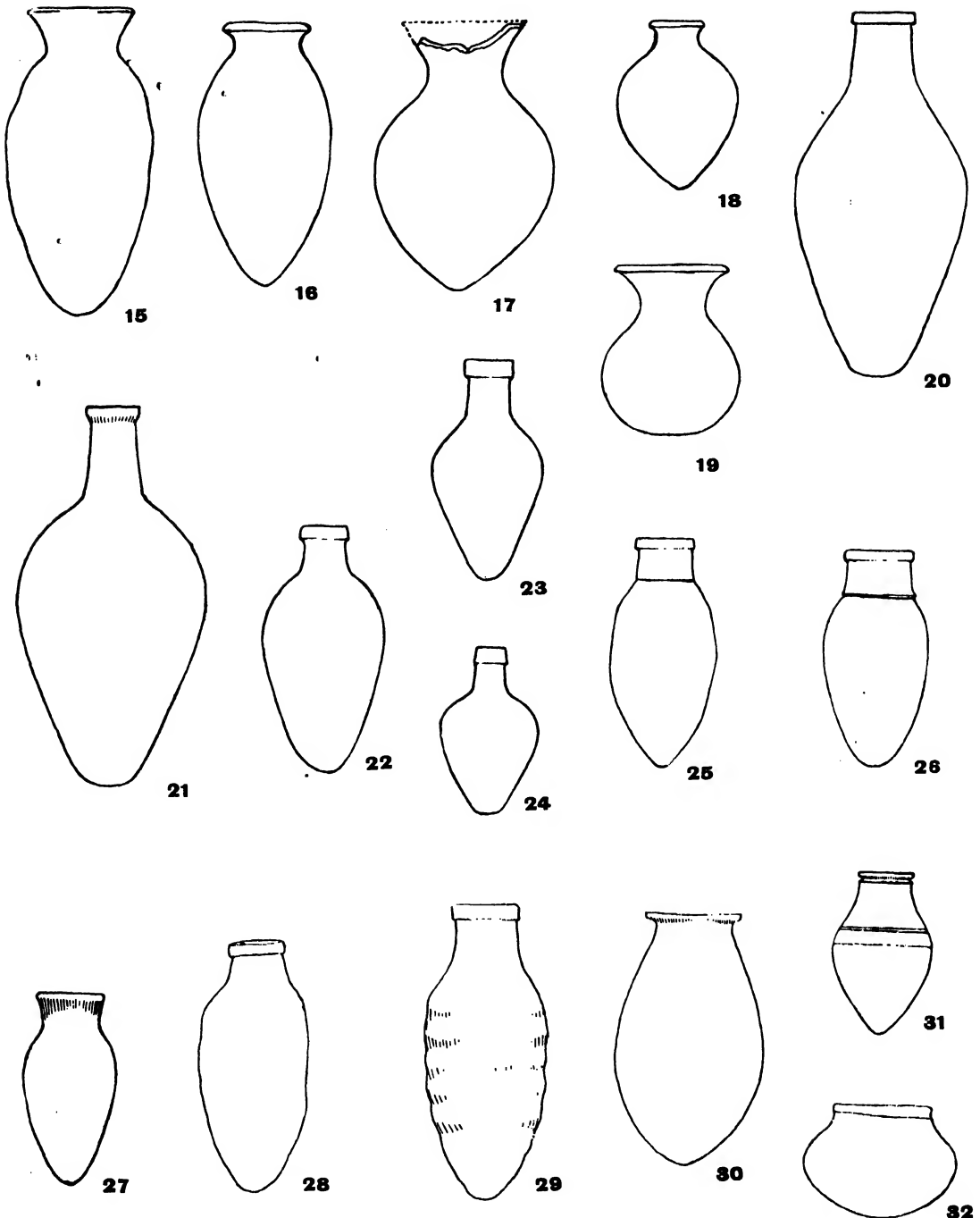
TYPES OF POTTERY VASES (I.). [SCALE 1 6.]



NOS. 1-12.—CLASS A. FLAT BOTTOMED.

NOS. 13, 14.—CLASS B. TAPERING BASE.

TYPES OF POTTERY VASES (II.)—Continued.



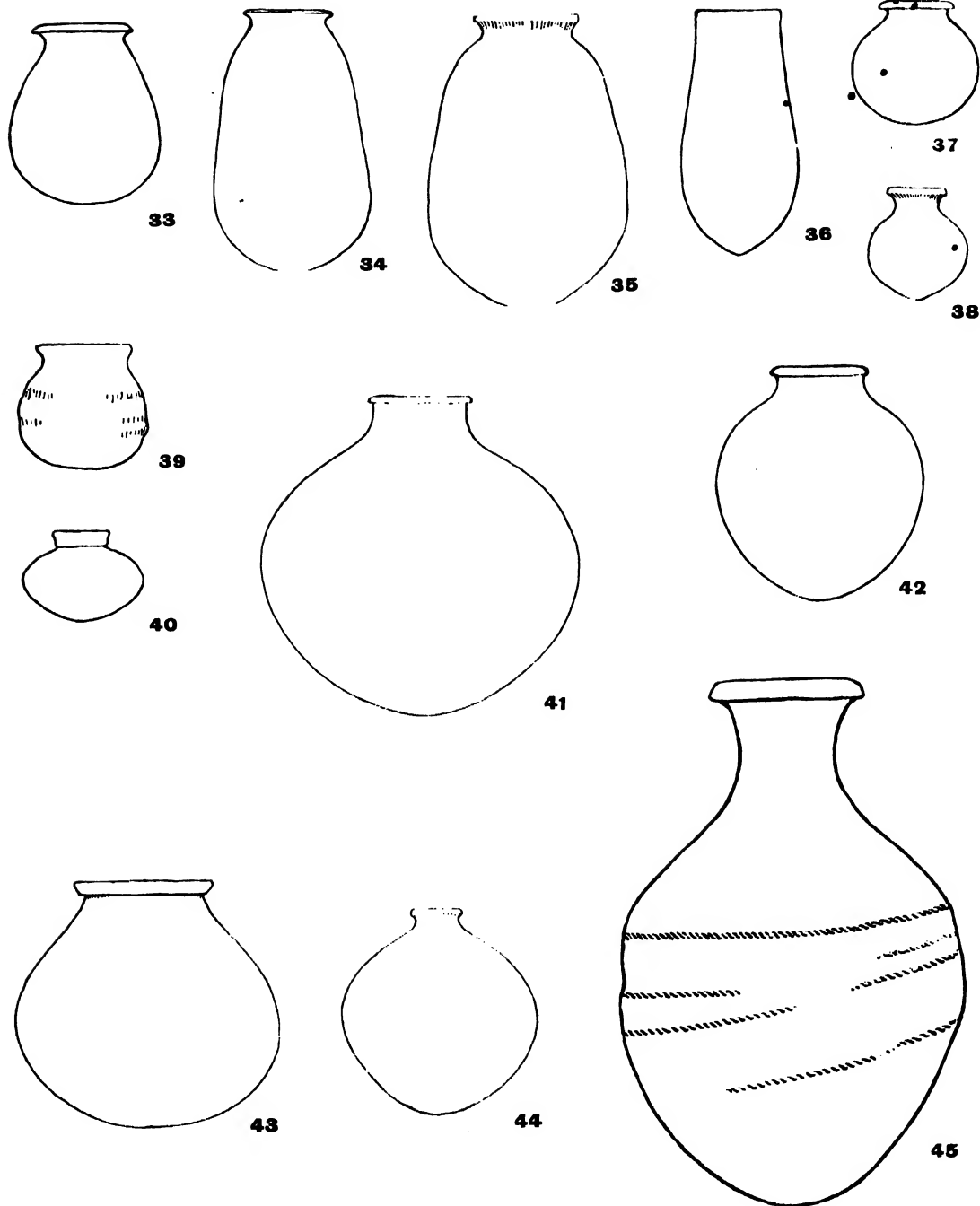
NOS. 15-18.—CLASS B. TAPERING BASE.

NO. 19.—CLASS E. FLATTENED BASE AND RIM.

NOS. 20-31.—CLASS C. EXPANDING ABOVE MIDDLE.

NO. 32.—CLASS C. LINK.

TYPES OF POTTERY VASES (III.)—Continued.

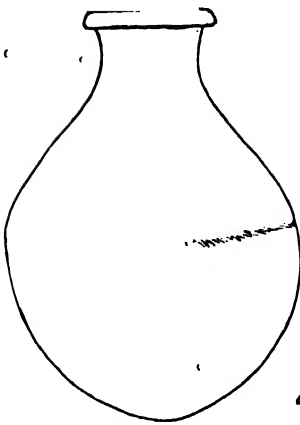


NOS. 33—36.—CLASS D. EXPANDING BELOW THE MIDDLE.

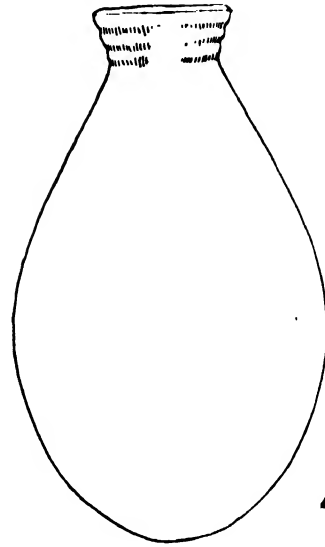
NOS. 37—40.—CLASS E. SMALL GLOBULAR FORMS.

NOS. 41—45.—LARGE GLOBULAR TYPE.

TYPES OF POTTERY VASES (IV.)—*Continued*



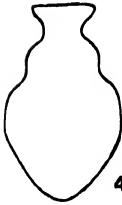
46



47



48



49



50



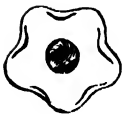
51



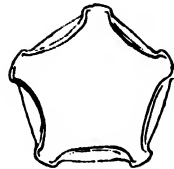
52



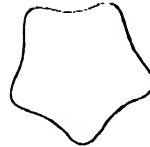
53



54



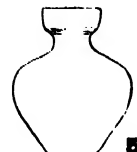
55



56



57

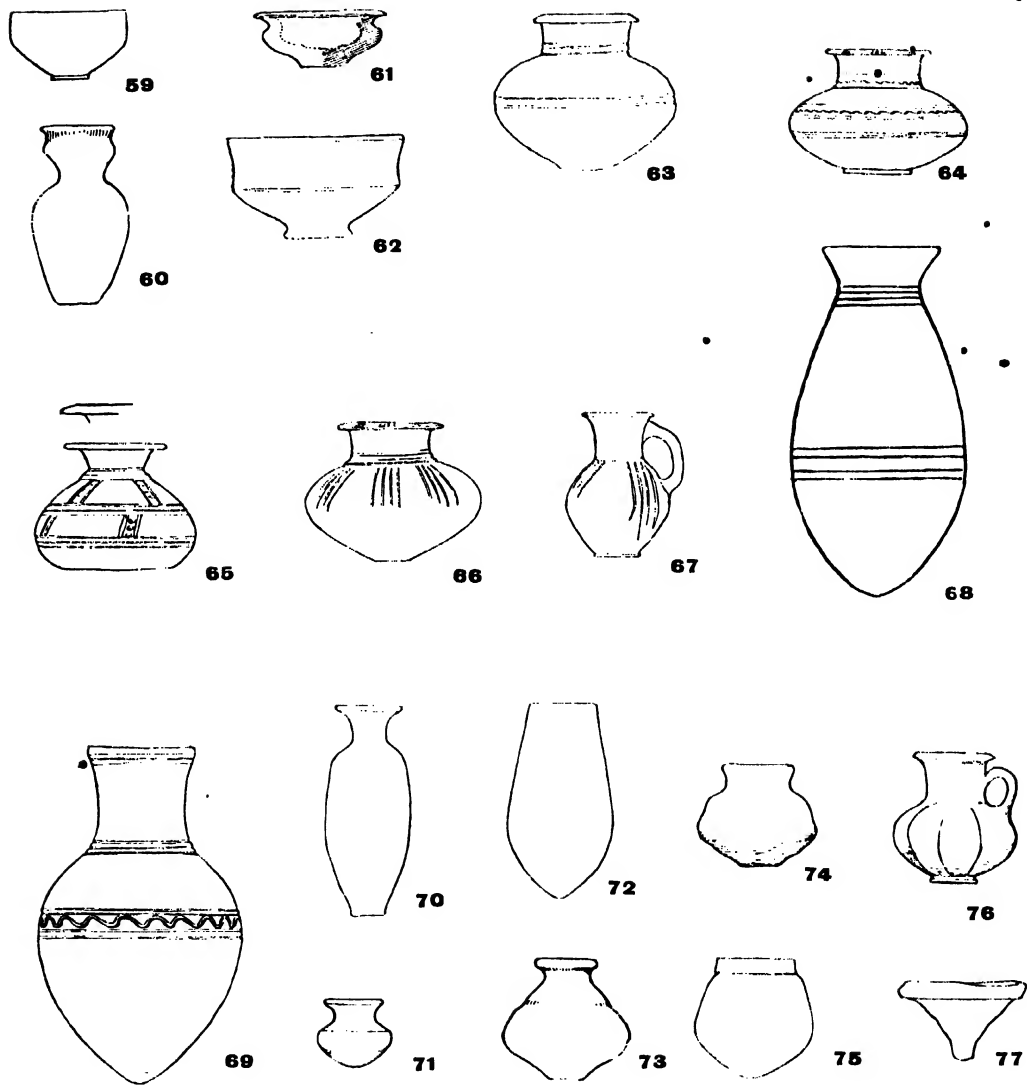


58

S. 46, 47.—CLASS F. LARGE GLOBULAR TYPE.

NOS. 48—58.—CLASS G. SPECIAL FORMS.

TYPES OF POTTERY VASES (V.)—Concluded.



NOS. 59 62. SPECIAL FORMS.

NOS. 63—77. GROUP FROM TOMB 684.

pilfering.¹ They are in fact sealed, though in a different manner from that represented by the models in question. In Fig. 209, on the right, there is seen a second model of a granary in pottery; the feature in this case is the open roof to the bins, as in some of the examples in wood (*e.g.*, Fig. 90). The special purpose of the other vessel shown in this photograph is not clear. In the figure, numbered 202, two open models seem to be designed upon the plan of a farmyard. One of these partakes, however, of the nature of a funereal votive altar, as is apparent by the channel surrounding the enclosures. The other is divided into three portions; that which is entered from the door occupies half the enclosure, and leads by two covered doorways into smaller rooms beyond. Figs. 203 and 204 show seven curious and crude figures, the *motif* of which is by no means apparent. They are mostly about 15 to 20 cms. high. The two small seated figures seen in No. 206 are represented red with black hair, and are squatting aimlessly, facing opposite ways, at the end of a slab, also of pottery. Figs. 205, 210, 211, illustrate another class of objects, which seem to be large pottery stands, cylindrical and hollow, for holding large bowls which would not of themselves stand upright. Such are familiar from other sites. They are ornamented with figures of human beings in high relief upon their outside; some of these are quaint, and all are crude. Figs. 210, 211, show two different views of the same objects. Figs. 207, 208, show another class of these fanciful forms, the subject of the design being a bird in each case. The object numbered 242, Fig. 208, is seemingly an open-work ring of pottery, possibly also in this case a stand for pottery vessels. Lastly, Fig. 212 represents a fine offering-bowl, with eight small vases around the rim, all fed from a common tube of pottery around the bowl. It resembles roughly the multiple vases of votive character of late date found not uncommonly in Greek lands.²

The miscellaneous objects just mentioned and illustrated are not included in the general classification of pottery forms in Plates XII.—XV. In these a selected series of fifty-eight vases shows the common forms; these include most of those already seen in the photographs in Plate XI. Class A, with flat bottoms, includes Nos. 1—12. Of these Nos. 1, 2, narrow regularly to the bases; Nos. 3—5 slightly outcurve at the very bottom. In Nos. 6, 8, there is a broadening of the curve below the shoulder. No. 8 is an interesting example, its especial feature being the deep line around the body of the bowl where its upper portion has been built. The vessels shown in Figs. 10, 11, are both decorated with incised scribbled pattern around the shoulder just below the neck. The second class, B, begins with Fig. 13, ending with Fig. 18; these forms

¹ This probably explains the numerous cones, with names impressed upon the base, found in the Theban tombs of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and elsewhere in Upper Egypt. They may well represent a tribute of stores of grain, though the bins and grain were not really placed within the grave.

² *Vide* Annual of the British School at Athens, Vol. XII., 9-23.

are distinguished by a tapering base. The clay in which Form 17 is reproduced is often very fine, the pottery being thin. Several specimens of Type 18 also are of good technique, the surface being made smooth by washing with a fine yellowish slip. No. 19 belongs to a later category, but forms an interesting comparison with No. 17, which it resembles in form and material, the most marked differences being the flattened base of the rim. Nos. 20 and 21 differ only a little in the form of the shoulder and the lip. They belong, with the other numbers to 31, to a class of vases which, without in general tapering much, are most characterised by expanding above the middle. No. 30 is a link with Class B; No. 31 is decorated with incised lines; and No. 29 is hand-made, with rough surface. Class D, expanding below the middle, is represented by Nos. 33—36, Plate XIV.; Class E, globular forms of generally small size, by Nos. 37—40, while No. 32 is a link with this type from Class C. The larger globular vases, whether of short or long necks, are placed in a separate class, F. Types 48—58, Plate XV., are all special forms occurring but rarely, except the small round dish, No. 57, which is more common. The last Plate, No. XVI., illustrates a number of pots grouped together as coming from a single tomb (No. 684). There are among them two vases with handles, while others are decorated in black lines with patterns derived from wickerwork and bands placed around primitive vessels to strengthen them. The pottery vases, both those in groups and those of special interest, are all enumerated in the Appendix, wherein each tomb is separately catalogued. It may be noted in conclusion, with regard to the examples of pottery, that though in general so similar to the pottery found on all Middle Empire sites, they none the less have a certain individuality, which makes them as a whole readily separable from similar groups of pottery of this time, say from Esna or Abydos. The pattern of the two latter sites is much more nearly akin.

Analysis of Metals.—Dr. A. T. de Mouilpied has contributed the following notes upon some specimens of metals submitted to him for analysis:—"The mirrors, of which four specimens were examined, contained no tin. The thin knife-blade, Cat. No. 57 (tomb 287), and the models of implements (tomb 116), also contained no tin. The battle-axe (Fig. 165, tomb 655) was made of pure copper, which contained no trace of tin or lead, and was very soft. The axe or hatchet (form illustrated in Fig. 164) contained a high percentage of tin. The bowl from tomb 805 (Fig. 142) also contained tin with the copper." It may be concluded then, that the bronze age is represented by these metals. The absence of tin from the mirrors and models is not a sure argument against this conclusion, for in the former case copper was probably found to give a higher polish of surface; and in the latter it may have been deemed sufficient to make the objects which were not for common use of the simple metal.

List of Shells and Fossils.—Dr. E. A. Hoyle has kindly forwarded the following list of shells and fossils which has been prepared by Mr. R. Standen:—

1. *Cypraea caurica* L.
2. *Murex trunculus* L.
3. *Lanistes carinata* oliv.
4. *Lucina tigrina* L.
5. *Anodonta*, one specimen.
6. Fossils: Internal casts, one probably *Turbo* or *Eburna*; two probably *Turritella* or similar.

A hoard of silver coins was found in the course of excavations near the Speos Artemidos. These have been fully described by Mr. Grafton Milne in the *Revue Archéologique* for March, 1905. The following is a list of the coins:—

	Denomination.	Date B.C.	Obverse Type.	Reverse Type.	Reference.	No. of Specimens.
TYRE	Obol	480—440	Dolphin	Owl with sceptre and flail across wing	Rouvier, 1781	3
SIDON	Tetradrachm	390—370	Melkarth on sea-horse	Do.	" 1788	1½
	Didrachm	460—450	Galley before fortress	King seizing lion	" 1085	1
	Octodrachm	440—430	Do.; above, מ ב	King in chariot, horses galloping; above, מ ב	" 1087	4½
	Didrachm	Do.	Do.	King seizing lion; between figures מ ב	" 1088	1
	Do.	430—415 (?)	Do.	Do.; between figures, מ ב	" 1090 (?)	1
	Octodrachm	415—405	Do.; above, מ	King in chariot, horses galloping; above, מ	" 1091	1
	Didrachm	405—395 (?)	Do.	King seizing lion; between figures מ ב	" 1092 (?)	½
GAZA	Do.	390—374	Galley on waves; above, מ	King in chariot, horses walking	" 1098	2½
	Obol	Do.	Do.; above, מ	King seizing lion	" 1099	5
	Trihemiobol (?)	400	Beardless head	Forepart of horse; above, מ ז	—	1
ATHENS	Tetradrachm	5th cent.	Head of Athene	Owl and olive branch; in front, ΑΘΕ	—	54
	Drachma	Do.	Do.	Do.	—	1

[The references to Rouvier are to his catalogues of Phœnician coins in the *Journal Internationale d'Archéologie Numismatique*, Vols. V. and VI.]

Skull Measures.—The following table was kindly prepared during the excavations by Dr. Philip Ross, and has been revised for publication by Dr. W. H. Broad. The skulls selected were dated with certainty to the Middle Empire.

MEASURES OF SKULLS FROM

CATALOGUE NUMBER	I	39 E	39 (2)	39 (4)	(65 μ 1)	65 (μ 2)	116 Very Aged	130	140 B	140 C	140 E	140 F	140 G
Age	Adult	Aged	Adult	Adult	Adult	Adult	Adult	Adult	Aged	Adult	Aged	Adult	Adult
Sex	Male	Fem.	Fem.	Fem.	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male	Fem.	Fem.	Male
Glabella-occipital length	192	180	184	180	177	176	186	184	179	181	177	171	176
Ophryo occipital length	188	180	184	183	175	174	182	182	178	177	176	171	173
Naso-occipital length	190	180	184	178	175	174	184	181	179	179	175	170	174
Basi-bregmatic height	149	130	143	134	139	129	127	139	135	133	134	135	137
VERTICAL INDEX	77	72	77	73	78	73	68	75	75	73	75	79	77
Minimum frontal diameter	90	97	99	95	93	91	96	93	89	92	89	95	88
Greatest breadth	138	131	149	138	132	134	142	134	139	127	133	130	139
CEPHALIC INDEX	71	72	80	76	74	76	76	72	77	70	75	76	78
Horizontal circumference	539	506	523	512	496	496	508	510	504	498	504	492	498
Frontal longitudinal Arc	139	123	131	130	122	118	128	132	130	123	126	124	125
Parietal longitudinal Arc	140	128	132	132	124	130	136	137	132	122	135	116	126
Occipital longitudinal Arc	113	114	109	120	108	112	112	113	111	112	115	122	114
Total longitudinal Arc	392	365	372	382	353	360	376	382	375	357	376	362	368
Vertical transverse Arc	315	294	328	302	288	290	—	297	300	286	300	304	293
Inferior transverse Arc	159	163	176	175	150	143	—	174	164	166	161	157	179
Length of Foramen Magnum	37	34	39	29	38	35	35	32	31	32	32	34	33
Basi-nasal length	104	100	103	99	105	96	100	97	100	105	98	91	99
Basi-alveolar length	97	92	96	96	—	91	95	95	93	98	86	87	86
GNATHIC OR ALVEOLAR INDEX	93	92	93	96	—	94	95	97	93	93	87	95	86
Interzygomatic breadth	135	119	130	121	—	113	122	120	115	128	113	120	119
Intermalar breadth	115	106	115	107	—	102	111	108	105	113	90	110	102
Ophryo-alveolar length	94	87	87	95	—	80	99	92	90	97	73	85	90
Naso-alveolar length	68	67	70	77	—	62	64	70	70	71	56	67	69
FACIAL INDEX	50	56	53	63	—	54	52	58	60	55	49	55	58
Nasal height	51	59	49	52	—	47	48	52	48	54	41	50	53
Nasal width	22	22	25	23	—	23	24	23	22	23	22	21	20
NASAL INDEX	43	37	51	44	—	47	50	44	45	42	53	42	37
Orbital width	41	40	35	40	—	38	39	37	42	43	38	36	40
Orbital height	35	32	34	36	—	30	36	30	33	34	32	30	34
ORBITAL INDEX	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Length of molars and premolars	—	—	37	35	—	36	—	39	10 teeth in upper, 1 in lower jaw	36	4 upper, 7 lower teeth at death	36	—
DENTAL INDEX	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	36	—	41	—
Naso-mental	106	108	125	—	—	103	108	118	97	124	(90)	110	106
Basi-mental	106	107	110	—	—	99	110	107	108	105	(108)	95	104

ANTHROPOMETRICAL DETAILS.

199

BENI HASSAN 1902-3-4.

177 (1)	177 (4)	186	275	287 (5)	294	367 Young Adult Male	374	484 (6)	132	AVERAGE FOR 23 SKULLS.				
Adult Fem.	Adult Male	Aged Male	Adult Male	Adult Fem.	Adult Male	Adult Male	Adult Fem.	Aged Male	Adult Male	Fem.		Male		Total.
172	187	178	174	180	181	182	166	183	178	176'25		180'27		179'3
172	184	176	172	182	179	178	166	182	176	176'66		178'4		177'8
172	183	177	175	179	179	180	165	181	179	175'4		179'3		177'9
130	141	137	136	131	132	135	130	137	136	133'4		136'1		135'2
75	75	76	78	72	72	74	77	74	76	—		—		74'3
92	93	99	91	97	86	95	85	93	88	93'6		91'8		92'4
135	139	137	131	135	138	134	135	131	139	135'75		135'6		135'65
78	74	76	75	75	76	73	81	71	78	—		—		75'2
497	522	513	493	515	501	507	478	507	501	503'4		506'2		505'2
119	131	124	122	123	123	120	118	121	130	124'25		125'87		125'3
132	139	135	135	133	132	127	126	129	135	129'25		131'9		131
114	115	114	108	113	109	109	106	119	110	114'125		111'9		112'7
365	385	373	363	369	364	356	350	369	373	367'6		369'7	15 skulls	369
302	305	298	298	282	294	295	288	298	302	300		296'9	14 skulls	298'1
145	174	171	187	176	175	180	158	170	180	163'9		169'4	14 skulls	167'4
32	37	33	33	38	36	37	31	33	36	33'6		34'5	15 skulls	34'2
91	101	96	103	94	98	108	94	103	100	96'25		101'0	15 skulls	99'3
101	91	95	103	85	93	102	90	94	95	91'625		94'14		93'7
110	110	98	100	90	94	94	95	91	95					
117	127	125	125	121	123	128	114	127	124	119'4		123'6		122'1
107	107	110	113	108	103	113	98	110	106	105'1		108'36		107'2
85	98	93	102	89	82	91	83	87	94	85'5		92		89'7
64	67	70	81	67	68	69	61	63	74	66'1		69		67'9
54	52	56	64	55	55	53	53	49	59					
48	53	51	57	52	49	49	45	58	56	49'5		51'86		51
26	21	28	24	22	23	26	23	24	25	23		23'4		23'3
54	39	54	42	42	46	53	51	41	44					
39	39	39	40	36	39	38	37	39	37	37'6		39'36		38'7
31	31	31	32	33	28	34	32	32	33	32'5	8 skulls	32'36	14 skulls	32'4
—	—	—	—	—	71	89	86	82	88					
39	—	41	41	37	39	45	38	37	38	37	6 skulls	39'1	9 skulls	38'3
38	—	43	39	43	41	44	42	39	40					
107	111	114	133	116	114	115	102	105	124	108'3	7 skulls	112'7	14 skulls	111'2
111	107	107	113	91	100	105	93	107	107	102'14		106'07		104'8

CHAPTER X.

LATER HISTORY OF THE VICINITY; TOMBS OF THE XXTH TO XXXTH DYNASTIES, NEAR THE SPEOS ARTEMIDOS.

IN the third chapter of this volume the earlier history of the vicinity of Beni Hassan was considered, and the subsequent chapters have been devoted to a description of the appearance and furniture of the tombs in the necropolis of

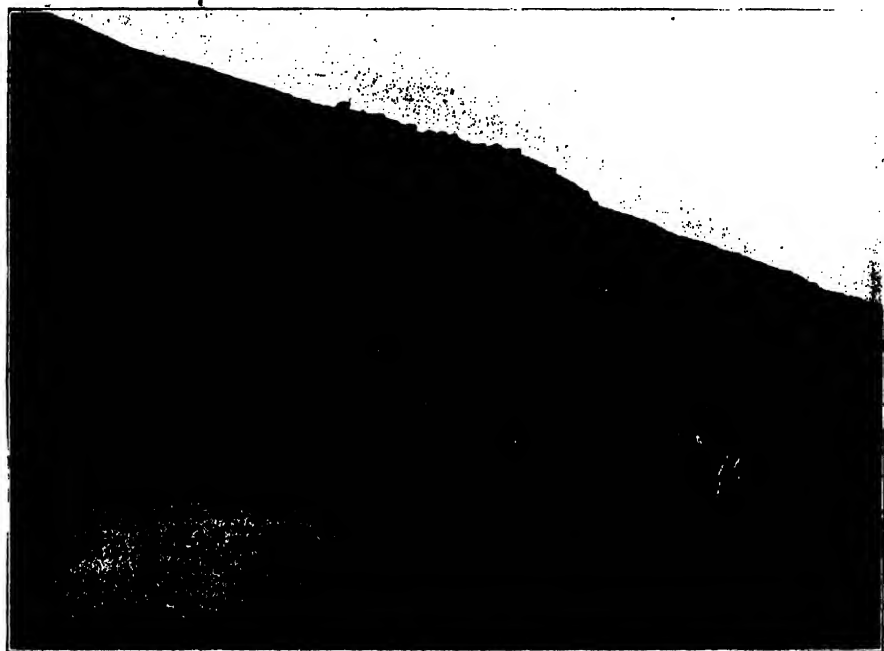


FIG. 213.—THE SPEOS ARTEMIDOS AND ADJACENT ROCK TOMBS.

the Middle Empire. In this chapter our account of the neighbourhood is brought to a close with a brief indication of the nature of the later tombs from about the XXth Dynasty down to Roman times. These, as indicated in the map, Plate II., lie near to the village of Beni Hassan, two miles to the south of the great necropolis, and were excavated merely in an experimental manner. In all possibly some two hundred tombs were examined, but they were in poor preservation and devoid of historical material.

The Speos Artemidos.—Even within the Speos Artemidos (or the *Stabl Antar* as it is now called) little information was obtained. It is a large grotto in the face of a cliff flanking the southern side of a deep ravine, which leads down from the eastern desert to the sandy plain above the village. The cavern seems to have been originally a quarry; as such it might contain a shrine, but if any further religious purpose had prompted its inception it had not been completed.

It certainly lies at the end of a gallery of rock-tombs, some of which



FIG. 214.—ENTRANCE TO THE VALLEY OF THE SPEOS ARTEMIDOS.

may be as early as the XIIth Dynasty in origin, though they have been reopened and reused in later times. The portico of the Speos was supported by four great square columns, and the rock above had been smoothed to receive a long inscription, which is one of the few accounts relating to the Hyksos period.

With this monument, however, we are not so much concerned as with the vicinity around. The cliff opposite, towards the mouth of the ravine, is honeycombed with a series of small rock-hewn chambers. These may be discerned in Fig. 214, lying to the left of the picture where the dust of excavation is rising. In this photograph, the cliff projecting in the foreground is

the southern boundary of the valley which passes in beyond it to the right. On this

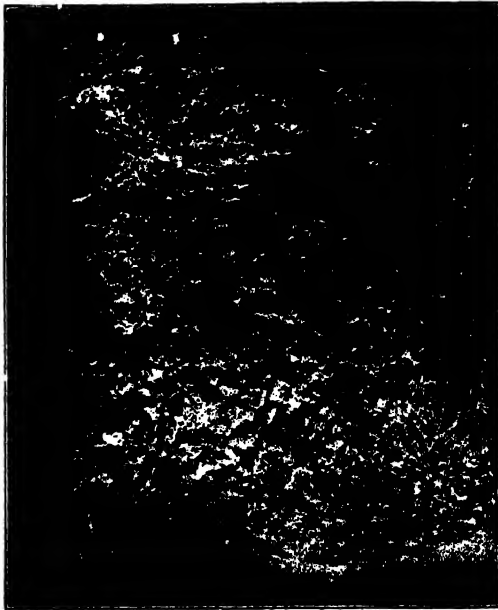


FIG. 215.—DISGUISED DOOR OF A BURIAL-CHAMBER.

were devoid of any item of evidence as to their date.

Interments with Osiris Figures.—It was on the other side of this gallery to the north that the more interesting tombs of the later dynasties were discovered; they were for the most part neatly made; in some cases there were vertical shafts leading down to the chambers; in others, which may have been later in date, the chambers were hewn horizontally in the face of the cliff; a few of the former class proved to be intact, and contained instructive interments. One of these pits, about five metres in depth, seemed at first glance to be without any chamber. On closely examining the rock side, Fig. 215, it was found that a

side also, both in the same face as the Speos itself and around the end of the knoll, as seen in the photograph, there are a number of rock-hewn chambers. Some of these are of early date, and have been previously mentioned¹; all have been much destroyed by quarrying in Roman times, but are nevertheless evidence of the historical importance of the site, even in the Old Empire.

At the foot of the cliff around its northern side, approaching, that is to say, to the Speos itself, there were found a number of large burial chambers mostly approached by vertical shafts. These were in each instance filled with scores of mummies lying in amazing confusion, piled one above the other. These chambers seem to represent common burying-places of a late age, but they



FIG. 216.—INTERIOR OF A TOMB OF XXIIND DYNASTY.

¹ Cf. p. 35 and Fig. 24.

chamber lay within, but that its door had been closed up by a large piece of limestone, which just fitted the opening. The join, having been filled with cement composed of limestone and sand, could hardly be discerned. For the purposes of this photograph the upper side of the door was outlined with a chisel. Removing the slab, there was seen inside a wooden mummy-case lying with head to the south, along the eastern face of the chamber, and by the side of the head was a wooden figure of Ptah-Seker-Osiris. The undisturbed remains are illustrated in Fig. 216, and the statuette may be seen also in Fig. 219, on a larger scale. On opening the coffin it was found that the mummy was covered with a network of short cylindrical beads, in the style characteristic of the dynasties immediately following the New Empire, that is, from the XXth to the XXVth approximately. Coloured beads were worked into this network in the designs of the scarab and wings, the four genii, and other mythological devices: some of them may be traced in the photograph (Fig. 217), which was taken immediately the coffin was opened. In this instance these devices are worked in small beads; but in other cases it was apparent that the emblems of the scarab with wings, and the genii, which were of faience, were used in the same manner, being attached probably by their threading-holes to the mummy-cloth itself. Such objects are quite familiar, and occur in hundreds upon any site of these later dynasties.



FIG. 217.—BEAD WORK UPON THE MUMMY.

In tombs similar to these there were met with in several instances rosette patterns and other devices worked in beads of variegated colours; these were of great beauty and showed minute care in the arrangement of the beads and colours.

Another tomb similar to that last described, and belonging also, it would seem, to the period of the XXth and XXIInd Dynasties, is shown in Fig. 218. Here the mummy-case was enclosed in a long wooden coffin, oblong in shape, and over the end of the coffin there may be seen the wreaths and garlands just as they had been placed within the grave. The interment was similar to that last described.



FIG. 218.—GARLANDS UPON THE COFFIN.

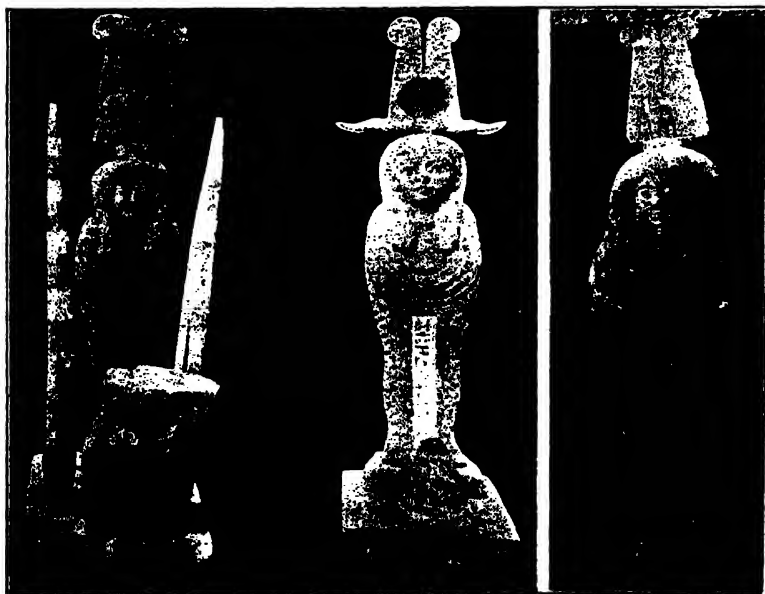


FIG. 219.—PTAH-SEKER AND OSIRIS FIGURES. MUMMIED MONKEY.

The statuette lay in this instance to the east, as seen in the photograph. It was more brightly coloured and in better preservation than that last shown, and two of these are pictured together in Fig. 219. The one to the right hand is from the last-mentioned tomb. It is an OSIRIS figure modelled in wood and painted, with a small bird painted at the foot. This formed the lid of a little box, the contents of which were merely a few fragments of decayed cloth. The other figure to the left is also of the OSIRIS type. The horns of protection in this case seem to be replaced by the great pointed staves rising up on either hand, while in front of the figure is a representation of a small votive altar decorated with lotus flowers.

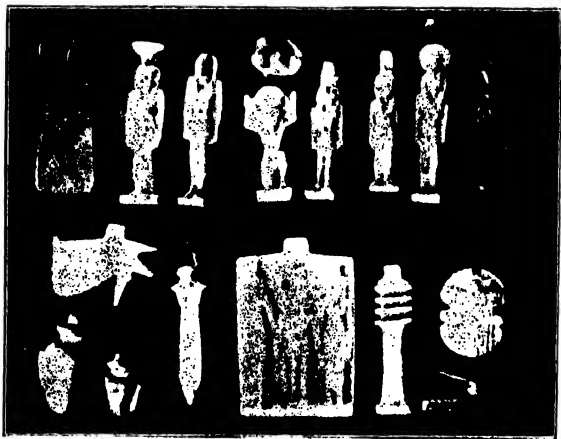


FIG. 220.—AMULETS OF FAIENCE AND STONE.
XXIIND DYNASTY.

From the interment last described there were taken a group of interesting but familiar amulets and charms (Fig. 220), representing in faience the figures of ISIS, SHU, SIENSU, HORUS, HORUS between ISIS and NEPITHYS, and

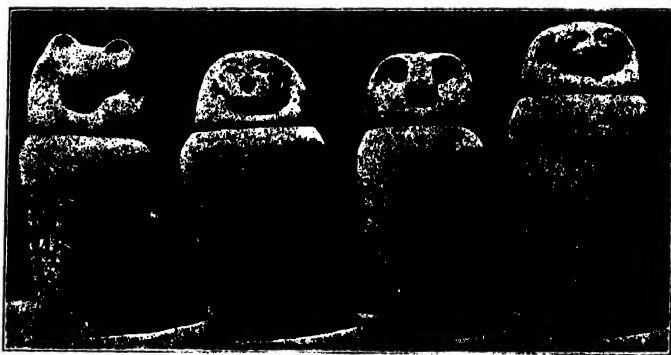


FIG. 221.—CANOPIC VASES OF ALABASTER. XXTH DYNASTY.

other divinities. The hearts (Fig. 220) are carved in carnelian, so too is the tiny head-rest which appears in the right hand of the picture. The feathers and tie are in polished dark stone. From another pit which lay in the gentle slope to the north-west, where this cliff leads down towards the level of the sand, there were found amongst other objects the four canopic vases of alabaster illustrated in

Fig. 221. The tomb seemed to belong approximately to the XXth Dynasty. We

do not dwell upon the details of these discoveries, our object being to give an indication of the continuity of local history.

Tombs of Later Dynasties.

—The familiar method of interment, it would seem, from this time to about the XXVth Dynasty onwards, was in the small chambers hewn horizontally into the base of this cliff, in the manner indicated in Fig. 222. In these cases the chamber might be just large enough to receive the mummy case, as indicated in this photo-

graph, or they might widen out to receive a great number of interments, as indicated in Fig. 223, and even lead on to other chambers constructed in



FIG. 222.—SMALL ROCK TOMBS OF THE LATER DYNASTIES.



FIG. 223.—INTERIOR OF A ROCK TOMB, SHOWING INNER CHAMBERS.

their dim recesses. In the latter instance the chamber is about 5 metres square and 2 metres high, and the doors seen in the photograph lead to two

well-constructed chambers which reach further northward to the distance of about 3 metres, with a width of 2 metres. The doorways of these chambers, like the outer doors of the rock-tombs, were filled with slabs of stone, or built up with pieces of stone; the whole was then cemented over, and remained in many instances almost air-tight. The interior of such a chamber, in better preservation, is illustrated in Fig. 224, where four mummy-cases are seen in their original position. It is not possible to say whether these were family vaults, or whether they were opened by the will of their owner, and interments added at successive periods. In any case it is not surprising that the early custom of placing valuable offerings for the dead within the chamber became discredited. Hence, unfortunately for archæology, there is little evidence afforded by these remains, or by the burial customs which have been illustrated, to convey any clear impression of the religious opinions of the people in these later ages.



FIG. 224. —MUMMY CASES INSIDE A ROCK TOMB.

Animal Worship. — The tendency to animal worship was rapidly growing, or throwing off its disguise, and is illustrated here and there by objects found within these graves. The mummied monkey encased in a painted cartonnage in the form of an OSIRIS, shown in Fig. 219, is an illustration. At a later time, such cults took definite and local forms, illustrated at Beni Hassan by the cemetery of cats lying only half a mile distant, and elsewhere in Egypt by the careful interment of every form of living creature, as, for instance, in the so-called Fish Cemetery at Esna.

Burials in Stone and Earthenware Coffins.—The history of the vicinity does not cease here. The stone coffin with its interment, illustrated in Fig. 225, probably represents a later stage at the close of the dynasties. Such interments lie plentifully in the level sands at the mouth of this famous valley. We may, perhaps, see in the preparation of the stone sarcophagus the last flicker of the ancient tradition of the rock-hewn abode for the dead; but it gives way, amongst the poorer classes, to the coffin of earthenware illustrated in Fig. 226, which is

characteristic of the latest dynasties, and occurs in numerous instances. In Greek or Roman times there seems to have been still a considerable population, and to these may be assigned the construction of the somewhat elaborate tomb illustrated by Fig. 227. Here, in the depth of the chamber, were covered sarcophagi of stone, surrounded by thick walls of brick; the door moved in a groove, and a part of it remained in position. The walls of the chamber were stuccoed and painted. From this phase on to the modern dome-covered tomb of the Moslems there is no lack of continuity.

Possible Explanation of Gap in Continuity of Local History.—We have only

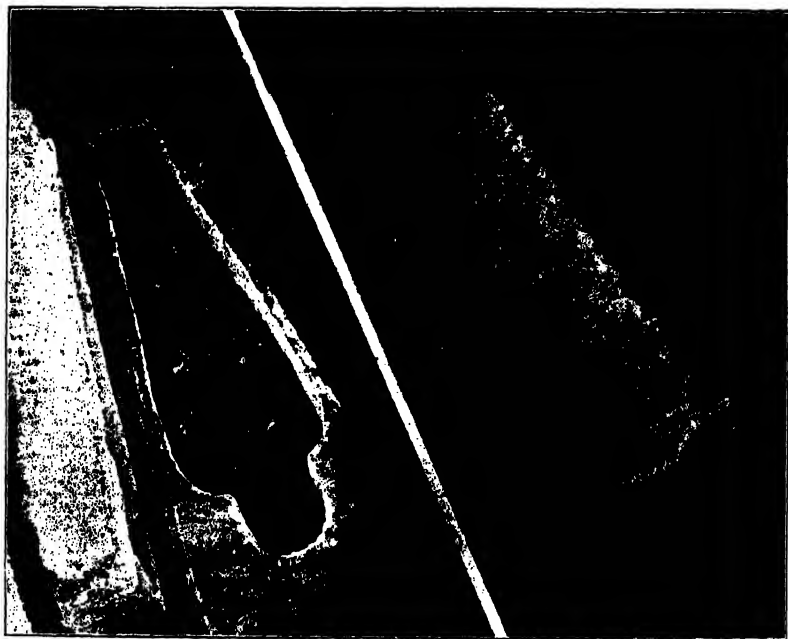


FIG. 225.—BURIAL IN A STONE COFFIN: PTOLEMAIC OR ROMAN PERIOD.

briefly indicated the general aspects and interest of these later interments, which represent chiefly the millennium previous to the Christian era. It has already been seen in Chapter II. that this neighbourhood has plentiful traces of a history as early as the IIIrd and VIth Dynasties; and in the later chapters of this book, that the great necropolis of the Middle Empire links in date these earlier tombs with the close of the XIIth Dynasty. From this date until the XXth Dynasty the history of the locality is practically blank. With regard to the period covered by the traditional Dynasties, XIII. to XVII., this is not unexpected; for during this time the country was overrun by the Hyksos invaders, and as in the parallel instance

of the feudal period the interval was probably much shorter than the number of so-called dynasties suggest. These may well preserve the memory of those centres where Egyptian authority was maintained to some extent, but no monuments exist to support the misleading interpretation that they indicate successive dynasties of the Egyptian monarchy. In any case there is a general absence of burial grounds to represent any long period of time, and it is unreasonable to suppose that the burial customs underwent any sudden change. Whatever may be the explanation, Beni Hassan only shared in the general poverty of this period. But with regard to the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties the case was far different. The tombs of this age are usually the most abundant and most instructive. It might reasonably be expected that after the restoration of the monarchy under the Pharaohs, when the golden age of the New Empire dawned upon the land, the population around Beni Hassan would share at least in the general prosperity. It is surprising, then, to find that the early part of the New Empire is practically represented by only a single monument. A few interments may, indeed, be assigned to that age, but these are sporadic, and it is only apparently from the XXth Dynasty onwards that these later tombs represent any continuity of local history. Possibly a systematic search in the vicinity of the Speos Artemidos would disclose a burying-place of the New Empire. But it is also reasonable to infer from the fact that our expedition spent two months in search for it without much direct result, that it is not a large one, and does not in any way represent the prosperity of the neighbourhood on a scale accordant with that of the Middle Empire.



226.—POTTERY MUMMY CASE.

In the face of these facts, to explain, firstly, the gap in local archæology during the XVIIIth Dynasty, when the monarchy of Egypt was re-established at the close of the Hyksos period, and to explain also the presence of that remarkable inscription over the Speos Artemidos, there are one or two considerations which should be borne in mind. In the necropolis of the Middle Empire we are familiar from time to time with representations in mural paintings, and in the funerary models, with the incoming of foreigners, chiefly Semitic Bedawin people. One of the Nomarchs himself was an administrator of the eastern desert. It is evident

that the condition of the eastern frontiers of Egypt demanded special administration. The model of a woman who carries her baby upon her back,¹ after a foreign habit, reproduced also in the mural paintings, is indication that these people were immigrating into the country in numbers with their families. It was not merely the occasional raid of a desert tribe. The thought suggests itself that this local problem of the history of Beni Hassan might easily be answered by supposing that a considerable number of these Hyksos peoples settled themselves during the Hyksos period in the vicinity, as they had begun to do at the beginning of



FIG. 227.—INTERIOR OF A LARGE TOMB OF ROMAN DATE.

the period in the XIIth Dynasty; and that when the monarchy was re-established the first act of the avenger was to expel them from their villages, and to destroy their houses. The thread of local history would thus be broken for a while, until it was gradually taken up by the re-settlement of the Egyptians.

There is, however, nothing but circumstantial evidence to support that point of view. So far as our observations went the graves of the dead for half a mile to the south of Beni Hassan, along the desert edge, reaching away for six or seven miles to the north, were all of the definitely Egyptian character, perpetuating the burial customs and religious instincts that were immemorial in the land.

¹ Cf. Fig. 138.

