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LE MUSÉE ÉGYPTIEN

RECUEIL DE MONUMENTS

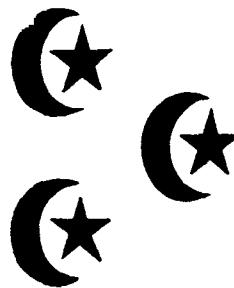
ET DE NOTICES SUR LES FOUILLES D'ÉGYPTE

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D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE

1915

LE MUSÉE ÉGYPTIEN.

PLANCHES I-V.

GREEK SCULPTURE FROM TELL TIMAI.

The ten heads reproduced on plates I-V, together with a large number of other objects, marble and alabaster, were found at Tell Timai in February, 1908. The discovery was made by a gang of workmen who were extracting bricks from the ruins of the ancient town. It is a pleasure to record that no theft took place or was even attempted. Our *ghafir* was immediately informed and took possession of the objects found, while the *Omdeh* and the *Molahiz* of police guarded the spot until the Inspector of the Service arrived from Zagazig. The Inspector at once set to and excavated the place, finding many additional things, and we afterwards continued the work until a large piece of the adjoining ground had been laid bare, at a total cost of L.E. 11,170 mill. An adequate reward was obtained from Government for the workmen and the *ghafir*: for it is only by this means, by the continual giving of rewards and the impression thereby created, that we can hope to secure a fair proportion of the accidental finds made by the *sebakhin* and other people.

The place where the heads were found lies in the southernmost of the two adjacent tells which once were Mendes and Thmouis and are now known as Tell Roba and Tell Timai.

Under the Pharaohs the northern town with its large temenos and temple, the ruins of which are still an imposing sight, was no doubt the larger and more important: but in later times it was superseded by the southern town, and we find in Thmouis a far greater quantity of Greek and Roman antiquities. From the latter site baked bricks innumerable have been extracted by the

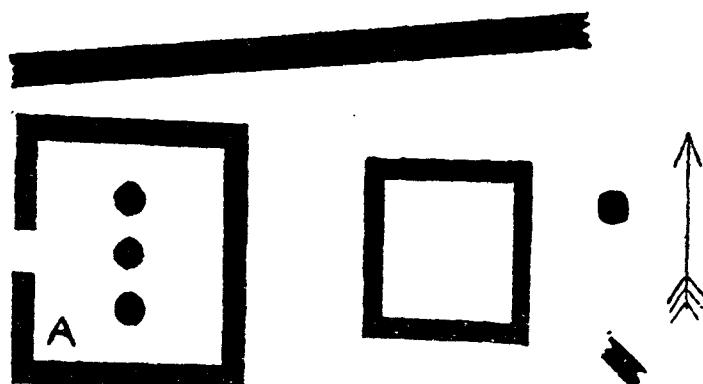


Fig. 1. Scale 1:200.

fellahin, a sure sign of a late date, while in Tell Roba there is practically no baked brick at all. Mendes was the original capital of the Egyptian nome, but it was Thmouis that was the seat of the Christian bishopric.

I give herewith a small plan of the excavation. All the objects were found in the room marked A (fig. 1). Most of them were lying in a heap in the south-west corner, but three of the heads together with some fragmentary limbs, a fine alabaster hydria and several small altars were scattered along the north side of the room. The walls were built of baked bricks, and there had been a row of three columns across the middle of the room from north to south. The only other remains of buildings that we found were, 1° on the north a long mud-brick wall, and 2° on the east a small chamber of baked brick, beyond which lay the fragments of a column. The ground to the south had been cut away long ago.

The largest part of the find consisted of pieces of marble statuettes, — heads, arms, legs, hands and feet, many of them practically entire. At first sight the place looked like the ruins of a sculptor's workshop, which however I do not think it really was. The baked-brick chamber in which the sculpture lay was probably of much later date than the sculpture itself. It seemed to me to belong to the Roman stratum of the site, while the marbles are fine Greek work of the Ptolemaic period. And though many of the pieces are complete in themselves, they have all originally formed part of whole figures put together in sections. They are not a collection of studies and unfinished works, such as one might find in a sculptor's work-room. They seem rather to be the remains of a group of broken-up statues thrown into this chamber for some unknown reason.

Though we possess so many fragments, it is not possible to restore any of the whole figures. The parts that have survived are the heads and extremities, but the bodies have disappeared : it looks as if the larger pieces of marble had been taken and used for some new purpose and the smaller pieces thrown aside. Some of the fragments may very likely indeed belong to one and the same figure, but with so much missing it is useless to attempt any reconstruction.

Only the heads are illustrated in the plates, but I give below a complete list of all the objects found. The limbs are of the same good workmanship as the heads, and moreover they are of some interest technically, so that a detailed list may prove useful. Ancient statues were frequently made in several pieces, but it is rare to find them so minutely pieced together as some of the Timai figures have been. Not only do we find sections through neck, shoulder, elbow, wrist, thigh and ankle; but also the small extremities, the ends of fingers and toes and even the tip of a nose, have in various instances been made separately and

stuck on. The larger pieces have been usually attached by means of iron dowels; the more minute pieces were as a rule merely plastered on against a flat surface. There are traces of plaster on many of the clean sections. The marble is Greek, probably Pentelic. And as all the marble used by the Greek sculptors in Egypt seems to have been imported from oversea, it may be that they were more economical of it than their fellow-craftsmen in Greece and that even the waste pieces were used up as far as they would go.

1. YOUNG MALE HEAD, height 0 m. 20 cent. (pl. I. fig. 1).

Ideal head of a youthful divinity, turned slightly to his right. There is a hole in the top of the head to hold the shaft of some emblem, which may have been made of wood or metal. The face is framed by wavy locks, and the lower part of forehead is rather lumpy and prominent.

There are traces of a red line round the inner edge of the eyelids, and also some red on nostrils and on lips. The drill has been used on the hair, and the eyebrows are marked by a lightly incised line. The back of the head is roughly treated, without detail. The surface beneath neck is tool-marked and rather rough.

Broken behind and below. Nose and hair chipped.

This head has probably belonged either to a deified Alexander wearing an Egyptian crown, such as would be appropriate to the royal son of Ammon, or else to a Dioscouros with a star above his forehead : I know at least of no other young god characterised by flowing locks of this type surmounted by an emblem on a shaft. I incline to the opinion that the present head is an Alexander. It is somewhat similar to several other heads, found in Egypt, which are more or less clearly derived from an idealized representation of the great king and god, and one or two of these have likewise a hole in the top for the attachment of a symbol. Much of the material on this particular subject has been collected in Schreiber's monograph on the portraits of Alexander.

2. HEAD OF YOUNG DIOXYSSOS, height 0 m. 205 mill., of whiter marble than the other heads (pl. I, fig. 2).

His head is turned slightly to his right. The hair, which is long, is waved to each side, partly covering the ears, but the arrangement behind and on the top of head is not clear. Two small bull's horns spring from his forehead, and a fillet is passed round them. Apart from these external symbols the character of the young wine-god is expressed by the languid eyes and the soft feminine forms of face and throat.

The nostrils and the dimples in the lips are drilled, and there is a lightly incised line along each eyebrow.

Broken off short below; top and back of head broken; face almost perfect.

3. MALE HEAD, height 0 m. 175 mill. (pl. II, fig. 1).

Head of a young god, beardless and with short hair, possibly a Hermes. Behind the front part of the hair is a groove for a hair-band, but the top of the head is left rough. There is a mark across the middle of forehead, and the lower part is prominent. The head is turned a little towards the left. The hair is treated sketchily, without detail, and the eyelids are indistinctly defined. There are four rather obtrusive drill-marks between the lips. Underneath the neck is a dowel-hole.

The back of the head is split clean off, the surface looking as if it had been worked. Worn and chipped.

4. HEAD OF ISIS (?), height 0 m. 19 cent. (pl. II, fig. 2).

Her face is turned very slightly to her left. The hair is drawn to each side of forehead and hangs over the shoulders in two rows of rope-shaped tresses. The top of the head, which is left rough, is surrounded by a band, and there is a hole above for the attachment of some attribute. The chin is long and prominent. There are drill-marks between the hair and the neck.

Broken below; nose and mouth chipped, surface weathered and stained.

This peculiar coiffure, which we find very often on Græco-Egyptian mummy-masks and which occurs also on the coin-portraits of Ptolemaic queens, was used by Alexandrian art to characterise Isis and other Egyptian divinities. It probably was a real African fashion, and we find something like it in realistic Egyptian sculpture. The Greeks did not borrow it, as might be thought, from Egyptian representations of Isis : the truth seems rather to be that they assigned it to Isis as a sort of compromise, being somewhat like the *klaft*⁽¹⁾, her ordinary headdress in Egyptian art, but at the same time more in harmony with Greek style. The head from Tell Timai is a rather early example of the type. If it is an Isis, as seems most probable, we must imagine it to have been originally crowned with the horns and disk, fastened into the hole on the top of her head.

⁽¹⁾ See DARESSY, *Statues de Divinités*, p. 398. M. Daressy distinguishes the *klaft* from the royal hood to which the name has usually been applied.

5. **BUST OF NAKED APHRODITE**, height 0 m. 25 cent. (pl. III).

Looking to her left. The hair is waved to each side over the upper part of ears, making a triangular forehead : it is tied at the nape of the neck and hangs down behind : the surface has been left rough on top and back. Finely modelled face with distinct outlines, of quite different style from n° 6.

Dowel-hole in stump of right arm. Drill-marks between hair and neck.

Broken off from left shoulder to below right breast, but there are tool-marks on the surface of the break. Back of head broken off. Slightly chipped and worn.

6. **FEMALE HEAD AND PART OF BOSOM**, height 0 m. 20 cent. (pl. IV, fig. 1).

Looking slightly to her left. The hair is parted in the middle, drawn down over ears, leaving only the lobes exposed, and fastened in a bunch behind; rather deep division between some of the strands. The outlines of some of the features are left indistinct, the eyelids and eyes melting into each other. Probably from a naked Aphrodite.

The part preserved is a complete piece : it has been made as it stands and joined on to the rest of the figure, the section running from right shoulder to left armpit. The back of head is rather broken, but apparently the hair behind has been rendered without much detail. The end of the nose is chipped.

This charming little head is a typically Alexandrian work, though the same manner of treating the marble so as to leave certain outlines soft and misty seems to have been common enough in other centres of Hellenistic art. But the impression which such works as this make on us in their present state can scarcely be a wholly intentional effect of their peculiar modelling. We see them in the condition in which they were handed over from the sculptor to the painter; and when the latter had finished with them, the outlines of eyebrows, forehead and eyelids, though chiselled with so much avoidance of sharpness, were no doubt clearly enough defined by the different colours of skin and hair and eyes. We may surely suppose then that in leaving the details so soft and vague the sculptor had in view the final effect of the work when completed and coloured. He purposely left a good deal to the painter, — much more for example than the sculptor of such a head as n° 1 or n° 5, in which the outlines of the eyelids are deeply cut and the strong shadows enliven the surface without the further aid of paint.

7. **FEMALE HEAD**, height 0 m. 22 cent. (pl. IV. fig. 2).

Her neck is stretched a little to her left and her head is slightly turned. The

hair is waved to each side, covering the upper part of the ears, and may perhaps have been knotted on the top of the head. The eyebrows are defined by a slight line. The nostrils are not hollowed out.

This lovely head may have belonged to another Aphrodite, the favourite subject of Alexandrian sculpture. The expression of coquetry, apparent in the pose of the head, the slightly pursed under-eyelids and the languishing smile, would be more appropriate to her than to any other divinity.

Broken off short at neck; top and back of head broken; face almost perfect.

8. FEMALE HEAD, height 0 m. 16 cent. (pl. V, fig. 1).

A roll of hair is drawn down on each side, forming a triangular forehead and covering the upper part of the ears : the surface behind the roll seems to have been left rough. The mouth is small and the eyes are wide-open and shallow-set, somewhat as the eyes of Ptolemaic queens are rendered on the coin-portraits. The lower eyelid is vaguely outlined.

There is a slanting section on the top of head as if a piece had been stuck on. Rectangular dowel-hole in neck.

Back of head broken; surface weathered.

9. FEMALE HEAD, height 0 m. 135 mill. (pl. V, fig. 2).

Another beautiful head, very probably from an Aphrodite. The hair is drawn down to each side in wavy strands, over the top of the ears, forming a triangular forehead. The eyebrows are modelled in a different manner from those of the other heads, with sharp and delicate outlines.

A portion of the right side of the head is wanting, but the surface has been partly worked smooth as if the other piece had been joined on. The end of the nose too is broken, but there is a smooth section on the left side as if a little piece had been made separately. There is a dowel-hole in the neck for attachment of head to body. The hair is left very rough on the top, or else the surface has been broken.

10. FEMALE HEAD, height 0 m. 155 mill. (pl. V, fig. 3).

A cheerful little face, human and individual, with rather pronounced cheek-bones, depression on each side of upper lip and a dimple in chin. The hair is waved to each side of forehead over the upper half of the ears, and the surface behind has been left rough.

The back of the head is sliced off perpendicularly (cf. n° 3). The neck ends

below in a sort of wedge as if for insertion in the trunk of a statuette. End of nose broken.

11. HEADLESS FEMALE STATUETTE, height o m. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ cent.

Standing with right knee bent and right foot drawn back; left hand rests on hip and right has been held out. She wears a long chiton and a mantle which is draped rather tightly round upper part of body, covering left arm and the right arm above the elbow and hanging down on left side.

There are traces of blue and pink here and there on the drapery. The back is modelled without much detail. There is a dowel-hole in neck and another in right elbow, and also a small one on right shoulder. Merely flattened below.

Head and right forearm wanting. Break through middle of thighs and piece of mantle broken off. Feet broken.

12. RIGHT ARM, length o m. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ cent. from shoulder to elbow.

It has apparently been raised level with the shoulder and bent sharply at elbow. It is naked and probably belongs to a female figure, perhaps Aphrodite holding a tress of hair. The fingers have been bent inwards.

Dowel-hole and clean section at shoulder. The hand has been made separately and is attached by a dowel at the wrist. Clean sections through thumb and two fingers, showing that they have been made separately and attached.

Fingers broken off; break through wrist; surface weathered.

13. LEFT ARM, length o m. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ cent.

Naked arm, slightly bent at elbow, with open palm; possibly from same figure as n° 12.

Dowel-hole at shoulder; clean section (without dowel-hole) through wrist; clean section at root of fingers.

Broken at shoulder; broken through wrist; fingers wanting.

14. LARGE RIGHT FOREARM, in two pieces, length o m. 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ cent.

From a figure more than life size. Clean section above wrist and dowel-holes with remains of plaster.

Broken off below elbow; fingers broken off.

15. LARGE LEFT HAND, length o m. 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ cent.

Perhaps from same figure as n° 14, but looks rather smaller. Fingers have been bent inwards. Dowel-hole in wrist.

Broken at wrist; ends of fingers broken off.

16. RIGHT ARM, length o m. 165 mill. from shoulder to elbow.

Muscular arm, less than life size, bent at elbow. Iron dowel at shoulder, embedded in plaster. Clean section at wrist, but no dowel-hole.

Hand wanting; broken at shoulder.

17. RIGHT ARM IN TWO PIECES, length o m. 36 cent.

Female arm, slightly bent at elbow. The hand faces inwards and the fingers are bent but not closed.

Dowel-hole at shoulder and hole on inner side of arm above the elbow (for attachment to body?). Clean section above wrist with dowel-holes and plaster. The thumb and two first fingers have been added separately, as there are clean sections at the roots. Supports for third and fourth fingers.

Broken at shoulder; thumb and two first fingers wanting.

18. PART OF LEFT HAND, length o m. 13 cent.

Very similar to n° 17. Third and fourth fingers bent inwards. Dowel-hole above wrist.

Broken at end; thumb and two first fingers broken off, but second finger still preserved.

19. LEFT HAND, length o m. 115 mill.

Female hand with fingers bent. Thumb and forefinger have been plastered on. Dowel-hole at wrist and another in front of wrist.

Broken at wrist; thumb and forefinger wanting.

20. LEFT ARM, length o m. 30 cent.

The elbow is bent and the palm is turned upwards.

Hole at shoulder, passing through to outside. Two holes on inner side and surface pared away (for close attachment to body). Hand attached. Clean section for attachment of thumb and fingers.

Thumb and fingers wanting; weathered.

21. RIGHT FOREARM, length o m. 26 cent.

The elbow is bent, the palm turned outwards or downwards and the fingers lightly bent.

Clean section at elbow, with dowel-hole. Join above wrist. The thumb, first and fourth fingers have been made separately and plastered on. Supports for

second and third fingers. Something has been attached to end of second finger.

Thumb and two fingers wanting.

22. ARM, in two pieces, length o m. 22 cent.

Slightly bent at elbow. There are dowel-holes at shoulder and wrist, and the iron rod is still adhering to the latter. The two pieces have been joined at the elbow by an iron dowel and plaster, but the section is quite rough as if broken.

23. ARM, length o m. 12 cent. from elbow to wrist.

Perhaps from same figure as n° 22, this being the left arm. The elbow is bent at a right angle. Dowel-holes at shoulder and wrist, with iron dowel in the latter.

24. ARM, length o m. 105 mill. from elbow to wrist.

The elbow is bent at a right angle. Dowel-hole at shoulder and iron dowel in wrist. Broken and weathered.

25. RIGHT HAND, length o m. 135 mill.

Hand and part of arm. The thumb and fingers have been attached by plaster on a clean section.

Broken and worn; thumb and fingers wanting.

26. RIGHT HAND, length o m. 095 mill.

Dowel-hole at wrist. The thumb and fingers, which are wanting, have been attached as on n° 25.

27. FRAGMENT OF RIGHT HAND, length o m. 05 cent.

Includes part of thumb and forefinger. Clean section for junction with rest of hand, and holes for junction of thumb and forefinger.

28. LEFT HAND, length o m. 10 cent.

Left hand of female figure, bent at wrist. There are five clean sections for junction of thumb and fingers. Dowel-hole at wrist.

29. LEFT HAND, length o m. 10 cent.

From a female figure. The fingers have apparently held something, such as a handle. Dowel-hole at wrist and clean section at root of forefinger.

Thumb and forefinger wanting.

30. LEFT HAND, length o m. 07 cent.

Fingers bent. Dowel-hole in wrist. Much corroded.

31. SMALL FRAGMENT OF ARM showing part of dowel-hole, length o m. 05 cent.

32. FRAGMENT OF STATUETTE, height o m. 18 cent.

Perhaps from right side of a female figure : there is a rough projecting piece which might be the end of hair.

33. PART OF RIGHT LEG, height o m. 21 cent.

From a male figure with bent knee. Dowel-hole in thigh and small hole pierced through from front of thigh, and two dowel-holes above ankle. The back is cut as if intended for something else. Much corroded.

34. PART OF LEFT LEG, height o m. 22 cent.

Might be from same figure as n° 33. The knee is not bent. Dowel-hole above ankle. Broken above knee and sliced off behind.

35. PART OF RIGHT LEG, height o m. 165 mill.

Foot and short piece of leg. There is no footgear; the big toe is cocked up; the sole is modelled. Dowel-hole above ankle and marks of drill.

Broken at top; second toe broken.

36. PART OF LEFT LEG, height o m. 175 mill.

Foot and short piece of leg, possibly from same figure as n° 35. The sole is modelled. Dowel-hole in top and marks of drill.

Top and big toe broken.

37. LEFT FOOT WITH SANDAL, length o m. 13 cent.

Dowel-hole in ankle. Clean section and dowel-hole for junction of toes.

38. LEFT FOOT, length o m. 125 mill.

Apparently on tiptoe. A sandal is represented below the toes and the straps are also indicated, but the rest of the sole is modelled as if naked. Dowel-hole in ankle.

39. RIGHT FOOT, height o m. 12 cent.

Foot and short piece of leg; naked; sole modelled. Dowel-hole above. Clean section for attachment of three toes, and dowel-hole for big toe. Broken in two.

40. RIGHT FOOT, length o m. 14 cent.

Naked; the sole is modelled. Iron dowel in ankle.

41. RIGHT FOOT, length o m. 10 cent.

Front part of foot with sandal (no straps). Dowel-hole at back, but surface broken.

42. PART OF RIGHT FOOT, breadth o m. 04 cent.

Comprises the big toe and the three next; sandal underneath. Clean section for attachment to rest of foot.

43. PIECE OF MARBLE, height o m. 14 cent.

Like front part of a leg, but quite rough with tool-marks.

44, 45. INSIGNIFICANT FRAGMENTS OF MARBLE.

Besides the pieces of marble statuettes, the following objects were.

46. RIGHT HAND OF LIMESTONE, length o m. 11 cent.

Not of same good style as the marble pieces. Some object is held between thumb and forefinger, the other fingers are closed. Broken off at wrist.

47. LARGE ALABASTER VASE, height o m. 38 cent.

A fine Greek hydria, probably of the same date as the marbles. It has no bottom, the body of the vase having been hollowed out through the opening in the base. The rim is broken, but most of the pieces are preserved.

48. ALABASTER ALTAR, height o m. 30 cent.

Cylindrical, with mouldings at top and bottom. The base is square. Top broken.

49-55. SEVEN SMALL ALABASTER ALTARS like n° 48, from o m. 085 mill. to o m. 18 cent.

Some broken, some well-preserved.

56. LIMESTONE ALTAR, height o m. 19 cent.

Same type as the preceding. Top broken.

57. ALABASTER ALTAR, height o m. 16 cent.

Square body with mouldings at top and bottom and high triangular corners at top.

58, 59. TWO ALABASTER FRAGMENTS OF MOULDINGS, perhaps from altars.

60. FRAGMENT OF LIMESTONE VESSEL COVERED WITH SCALES, height 0 m. 18 cent.

61. LIMESTONE OFFERING-TABLE, length 0 m. 43 cent.

In the middle is a human foot, flanked by an *uræus* and an *agathodaemon*, all in low relief.

62. A FEW FRAGMENTS OF TRANSPARENT GLASS.

I have not much to add about the artistic value of the find, the gems of which are the ten marble heads. The admirable photographs of Brugsch Pasha show sufficiently well how fresh and pleasing they are : minor pieces from the hands of unknown craftsmen they have all the charm of genuine Greek work. Many little heads of the same kind have been found in Alexandria and other parts of Egypt, and their general characteristics have become well-known since the publication of Amelung's article on Alexandrian sculpture. The fragments from Tell Timai are a fine set of specimens of this branch of art. It is fortunate too that they are by no means uniform in type : the subjects are varied and so is the technique. On one hand, for instance, the features of n° 6 (pl. IV, fig. 1) have in a marked degree the soft misty outlines which characterise so many works of the Alexandrian and other Hellenistic schools. On the other hand the more sensuous and languid expression of n°s 2 and 7 (pl. I, fig. 2, and pl. IV, fig. 2) is due to a different treatment : the eyes are set in fairly thick, fleshy lids, slightly contracted, and the eyebrows are defined by a lightly incised line. No doubt many of the Timai heads might be grouped, more or less closely, with other works of the same period already known; but writing the present report away from books and collections I cannot attempt to discuss them in this aspect.

As has been already said, the chamber in which the marbles were found can scarcely have been their original home. But they seem all to belong to the same period, and the differences between them in point of style are not of such a nature that we cannot suppose them to have been made in the same place, or even in the same workshop. It may be assumed that they were wrought in Egypt, so similar are they in style to other works found in this country : and n° 4 at least (see pl. II, fig. 2) is a specifically Egyptian subject. More difficult is it to decide whether they were brought from Alexandria or made on the spot, in Thmouis itself. At the period from which they date Greek culture cannot have spread very widely over the provinces, yet here and there the Greeks had established themselves and were introducing their own arts and customs. At Memphis,

for example, even at the beginning of the Ptolemaic period there were certainly plenty of good Greek craftsmen, — painters, modellers, sculptors and so on. We know less about the state of things at Thmouis, though there is some evidence that bronzes of good quality were cast here in early Roman times⁽¹⁾. But long before the Macedonian conquest the eastern Delta was much frequented by Greeks and other foreigners, merchants and mercenaries, and no doubt this foreign element increased considerably under the new dynasty. From the not distant town of Boubastis we have a Greek or Cypriote statue of excellent workmanship, apparently made by a local sculptor and probably even earlier than the Timai fragments⁽²⁾. So it is quite possible that one or two Greek sculptors, capable of executing such fine work as the newly discovered marbles, may have visited or inhabited the foreign quarter of Thmouis. — C. C. EDGAR.

PLANCHES VI-XXI.

GHIRLANDOMANIA ALESSANDRINA.

«Quando sulla vita degli antichi si interrogano i testi rimastici non si può non pensare mestamente al *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*. Così qui di tante altre passioni degli Alessandrini, della loro passione per la caccia, per la pesca, per il giuoco, per i belli «oggetti antichi», pei fiori, che sotto quel cielo incomparabile e per le cure di quei sagaci giardinieri furono indicibilmente belli, tutto quello che sappiamo è che non sappiamo nulla.» Con queste malinconiche considerazioni Giacomo Lumbroso chiude uno dei suoi interessanti studi sull'Egitto Greco e Romano⁽³⁾. Per molte, per troppe manifestazioni della vita degli antichi Alessandrini, del loro modo di sentire, di pensare, di godere, di amare, di soffrire, il lamento intorno all'ignoranza o all'incertezza in cui brancolano il nostro desiderio di sapere e la nostra, persino indiscreta, curiosità, è tuttavia interamente giusto, ma io credo che oggidì le cresciute e crescenti e meravigliose scoperte di papiri, gli scavi metodici eseguiti nel territorio di Alessandria ci consentano d'illuminare, sia pure con tenui raggi di luce, qualche aspetto della psiche della «balda figlia del greco eroe».

Io vorrei tentare di contribuire elementi nuovi alla conoscenza della passione pei fiori, così caratteristica della capitale dei Tolemei e ivi giudicata così generalmente diffusa e intensa che il concetto di «ghirlandomania alessandrina» è

¹ See *Annales*, vol. VIII., p. 157.

² See *Cat. gén.*, *Greek Sculpture*, n° 27469.

³ *L'Egitto dei Greci e dei Romani*, 2^a ed., «Passioni Alessandrine»., p. 108 e seg.

pacificamente ammesso da quanti si occupano della storia civile o artistica dell'Egitto greco-romano⁽¹⁾. Come, a ragione, deplorava il Lumbroso, ciò che la tradizione letteraria ci ha tramandato a tal proposito, è assai povera cosa. Dal romanzo sulla vita di Alessandro Magno del pseudo-Callistene — fonte a cui non possiamo attingere con troppo credula fede — apprendiamo che tutto un quartiere della città era abitato da fabbricanti di corone⁽²⁾, e che in certe determinate occasioni s'incoronavano di fiori anche le bestie da soma : Τπολύγια δέ καὶ ἡμίονοι εἰργάζοντο... Στεφανοῦσι δέ καὶ τὰ κτήνη ἀνάπαυσιν αὐτοῖς παρεχόμενοι... Ἐκέλευσε δέ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκεῖ τὸ τέμενος γένεσθαι... καὶ τλησίον ἐκέλευσε σιεφάνους σιεφέσθαι εἰς μηῆμην τοῦ ὄρθεντος ἀγαθοῦ δαιμονος.

Un'altra notizia esplicita intorno alla meravigliosa quantità e varietà di fiori, che il suolo d'Egitto produceva⁽³⁾ e alla profusione con cui gli Alessandrini ne facevano uso, la troviamo nella celebre descrizione della *τομπή* di Tolemeo Filadelfo, descrizione che Calisseno di Rodi scrisse soltanto qualche diecina d'anni dopo ch'era avvenuta, e riuscendo tutt'altro che esente dalla taccia di esagerazioni e d'inesattezze⁽⁴⁾. È prezzo dell'opera trascrivere l'intero passo : τὸ δέ τεριέχον αὐτὴν ὑπαιθρον μυρρίναις καὶ δάφναις ἄλλοις τε ἐπιτηδείοις ἔρνεσιν ἐγεγόνει συνηρεθέσ. τὸ δέ δαφνος τῶν ἄνθεσι κατεπέπαστο τωντοῖς. ή γὰρ Αἴγυπτος καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ τεριέχοντος ἀέρος εὐκρασίαν καὶ διὰ τοὺς κηπεύοντας τὰ σπανίως καὶ καθ' ὥραν ἐνεστηκυῖαν ἐν ἑτέροις φυόμενα τόποις ἀφθονα γεννᾶ καὶ διὰ τωντός, καὶ οὔτε ρόδον οὔτε λευκόιον οὔτ' ἄλλο ράδίως ἄνθος ἐκλιπεῖν οὐθὲν οὐδέποτ' εἴθεν. διὸ δὴ καὶ κατὰ μέσον χειμῶνα τῆς ὑποδοχῆς τότε γεννθείσης τωράδοξος ή φαντασία [τότε] τοῖς ξένοις κατέστη. τὰ γὰρ εἰς μίαν εὐρεθῆναι σιεφάνωσιν οὐκ ἀν δυνηθέντα ἐν ἄλλῃ τώλει ράδίως, ταῦτα καὶ τῷ τλήθει τῶν κατακειμένων ἐκεχορήγητο εἰς τοὺς σιεφάνους ἀφθόνως καὶ εἰς τὸ τῆς σκηνῆς ἔδαφος κατεπέπαστο χύδην, θείου τινὸς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀποτελοῦντα λειμῶνος τρόσοψιν.

⁽¹⁾ Cf. CULTRERA, *Saggi sull'Arte Ellenistica e Greco-Romana*, I, p. 46 e la bibliografia ivi citata a nota 1. Vedi anche LUMBROSO, *Lettere al Sigr. Professore Breccia*, in *Bull. de la Société Arch. d'Alex.*, fasc. x, p. 196.

⁽²⁾ Non è il caso di ricordare la storiella tramandataci da Eliano e da Plutarco sul mostruoso amore d'un elefante per una *σιεφανόπωλις*. Con ritardo son venuto a conoscenza di un articolo del Dr. Apostolides, pubblicato in un *Ημερολογιον εμπορικου μηνυτορος* di non so quale anno, dal titolo : *Χρηστις καὶ εμποριον των ανθεων παρα τοις αρχαιοις*.

⁽³⁾ Plinio ci fornisce qualche particolare sparso qua e là nella *Naturalis Historia*, v. specialmente XXI, 168, 174, 177, 184 e *passim*.

⁽⁴⁾ Calisseno presso *Ateneo*, V, 25, p. 196 D.

« Lo spazio scoperto tutt'intorno alla grotta circondata da colonne (*σύριξ τερίσινθος*) era stato coperto con festoni di mirto e d'alloro e con giovani foglie di altre piante convenienti. Il suolo era tutto cosparsò di fiori d'ogni sorta. In verità l'Egitto, sia per la mitezza del clima, sia per la sagacia dei giardinieri, produce, in abbondanza e continuamente, fiori che altrove nascono scarsi e in una stagione determinata, nè vi fanno mai difetto rose e viole o altro fiore. Per ciò dunque essendo avvenuto questo solenne ricevimento nel bel mezzo dell'inverno, un tale spettacolo parve ai forestieri straordinario : straordinario invero il trovare in un solo addobbo tanti fiori quanti non se ne troverebbero facilmente in un'altra città; questo è la straordinaria distesa di corone e il suolo della scena ch'era cosparsò di fiori in profusione, offrendo immagine d'un prato divino. »

Strabone ci fa poi sapere che la città dei morti era tutta cosparsa di giardini (Strab., 17; 799) : *ἡ Νέκροπολις τὸ ωραῖστειον, ἐν ᾧ κῆποι τε πωλλοὶ καὶ ταφαί.*

Pochi altri scrittori e di epoca relativamente tarda fanno qualche fugace allusione all'argomento che c'interessa, e quasi tutti per accennare al costume di coronarsi di fiori durante i banchetti, o durante le ceremonie del culto. Avremo più innanzi occasione di ricordarli.

I particolari forniti da Calisseno costituiscono, sembra, la più antica notizia relativa alla tendenza di coltivare il giardinaggio non soltanto come mezzo a scopo, ma con l'intenzione di ottenere un effetto estetico con l'artistica disposizione della vegetazione⁽¹⁾.

Sono note le conseguenze che da siffatta passione che la città dei Lagidi ebbe pei fiori, si sono volute trarre per lo studio della questione sull'origine, la fisionomia e l'importanza dell'arte alessandrina. Precisamente basandosi sulla «ghirlandomania alessandrina», Teodoro Schreiber ha rivendicato ad Alessandria una serie di vasi e di oggetti in metallo, frequentemente decorati con motivi floreali⁽²⁾. E nell'opera *Die Brunnenreliefs aus palazzo Grimani* con maggiore determinazione ha scritto :

„Ein anderer spezifisch alexandrinischer Zug im Reliefbild, der sich im Votorelief (Einkehr des Dionysios bei Ikarios) und in dem stilistisch verwandten Werken der Toreutik (vgl. die Vignetten, fig. 1, 10, 14, 17) wiederholt, ist

⁽¹⁾ HELBIG, *Campanische Wandmalerei*, p. 281 e seg.

⁽²⁾ TH. SCHREIBER, *Alexandrinische Toreutik*, p. 467=197.

die ausgeprägte Liebhaberei für Guirlandenschmuck. Wo irgend sich Gelegenheit giebt, Blumengewinde anzubringen, wird sie gewiss nicht versäumt.» E continua cercando di dimostrare la stretta relazione che deve esistere tra i fiori, di cui a suo avviso abbondano i rilievi paesistici, ed Alessandria «la città dei fiori». Ignoro se le argomentazioni dello Schreiber per dimostrare che i bassorilievi paesistici posseggono nei fiori e nei festoni, di cui sono adorni, una specifica caratteristica che ne determini l'origine alessandrina, ignoro, dico, se tali argomentazioni siano più abili e sottili che convincenti, anzi, a dir vero, mi paiono molto gravi le obbiezioni con cui sono state combattute. Tuttavia è certo che la passione degli Alessandrini pei fiori si manifesta in mille guise nei monumenti a noi pervenuti e scoperti sul suolo di Alessandria. Se le idee e i sentimenti d'un popolo si riflettono sempre in qualche modo nella sua produzione artistica e industriale, è evidente che l'amore pei fiori deve in sommo grado rispecchiarvisi per l'estrema caducità dell'oggetto che piace. L'uomo non potendo possedere ciò che ardemente desidera aver sempre vicino, cerca di possederne almeno l'immagine. Così avvenne che gli Alessandrini non si contentarono di riprodurre a disegno o a rilievo fiori isolati o in festoni o in mazzetti e ghirlande, sulle pareti domestiche, sui sarcofagi⁽¹⁾, sui vasi in terra cotta, attorno agli altari, adattandoli a scene religiose o profane, sentimentali o sensuali, ma crearono e dettero prospera vita all'industria dei fiori artificiali. I quali, come afferma la Principessa Lontana di Sudermann, hanno sui naturali il vantaggio, non di essere falsi, ma di non appassire mai. È fuori di dubbio che fiori freschi dovettero essere collocati in grande abbondanza sui cadaveri e nelle tombe degli antichi Alessandrini, ma di questi fiori naturali, date le condizioni del suolo in cui i cadaveri hanno giaciuto per secoli, è sparita ogni traccia, ma corone di fiori naturali sono state raccolte in quantità considerevoli ad Abusir (in necropoli contemporanee di quelle di Sciatbi e dell'Ibrahimieh) ad Antinoe (in tombe molto posteriori) ed altrove. Del resto è noto che l'uso di corone funerarie, risale alla più remota antichità egiziana, e se nel mondo greco-romano non se n'è riscontrata alcuna prova sicura anteriormente alla fine del quinto secolo, con ciò non è affatto escluso che rimonti a un'epoca molto meno recente. Per gli Egiziani la corona funeraria aveva il valore di un amuleto contro pericoli esteriori, laddove pei Greci avrebbe valso come segno di un'eccelsa

⁽¹⁾ È caratteristico il fatto che in Alessandria tutti i sarcofagi, senza eccezione, siano di granito o di marmo o di calcare, hanno un unico tipo di decorazione, di cui elemento principale ed essenziale è sempre il festone. La varietà è costituita dall'essere il festone unito a genietti piuttosto che a bucrani, o a teste di Medusa (pl. XVIII e XIX).

consacrazione⁽¹⁾. Il Watzinger è incline a credere che il morto, per mezzo della corona di fiori, fosse consacrato agli Dei Inferi; lo Schreiber ritiene che il concetto dei Greci fosse che il morto doveva compiere il suo passaggio nel mondo di là, ornato a festa, con corone ed abiti preziosi. A me sembra che qualunque sia stato il concetto originario che ha determinato l'uso di corone funebri, nel periodo alessandrino e nel successivo, non dobbiamo vedervi più l'applicazione d'un'idea religiosa determinata (come ho sostenuto altrove anche per le statuine in terra cotta⁽²⁾) ma una manifestazione tutta di natura psicologica. L'omaggio di fiori al morto doveva costituire la prova tangibile del dolore provato dai superstiti, il simbolo soave e delicato dei perduranti legami d'affetto, doveva in una parola rappresentare il *fiore della ricordanza*. E l'uso dei fiori artificiali dev'essere stato originato, a mio parere, dal bisogno di crearsi illusioni sulla perpetuità del sentimento che l'omaggio stesso manifestava. Ma se i sentimenti, ciò nonostante, appassivano e presto, i fiori artificiali restavano. E appunto perchè essi non appassiscono mai, noi ne abbiamo potuti raccogliere in discreta quantità nelle tombe alessandrine dell'età tolemaica, dopo oltre duemila anni da che vi erano stati deposti.

È certo che negli scavi eseguiti in Alessandria anteriormente all'esplorazione metodica delle necropoli di Sciatbi e dell'Ibrahimieh, resti di ramoscelli e di corone di fiori artificiali devono essere stati rinvenuti con frequenza, ma ad essi non si potè porre la necessaria attenzione, di guisa che il Museo Greco-Romano n'era quasi affatto sprovvisto⁽³⁾.

Il Pugioli doveva averne raccolti molti negli scavi tumultuari e alieni da ogni scopo scientifico, ch'egli eseguì per parecchi anni, indisturbato, nelle colline di Sciatbi, dell'Ibrahimieh e di Hadra. Ciò si può almeno dedurre dalle notizie, forse non sempre precise, ch'egli ha comunicato verbalmente al Prof. Schreiber⁽⁴⁾.

⁽¹⁾ ROHDE, *Psyche* I^a, 220; cf. SCHREIBER, *Die Necropole von Kom-esch-Chogafa*, Kap. xvii, anm. 38, dove accenna a una diversa opinione di Max Siebourg.

⁽²⁾ *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, B. S. A., fasc. viii, p. 87 e seg.

⁽³⁾ Resti di una corona in bronzo dorato, sono ricordati dal Botti in B. S. A., fasc. ii, p. 44. Cf. BOTTI, *Catalogue*, 1900, p. 137, n° 2381-2382.

⁽⁴⁾ SCHREIBER, *Die Necropole*, etc., Kap. xvi, Anm. 64: «Nach mündlichen Angaben Pugiolis fand sich in den Hadravasen unter den Knochen auch Goldschmuck (Ringe oder Goldkränze) einmal ein Glasring mit eingepresster Darstellung und sehr häufig Imitationen der Totenkränze aus vergoldeten Stücken». Che siffatte imitazioni di corone mortuarie siano state realmente trovate entro le urne cinerarie, tra le ossa, io dubito assai, perchè finora, per quante urne abbia aperte, e non sono state poche, non vi ho trovato altro che ossa bruciate (una sola volta un piccolo alabastron). Le corone artificiali o tutt'altra suppellettile funebre, erano sempre collocate o sulla spalla del vaso, o attorno e presso il vaso stesso. E al Kap. xvii, Anm. 38. . . . «Totenkränze aus Golaplättchen oder aus noch

Tuttavia sebbene il Pugioli possedesse secondo afferma lo Schreiber, delle scodelle ripiene di resti di corone artificiali, egli non aveva alcuna corona intera, nè aveva raccolto o conservato il materiale (omai perito per quanto si può sapere) in modo che fosse possibile studiarlo con frutto. Perciò non mi sembra priva d'importanza la serie di corone funerarie, che noi abbiamo potuto raccogliere e studiare, e che qui presentiamo riprodotte in buon numero : tantopiù che neppure dagli scavi di Myrina, così diligentemente e scientificamente condotti ed eseguiti, sono stati raccolti elementi degni di studio⁽¹⁾; nè il Watzinger⁽²⁾, che parla con una certa ampiezza delle corone di fiori naturali, trovate sui cadaveri nella necropoli greca di Abusir, ricorda alcun esempio di corone di fiori finti; nè, ch'io mi sappia, hanno finora fatto oggetto di studio le corone artificiali raccolte nelle necropoli della Russia meridionale e della bassa Italia.

Nel primo rapporto provvisorio sulla necropoli di Sciatbi⁽³⁾ ho già dato la riproduzione d'una semighirlanda di foglie e bacche di mirto, in bronzo dorato le prime, in terra cotta dorata con gambi di bronzo le seconde. Le semighirlande o ghirlande, di cui è parola, furono trovate o accanto alla mano destra del cadavere o sul collo o sul capo. Quando si trattava di cadaveri cremati, come vedremo meglio più innanzi, il mazzetto o il ramoscello veniva adattato sulla spalla o sul collo dell'urna cineraria. Per riunire foglie e bacche o fiori in mazzetti o ghirlande si usava il procedimento seguente : si prendeva una lista di osso o più frequentemente di piombo, spessa tre o quattro millimetri e larga circa mezzo

billigeren Surrogaten (vergoldetem Stuck) pflegte man in Alexandrien auch der in der Urne gesammelten Asche des verbrannten Leichmanns beizufügen. Pugioli bezeugte mir den letzteren Gebrauch als Regel und besass noch viele Näpfe von Resten solcher Kränze. » Non si puo' parlare di una regola, perchè a dire il vero, le urne che conservano tuttavia resti di corone artificiali, sono in numero minore di quelle che si presentano prive di tale ornamento; inoltre credo che non si debba parlare di stucco, ma di terra cotta, la quale da un esame accurato di tutte le corone da noi raccolte, risulta essere la materia generalmente adoperata. Anche per Myrina, dove ebbero occasione di osservare corone funerarie identiche a quelle raccolte nelle necropoli alessandrine, Pottier e Reinach parlano di terra cotta (*Myrina*, p. 100 e 105).

⁽¹⁾ POTTIER ET REINACH, *La Nécropole de Myrina*. I soli accenni che ho potuto rintracciare si trovano a p. 100 dove nell'inventario del contenuto di una tomba si enumera tra l'altro « un grand nombre de grains de terre cuite dorés et mêlés à des petites feuilles minces de bronze doré (restes de couronnes funéraires) », e a p. 105 : « Il est certain que quelques-uns de ces objets, entre autre des couronnes formées de fines feuilles de métal avec des grains de terre cuite dorée, qui imitent les baies, sont de destination purement funéraire, étant données l'extrême tenuité et la fragilité de ces ornements ».

⁽²⁾ WATZINGER, *Griechische Holzsarcophage aus der Zeit Alexanders des Grossen*, p. 5, 7, 8, 19.

⁽³⁾ B. S. A., fasc. VIII, p. 94, fig. 36.

centimetro e vi si praticava il maggior numero di fori possibile; in questi fori venivano introdotti fino a una certa lunghezza i gambi delle foglie e delle bacche o dei fiori; le parti dei gambi, che sporgevano fuori del foro, venivano poi intrecciate, o isolate o a due, a tre, a quattro, attorno all'anima della corona, e così si riusciva a tenere i gambi riuniti e fissi (pl. VI, fig. 1). Per aumentare la solidità e per l'estetica, su tutta la costola, formata dai gambi intrecciati, s'adattava un mastice o si fissavano laminette di metallo o di osso o di legno. I fiori e le bacche, i grappoli d'uva e le ghiande non erano lavorati a stampa, ma a mano; le foglie di mirto, di edera, di quercia e così via, si ottenevano ritagliandole con le forbici da sottili lame di bronzo⁽¹⁾. Talora, come per esempio è il caso delle foglie di mirto, l'artigiano ritagliava dalla lamina di bronzo, preparata in precedenza, il gambo e la foglia in un sol pezzo; tal'altra il gambo e la foglia erano ritagliati separatamente e venivano uniti e fissati insieme, non a mezzo di ribattitura, ma piuttosto mediante saldatura, sia riscaldando i due pezzi da unire, sia forse con l'aiuto d'una sostanza resinosa⁽²⁾. La doratura⁽³⁾ era eseguita alla foglia d'oro battuto, cioè i nostri fiori artificiali sono lavori *ἐπίχρυσα*. Non abbiamo trovato, per ora almeno, esempi del procedimento di doratura a schiuma d'oro (*καταχρυσοῦν*). Le laminette che hanno servito alla doratura sono naturalmente sottilissime, poichè il loro spessore è di molto inferiore al millimetro, ma sono lontane dal limite estremo fino a cui può l'oro assottigliarsi, cioè $1/1\,000$ di millimetro. Il pezzo da dorare veniva probabilmente ricoperto d'uno strato gommoso o gelatinoso, sul quale si trasportava la foglia d'oro col mezzo d'una barba di penna: la necessaria adesione si otteneva poi premendo con un tampone o con un pennello. Le lame di bronzo riproducenti le foglie di mirto, d'edera o simili, presentano spesso delle serie di linee cesellate, le quali non hanno lo scopo di rendere più fissa e solida la doratura, ma sono semplicemente dovute alla raffinatezza di gusto di qualche artigiano desideroso d'imitare l'aspetto naturale delle foglie, e quindi le loro fibre e venature. Per la doratura dei granelli o delle bacche e dei fiori in terra cotta, il metodo era identico, ma la pellicola d'oro non rivestiva interamente i granelli, ricoprendone soltanto la metà superiore. Il granello di terra cotta era d'altro lato rivestito d'uno strato di latte di calce assai fine e di color giallo. Il gambo dei fiori e dei granelli era di bronzo, e veniva loro applicato quando l'argilla era ancor fresca, cioè prima della cottura.

⁽¹⁾ Sul taglio dei metalli in lame, mediante le forbici, vedi BLÜMNER, *Technologie*, IV, p. 254.

⁽²⁾ Vedi BLÜMNER, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 290 e seg.; cf. VERNIER, *La bijouterie et la joaillerie égyptiennes*, p. 67.

⁽³⁾ BLÜMNER, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 308 e seg.; cf. VERNIER, *op. cit.*, p. 133 e seg.

Non va tacito che se i nostri scavi hanno fruttato unicamente ghirlande e ramoscelli e tralci dorati, non è escluso, anzi è da ritenere per certo, che i ricchi facessero uso di corone e di fiori finti interamente d'oro o di altro metallo prezioso.

Il primo gruppo di oggetti che esamineremo proviene dalla necropoli di Sciatbi, e precisamente da tombe, la cronologia delle quali s'aggira intorno agli inizi del terzo secolo avanti Cristo⁽¹⁾; il secondo gruppo è stato raccolto nella necropoli dell'Ibrahimieh, presso a poco contemporanea della prima, ma alquanto più recente⁽²⁾. La ghirlanda, che è riprodotta nella pl. VI, fig. 2, è la più bella che abbiamo scoperta e la più importante, vuoi per la varietà dei fiori di cui è composta, vuoi per i colori che alcuni di essi conservano ancora in modo mirabile. Com'è naturale, la forma attuale della corona non è esattamente quella originaria. La tomba, dove l'abbiamo raccolta, era stata da secoli invasa dalle acque, cosicchè di tra l'umido terriccio non un tralcio di fiori noi ritirammo, ma un viluppo di fango. Dopo aver lasciato asciugare il fango e, procedendo con molta pazienza e prudenza a lavare e nettare i piccoli oggetti che conteneva, abbiamo potuto venire in possesso di circa cento fiorellini artificiali⁽³⁾. Sulle mie indicazioni, il nostro bravo restauratore sig. Moretti ha ricostruito la semighirlanda nella forma in cui si presenta. Nel restauro ci siamo tenuti a questa forma, perchè è quella che abbiamo ritrovata più di sovente, e perchè, ignorando l'aspetto preciso della corona originaria, abbiamo voluto far vedere tutti i fiori, pur nascondendo il sostegno moderno.

Le margherite (?) sono rappresentate leggermente convesse con orlo spizzettato, con un bottoncino rilevato nel centro, e sono interamente dorate (v. pl. XIV). Ugualmente soltanto dorati sono i fiorellini a quattro petali simili a piccole stelle, e altri piccoli fiori circolari, di campo; altri presentano il calice aperto coi petali dipinti in color violaceo; altri ancora, di simile forma, hanno invece il fondo del calice verde e i petali colorati in rosso chiaro e viola (v. pl. XIV).

Le piante, che più spesso concorrono a formare le ghirlande o i festoni o i tralci artificiali, sono, per quanto si puo' giudicare, il mirto, l'edera, la quercia.

⁽¹⁾ Vedi BRECCIA, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, in *B. S. A.*, n° VIII.

⁽²⁾ Vedi BRECCIA, *La Necropoli dell'Ibrahimieh*, *B. S. A.*, n° IX.

⁽³⁾ Ho pregato il sig. Monfront, Direttore del Servizio dei Parchi e Giardini presso il Municipio di Alessandria, di volere esaminare i resti di corone artificiali posseduti dal Museo e i festoni dipinti su alcune idrie, e di classificarmi le specie di fiori ivi riprodotte o rappresentate, ma egli mi ha dichiarato di non poter riconoscere con certezza, alcuna specie determinata. Nella corona che sto esaminando egli ha dubitatamente arrischiato di identificare dei gelsomini, dei convolvuli, delle margherite selvagge.

Quasi tutte le tombe di donne, che avessero appartenuto a famiglie appena modestissimamente agiate, conservavano resti più o meno utilizzabili di tale suppellettile funebre. La figura 3 della pl. VII riproduce una delle molte semi-ghirlande di mirto trovate, come s'è accennato, o presso la mano destra o sul collo dello scheletro. Nella figura 4 è rappresentato un festoncino di foglie e bacche d'edera (vedi anche fig. 5).

Era un bisogno così prepotente, per gli antichi Alessandrini, quello di esprimere il sopravvivente legame di affetto che univa i morti ai superstiti, e di esprimerlo soprattutto col poetico e delicato omaggio di fiori naturali o artificiali, che non si contentavano di adornarne i cadaveri inumati, ma ne abbellivano sin le urne cinerarie. È nella necropoli di Sciatbi che ci siamo imbattuti per la prima volta in un vaso contenente ossa bruciate, accompagnato da fiori artificiali⁽¹⁾. Si trattava in questo caso di due mazzetti di bacche di edera, chiusi entro foglie della medesima pianta; il tutto era tenuto insieme da un filo di rame attorcigliato attorno ai gambi. Anche più caratteristica o ad ogni modo più fine manifestazione della funzione sentimentale, per rispetto ai morti, attribuita ai fiori, ci fu dato riscontrare nella necropoli dell'Ibrahimieh. Una calpe funeraria di terra cotta (pl. VII, fig. 6) portava, elegantemente disposto attorno al collo, un ramoscello di foglie e bacche di mirto; un vaso di terra cotta rossastra a pancia globata, munito di due manichi diritti verticalmente sulla spalla portava alla base del grosso e alto collo cilindrico una corona parimenti di mirto (pl. IX, fig. 7).

Il più bello esemplare di corona artificiale di mirto, ci è stato recentemente offerto dalla necropoli di Sciatbi, durante uno scavo eseguito a spese e a nome del sig. Michele Salvago e della signora Despina Sinadino, i quali hanno generosamente aderito alla mia preghiera di cedere al Museo la preziosa idria, su cui abbiamo trovata deposta la corona. L'idria, assai grande, ha perduto per l'umidità tutta la pittura di cui doveva essere esternamente decorata, ma conserva intatta la bella ed ampia ghirlanda di foglie e di bacche di mirto dorate e che è tuttora disposta con molta eleganza sulla spalla del vaso (fig. 1 e 2).

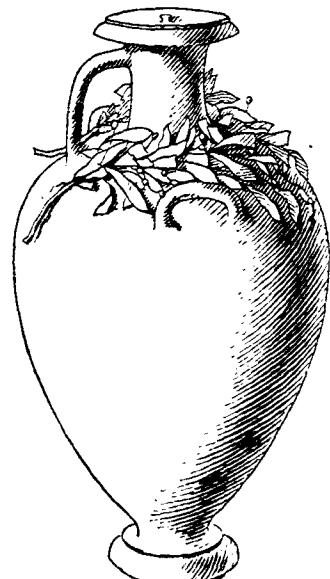


Fig. 1.

⁽¹⁾ Cf. B. S. A., n° VIII, p. 88.

La ghirlanda non è circolare ma a festone, di cui le due estremità quasi si congiungono presso il manico posteriore dell'urna; e da due forellini praticati presso le due estremità del fusto di piombo, pendono ancora i resti della sottile cordicella che le univa, e che deve aver servito a tenere sospesa la corona nella

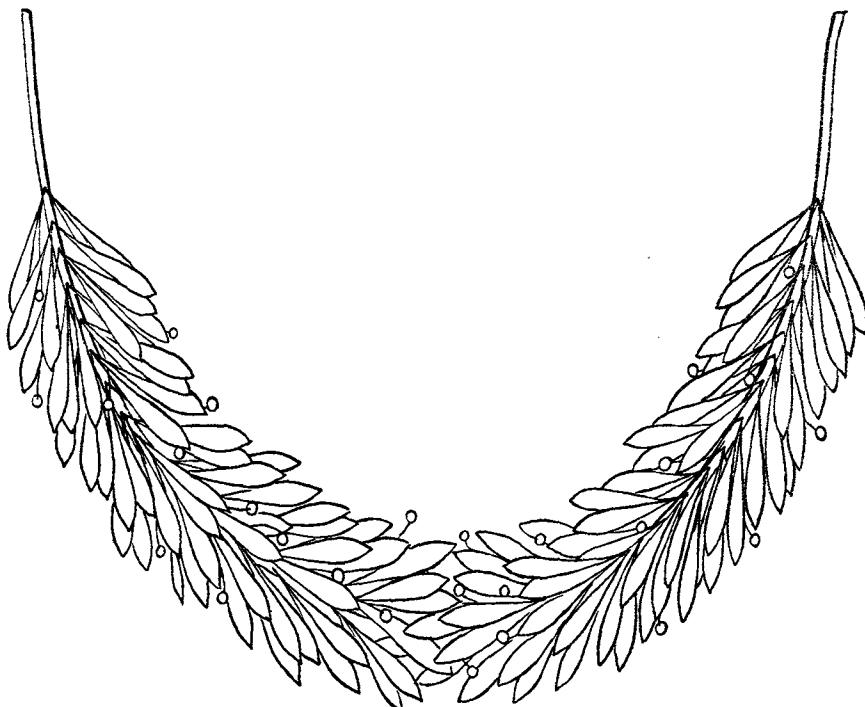


Fig. 2.

bottega del fabbricante. L'importanza speciale di questo esemplare non è soltanto nelle dimensioni ragguardevoli della ghirlanda, ma soprattutto nel fatto che vaso e corona si presentano ora tali e quali furono deposti nella tomba circa ventidue secoli or sono. Invero il lavoro di restauro, si è limitato in questo caso, a rafforzare qualche gambo delle foglie e delle bacche.

Ma i nostri ghirlandomani non si accontentavano neppure all'omaggio floreale sotto forma di corone artificiali, poichè vi aggiungevano la riproduzione pittorica di esse. Non intendo parlare qui della ricchissima serie di urne cinerarie in terra cotta, decorate con varie zone di elementi lineari alternati con ramoscelli e festoni di foglie e fiori. Anche nel tipo di decorazione di siffatti vasi, è evidentemente riflessa la passione pei fiori, così vivace negli Alessandrini, e di cui stiamo rintracciando le superstiti prove, ma fiori e foglie sono qui sempre troppo stilizzati, e sono comunque riprodotti meccanicamente con uno stesso color marrone o rossa stro senza nessuna intenzione d'imitare la natura (cf. pl. VII, fig. 5; pl. IX, fig. 8; pl. X, fig. 9). Più interessante per il caso nostro è una categoria di queste urne, sulle quali sono dipinte non a fuoco, ma a guazzo e dopo aver loro fatto subire un bagno di latte di calce, festoni di fiori. Questi festoni adornano la parte anteriore

del vaso, essendo appesi per le due estremità, con nastri, dai due manichi laterali, e scendendo fino a mezza pancia. Nel disegnare e nel colorire i fiori, di cui i festoni risultano composti, l'artista ha cercato di riprodurre il loro aspetto naturale. In qualche caso l'urna cineraria, così decorata, aveva ancora un ramoscello di foglie e fiori di bronzo e terracotta, adattato sul collo come dianzi s'è detto (pl. VIII, fig. 6 e pl. XI, fig. 11).

Sul vaso riprodotto nella pl. X, fig. 10, si può osservare un festone di campanule (?) rosse, i cui ciuffi sono combinati con nastri di seta di vario colore. Ad onta del numero considerevole di secoli, da che il vaso giaceva sotterra e ad onta degli effetti deleteri della luce a cui ora trovasi esposto, i colori conservano una considerevole vivacità e freschezza (pl. XV). Questo vaso proviene da Sciatbi ed appartiene senza dubbio al principio del terzo secolo avanti Cristo. In una calpe, proveniente dall'Ibrahimieh (pl. VIII, fig. 6 e pl. XVI) il festone, appeso ai manichi con nastri azzurri, è composto di gruppi di fiorellini assai delicatamente colorati in rosa. Su d'un altro simile vaso, proveniente dalle colline di Hadra, abbiamo un elegante e svelto festone, appeso per le due estremità ai manichi laterali senza bisogno di nastri, e costituito di violette (?) (pl. XVII; cf. pl. X, fig. 10). Sulla spalla del vaso è graffito a grandi caratteri regolari il nome dell'individuo, di cui l'urna conteneva le ceneri, ΕΡΜΑΓΟΡΑΣ, nome che è ripetuto a monogramma sulla pancia del vaso. È noto quale parte preponderante nella suppellettile funebre delle necropoli del periodo ellenistico abbiano le statuine in terra cotta. Anche queste servivano spesso ad esprimere lo squisito sentimento racchiuso nell'omaggio floreale⁽¹⁾. Parecchie di tali statuine, raccolte nelle necropoli di Sciatbi o dell'Ibrahimieh, rappresentano giovinette le quali con ambe le mani avvicinate al petto sostengono festoni e ghirlande (pl. XII, fig. 12). Corone di fiori abbiamo pure trovate dipinte sulle porte di chiusura dei loculi. Per evidente necessità di cose le prove, diciamo così, materiali e tangibili della passione alessandrina pei fiori, noi possiamo averle soltanto per quella parte in cui si manifestava nel culto dei morti, mentre assai più vario e diffuso e frequente doveva essere l'uso dei fiori in molte circostanze della vita, chè i fiori dovevano essere i compagni e gl'indici di tutte le ore liete⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Cf. SCHREIBER, *Die Necropole*, etc., p. 223.

⁽²⁾ I fiori sono elemento predominante anche nella decorazione dei vasi in terra cotta smaltata, appartenenti all'età ellenistica e di cui il nostro Museo possiede una serie di frammenti, omni abbastanza ricca e varia. Sulle oinochoe in smalto azzurro, con dediche ad Arsinoe Filadelfo o a Berenice, festoni di fiori non sono soltanto indicati sulle pareti dell'altare quadrangolare, ma girano anche tutto attorno alla colonna conica, che è rappresentata a rilievo dietro la figura della regina.

Importanza speciale essi avevano nelle ceremonie del culto⁽¹⁾, dovendo i sacerdoti adornarsi di verbene e di corone; nè pubblica festa si celebrava di cui parte precipua non fosse un ricco addobbo floreale; di corone si abbelliva la modesta mensa del povero nei giorni di gaudio; sempre sedendo a tavola, i ricchi avevano i sensi solleticati dal profumo e dai colori dei fiori sapientemente e a profusione intorno disposti. E del resto, a parte i fiori adoperati nella decorazione della sala e della mensa, i convitati usavano, durante il banchetto, avere il capo cinto di corone.

Giovenale (XV, 44) ricordando le lotte tra quei di Tentira e quei di Copto, e l'occasione della rissa fra gli abitanti delle due città, ci descrive i Tentiresi in festa :

Inde virorum
Saltatus nigro tibicine qualiacunque
Unguenta et flores multæque in fronte coronæ.

Nè sarà mestieri ricordare quei passeggiatori e marinai d'una nave alessandrina che, incontrato Augusto⁽²⁾ a Pozzuoli, gli si fecero incontro con canti di lodi e con suoni di festa *candidati coronatique*, nè il banchetto dato da Cleopatra in onore di Cesare, per il quale i convitati

Accipiunt sertas nardo florente coronas
Et nunquam fugiente rosa,

ma non va forse tacito che i fiori *artificiali*, anche negli usi della vita, erano talora sostituiti ai fiori naturali. Polibio⁽³⁾ infatti ci apprende che era riservato al re il diritto di cingere il capo, durante i festini, con una corona d'oro :

Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἐαυτὸν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλέσας τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέα, χρυσοῦν στέφανον ἀνέδωκε μόνῳ τῶν ταρόντων, ὃ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἔθος ἐστὶ μόναις συγχωρεῖσθαι.

Le fonti che son venuto ora citando sono in generale molto posteriori all'età cui appartengono i fiori *artificiali* o dipinti dianzi segnalati, ma costituiscono senza dubbio una riprova della passione degli Alessandrini pei fiori, passione che non si era spenta col trascorrer dei secoli. Perciò non sarà inutile far conoscere un fondo di piatto di argilla rossa, trovato a Kom-el-Chogafa, il quale sebbene appartenga quasi certamente a un periodo dell'età post-augustea, serve

(1) SVETONIO, *Vespasiano*, 7; *Griechische Urkunden aus Berlin*, 646.

(2) SVETONIO, *Augusto*, XCIII; LUCANO, *Farsaglia*, X.

(3) POLIBIO, XV, 31.

a dimostrare che l'uso dei fiori era in Alessandria spinto fino all'esagerazione. *Ob virginum et matronarum verecundiam*, m'astengo dal riprodurre tutta la scena che adorna in rilievo questo fondo di piatto, e non dò che alcuni particolari (pl. XII, fig. 13). Un uomo e una donna sono rappresentati in atto di congiungimento carnale, e con la loro perfetta nudità contrastano le corone di fiori che pendono loro dal collo e ne cingono il capo.

D'altra parte, molte delle figurine in terra cotta anche dell'età ellenistica, trovate in Alessandria, e rappresentanti giovani donne in vari atteggiamenti, mostrano come spesso i fiori facessero parte integrante dell'acconciatura. E non solo le statuine in terra cota. Noi possediamo anche alcune teste femminili in marmo e in calcare, che hanno, adattate sui capelli, corone di fiori (pl. XX).

Se poi volessimo ritenere e studiare come manifestazione di ghirlandomania i monumenti, in cui i fiori hanno soprattutto o esclusivamente una funzione decorativa, le constatazioni si moltiplicherebbero, ma una tale ricerca uscirebbe dai confini che ci siamo proposti⁽¹⁾. Poichè abbiamo ora voluto principalmente esaminare e far conoscere alcuni oggetti che della passione degli Alessandrini pei fiori costituiscono una prova diretta e tangibile, che di siffatta passione ci permettono di acquistare quasi diremmo, un'immagine vivente. Mi contenterò di aggiungere la riproduzione di alcuni frammenti di mosaici di pasta di vetro, trovati nel terreno di scarico sovrastante la necropoli di Sciatbi e che, pure essendo a questa posteriori, tuttavia appartengono forse all'età tolemaica (pl. XIII, fig. 14-15). In questi poveri frammenti, residuo di chissà quali ricche decorazioni parietali — è noto che le paste vitree erano adoperate in Alessandria per incrostare le pareti — si trovano riprodotti parecchi dei fiori che abbiamo osservato nelle corone artificiali, di cui ci siamo occupati. — E. BRECCIA.

PLANCHE XXII.

MAKING OF STONE VASES.

In the winter of 1907-1908, while searching for a mastaba suitable for sale to one of the great American museums, I was directed by one of our old workmen

⁽¹⁾ Festoni e corone di fiori erano essai sovente dipinti sulle pareti delle camere funerarie — e certo in misura anche maggiore ne troveremmo sulle pareti delle case se questo non fossero tutte e interamente distrutte — sui soffitti sovrastanti i sarcofagi, o sui sarcofagi stessi. Come semplice saggio di questo elemento decorativo delle tombe alessandrine dò la riproduzione della superficie anteriore d'un sarcofago a cassone, scolpito nella roccia, e scoperto al Gabbari nel 1900. Questa pittura è stata staccata e transportata al Museo, dove è esposta nella Sala XV (pl. XI).

to a tomb which must once, from the delicacy and firmness of its designs and the massive quality of the blocks on which they were displayed, have been one of the finest in the Saqqara cemetery. It is situated a little to the north of the tomb of Thy. It was not completely cleared; the nature of the work on which we were at the time engaged did not permit extensive clearances for the sake of completing the plan, and it may be that a wider search would reveal the name of the owner of the tomb, and even enable us to identify it in MARIETTE's *Mastabas*, but at present the tomb is known to us only by the arbitrary number given in our notes (920).

The part excavated consisted of two chambers, one a passage-like room, 3 m. 70 cent., by 1 m. 10 cent., with a complex false door (*Prunkscheintür*) in the long west wall, which opens by a narrow (0 m. 70 cent.) door into a larger room on the east (4 metres by 3 m. 50 cent.), with a still narrower door at the south-east corner. This room was built of yellow local stone and lined with massive blocks, 1 m. 25 cent. high and up to 0 m. 55 cent. thick, all of the hardest and best Tourah limestone. The excellence of the stone had doubtless decided the ruin of the tomb and all the decorated blocks which must once have mounted to a height of 3 to 4 metres had disappeared; only a few stones of the lowest course had been left, as being too difficult to extract or to break, and it is one of these that is illustrated in the plate entitled *Making of stone vases*.

It was 1 m. 24 cent. high and 0 m. 99 cent. wide, but the part covered with reliefs is only 0 m. 26 cent. high. It was removed, as were three other pieces from the same tomb, to the Cairo Museum.

This scene has been selected for publication, as giving with more details than is customary the process of manufacture of stone bowls. Owing to its long and narrow shape, the scene has been taken in two photographs with one figure overlapping.

On the extreme left is a man standing and drilling out a squat cylindrical vase of alabaster. The drill consists of a heavy pear-shaped wooden stem to the lower part of which is lashed, as is best seen in the determinative of the word above the scene, a stick with a forked end in which a pebble, of emery probably, was placed. The upper part of the drill was weighted with two stones of some size, and a handle, inserted, perhaps, at right angles to the long axis, completed the apparatus. It is curious to see that the vase does not seem to be fixed in any way to the ground.

The second man is polishing the outer surface of tall vase. The third has his

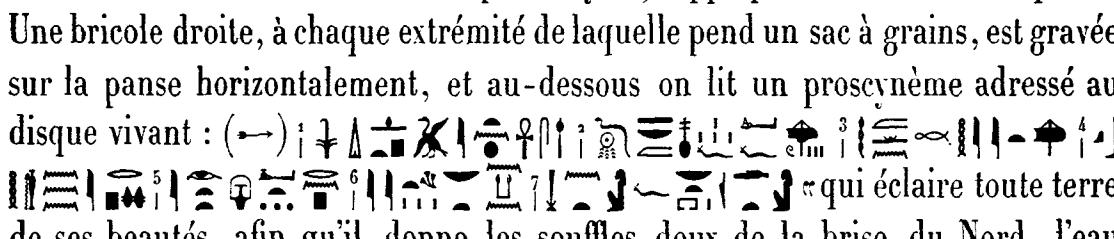
right hand inserted in the mouth of his vase and is scraping away the excessive thickness under the shoulder which the drill would not reach.

The lower half of the plate shows the same process of drilling and external polishing applied to an open bowl and to the tall round-shouldered vase. — J. E. QUIBELL.

PLANCHE XXIII.

FIGURINE FUNÉRAIRE DU TEMPS DE KHOUNIATONOU.

La jolie figurine funéraire reproduite sur notre planche a été achetée au Caire, en 1908 : elle est inscrite au *Livre d'entrée* sous le n° 39590. Elle mesure 0 m. 205 mill. de haut, et elle est taillée dans un calcaire blanc très délicat, qui a retenu avec une docilité merveilleuse toutes les finesse du ciseau. Renseignements pris, elle provient de Thèbes; probablement y a-t-elle été volée pendant l'hiver de 1907-1908 par quelqu'un des ouvriers employés aux fouilles privées qui furent exécutées vers Drah abou'l Neggah. Les jambes ont été brisées transversalement de droite à gauche et les deux morceaux ont été recollés par le marchand, mais sans un soin suffisant : celui du bas ne se rajuste pas exactement à celui du haut, et les bouts des signes attaqués par la cassure se raccordent mal.

Les *répondants* du temps de Khouniatonou sont rares : pendant longtemps on n'en connut qu'un seul, celui que Wiedemann découvrit au Musée de Zurich et dont il publia la description et la légende en 1885, dans les *Proceedings de la Société d'Archéologie Biblique*⁽¹⁾. Il a la forme ordinaire de momie, et les deux mains tiennent chacune un petit hoyau  appliqué sur le bras et l'épaule. Une bricole droite, à chaque extrémité de laquelle pend un sac à grains, est gravée sur la panse horizontalement, et au-dessous on lit un proscynème adressé au disque vivant :  « qui éclaire toute terre de ses beautés, afin qu'il donne les souffles doux de la brise du Nord, l'eau fraîche, le vin, le lait, les mets, les fruits de l'année au double de sa sœur, la dame Qadouït ». Wiedemann pense que Qadouït s'intitule *la sœur du disque*, et il s'étonne à bon droit de cette parenté; j'estime ou bien qu'une ligne a été passée qui contenait le nom du personnage pour lequel la figurine avait été faite et dont Qadouït était la sœur, ou bien, si la légende est complète, que le donateur avait omis de se nommer. Notre statuette ressemble à celle de Zurich, avec cette différence toutefois que la bricole manque et que les sacs à semences sont

⁽¹⁾ WIEDEMANN, *On a Monument of King Chu-en-aten*, dans les *Proceedings de la Société d'Archéologie Biblique*, t. VII, p. 200-203.

jetés, selon l'usage, par-dessus l'épaule du mort. Le proscynème compte neuf lignes : (→) ፋ ቅ ኬ ፎ ስ ጥ ሰ ሁ መ ተ ቢ ዘ ተ ዘ ተ ዘ ስ ተ ዘ ተ ዘ ዘ ተ ዘ ዘ , et il est adressé comme l'autre, mais avec des variantes, au « disque vivant, qui éclaire la terre de ses beautés, afin qu'il donne les souffles doux de la brise du Nord, une longue durée de vie sur l'Amentât excellente, l'eau fraîche, le vin, le lait, sur la table d'offrandes de sa syringe, au double du *wékil* Haït, qui vit de nouveau ». C'est, en somme, la formule propre au temps des Pharaons hérétiques.

La présence d'un proscynème sur les figurines funéraires est un fait bien connu⁽¹⁾; peut-être même l'usage du proscynème est-il antérieur à celui du chapitre vi du *Rituel*, et les fidèles de Khouniatonou ont-ils été amenés à s'en servir par suite du retour vers les doctrines anciennes qui prévalaient autour du prince. Il semble qu'au début la statuette funéraire était l'image de son maître, image morte ou vivante selon qu'on lui imposait la forme de momie ou qu'on l'habillait du costume ordinaire : elle était un corps pour le *double*, autant que les statues de grande taille, et comme telle elle admettait volontiers la même inscription que celles-ci, c'est-à-dire, à partir au moins du premier empire thébain, un proscynème au dieu qui, recevant l'offrande, en reverse une partie sur l'individu au nom de qui on la lui donne. Mais, comme elle était aussi le corps équipé pour le travail des champs, on gravait de préférence sur elle le texte du chapitre qui lui prescrivait ses devoirs. Les statuettes du type de la nôtre réunissaient en elles les deux concepts : leur équipement montre qu'elles vont accomplir la corvée, l'inscription assure au maître les bénéfices du proscynème. Elles répondent et à l'*ouashbîti* ordinaire et à la statue de *double* : elles sont serviteur et maître à la fois.

Pour intéressante que soit cette manifestation de la pensée égyptienne, elle n'aurait pas suffi à garantir au petit monument qui nous occupe une place dans ce recueil, s'il ne possédait pas une valeur artistique. Beaucoup des figurines de cette époque ne sont pas seulement des objets de commerce fabriqués à la grosse afin d'obéir aux prescriptions de la loi religieuse : elles sont l'œuvre d'ouvriers aussi habiles que ceux à qui nous devons les statues. Celle-ci a sa place marquée parmi les meilleures que nous connaissons. Je ne dis rien du corps dont les reliefs emmaillotés ne prenaient pas à la sculpture : la tête est une merveille de finesse et de grâce, et les tons dont elle était rehaussée lui donnaient une apparence de vie extraordinaire. — G. M.

⁽¹⁾ Cf. les n°s 47909, 47911, 47912, 47915, 47921, 47923 A, 47925 de notre Musée.

PLANCHES XXIV-XXXI.

QUATRE NOUVEAUX FRAGMENTS DE LA PIERRE DE PALERME⁽¹⁾.

Les quatre fragments nouveaux de la *Pierre de Palerme* que je présente ici appartiennent au Musée égyptien du Caire, et je dois à M. G. Maspero l'autorisation de les publier. Ces fragments sont inscrits au *Journal d'entrée* du Musée sous les numéros 39734 (fragment désigné ici sous le n° 3), 39735 (fragment n° 2), 44859 (fragment n° 1) et 44860 (fragment n° 4).

Sur les circonstances de leur découverte on ne possède que des renseignements assez vagues. Les deux seuls faits certains sont que l'acquisition des fragments n°s 1, 2 et 3 chez un marchand d'antiquités du Caire a été due, en 1910, à l'habileté de S.E. Ém. Brugsch pacha, alors Conservateur du Musée, tandis que le fragment n° 4 a été recueilli plus tard à Mit-Rahineh (Memphis) dans le *sebak* par un des agents du Service des Antiquités, qui n'en reconnut pas la valeur; ce fut seulement au Musée que MM. Maspero et Daressy s'aperçurent qu'il s'agissait d'un petit morceau des *Annales* de Palerme et en conclurent que le monument ou les divers monuments qui avaient contenu ces *Annales* provenaient d'un sanctuaire memphite. M. Flinders Petrie possède un autre fragment de même provenance que ce dernier, et il est à supposer que d'autres collections, publiques ou privées, détiennent aussi un ou plusieurs morceaux de ces anciennes *Annales* des cinq premières dynasties pharaoniques, dont la connaissance complète nous serait si précieuse pour la reconstitution historique de cette période lointaine.

L'aspect de la pierre noire et très dure sur laquelle furent gravées ces *Annales* est terne et mat à son état naturel; mais aussitôt qu'on la recouvre d'une mince couche blanche (lait de chaux, blanc d'Espagne ou poudre de craie) cette pierre prend, au contraire, une apparence polie et brillante. Cette addition d'une substance étrangère fut, du reste, absolument indispensable, non seulement pour la réussite des négatifs qui ont servi à l'exécution des planches jointes à cette publication, mais même pour rendre possible la lecture des signes, si petits en général et si légèrement sculptés dans la pierre: cette dernière étant, en effet, de la plus grande dureté, les hiéroglyphes qui y ont été taillés sur les deux faces ont à peine entamé son épaisseur, et l'usure à laquelle a été soumis le

⁽¹⁾ Voir la communication lue en mon nom par le R. P. Schœil à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, dans la séance du 17 juillet 1914: *Quatre fragments nouveaux de la Pierre de Palerme au Musée du Caire*, et insérée dans les *Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1914*, aux pages 489-496.

monument pendant de longs siècles (on sait qu'il a servi de seuil de porte) est encore venue atténuer ce creux déjà si faible; sur la plus grande partie de la surface même, et principalement sur le verso de la pierre, toute trace d'écriture a complètement disparu. C'est ainsi que le fragment n° 1 est seul encore lisible sur ses deux faces, tandis que sur les fragments n°s 2, 3 et 4 le recto seulement a conservé des traces d'écriture.

Les photographies qui accompagnent le présent travail sont dues, les unes à S. E. Ém. Brugsch pacha, les autres à François Daumas, ancien pensionnaire de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale au Caire.

J'arrive maintenant à la description de chaque fragment.

I. FRAGMENT N° 1 (PL. XXIV-XXIX).

A. *DESCRIPTION GÉNÉRALE.* — Ce fragment est, par ses dimensions comme par son état de conservation, de beaucoup le plus intéressant des quatre. Sa plus grande hauteur est de 0 m. 42 cent. au recto et de 0 m. 36 cent. au verso. Sa plus grande largeur est de 0 m. 26 cent. tant au recto qu'au verso, mais la partie supérieure, la seule qui soit intéressante par les textes qu'on y peut encore lire, mesure seulement 0 m. 19 cent. de largeur au recto et 0 m. 18 cent. au verso. L'épaisseur varie entre 0 m. 060 mill. et 0 m. 062 mill., ce qui nous laisse à penser que ce fragment (ainsi, du reste, que les fragments n°s 2 et 3) a bien appartenu à la même pierre que le fragment du Musée de Palerme déjà connu. Nous aurons l'occasion de constater, au contraire, que le fragment n° 4, celui de Mit-Rahineh, est *plus épais d'au moins deux centimètres*, et nous aurons alors à nous poser la question de savoir s'il n'y a pas eu au moins deux pierres employées à un usage analogue, l'une (la plus épaisse) érigée à Memphis, l'autre dans quelque localité différente de la vallée du Nil⁽¹⁾.

Le fragment n° 1 montre la même disposition que le fragment de Palerme et présente la même division en six bandes et six registres alternativement superposés; bandes et registres ont aussi les mêmes dimensions que les bandes et registres correspondants du fragment déjà connu, de sorte que nous pouvons affirmer aujourd'hui en toute certitude (ce que ses premiers éditeurs avaient, du reste, tout de suite supposé) que la pierre dite de Palerme constituait un tout homogène et d'aspect absolument identique sur toute sa largeur. La hauteur des bandes et des registres allait en augmentant à mesure que l'on descendait

⁽¹⁾ Au dire des Arabes, les fragments n°s 1, 2 et 3 viendraient des environs de Minieh. Quant au fragment du Musée de Palerme, nous ne possédons, malheureusement, aucune indication d'origine le concernant.

du haut vers le bas de la pierre, et l'écriture y était aussi de moins en moins petite et serrée. Enfin les dimensions des bandes, des registres et des signes hiéroglyphiques poursuivaient la même marche ascendante sur le verso, où chacune des bandes et chacun des registres étaient encore sensiblement plus hauts même que la bande et le registre inférieurs du recto.

Le nouveau fragment est, malheureusement, dans un état de conservation bien médiocre. Beaucoup plus usé que le fragment de Palerme, il est devenu, pour les deux tiers au moins du recto et pour plus de la moitié du verso, complètement illisible.

B. *Recto* (pl. XXIV-XXV). — La face que j'appelle du nom de *recto* correspond pour le fragment de Palerme à la planche I des publications de MM. Schäfer, Sethe et Naville.

REGISTRE SUPÉRIEUR. — On voit au sommet de cette face la même bande de rectangles que sur le fragment de Palerme, et ces rectangles sont ici au nombre de dix; mais les deux tiers supérieurs de ces rectangles sont détruits et il ne nous reste au bas de chacun d'eux que le personnage royal accroupi, tenant le même attribut  que tiennent les personnages correspondants du fragment de Palerme. Que les signes tracés à l'intérieur de ces rectangles aient servi à désigner *des rois*, ainsi que l'ont pensé MM. Spiegelberg, Schäfer et Sethe, et comme on l'a généralement admis après eux, ou *des domaines royaux*, comme l'a supposé M. Naville⁽¹⁾, nous constatons que sur le nouveau fragment les personnages tracés au-dessous des rectangles sont coiffés, non plus de la couronne du Nord, , comme sur le fragment de Palerme, mais bien de la couronne du Sud,  (il y a peut-être, pourtant, exception pour le troisième personnage à droite, qui paraît porter la couronne ). Il ne s'agit donc plus de rois de la Basse-Égypte, mais bien de rois de la Haute-Égypte. Ainsi tombe l'hypothèse de M. Schäfer⁽²⁾, suivant laquelle la pierre de Palerme, probablement originaire d'un temple de la Basse-Égypte, n'aurait fait aucune mention des rois de la Haute-Égypte. M. Sethe, au contraire, avait deviné juste lorsqu'il avait supposé que ce premier registre avait contenu des rois de la Haute-Égypte aussi bien que des rois de la Basse-Égypte⁽³⁾, tous ces souverains ayant naturellement régné sur une seule moitié

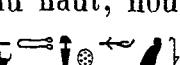
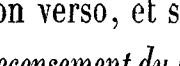
⁽¹⁾ Je rappelle que M. Ed. Meyer (*Aegyptische Chronologie*, p. 203) a émis à ce sujet une troisième hypothèse, absolument différente des deux autres : il se serait agi là, exactement comme sur le Papyrus de Turin et chez Manéthon, d'une *dynastie divine* ayant précédé les dynasties royales.

⁽²⁾ *Ein Bruchstück altaegyptischer Annalen* (1902), p. 14.

⁽³⁾ K. SETHE, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Aegyptens* (1905), p. 57.

de l'Égypte et à une époque antérieure à l'unification des deux moitiés du pays par Ménès ou par tel ou tel autre de ces obscurs Pharaons.

Mais M. Sethe avait supposé que c'étaient les rois de la Haute-Égypte qui avaient occupé la première moitié (à droite) de la pierre, tandis que ceux de la Basse-Égypte avaient été mentionnés sur la deuxième moitié (à gauche). Or, je crois que le nouveau fragment nous permet d'établir, sans aucune espèce de doute possible, que c'est la disposition inverse qui est la vraie : à savoir, d'abord et à droite, et en nombre encore indéterminé, les rois de la Basse-Égypte, puis à gauche, et en nombre également incertain, ceux de la Haute-Égypte.

Pour établir cette démonstration je prie le lecteur de vouloir bien se reporter pour un instant à l'autre face de notre fragment, celle que j'appellerai le *verso* et qui correspond, pour le fragment de Palerme, à la planche II des publications de MM. Schäfer, Sethe et Naville⁽¹⁾. La quatrième ligne verticale à droite de cette face, sur le registre du haut, nous donne la date de « *l'année après le premier recensement du bétail* », }, et cette année se rapporte au règne du roi de la V^e dynastie *Ousirkaf*. Or le fragment déjà connu de Palerme fait mention au même registre de son verso, et sous le règne du même Ousirkaf, de la date de « *l'année du troisième recensement du bétail* », }⁽²⁾. Quelque interprétation que l'on adopte pour expliquer ces façons de dater, *l'année après le premier recensement du bétail* (an 3 du roi) a dû forcément précéder *l'année du troisième recensement du bétail* (an 6 du roi), et par suite le verso du nouveau fragment doit trouver place à la droite du verso du fragment de Palerme. Mais cette position est naturellement renversée en ce qui concerne le recto, et le recto du nouveau fragment vient se placer à la gauche du recto du fragment de Palerme, c'est-à-dire que son contenu est *postérieur* au contenu dudit fragment. En conséquence, les rois de la Haute-Égypte sont placés *après* ceux de la Basse-Égypte sur l'ensemble de la pierre. Cet ordre aurait pu, du reste, être *a priori* soupçonné par M. Sethe; la pierre paraît être, en effet, originaire d'un temple de la Basse-Égypte, ainsi que le prouvent plusieurs passages de ses inscriptions; il était donc tout naturel qu'elle fit mention en premier lieu des souverains ayant régné sur la Basse-Égypte et ayant répandu plus généreusement leurs largesses sur les sanctuaires de la Basse-Égypte. Il se pourrait, d'ailleurs, que la coiffure portée par ces rois du registre supérieur de la pierre de Palerme n'eût pas du tout la valeur qu'on a voulu lui reconnaître, et que les groupes de Pharaons

⁽¹⁾ Voir aux planches XXVIII et XXIX les deux croquis montrant la relation, tant pour le recto que pour le verso, entre le fragment de Palerme et le nouveau fragment n° 1 du Caire.

⁽²⁾ Cf. SCHÄFER, *Ein Bruchstück*, etc., p. 34-35 et pl. II.

eussent été alternativement, et sans aucun motif apparent pour nous, coiffés de la couronne du Sud et de la couronne du Nord. Je renvoie le lecteur à ce que j'ai déjà écrit à ce sujet au tome I^{er} du *Livre des Rois d'Égypte*, p. 345-346.

En tout cas, l'hypothèse de M. Schäfer, d'après laquelle la pierre, étant originale de Basse-Égypte, n'aurait fait mention d'aucun roi de la Haute-Égypte, se trouve formellement démentie par le nouveau fragment du Caire. L'idée de M. Eduard Meyer⁽¹⁾ suivant laquelle, contrairement à l'opinion de M. Sethe, les rois de la Haute-Égypte devaient se trouver *après* les rois de la Basse-Égypte, c'est-à-dire sur la gauche du monument, reçoit, par contre, confirmation du fait de la découverte du nouveau fragment.

Enfin, en terminant la description de ce registre supérieur, je voudrais encore faire remarquer que les rectangles à l'intérieur desquels sont tracés sur le fragment de Palerme les noms de ces personnages royaux sont bien uniquement des rectangles et non des clôtures de domaines ; cette observation me paraît exclure tout à fait la possibilité d'une explication du genre de celle que M. Naville a proposée jadis pour ce premier registre.

PREMIÈRE BANDE-RUBRIQUE ET DEUXIÈME REGISTRE. — La bande transversale tracée au-dessous du registre supérieur, qui était complètement vide sur le fragment de Palerme et qui était divisée en deux parties inégales (règnes successifs) par une ligne verticale la traversant sur toute sa hauteur, porte ici sur presque toute sa largeur les noms d'un roi et de sa mère que je crois pouvoir transcrire ainsi : (→)



Nous avons donc, sans aucune espèce de doute possible, le cartouche du roi Atet, qui figure au troisième rang sur la liste royale d'Abydos comme deuxième successeur de Ménès, et à qui correspond chez Manéthon, on ne sait trop pourquoi, le nom de *Kενκένης*⁽²⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Aegyptische Chronologie*, p. 203; voir aussi p. 291 de la traduction française de cet ouvrage publiée en 1912 par M. A. Moret dans les *Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Etudes*, t. XXIV/2.

⁽²⁾ Cf. SETHE, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 22, pour l'identification proposée par M. Petrie du Kenkénès de Manéthon avec le roi . — M. Sethe a prétendu que ces premiers rois n'avaient pas leur nom inscrit dans le cartouche sur la Pierre de Palerme, mais le fragment du Caire infirme complètement cette opinion. Il y avait, du reste, sur le fragment de Palerme à lui connu un commencement de cartouche assez nettement indiqué (voir au recto, à la fin de la rubrique de l'Horus , après le mot ), mais ni lui ni M. Schäfer ne l'ont reconnu (cf. à ce propos la petite note publiée par M. Maspero au tome XXXVI, 1914, du *Recueil de travaux*, p. 152).

Le nom d'Horus de ce roi est, malheureusement, très indistinct, et je ne puis en proposer aucune lecture certaine; une seule chose est pourtant hors de doute, c'est que ce nom ne peut être lu ; par suite, l'Horus  des monuments d'Abydos n'est pas à identifier, comme l'a proposé M. Petrie⁽¹⁾, avec le roi  des listes royales et de la pierre de Palerme. Si je me décidais à proposer un nom d'Horus pour ce roi, ce nom serait plutôt celui de l'Horus , lu jadis *djer*, puis *khent*⁽²⁾, puis *shesti*⁽³⁾, et enfin à nouveau *djer* (ou *zer*)⁽⁴⁾; mais je m'empresse de reconnaître que les traces visibles sur le nouveau fragment du Musée du Caire ne permettent pas d'affirmer en toute certitude cette identité. L'indication de M. F. Legge, d'après laquelle M. Lacau aurait cru pouvoir reconnaître là le nom d'Horus , que MM. Borchardt, Petrie et Sethe ont depuis longtemps identifié (à tort je pense) avec le Ménès de Manéthon, et l'identité affirmée par M. Legge de l'Horus  avec le roi  de la liste d'Abydos et avec le Kenkénès de Manéthon⁽⁵⁾, ne correspondent à rien de réel : M. Lacau pense simplement que les traces visibles dans l'intérieur du *serekh* de ne correspondent à aucun des noms d'Horus qu'on a voulu jusqu'ici attribuer à ce roi; mais il ne risque aucune lecture. Quant à M. Maspero, il a proposé récemment la lecture ⁽⁶⁾, qui peut se défendre.

Les signes qui suivent le roi me paraissent bien n'être que deux. M. V. Loret, à qui j'ai communiqué la photographie du fragment, avait cru pouvoir lire un au-dessus du , et je crois que cette lecture lui avait été suggérée par les mots qui suivent le nom de l'Horus sur la troisième bande transversale du recto du fragment de Palerme. Mais il me paraît impossible d'admettre aucun signe au-dessus du , car ce dernier est plus rapproché du cadre supérieur de la ligne que du signe ⁽⁸⁾.

(1) M. Sethe s'était déjà élevé en 1905 contre cette identification téméraire.

(2) ED. MEYER, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 2^e édit., I, p. 128.

(3) NAVILLE, A. Z., XLVII, 1910, p. 66-67.

(4) NEWBERRY, *Proceedings S. B. A.*, XXXVI, 1914, p. 35 et pl. III.

(5) Cf. *Proceedings S. B. A.*, XXXII, 1910, p. 231-232.

(6) Cf. *Proceedings S. B. A.*, XXXV, 1913, p. 106.

(7) Cf. *Recueil de travaux*, XXXVI, 1914, p. 152. — Voir, au sujet de ce roi, H. GAUTHIER, *Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte*, t. I, p. 30-31, 43 § XII et 352.

(8) Je dois observer, toutefois, que M. Maspero (*loc. cit.*) lit également ici . — A propos du titre  (ou ), M. Maspero fait observer avec raison qu'il ne servait pas, comme l'ont cru MM. Sethe (dans GARSTANG, *Mahasna and Bêt Khallas*, 1902, p. 20) et Schäfer (*Ein Bruchstück*, etc., p. 22), à exprimer la filiation maternelle et à introduire le nom de la mère des rois. Le fragment du Musée du Caire prouve, en effet, que la filiation maternelle était indiquée, dès cette époque reculée, absolument comme elle le sera plus tard, c'est-à-dire par le mot  ou , *mère*. Le titre

Vient ensuite le nom de la mère du roi, introduit par le mot  , dont le - n'est pas absolument certain. Je ne crois pas qu'il y ait au-dessous du vautour l'espace suffisant pour pouvoir lire le - du possessif. Ce qui suit est peut-être  *hnd*(?); le mot est déterminé par la femme debout tenant une tige de lotus dans sa main gauche (peut-être aussi ne tenant aucun attribut et le bras gauche simplement replié sur la poitrine). L'inscription se termine enfin par le groupe  , où le signe  n'est pas très net mais paraît bien être le seul qui puisse convenir entre ses deux éléments phonétiques § et ■. La mère du roi s'appelait-elle seulement *Hap*, et le mot précédent *hnd*(?) désignait-il quelque titre, quelque fonction sacerdotale? Ou bien l'ensemble des deux mots constituait-il son nom? On ne saurait, je pense, le décider avec certitude, mais il est probable que c'est la seconde hypothèse qui est la bonne. Je rappellerai seulement que le mot *Hap* entre dans la composition de plusieurs noms de femmes à cette époque archaïque, et cela jusqu'au début de la IV^e dynastie, où la mère(?) du roi Snofrou s'appelait *Hap-n-maât*⁽¹⁾.

Quoi qu'il en soit, le nom de la mère du roi nous est ici de la plus grande utilité pour nous aider à préciser un peu la personnalité du roi  . Ce roi est cité, sur la table royale d'Abydos, sous la forme    , immédiatement après le roi  -Atôthis, dont nous savons que la mère s'appelait  ⁽²⁾; si donc  a été le successeur immédiat de  , nous pouvons supposer qu'il était son fils, et, dans ce cas, la mère du roi  mentionnée sur le nouveau fragment du Caire aurait été l'épouse du roi .

La mention de la mère du roi sur cette bande-rubrique comme sur la suivante confirme, on le voit, de la façon la plus heureuse l'hypothèse émise en 1905 par M. Sethe à l'aide des trois signes  . . . qui apparaissent à la droite de l'ancien fragment de Palerme, sur la deuxième bande-rubrique. Il avait supposé que ces signes représentaient la fin du nom de la mère d'un roi et il en avait conclu que sur ce monument le nom de chaque roi était suivi, au moins sous la I^{re} dynastie, du nom de sa mère : or le fragment du Caire nous fait précisément connaître deux de ces mères de rois.

 (var.  , si la lecture de MM. Loret et Maspero pour le fragment du Caire est exacte) est, en réalité, combiné avec  qui le précède, *un titre royal*, analogue aux titres  et  par exemple, mais dont la signification nous est encore inconnue.

⁽¹⁾ Cf. H. GAUTHIER, *Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte*, t. I, p. 68-69. — M. Maspero (*Rec. de trav.*, XXXVI, p. 152) a lu   , mais avec réserve : le nom *Khonfit-Hapi*, dit-il, est douteux et «on pourrait lire à la rigueur  », ce qui nous ramènerait au nom connu  -  .

⁽²⁾ *Papyrus Ebers*, pl. LXVI, lig. 6, cité par GAUTHIER, *Livre des Rois*, t. I, p. 4.

Continuant l'examen de la première bande-rubrique du nouveau fragment, nous pouvons constater que l'ensemble de l'inscription qui sert à désigner le roi **𢃠-** occupe une largeur égale à *sept divisions du registre placé immédiatement en dessous*, c'est-à-dire à sept années du règne. Comme il est très probable que cette rubrique occupait exactement le milieu de tout l'espace consacré au règne sur l'ensemble de la pierre⁽¹⁾, nous devons supposer à droite et à gauche des sept années que surmonte cette rubrique un *nombre égal d'années*; ce nombre, malheureusement indéterminé, étant désigné par *x*, l'ensemble de la durée du règne de **𢃠-** doit être évalué à $2x + 7$ années. Mais pouvons-nous, en rapprochant le nouveau fragment du Caire du fragment déjà connu de Palerme, arriver à déterminer la valeur de *x*? La solution de ce problème est liée étroitement à la détermination de la lacune séparant l'ancien fragment de Palerme du nouveau fragment du Caire.

Pour essayer de fixer la largeur de cette lacune il faut encore nous reporter au verso du monument, deuxième registre. Les quatre premières lignes de ce registre sur le fragment nouveau constituent la fin du récit concernant *l'année après le premier recensement du bétail* sous le règne du Pharaon Ousirkaf de la V^e dynastie; puis vient le signe **ȝ** indiquant que tout ce qui suit est relatif à l'année suivante; le nouveau fragment n'est pas assez large pour que nous puissions voir comment était désignée cette année, mais il est à supposer, puisque le recensement du bétail avait lieu tous les deux ans, que cette année était celle du *deuxième recensement du bétail*. Puis, toute la partie concernant *l'année après le deuxième recensement manque*, sauf quelques signes constituant la fin de cette année et formant le début de l'ancien fragment de Palerme⁽²⁾; enfin presque toute la largeur de cet ancien fragment est occupée par le texte concernant l'année suivante, qui est expressément désignée comme *l'année du troisième recensement du bétail*⁽³⁾. On voit donc que le vide entre les deux fragments n'est pas très grand et s'étend sur *un peu plus d'une année du règne d'Ousirkaf*. En mesurant exactement la largeur d'une année de ce règne sur l'ancien fragment, qui en contient précisément une tout entière et fort bien conservée, puis en reportant cette largeur sur le registre correspondant du recto relatif aux rois de la I^{re} dynastie, j'ai constaté qu'*une année d'Ousirkaf répond à un peu plus de dix années des rois de la I^{re} dynastie*⁽⁴⁾. Reportant alors cette

(1) Voir, à ce sujet, SCHÄFER, *Ein Bruchstück*, etc., p. 17-18.

(2) Voir SCHÄFER, *op. cit.*, p. 33 et pl. II.

(3) *Op. cit.*, p. 34-35 et pl. II.

(4) M. Sethe, qui s'est livré au même calcul (*Beiträge*, etc., p. 53), a trouvé un nombre un peu

mesure sur les deux fragments et sur le vide qui les sépare, voici ce que l'on peut constater.

Sur le fragment nouveau le grand signe } marquant sur le verso le début de l'année du deuxième recensement du bétail correspond sur le recto à peu près au signe } tracé au-dessous du ■ du nom de la mère du roi ||-. Or, nous avons deux largeurs d'années d'Ousirkaf à compter de droite à gauche sur le verso à partir de ce signe } pour rejoindre le même signe } qui marque sur l'ancien fragment le début de l'*année du troisième recensement du bétail*. Si une année d'Ousirkaf correspond à environ 10 années 1/2 des rois de la I^e dynastie, deux années de ce même pharaon correspondent à environ 21 années de ces derniers. Comptons donc vingt et une années sur le recto du nouveau fragment à partir du signe } tracé au-dessous du ■ du nom de la mère de ||- jusqu'à ce que nous ayons rejoint la fin du recto de l'ancien fragment, laquelle répond à peu près au début de l'*année du troisième recensement du bétail* sous Ousirkaf sur le verso. Comme nous trouvons *sept années* tracées sur le nouveau fragment, le vide entre les deux fragments est de 21-7, soit 14 années seulement (ce chiffre est, naturellement, approximatif, et peut varier d'une unité en plus ou en moins, mais il ne saurait, je crois, être inférieur à 13 ni supérieur à 15).

Or l'ancien fragment nous montre, sur le registre que nous décrivons, un règne commencé, ayant duré *au moins neuf années*; ajoutons les quatorze années du vide et encore les neuf années du roi ||- sur le nouveau fragment, et nous obtenons un règne dont la durée est de *trente-deux années* au moins ($9+14+9$). Mais la rubrique relative à ce règne est tracée au-dessus de sept années consécutives, soit les années 2 à 8 du nouveau fragment, c'est-à-dire au-dessus des années $9+14+2=25$ à $9+14+8=31$ du règne; comme cette rubrique devait occuper le milieu de la largeur totale consacrée au règne, il nous faut admettre que ce règne a duré $24+7+24=55$ ans en tout. Si nous devions, comme l'a proposé M. Sethe, accorder aux chiffres de Manéthon une valeur d'exactitude qu'ils ne me paraissent pas mériter, nous serions bien embarrassés pour faire concorder le résultat obtenu par l'examen du nouveau fragment du Musée du Caire avec l'ensemble des déductions établies par ce même savant pour l'arrangement général de la pierre dite de Palerme. M. Sethe, en effet, pense que le roi dont nous avons au début du deuxième registre du recto de l'ancien fragment la mention des deux dernières années de règne est Ménès lui-même⁽¹⁾; le roi dont nous plus élevé, soit 11 années et 1/5; on peut donc admettre comme exacte une moyenne entre son chiffre et le mien, soit 10 années 1/2.

⁽¹⁾ SETHE, *Beiträge*, etc., p. 47.

avons ensuite les neuf premières années serait alors le successeur de Ménès, l'Atôthis de Manéthon; c'est donc ce roi qui aurait eu un règne de 55 ans, d'après les données du nouveau fragment. Or, d'une part, ce roi, d'après Manéthon, n'a régné que 47 ans, et, d'autre part, il porte sur la liste royale d'Abydos le cartouche 𢃠, et non 𢃡 comme le roi du fragment nouveau. Si nous avons bien ici le troisième pharaon de la I^e dynastie, celui qui le précède sur l'ancien fragment de Palerme ne peut donc plus être Ménès, mais bien Atôthis, le successeur de Ménès. Or, cette supposition même ne cadre pas avec les chiffres de Manéthon : ce dernier accorde, en effet, à son troisième roi, qu'il appelle *Kenkénès*, une durée de règne de 31 ans, alors que nous sommes arrivés par les mesures des deux fragments connus au chiffre presque double de 55 *ans*. Je ne vois plus, dès lors, qu'une troisième solution, qui consisterait à admettre que le vide entre les deux fragments contenait un changement de règne analogue à celui dont l'ancien fragment nous a conservé le souvenir; le nouveau fragment ne nous montrerait donc pas le successeur immédiat du roi dont l'ancien fragment ne nous a conservé que les deux dernières années, mais bien plutôt son deuxième successeur. Mais ici encore une difficulté se présente : le successeur de ce premier roi ayant régné, ainsi que l'a montré M. Schäfer à l'aide de la disposition des rubriques dans la bande transversale du fragment de Palerme, *au moins 26 ans*⁽¹⁾, le vide que nous avons évalué à 14 ans environ entre les deux fragments serait insuffisant, et il faudrait admettre que, pour une raison ou pour une autre, la description des deux années d'Ousirkaf qui sont perdues aurait été beaucoup plus étendue que celle des autres années de ce Pharaon et des années de son successeur Sahouré.

Bref, il me paraît maintenant impossible, d'une part d'attacher aucune espèce de valeur pour cette période si reculée de l'histoire aux chiffres de Manéthon, car ni lui ni ses contemporains ne devaient avoir à ce sujet de donnée certaine, d'autre part de considérer comme définitif l'arrangement, ingénieux sans doute mais encore bien précaire, proposé par M. Sethe pour l'ensemble de la pierre de Palerme : tout cet arrangement repose sur le fait que c'est la fin du règne de Ménès que nous avons à droite de l'ancien fragment sur le deuxième registre, tandis qu'il se pourrait fort bien (et le fragment du Caire tend à faire admettre cette nouvelle hypothèse) que Ménès soit complètement perdu pour nous et que ce deuxième registre nous donne ses deux successeurs, c'est-à-dire le deuxième et le troisième rois de la liste d'Abydos.

⁽¹⁾ SCHÄFER, *Ein Bruchstück*, etc., p. 17-18.

J'arrive maintenant à la description, année par année, des événements relatés sur le deuxième registre du nouveau fragment sous le règne du Pharaon (11-).

Case 1 (année $x+1$). — Le premier signe, à droite, est détruit, mais nous savons par les nombreuses indications du registre correspondant du recto du fragment de Palerme qu'il doit être lu , et nous avons là une nouvelle mention de *la fête de suivre Horus* ( , qui était célébrée *tous les deux ans* sous chacun des règnes des trois premières dynasties. Cette fête fait l'objet des cases 1, 3, 5, 7 et 9, c'est-à-dire qu'elle est bisannuelle comme sur le fragment de Palerme, et cette constatation vient à l'appui de ce que j'ai cru pouvoir établir plus haut concernant la largeur du vide entre l'ancien fragment et le nouveau. J'ai fixé ce vide à *quatorze années*; or précisément la dernière année de l'ancien fragment, dont on ne voit que le début et que j'ai comptée tout entière dans le vide, est une année de , de même que la première année du nouveau fragment; donc il manque entre les deux fragments un nombre *pair* d'années.

Les signes inférieurs mentionnent *la naissance d'Anubis*,   ^(sie), qui nous était déjà connue par plusieurs passages du fragment de Palerme⁽¹⁾.

Case 2 (année $x+2$). — Les traces visibles sont insignifiantes, et c'est avec réserve que je propose de lire  , cérémonie qui paraît pouvoir être définie «*année de la fête de parcourir les deux lacs (?)*», la barque étant un simple déterminatif. Cette fête ne nous était pas connue par l'ancien fragment de Palerme.

Case 3 (année $x+3$). — La première partie est identique à celle de la case 1 :  «*année de la fête de suivre Horus*», et la deuxième partie fait allusion, comme la deuxième partie de la case 1, à la naissance d'une divinité; mais je ne vois avec certitude que le signe  , et n'ose proposer aucun nom de divinité de préférence à tel ou tel autre.

Case 4 (année $x+4$). — Je lis ici   «*année de marcher autour du château (?) Ami des dieux; fête de Sokaris*». Cette cérémonie est déjà connue par la case 7 du 2^e registre du recto de l'ancien fragment⁽²⁾. Il n'y a aucune trace des petites lignes indiquant la forteresse autour du rectangle; il ne s'agit donc probablement pas d'un endroit fortifié, mais bien plutôt d'un palais. M. Schäfer a lu *hsf* le signe  ; mais on ne voit pas très bien ce que signifierait l'épithète *hsfntrw*, ni surtout quelle serait la raison d'être du 

(1) Voir au recto, 2^e registre, cases 1 et 10, par exemple.

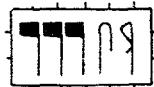
(2) Cf. SCHÄFER, *Ein Bruchstück*, etc., p. 16 et pl. I.

smr que je propose m'a été suggérée par M. Maspero. Quant à la lecture proposée par M. Naville, ⠃⠃⠃⁽¹⁾, je ne la crois pas possible, car le signe ⠃ n'a pas du tout cette forme dans la case 2 du sixième registre du recto du fragment de Palerme⁽²⁾.

Case 5 (année $x+5$). — «Année de la fête de suivre Horus», ; la barque servant de déterminatif à l'expression  est ici fort nettement conservée dans tous ses détails. La cérémonie commémorée dans la partie inférieure de la case reste vague, et je n'ose proposer de lecture pour aucun des trois ou quatre signes qui paraissent y avoir été tracés.

Case 6 (année $x+6$). — Il semble y avoir dans le haut de cette case la mention déjà connue par plusieurs passages du fragment de Palerme⁽³⁾  «apparition du roi de la Haute-Égypte». Quant à la partie inférieure, elle mentionne la naissance d'un dieu, mais les traces qui subsistent du nom de ce dieu ne permettent de lire ni  «naissance de Min», comme à la case 9 du deuxième registre de l'ancien fragment, ni  «naissance de la déesse Safekh-aboui», comme à la case 13 du troisième registre de ce même fragment. M. Maspero pense que les traces visibles suggèrent plutôt l'idée d'un support d'enseigne , sur lequel serait placé le signe qui représente le nom du dieu, et ce signe lui paraît ne pouvoir être autre chose que celui du dieu ; de sorte que l'ensemble serait à lire  .

Case 7 (année $x+7$). — Cette année est encore une année de  «fête de suivre Horus», et l'on y commémore la naissance d'une divinité dont le nom est écrit au moyen d'un seul hiéroglyphe en hauteur, qui pourrait être  Min; je propose donc, sous toute réserve, de lire  -  «naissance de Min».

Case 8 (année $x+8$). — La fête à laquelle il est fait allusion ici ne nous était pas connue par l'ancien fragment de Palerme; elle est à lire   «année du château (?) Ami des dieux, fête d'sr», c'est-à-dire, en réunissant en une seule phrase les deux termes, «année où la fête d'sr fut célébrée dans le château Ami des dieux». Le rectangle est ici nettement fortifié, à la différence de celui de la case 4 du même registre; d'autre part le dernier signe du nom du château fort

⁽¹⁾ *Recueil de travaux*, XXV, 1903, p. 68.

⁽²⁾ Cf. SCHÄFER, *Ein Bruchstück*, etc., p. 30 et pl. I.

⁽³⁾ Voir recto, 2^e registre case 9, et 4^e registre case 2 (SCHÄFER, *op. cit.*, p. 17 et 22).

17709 ne ressemble pas à celui du dernier signe du nom de la construction mentionnée dans la case 4, 17701; il ne s'agit donc probablement pas de la même construction. Enfin je pense que la lecture *dšr*, proposée par M. Schäfer⁽¹⁾ pour le nom de la fête, doit être préférée à la lecture *shed* de M. Naville⁽²⁾; cette fête était déjà mentionnée sur l'ancien fragment, à la case 4 du deuxième registre, mais comme tombant cette fois dans une année de 𓁃-𓏏.

Case 9 (année $x+9$). — La dernière année du second registre sur le nouveau fragment est une année de 𓁃-𓏏, pendant laquelle était célébrée en outre la naissance d'un dieu dont le nom est, malheureusement, complètement détruit : 𓀃-■■■.

Dans la bande spéciale réservée au-dessous de ce registre à l'indication année par année des hauteurs du Nil on distingue sous chacune des neuf cases des traces qui montrent que ces diverses mesures avaient été régulièrement données; mais ces traces sont trop incertaines pour qu'on puisse songer à les transcrire. L'indication des crues du Nil n'est, d'ailleurs, au point de vue historique, que d'un intérêt assez secondaire.

DEUXIÈME BANDE-RUBRIQUE ET TROISIÈME REGISTRE. — Cette bande et ce registre sont plus effacés encore et de lecture plus difficile que la bande et le registre précédents. Ils sont pourtant d'un plus haut intérêt que ces derniers car ils contiennent l'histoire d'un règne complet, ainsi que le montrent les deux longues lignes verticales coupant à la fois la bande transversale et le registre à droite et à gauche du fragment. Ce règne fut très court : il ne s'étend, en effet, que sur une largeur de neuf cases, c'est-à-dire sur une période de *neuf années*. Mais cette donnée, indiscutable, vient encore à l'encontre de l'opinion de M. Sethe concernant l'authenticité des chiffres de Manéthon : aucun des rois de la période dont il peut être question ici, c'est-à-dire de la seconde moitié de la I^e dynastie, n'a dans l'ouvrage de Manéthon un règne aussi court que ce règne de neuf ans attesté par le nouveau fragment du Caire : le plus court des règnes de cette période est celui de Sémempsès, et Manéthon lui attribue une durée de *dix-huit années*, soit exactement le double de la durée indiquée ici.

On peut juger par ce rapprochement entre les anciennes annales de l'Égypte et le travail de l'historien grec combien il serait intéressant de pouvoir lire avec certitude les noms de ce roi dont le règne n'a pas excédé neuf années. Mais,

⁽¹⁾ *Ein Bruchstück*, etc., p. 15.

⁽²⁾ *Recueil de travaux*, XXV, p. 68.

par malheur, il nous faut renoncer à cet espoir et nous ne pouvons ici encore que faire des conjectures. La rubrique donnant les noms du roi et celui de sa mère, placée exactement au milieu de l'espace total occupé par les neuf années du règne (ce qui confirme heureusement l'hypothèse énoncée jadis à ce sujet par M. Schäfer), est presque complètement effacée. Elle commence, comme pour le roi | - du registre précédent et pour l'Horus 1 de l'ancien fragment de Palerme, par le nom d'Horus du roi, ①. M. Maspero croit pouvoir distinguer à l'intérieur de la maison d'Horus ② trois signes longs verticaux placés l'un à côté de l'autre, et dans ce cas nous aurions ici le seul des Pharaons de la I^e dynastie qui ait possédé un prénom ainsi formé, c'est-à-dire ③-Sémempsès. Le cartouche qui vient après le signe ④, et dont le contenu est illisible, aurait alors renfermé, soit le personnage ⑤⁽¹⁾ qui sert à écrire le nom de ce roi, soit les éléments phonétiques qui correspondent à ce personnage. L'hypothèse de M. Maspero cadrerait fort bien avec l'arrangement proposé par M. Sethe pour ce registre et avec l'ordre de succession des Pharaons de la I^e dynastie tel qu'il nous est connu par la liste royale d'Abydos. Sémempsès est, en effet, sur cette liste le successeur de Miébis, et M. Sethe a proposé de reconnaître aussi le pharaon Miébis dans le roi dont nous n'avons sur le troisième registre de l'ancien fragment de Palerme que les trois derniers signes de la rubrique⁽²⁾. Mais je dois m'empresser d'ajouter que M. Lacau n'a rien pu distinguer ni dans le nom d'Horus ni dans le cartouche, et j'avoue moi-même n'avoir reconnu aucun des signes proposés par M. Maspero, qui, d'ailleurs, a laissé le nom en blanc dans sa récente note publiée au tome XXXVI du *Recueil de travaux*.

Entre le cartouche et le signe ⑥ servant à introduire le nom de la mère du roi on aperçoit un signe rectangulaire ⑦, occupant le haut de la ligne, et des traces impossibles à identifier au-dessous de ce rectangle. Vient ensuite la légende de la mère, ⑧-⑨-⑩, dont le premier signe du nom pourrait être aussi un | (cf. MASPERO, *Recueil de travaux*, XXXVI, p. 152).

Avant de passer à la description des diverses années de ce règne je voudrais faire observer que le rapprochement du nouveau fragment et de l'ancien peut encore ici fournir un renseignement chronologique très appréciable. Le troisième registre de l'ancien fragment est, en effet, consacré entièrement au roi dont la mère s'appelait ⑪-⑫, et que nous pouvons continuer à appeler

⁽¹⁾ Voir les monuments au nom de ce roi trouvés à Abydos par MM. Amélineau et Petrie et la liste royale du temple de Séthosis I^r, également à Abydos.

⁽²⁾ SETHE, *Beiträge*, etc., p. 30 et 47-48. Les signes ⑪-⑫ de cette rubrique appartiennent au nom de la mère du roi.

provisoirement, avec M. Sethe, Miébis⁽¹⁾. Or après la fin de la rubrique nous pouvons compter sur l'ancien fragment *treize années*; nous savons maintenant que le vide entre l'ancien et le nouveau fragment est d'*environ quatorze années*⁽²⁾; nous apprenons enfin par le début du registre sur le nouveau fragment qu'*une année* appartient encore à ce roi avant la longue ligne marquant le début du petit règne de 8 ans 1/2. Nous avons donc en tout $13 + 14 + 1 = 28$ années pour Miébis(?) après la rubrique servant à le désigner. Cette constatation nous amène à supposer également 28 années avant le début de ladite rubrique. Enfin cette dernière devait occuper elle-même un emplacement égal à la largeur de 7 années, ainsi que les deux rubriques qui nous sont connues en entier par le nouveau fragment⁽³⁾. Nous obtenons ainsi pour le règne de Miébis(?) une durée totale de $28 + 7 + 28 = 63$ années (ou tout au moins un chiffre fort approché de 63). Voilà encore qui ne cadre guère avec le chiffre de 26 années donné par Manéthon pour le règne de Miébis; M. Schäfer avait bien vu, du reste, que ce chiffre était trop faible et que le roi dont la mère s'appela  avait dû régner *au moins 32 ans* (il serait même arrivé au chiffre de 34 ans s'il avait attribué à la rubrique la largeur de 7 années qu'elle a dû occuper en réalité), et M. Sethe en avait fort prudemment conclu que pour les règnes du troisième registre du recto la pierre de Palerme avait dû porter d'autres nombres d'années que ceux qui nous ont été conservés par la tradition Manéthonienne⁽⁴⁾.

Voici maintenant ce que j'ai cru pouvoir déchiffrer sur les neuf cases du troisième registre dont l'ensemble constitue le règne du fils de  ⁽⁵⁾. Je ne garantis nullement l'exactitude de toutes mes lectures ou restitutions et ne serais pas autrement surpris que d'autres yeux y trouvassent à corriger ou à compléter.

Case 1 (année 1). — C'est l'année de l'apparition, de l'avènement du Pharaon en tant que *roi de la Haute et de la Basse-Égypte*, et de *l'union du Sud et du Nord*

⁽¹⁾ MM. Newberry et Wainwright ont tout récemment cherché à démontrer que ce roi n'était pas Miébis, mais le roi *Den* des tombes royales d'Abydos (le *Wdy-mw* de M. Sethe) : cf. *Ancient Egypt*, vol. I, 1914, p. 148-155.

⁽²⁾ Voir plus haut, p. 37.

⁽³⁾ M. Schäfer (*Ein Bruchstück*, etc., p. 18), qui n'avait sous les yeux aucune rubrique complète de roi, avait supposé une largeur de *cinq* divisions annuelles pour chacune; mais le nouveau fragment nous donne clairement et à deux reprises *sept* divisions.

⁽⁴⁾ Voir SCHÄFER, *op. cit.*, p. 18, et SETHE, *Beiträge*, etc., p. 48. — Si j'ai moi-même rappelé pour chaque règne les chiffres de Manéthon dans le *Livre des Rois d'Égypte*, c'est uniquement pour mémoire et non parce que je les considérais comme intangibles.

⁽⁵⁾ Je laisse de côté la dernière année du précédent règne, de laquelle on ne voit absolument rien.

symbolisée à nouveau par cet avènement, . Peut-être y avait-il encore au bas de la case d'autres signes, mais je ne distingue rien de précis. La hauteur du Nil paraît avoir été cette année-là de , 4 coudées et 4 palmes.

Case 2 (année 2). — Cette année est une année de , et au-dessous de la barque à gauche il semble y avoir eu un , mais je ne puis lire ce qui était à droite et au-dessous de ce signe. Il est curieux de voir la notation des années par  reparaître tous les deux ans sous ce règne comme nous l'avions déjà trouvée au deuxième registre de l'ancien et du nouveau fragment et au quatrième registre de l'ancien, alors qu'elle paraît n'avoir pas été usitée sous le règne du prédécesseur du roi qui nous occupe (troisième registre de l'ancien fragment). La hauteur du Nil cette année-là a été de , 4 coudées, plus un nombre de palmes impossible à évaluer.

Case 3 (année 3). — Cette case est facile à lire :  «apparition du roi de la Haute-Égypte, naissance d'Anubis». La hauteur du Nil a été cette année-là de quatre coudées, plus un nombre de palmes incertain.

Case 4 (année 4). — Nous avons là presque certainement une année de , mais il ne reste rien de lisible sur toute la surface de la case. La hauteur du Nil paraît avoir été de quatre coudées, plus un nombre de palmes indéterminé.

Case 5 (année 5). — Je crois voir ici au milieu de la hauteur et tout à fait à droite le signe , indiquant la naissance de quelque divinité, mais je ne puis rien déchiffrer autre. La bande inférieure où était notée la hauteur du Nil est également effacée.

Case 6 (année 6). — C'est une année de , où fut célébrée la naissance d'une divinité dont le nom est illisible :  - .

La hauteur du Nil paraît avoir été de , 4 coudées et 4 palmes.

Case 7 (année 7). — La partie supérieure est assez nette :  «apparition du roi de la Haute et de la Basse-Égypte»; mais toute la moitié inférieure reste illisible. La hauteur du Nil a été de 4 coudées, plus un nombre de palmes indéterminé.

Case 8 (année 8). — Année de ; la moitié inférieure est illisible. La hauteur du Nil paraît avoir été de 4 coudées et un nombre de palmes illisible.

Case 9 (année 9 et dernière du règne). — Je crois voir en haut «apparition du roi de la Haute-Égypte»; mais toute la partie inférieure me paraît indéchiffrable, ainsi que la bande concernant la hauteur du Nil.

Enfin, tout à fait à la gauche du fragment, la première année du règne nouveau, dont nous ne possédons aucun autre indice, a été marquée par l'avènement du roi, indiqué de la même façon que l'avènement du roi précédent : «apparition du roi de la Haute et de la Basse-Égypte; union du Sud et du Nord». La hauteur du Nil a été cette année-là de 4 coudées, plus un nombre de palmes impossible à déchiffrer.

AUTRES REGISTRES. — De toute la partie inférieure du recto de ce fragment, comptant encore trois bandes-rubriques et trois registres divisés en années, il n'y a pour ainsi dire rien à tirer. Peut-être sur la gauche de la troisième bande-rubrique, au-dessous du registre qui vient d'être décrit, une rubrique de règne a-t-elle été tracée : on voit là, en effet, de nombreuses traces blanches, alors que toute la partie droite de la même bande est, au contraire, absolument intacte. Mais je ne pense pas qu'il soit possible de reconnaître dans ces traces confuses ni le nom d'Horus, ni le cartouche, ni le nom de la mère d'un roi; nous sommes probablement ici sous la II^e dynastie. A la quatrième bande-rubrique et au cinquième registre qui fait corps avec elle nous avons peut-être sur la gauche et pas très loin du bord du fragment un changement de règne indiqué par un long trait vertical coupant à la fois bande et registre. Enfin on peut constater que la bande-rubrique et le registre inférieurs du fragment du Caire sont, comme sur le fragment de Palerme, sensiblement plus hauts que les bandes et les registres précédents.

C. VERSO (pl. XXVI-XXVII). — Tout le registre supérieur de la face postérieure du fragment n° 1 a disparu, à part quelques signes sur la gauche. Ce registre devait contenir la fin du règne du prédécesseur du Pharaon Chopsiskaf dont l'ancien fragment de Palerme nous a conservé la première année⁽¹⁾; ce

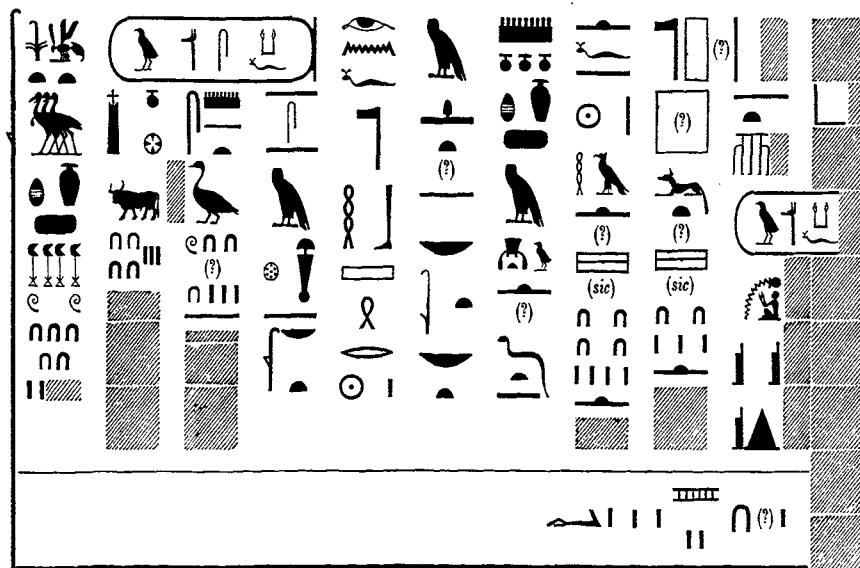
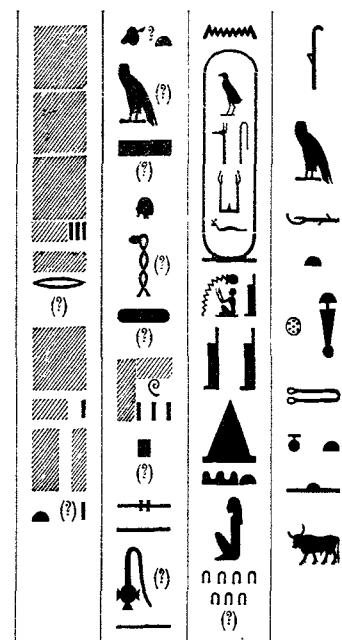
⁽¹⁾ A moins qu'on adopte l'opinion de M. Sethe (*Beiträge*, etc., p. 52) d'après laquelle la IV^e dynastie ayant été terminée avec le recto, sauf le règne de Chopsiskaf, et le graveur désirant faire coïncider le début de la V^e dynastie avec un début de ligne, le règne de Chopsiskaf aurait occupé à lui tout seul le registre supérieur du verso et aurait été tracé exactement au milieu de la pierre, avec un large espace vide à droite et à gauche. Il me semble, du reste, que les quelques traces de signes (, , ?) visibles sur la gauche du verso au registre supérieur du nouveau fragment ne permettent pas d'accepter cette hypothèse d'un vide avant le règne de Chopsiskaf.

prédecesseur fut probablement Menkaouré-Mykérinos, le constructeur de la troisième pyramide de Guizeh.

Le second registre est occupé, comme sur le fragment de Palerme, par le règne d'Ousirkaf, premier roi de la V^e dynastie; mais tandis que l'ancien fragment contenait l'an 6 (?) de ce pharaon, ou plus exactement  « l'année du troisième recensement du bétail », nous avons ici la mention de deux années antérieures, la première, à droite, désignée expressément par les mots  « l'année après le premier recensement du bétail », et la suivante, à gauche, ne portant aucune désignation parce que le fragment est brisé trop tôt, avant la fin du récit des événements principaux de ladite année, mais étant très probablement « l'année du deuxième recensement du bétail »,  Nous sommes donc avec le fragment du Caire en l'an 3 et en l'an 4 du Pharaon Ousirkaf⁽¹⁾.

Les quatre colonnes verticales qui ont subsisté sur la droite du fragment sont tout ce qui reste de la description des événements de l'an 3; voici ce que j'ai cru pouvoir y lire : (→)⁽²⁾

Puis, immédiatement à gauche de ces quatre lignes commence le récit des événements de l'an 4, introduit par la longue pousse , hiéroglyphe du mot *année*, qui sert de rubrique à tout le récit et occupe toute la hauteur du registre : (→)



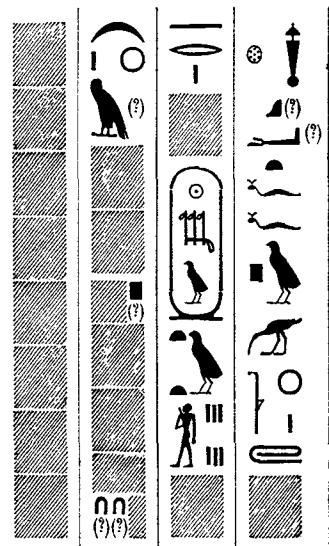
⁽¹⁾ Voir, sur l'arrangement des années d'Ousirkaf au deuxième registre de la pierre, ce qu'a dit M. Sethe (*Beiträge*, etc., p. 53-54).

⁽²⁾ Pour la commodité de l'impression typographique, j'ai partout reproduit les colonnes et les signes en sens inverse de l'original.

D'après la place occupée par l'indication de la hauteur du Nil, qui devait se trouver sensiblement au milieu de la bande inférieure, on peut se rendre compte qu'il manque une assez grande partie du texte à l'extrême gauche du fragment. On peut constater, d'autre part, que la disposition générale du texte est moins clairement indiquée ici que sur le tableau correspondant du fragment de Palerme; les différentes colonnes et lignes ne sont, en effet, séparées entre elles par aucun trait.

Avec le registre suivant nous nous trouvons, comme sur l'ancien fragment de Palerme, sous le règne du pharaon Sahouré, successeur d'Ousirkaf; mais de même qu'au registre ci-dessus nous sommes reportés ici à deux années du règne de Sahouré antérieures à l'année conservée sur l'ancien fragment. Or cette dernière était l'*année 5 du roi*, ou plus exactement l'*année après le deuxième recensement du bétail*, {— (sic) restant sous-entendu)⁽¹⁾. Nous sommes donc avec le fragment du Caire dans les années 2 et 3 de Sahouré, et l'année 4 tout entière est comprise dans la lacune qui sépare les deux fragments.

Les trois premières colonnes verticales à droite du fragment constituent tout ce qui reste de l'année 2. Elles sont assez difficilement lisibles : (→)⁽²⁾



Vient ensuite la pousse }, occupant toute la hauteur du registre et indiquant que nous entrons dans une année nouvelle; cette année paraît être presque intégralement conservée, sauf peut-être une petite partie manquant à la gauche du fragment. Le texte qui la concerne en est malheureusement beaucoup plus effacé que celui de l'année d'Ousirkaf sur le registre précédent. La disposition générale semble avoir été à peu près la même que sur ce dernier, mais il reste trop peu de signes nettement visibles pour que je risque une transcription; on ne peut lire avec certitude que la ligne supérieure : (→) 𠁠 𠁢 (◎ 𠁢 𠁣) 𠁤 𠁥 𠁦 𠁧.

II. FRAGMENT N° 2 (PL. XXX, FIG. 1).

A. *DESCRIPTION GÉNÉRALE.* — Ce fragment est de dimensions beaucoup plus réduites que le précédent; sa plus grande largeur est, en effet, de 0 m. 092 mill.

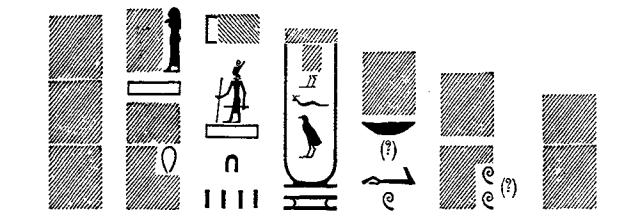
⁽¹⁾ Cf. SCHÄFER, *Ein Bruchstück*, etc., p. 36-37 et pl. II, et SETHE, *Beiträge*, etc., p. 54.

⁽²⁾ Même observation qu'à la note 2 de la page 46.

et sa plus grande hauteur de 0 m. 084 mill. On ne peut rien dire de précis concernant son épaisseur, car la face postérieure (*verso*) est complètement détruite et il n'en reste aucune trace. Ce petit fragment comporte seulement deux registres incomplets, la partie supérieure du registre supérieur étant détruite, ainsi que la partie inférieure du registre inférieur.

Le registre supérieur laisse voir très nettement la seconde partie du cartouche du roi [•••] -Chéops, de sorte que nous sommes certains d'avoir encore affaire ici avec la face antérieure (*recto*) de la pierre de Palerme; la face postérieure (*verso*) ne commence, en effet, comme l'ont fort bien montré les éditeurs du fragment de Palerme, qu'avec le dernier pharaon de la IV^e dynastie. Le registre inférieur, séparé du précédent par la bande concernant les hauteurs du Nil, se rapporte donc encore à la IV^e dynastie, mais sans qu'il soit possible de préciser à quel règne appartiennent les deux années successives dont il nous a conservé des débris de textes.

B. *REGISTRE SUPÉRIEUR*. — Ce qui subsiste de ce registre est fort peu de chose, et le seul intérêt de ces restes réside dans le cartouche du roi Khoufou-Chéops. Voici ce qu'on y peut distinguer :



Le personnage debout sur un socle en avant du roi est une femme ou une déesse; on croirait reconnaître sur sa tête le diadème d'Isis, mais la chose n'est pas absolument certaine. La boucle dont il ne reste qu'une moitié au-dessous de cette femme peut avoir appartenu à un ♀ ou à un ♂⁽¹⁾.

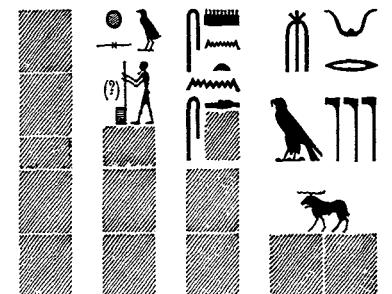
La bande séparant ce registre du registre inférieur mesure 0 m. 013 mill. de hauteur et contient des mesures que je transcrirais ainsi : (→) , sans pouvoir affirmer avec certitude si le nombre au-dessous de est le chiffre 6 () ou le chiffre 7 ().

C. *REGISTRE INFÉRIEUR*. — Le registre inférieur embrasse les événements de deux années consécutives, car on voit nettement vers la gauche le signe caractéristique d'une année nouvelle. Toute la partie inférieure de ce registre,

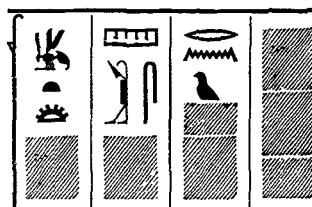
c'est-à-dire au moins les deux tiers de l'ensemble, manque malheureusement. Voici la transcription de ce qu'on peut lire à droite, dans la première année :

Les traces de signes visibles en avant du mot

ne sont pas faciles à identifier. Ce qu'on aperçoit au-dessous du de paraît être la tête du personnage déterminant le mot *khous*, . Le reste est très net, sauf le qui est en avant de la main . Il semble donc s'agir ici de la construction de quelque édifice, d'une fête *sed* (?), de la naissance d'Horus, et de l'*oup-rô* des dieux (?), mais les lacunes sont trop considérables pour permettre de préciser davantage.



Quant aux débris de l'inscription relative à la deuxième année, ils donnent :



Après le signe de l'année mention est faite de l'*apparition du roi de la Basse-Égypte*, puis probablement de la fête ; enfin le mot de la troisième colonne semble être (ou).

III. FRAGMENT N° 3 (PL. XXX, FIG. 2).

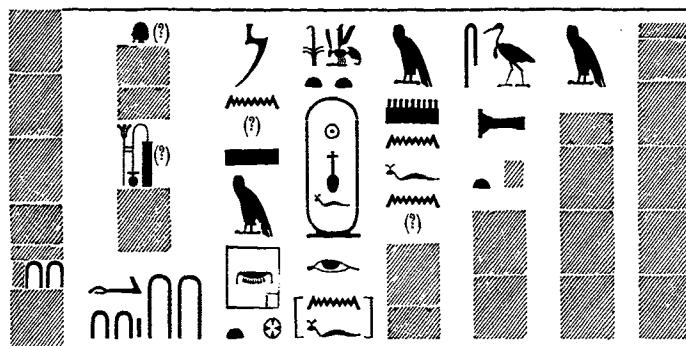
Avec le fragment n° 3 nous sommes transportés au cœur même de la V^e dynastie. La largeur de ce fragment varie entre 0 m. 08 cent. et 0 m. 09 cent.; sa hauteur est de 0 m. 11 cent. sur la droite, mais de 0 m. 045 mill. seulement sur la gauche. L'épaisseur est de 0 m. 06 cent., comme pour le fragment n° 1 et pour le fragment de Palerme. La face postérieure (ou verso) a seule conservé des traces lisibles d'hiéroglyphes, et ces traces s'étendent sur deux registres superposés.

Du registre supérieur on voit seulement à l'extrême de gauche un reste de mesure, , ayant fait partie de la bande relative aux indications des crues du Nil.

Au registre inférieur nous sont conservées les traces de quelques faits relatifs à une seule année d'un règne que je pense être celui du Pharaon de la V^e dynastie⁽¹⁾. Tout ce qui précède le cartouche de ce roi est malheureusement

⁽¹⁾ Voir, au sujet de ce roi, H. GAUTHIER, *Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte*, t. I, p. 120-122; K. SETHE, A. Z., t. L, 1912, p. 2-3; DARESSY, *Ann. du Serv. des Antiq.*, t. XV, 1915, p. 95-96.

assez indistinct, et ce n'est que sous toute réserve que je propose la transcription ci-dessous :



La mention de la déesse Bastit est intéressante, ainsi que la forme du signe servant à déterminer son nom.

IV. FRAGMENT N° 4 (PL. XXXI).

A. *DESCRIPTION GÉNÉRALE.* — Le fragment n° 4, trouvé à Mit-Rahineh, affecte les dimensions suivantes : plus grande hauteur, 0 m. 115 mill.; largeur, mesurée au registre supérieur, 0 m. 075 mill.; épaisseur, 0 m. 081 mill. Cette épaisseur, on le voit, est de beaucoup supérieure à celle du fragment de Palerme et des autres fragments du Musée du Caire précédemment décrits; la différence est d'environ *deux centimètres* (exactement 0 m. 019 à 0 m. 021 mill.), et, comme il est impossible de supposer que la même pierre pouvait présenter d'une partie à l'autre de sa surface un aussi grand écart d'épaisseur, nous sommes très probablement ici en présence d'un *double* de la pierre de Palerme, d'origine nettement memphite. L'existence de deux ou même plusieurs monuments identiques ou analogues à la pierre de Palerme n'a, d'ailleurs, rien de surprenant, et si l'hypothèse de M. Lacau est justifiée, à savoir que la pierre de Palerme avait pour principal objet, non pas de consigner les faits saillants qui s'étaient passés sous les rois des premières dynasties, mais d'enregistrer les crues du Nil à chaque des années de ces rois⁽¹⁾, il est raisonnable de supposer qu'un pareil monument a pu avoir existé dans les principales, sinon dans toutes les localités où existait sous l'Ancien Empire soit un nilomètre soit un temple du dieu-Nil. La chose qui pourrait surprendre n'est donc pas qu'il ait existé plusieurs pierres analogues à la pierre de Palerme, mais plutôt que si peu de fragments de ces pierres nous soient jusqu'ici parvenus.

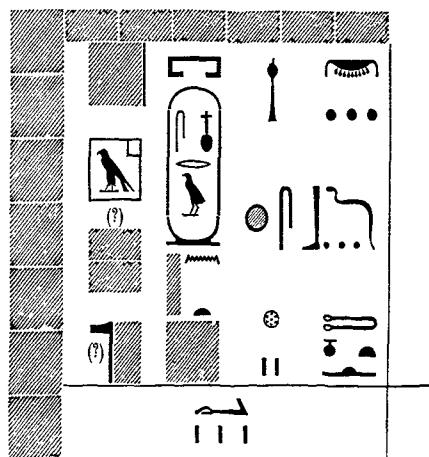
⁽¹⁾ La connaissance de la hauteur du Nil chaque année avait une grande importance pour l'établissement des impôts (cf. SCHÄFER, *Ein Bruchstück*, etc., p. 12-13). Voir aussi, sur les diverses indications des niveaux annuels de l'inondation qui nous ont été transmises à toutes les époques de l'histoire pharaonique, BORCHARDT, *Nilmesser und Nilstandsmarken*, p. 3.

Le fragment de Mit-Rahineh n'a conservé, comme les fragments n°s 2 et 3, ses inscriptions que sur un seul côté, et si la disposition de ce deuxième exemplaire a été la même que celle de la pierre dite de Palerme (ce que rien, du reste, ne nous permet, ni d'affirmer ni de nier), ce côté inscrit doit en être le recto ou face antérieure. Nous voyons, en effet, très nettement, au registre supérieur de ce fragment, le nom d'Horus et le cartouche du roi Snofrou, dernier pharaon de la III^e dynastie (ou premier souverain de la IV^e). Or, nous savons d'après le fragment de Palerme, que le règne de Snofrou occupait une grande partie du sixième registre du recto, peut-être même ce sixième registre tout entier; comme le fragment nouveau comporte encore deux registres au-dessous de celui où est mentionné Snofrou, la pierre de Memphis devait compter sur son recto au moins huit registres, et ce sont les trois registres inférieurs de ce recto dont nous avons ici des restes.

Les signes sont très petits et ne commencent à apparaître avec assez de netteté qu'après addition de poudre de craie ou de blanc d'argent. Malgré cette précaution préalable, je dois avouer que M. Daressy et moi n'avons pu réussir à identifier en toute certitude tous les signes.

B. *REGISTRE SUPÉRIEUR.* — Il semble qu'on puisse distinguer sur la largeur de ce registre *quatre années consécutives*⁽¹⁾.

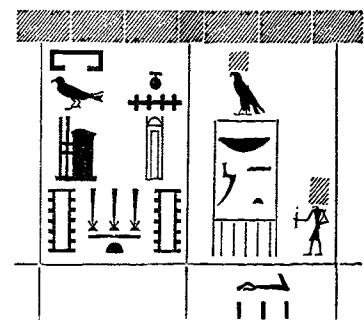
Tout à fait à droite l'espace réservé à la première de ces quatre années est aussi large à lui tout seul que les espaces réunis des deux années qui la suivent. On lit dans cette zone les indications reproduites ci-dessous :



⁽¹⁾ En l'absence de la partie supérieure du registre cette division en quatre années ne peut être affirmée avec certitude; la partie recourbée des lignes qui servent à annoncer une année nouvelle n'est, en effet, nulle part visible ici; mais comme l'extrémité inférieure de ces lignes descend jusqu'au bas de la bande inférieure réservée aux indications de hauteur du Nil, il semble bien que ces lignes verticales soient réellement des signes d'années.

L'espace réservé à la deuxième année est beaucoup plus étroit, et il ne semble pas y avoir eu pour cette année-là d'indication de crue du Nil.

La troisième année ne nous a conservé que la mention du roi Snofrou, désigné par son nom d'Horus sous la forme ci-contre, et avec la mention de trois coudées pour la hauteur du Nil, comme pour la première année. Il n'est pas possible de distinguer quelle était la coiffure de l'Horus surmontant le *serekh* ni celle du roi lui-même.



Enfin les deux ou trois signes que l'on voit tout à fait à gauche dans l'espace réservé à la quatrième année du registre me paraissent trop indécis pour pouvoir être transcrits; il me semble voir un ፩, un ፻ et la moitié d'un ፻⁽¹⁾. Au-dessous de ces signes la bande réservée aux indications de crues paraît porter ፻, ፻, ፻⁽¹⁾.

C. *REGISTRE MOYEN*. — Ce registre est le seul des trois qui nous soit complètement conservé en hauteur; cette hauteur mesure, y compris la bande destinée aux indications des crues du Nil, 0 m. 042 mill., et sa largeur se divise en trois parties très inégales représentant trois années successives.

A droite, dans l'espace consacré à la première année, je n'ai pu déchiffrer que les signes reproduits ci-contre.

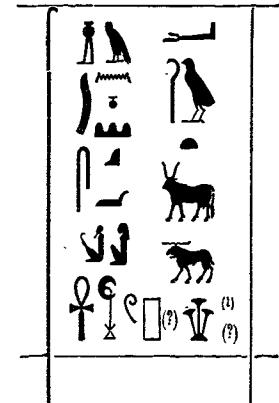
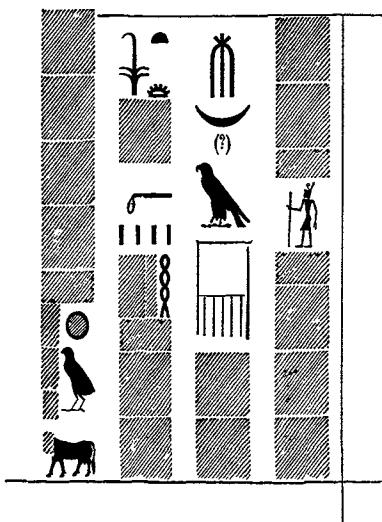
Les signes inscrits à l'intérieur du *serekh* royal ne sont malheureusement plus visibles et il ne nous est pas possible de dire si nous avons encore affaire, comme sur le registre supérieur, au roi Snofrou.

Je n'ai pu lire l'indication de crue du Nil inscrite sur la bande inférieure.

A gauche de cet espace, et séparée de lui par le signe de l'année ፩, qui occupe toute la hauteur du registre, nous avons une indication intéressante et beaucoup mieux conservée relative à un massacre de 1100 personnes d'une population ennemie, tant hommes que femmes, et à un compte (?) de gros et de petit bétail :

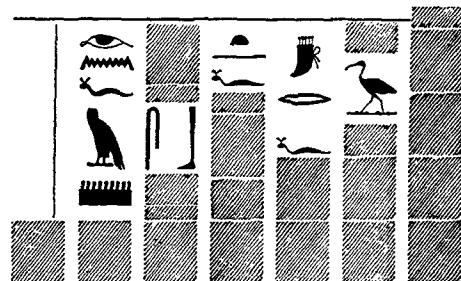
On ne peut rien déchiffrer des signes servant à indiquer les crues du Nil.

⁽¹⁾ Peut-être le nombre ፩፩፩, 3000 (?).



Enfin, tout à fait à gauche du registre, et séparé de l'espace précédent par une ligne verticale dont on ne peut dire si c'est, ou non, un signe d'année ?, car on n'en distingue pas la partie recourbée au sommet, une petite bande nous donne l'indication ci-contre, dans laquelle le cartouche royal est par malheur incomplet et de lecture incertaine. Si les trois signes qu'on y peut reconnaître sont bien ceux que j'indique, | -  , nous avons là un roi nouveau, qui n'est connu par aucun autre monument. Il se pourrait, d'ailleurs, que ce nom royal fût à lire simplement | -  , sans lacune derrière le |, et nous aurions affaire, dans ce cas, au roi déjà connu de la I^e dynastie, mentionné sur la liste royale d'Abydos et peut-être aussi sur le papyrus royal de Turin, et qui a été identifié avec le quatrième Pharaon de Manéthon, *Oὐεὶς Κῆνος*⁽¹⁾. Le fragment de Mit-Rahineh rappellerait donc ici, sous la IV^e dynastie, l'ancien roi | -  , qui serait resté célèbre pour on ne sait trop quelle raison.

D. *REGISTRE INFÉRIEUR*. — Sur ce registre on aperçoit à droite, à la pointe inférieure du fragment, une ligne verticale qui devait être une démarcation entre deux années, puis une zone unique constituant à elle seule le champ d'une année. Une très petite quantité des signes inscrits sur le champ de cette année sont encore reconnaissables, et je ne propose la transcription ci-contre que sous toute réserve :



De quel roi peut-il s'agir à ce registre?

Nous n'avons aucune donnée qui nous l'indique; mais en raison de l'emplacement du registre, qui appartient probablement à l'extrémité inférieure du recto, il est à supposer que nous sommes ici tout à fait à la fin de la IV^e dynastie. L'oiseau qu'on distingue à gauche sur l'original, à droite dans la transcription renversée ci-dessus, paraît être l'ibis du dieu Thot.

Le Caire, février 1915.

H. GAUTHIER.

⁽¹⁾ Cf. H. GAUTHIER, *Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte*, t. I, p. 5.

PLANCHES XXXII-XXXVI.

RECENT DISCOVERIES AT KOM EL HISN.

I

A few years ago I published in the *Musée égyptien* (vol. II, p. 109) an account of two tombs which had recently been excavated at Kom el Barnougi in the province of Behera. They apparently dated from the earlier part of the Middle Empire, and their decoration presented a peculiar compromise, as was pointed out by M. Lacau, between the Old Empire mastaba and the Middle Empire sarcophagus.

Towards the end of 1910 a better preserved tomb of the same sort was discovered at the well-known site of Kom el Hisn, which lies near the station of Tod on the light railway between Teh el Baroud and Delingat. Kom el Hisn has been identified, by Griffith and others, as *Pi-nebt-Amou*, capital of the Western nome, and the identification is probably right. It is certain at least that the chief deity of the town was Hathor *nebt Amou*. This is proved by the Ramesside inscriptions published by Griffith and Daressy⁽¹⁾, by the much earlier inscriptions on the tomb and by those on a statue of Amenemhat III which was found in the sebak in 1911 and is now exhibited in the Cairo Museum.

The tomb lies at the south-west corner of the site, close to a little ezbeh. One of the sheikhs there had asked permission to extract some limestone blocks which he said were to be found just below the surface of the kom. Our local Inspector, Anton effendi Youssef, went and examined the spot, and on laying bare the stones found them to be the roof of a small chamber. It had been completely rifled in antiquity, the robbers having cut an entrance through the upper part of the massive block which formed the door. The wooden coffin had crumbled into brown dust, and nothing was left of the funerary offerings. The only things found by our workmen in the earth which covered the floor were a few inscribed fragments of limestone (evidently from the ceiling) and a fine head of a XIIth dynasty king (see pl. XXXII).

At the time of the burial the surrounding country was of course lower than it is now, and the mound in which the tomb was constructed stood at a safe height above flood-level. There are some traces of mud-brick walls round about

⁽¹⁾ *Naukratis*, vol. II, p. 78; *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, IV, p. 281.

the stone chamber, but it does not seem possible to make out the plan of the whole tomb.

The chamber is rectangular and has a flat ceiling. It is built of large blocks of limestone with a few small patches here and there. The interior is 4 m. 30 cent. long, 1 m. 40 cent. broad, and 1 m. 95 cent. high. The floor is paved with stone. In the east wall (see fig. 3) is a small door, 0 m. 55 cent. broad and 0 m. 57 cent. high, which led into a rectangular recess, now destroyed. Here probably stood the Canopic vessels. At the south end of each of the long walls,

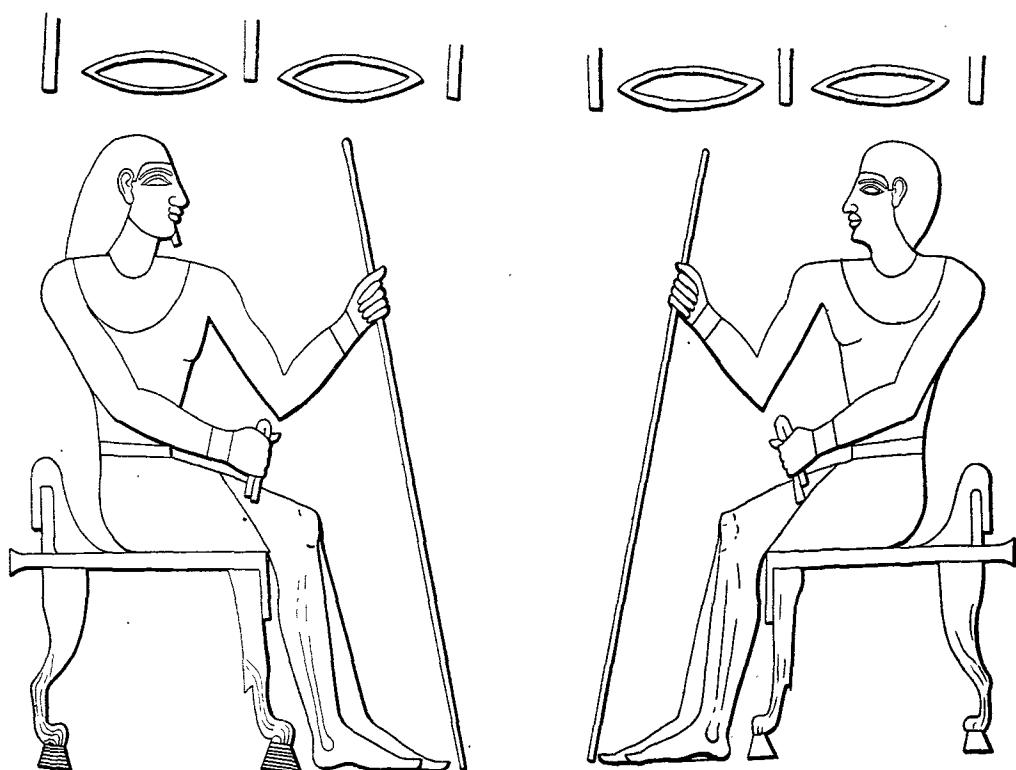
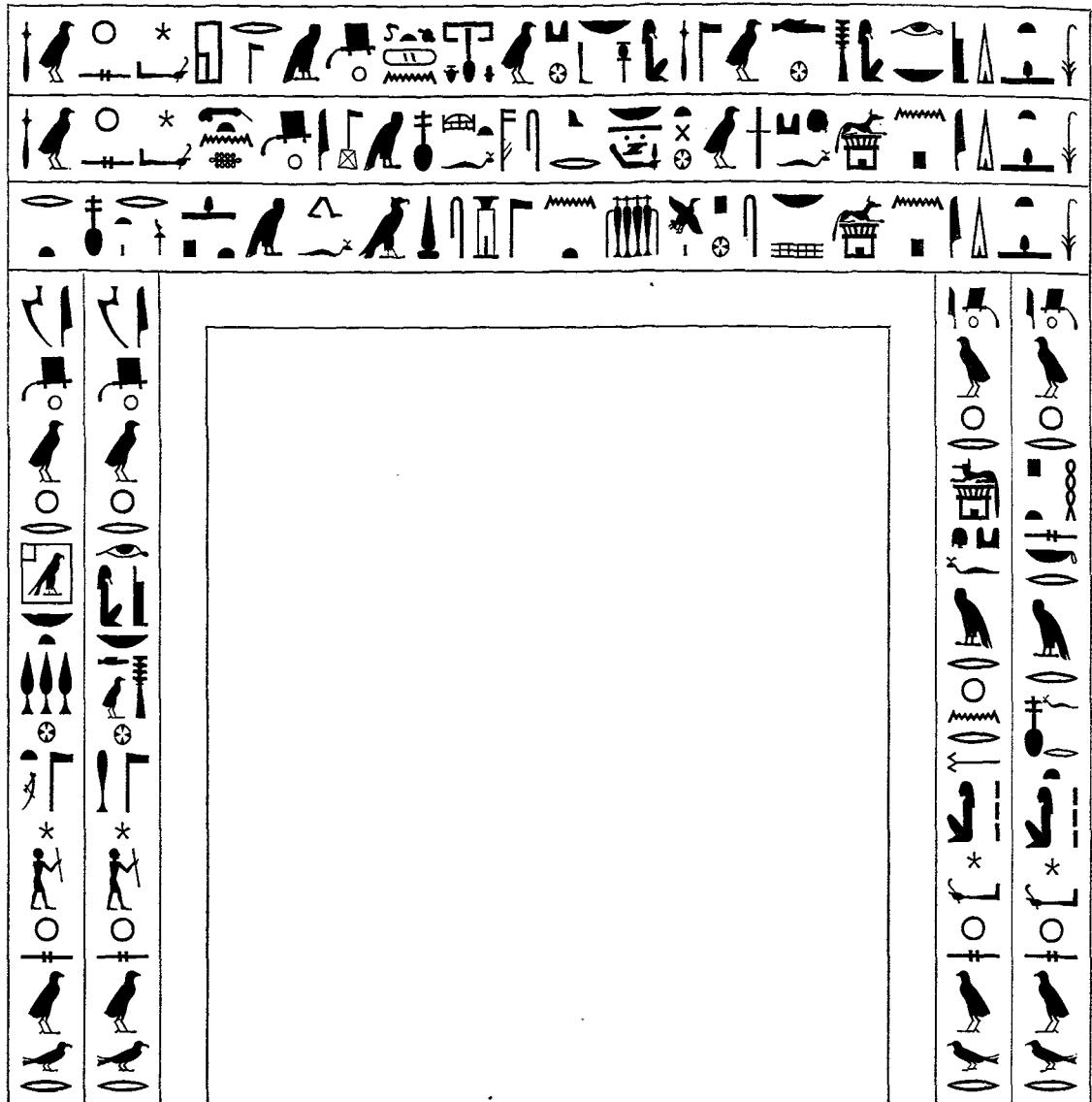


Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

about 1 metre above the floor, is a round hole in which a wooden bar seems to have been fixed, perhaps to facilitate the entry of the coffin. Similar holes were found in the tombs of Barnougi. The doorway was at the north end; and after the coffin had been pushed in, the opening was filled up by a single large block of limestone. On the outside, except round the doorway, the masonry is left rough. The roof is composed of two layers of large slabs. Holes for wooden dovetails, about 0 m. 23 cent. long, may be seen on several of the exposed stones.

The outside of the north wall, or doorway, is built with a slight slope. It is 2 m. 50 cent. high and 2 m. 20 cent. broad. The surface is worked smooth. The top and sides are covered with the following inscription, while below on each side is a representation of the deceased sitting on a chair and looking towards the door (see figs. 1 and 2). All the work on the outside is in sunken relief.



We come now to the interior of the tomb-chamber. The north wall consists of the large slab inserted in the doorway, with only a narrow border above and on each side : this wall is of course plain. The other three walls are covered with scenes, sculptured in low relief, and with inscriptions, partly in relief and partly incised. Unfortunately the stone is soft and the surface is much weathered. There are slight remains of colour on the walls, just enough to show that the work of the sculptor had been completed by the painter. The ceiling is only half finished. It was to have been covered with religious texts, but only seven lines have been actually engraved.

The lower part of the walls is occupied by a long series of religious texts engraved in small letters. They are arranged in vertical lines in three registers, or in two registers where the space is limited. M. Lacau kindly undertook to examine these texts and will, I hope, find time to publish them before long.

The plan of the east wall is shown in figure 3. Along the top runs a *khaker* pattern with incised outlines and traces of paint. Below is the following inscription

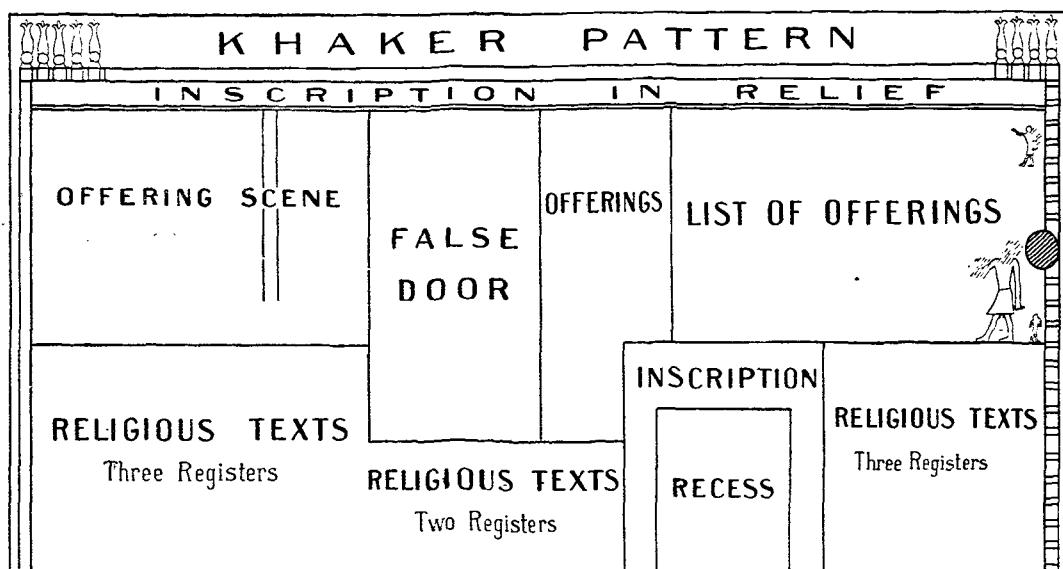
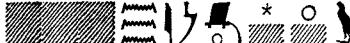


Fig. 3. — East wall.

tion carefully carved in relief and running from one end of the wall to the other : (→)

Below the inscription, at the north end of the wall, are the scenes reproduced on pl. XXXIII. At the very end is the deceased, to left, worshipping. Above his head the following inscription is incised in two vertical lines and one horizontal line : (→) Below his arms the following words are incised in one vertical line : (→) . Next comes an offering-scene. Three men and three women in two separate rows approach to right, leading and carrying live stock and other gifts for the deceased, who stands awaiting them to left. In front of him is a vertical inscription, cut in relief : (→) . The following explanation is incised above the heads of the gift-bearers : (→) . And again above the head of the deceased, incised to right, in two horizontal lines : . The space beyond the offering-scene was occupied by a false door, painted, with a few incised lines; but the paint is too ill-preserved to allow of the design being recovered. Beyond are a pile of offerings and a group of vases, all in relief : these are reproduced on pl. XXXIV. Of the inscription which was engraved above

nothing is legible except the beginning § and the name at the end : (→) . . .  Beyond this is a long list of offerings in vertical lines, which I have not attempted to copy but which I trust M. Lacau will publish along with the texts. In case of any damage being done to the tomb I should add that all the inscriptions which are not reproduced here have been carefully photographed and squeezed.

The doorway which leads into the little recess in the east wall has two lines of hieroglyphics along the lintel and a vertical line down each side, the signs being incised. They comprise two funerary prayers, each of which starts from

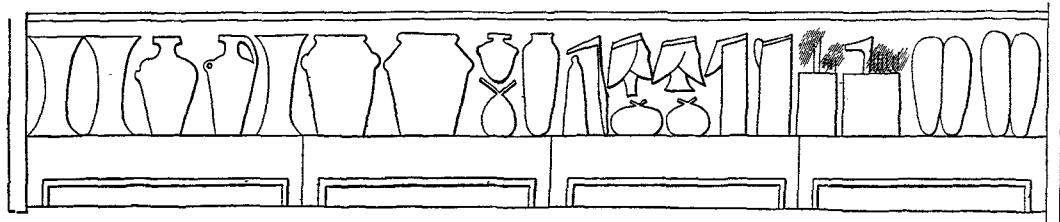
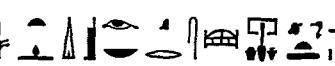


Fig. 4. — Detail from South wall.

the middle of the top line, while the  in the middle of the second line is common to both. On the left side : (→)   . On the right side : (→)  

The upper part of the south wall is badly damaged. There has been a *khaker* pattern along the top; below that an inscription in relief; and below that three or four rows of objects for the use of the dead, all in low relief. Only the lowest row, which is here reproduced (fig. 4), is at all distinct. Below are three registers of religious texts.

The west wall is decorated from end to end with scenes in relief, below which are nearly four hundred lines of religious texts. In places it is very badly preserved, the surface of some of the blocks being quite rotten and powdery. I have copied the better preserved parts, and I have made a sketch (pl. XXXV) showing the arrangement of the scenes and as much as I could recognise of the more indistinct figures.

Below the *khaker* pattern is the following inscription in relief, corresponding to that on the east wall : (→)  

⁽¹⁾ A standing figure on the original.



Below, at the north end of the wall, the deceased is represented worshipping (pl. XXXVI), as on the east wall. Above his head is engraved (→) and in front of him, in a vertical line : (→) . Beyond are various scenes of the usual sort. In the first of them Sebkhesou appears in a boat on the marshes, killing fish and fowl. Above the fish-spearer is the inscription : (→) and above the figure with the throw-stick : (→) . Fowlers in the frieze below are catching a netful of birds to supply his table. In the next group of scenes cattle are being led in by the herdsmen; the butchers are cutting up the carcases; the fields are ploughed and sowed, and the corn is being reaped. Above the slaughtering scene is an inscription (→) beginning and ending : the rest of it is illegible. The inscription in relief in the vertical band beyond is also illegible : I can make out nothing except the name at the end. The next scene, which is unfortunately very ill preserved, is of a less common type than the preceding ones. Two bands of women are making music with rattles and clapping of hands. Each band is directed by a male conductor, and above the upper of these two figures (fig. 5) is the legend : (→) . One of the offices which Sebkhesou occupied in life was that of or overseer of the women devoted to Hathor; and here in his tomb he is represented as still presiding over his band of fair musicians. Beyond at the end of the wall is a seated figure of the deceased, to right; a woman stands behind his chair, and food and drink are set before him; above is the following inscription in relief : (→) .

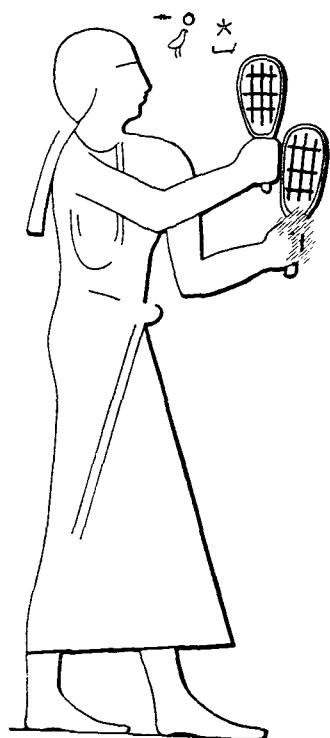
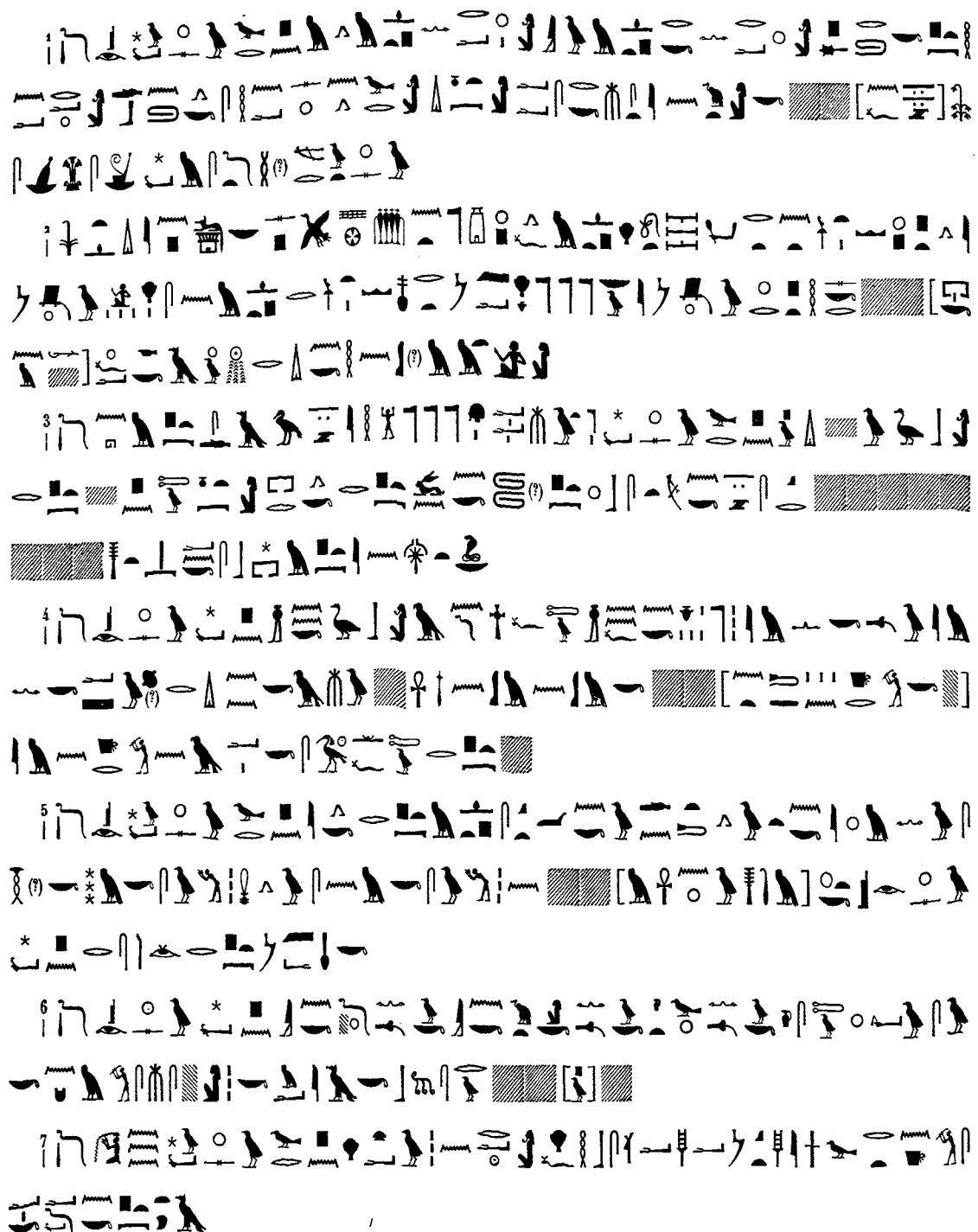


Fig. 5.

The following texts are engraved along the middle part of the ceiling. On each side are traces of other texts sketched in black lines but left unfinished. The signs enclosed in square brackets are copied from two fragments of the ceiling which were found lying on the floor of the tomb. I have inserted these signs in the gaps which they seem to fit, but I did not see the stones until after they had been removed to Tanta and I am not sure about their exact position.



The inscriptions show that the chief deity of the district was Hathor, lady of Amou. The dead man had been a priest of this Hathor, ; he presided over the other priests, ; he had charge of the temple ; and he superintended the women who were employed in the worship of the goddess, . The temple where he held office must surely be the neighbouring temple of Kom el Hisn, which, as we know from the monuments found there⁽¹⁾, was dedicated to Hathor or Hathor-Sekhet, mistress of Amou; and further the temple of Kom el Hisn must likewise be the temple of Amou,

⁽¹⁾ See below, p. 63, and see Griffith in *Naukratis*, II, p. 82 and pl. 24.

celebrated in Egyptian mythology for its gracious priestesses⁽¹⁾. The prominence of these women in connection with the cult of Hathor of Amou suggests that Kom el Hisn may also be the *Τυναικῶν πόλις* of Strabo, which was the capital of a nome and lay on the west bank of the Canopic Nile midway between Hermopolis (Damanhour) and Momemphis⁽²⁾ (Abou Billou?). The tomb of  lay a little south-west of the temple, and at the back of it if Mr. Griffith's sketch-plan of the enclosure is correct. Here perhaps may have been the burial-place of the priests in early times, and it is very possible that other tombs may lie concealed beneath the houses of the adjacent *ezbeh*.

The tomb is of a peculiar type of which the only other examples known are the tombs of Barnougi (Pernoudj) in the same district. The scenes on the walls are similar to those sculptured in the upper chambers of Old Empire mastabas, while the false door, the list of offerings, the rows of utensils for the use of the dead, and the multitude of religious texts are the usual characteristics of Middle Empire sarcophagi. From these and other considerations we concluded, when describing the Barnougi tombs, that the type originated in the earlier part of the Middle Empire. Perhaps a study of the inscriptions may enable the date of the Kom el Hisn monument to be fixed more closely. In any case it is not likely to be later than the XIIth dynasty.

II

The basalt head (pl. XXXII) which, as I mentioned above, was found in the tomb does not really belong to it and had probably been thrown in through the hole which the robbers cut in the doorway.

It is one of the finest examples of a well-known class of kings' portraits, dating from the Middle Empire. It measures about 35 cent. to the top of the crown, and the face from chin to crown measures 0 m. 13 cent. There is a fragment of a back-pillar at the back of the neck. The crown is the white crown of Upper Egypt, without the usual uraeus above the forehead. The front edge of

⁽¹⁾ WIEDEMANN, *Religion der alten Aegypter*, p. 34 : « Da sprach die Majestät des Ra zu dieser Göttin : » Komme in Frieden, Du reizende Göttin » (*amit*), daher entstanden die anmutigen Mädchen in Amu (weil Ra die Sechet *amit* genannt hatte, darum wurden anmutige Mädchen als Priesterinnen in der Stadt Amu angestellt) ».

⁽²⁾ Daressy places Momemphis at Abou Billou (*Annales*, XII, p. 201). H. Brugsch on the other hand identifies it with Amou. If the latter is right, then of course Gynaeconpolis must lie elsewhere, farther north or north-west.

the crown (or perhaps I should say the natural hair emerging from under the crown) ends at each ear in an angle instead of in the usual short horizontal line. Both these features, the absence of the uraeus and the angular projection at the ear, occur in other works of the same school. Though the chin is broken, it is evident that it did not have an artificial beard attached to it. The eyebrows are not disfigured by the conventional stripes. Faint folds are engraved along the upper eyelids. The uneven contour of the cheeks is modelled with much delicacy.

The best works of the same class, or at least the great majority of them, are now assigned to Sesostris III and Amenemhat III⁽¹⁾. As a statue of Amenemhat III was found in the neighbouring temple, one is naturally led to suppose that the head from the tomb may belong to another statue of the same king; yet, as far as one can judge by the features, it might equally well be a portrait of Sesostris⁽²⁾. The truth is, the sculptors of these admirable works, however realistic they appear to us, were more faithful to the general type than to the individual model; and without external evidence I do not venture to identify the Kom el Hisn head as the likeness of a particular king.

III

The statue of which the head was found in the tomb of the high priest probably stood in the neighbouring temple of *Hathor nebt Amou*. The temple is utterly destroyed, and even the site of it is barely distinguishable. But some broken statues of Ramses II are still lying on the ground⁽³⁾; and near them, in 1911, the *sebbakhin* found a much damaged group of Amenemhat III and two princesses. The king's head is missing and for a moment I thought the head from the tomb might belong to the statue; but unfortunately it does not fit.

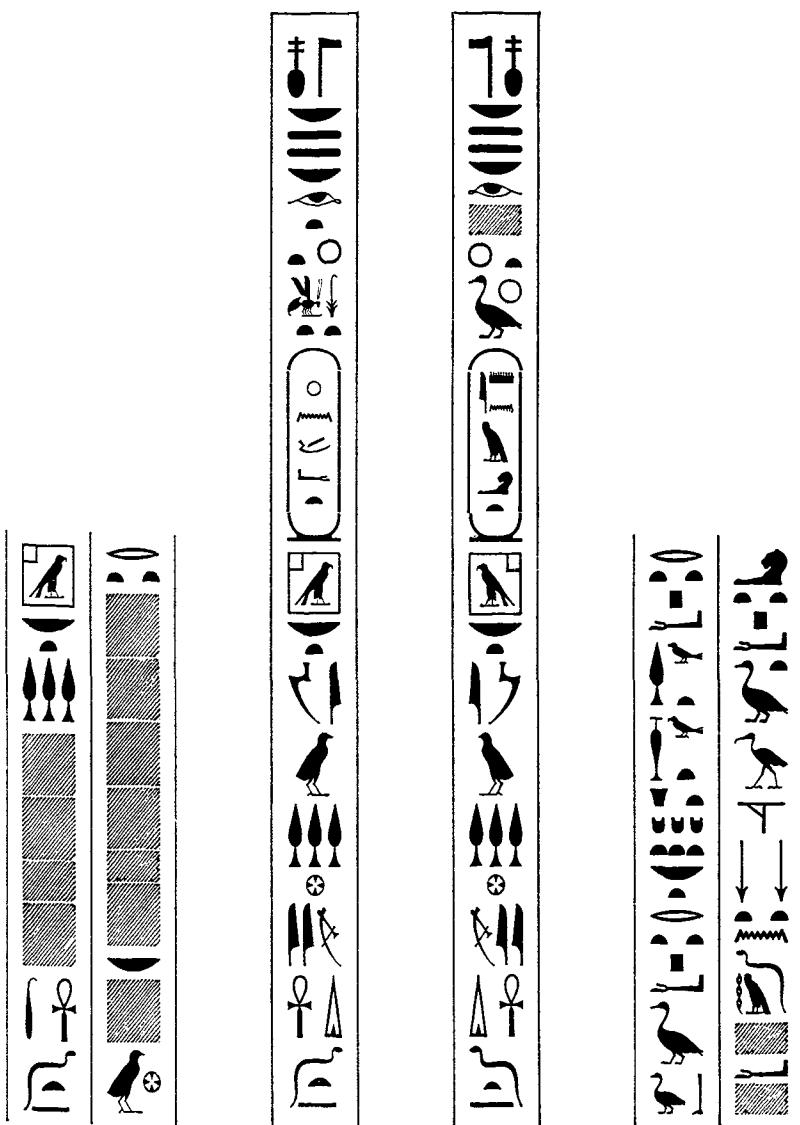
The statue is made of basalt. The figure of the king is 0 m. 90 cent. high, and the plinth is 0 m. 30 cent. high. The king is seated on a throne, wearing a long mantle, which reaches to his ankles, and holding the scourge and crook against his breast. On each side, a little apart from him, stands a princess. The

⁽¹⁾ BISSING - BRUCKMANN, *Denkmäler*, text to pl. 26 A. The head there published, though more sharp-cut and more highly polished, has much affinity to ours.

⁽²⁾ Cf. LEGRAND, *Statues et statuettes*, vol. I, pl. VI.

⁽³⁾ The best-preserved of these statues (GRIFFITH, *Naukratis*, II, p. 78, n° 4) was removed last year to the Cairo Museum.

figure on his right is preserved up to the breast, the one on his left up to the waist. On the top of the base, in front of the three figures, are the following legends :



Here again the protecting deity is Hathor of Amou. And in this connection the following point is worth mentioning. At the north end of the site, near the Delta Light Railway, the ground is full of large bones belonging to some kind of cattle. The sacred animal of the nome, until Græco-Roman times when Ammon supplanted Hathor, was the cow; and the place where the bones are found is probably an ancient cemetery of the animals considered sacred to the goddess of the adjoining temple. I know of two other cemeteries of cattle in the same district, at Kom el Adami near Teirieh and at Kom Abou Billou.

PLANCHES XXXVII-XXXVIII.

ROMAN GLASS FROM KOM WASHIM.

In July 1921 a remarkable find of glass was made at Kom Washim on the edge of the desert on the north-west side of the Fayum. This was the ancient city of Karanis which was founded «when Greek influence was fairly established in the Fayum, and ended with the relapse of the northern region into marsh in the unquiet times which marked the close of Byzantine, and the beginning of Arab rule in Egypt⁽¹⁾».

It consisted of seventy pieces of glass, practically all in perfect condition, and contained in ten wooden boxes, elaborately decorated in a rough way and originally secured by locks. The glass from this site is generally found in some sort of receptacle, whether boxes, pottery jars or baskets, hence it comes in its original condition without having suffered from exposure to the soil. This of course makes it of far greater value to the student, but not to the art collector, who treasures ancient glass for the iridescence produced by the decay of the surface.

So large a find as this can hardly be attributed to a private house, but rather to the stock of a dealer. This is made the more probable by the facts that the contents of one box, No. 47092, were packed with straw and that the owner was accustomed to lock up his goods. The most common of our types of glass was probably used for oil or unguents, yet it is hardly likely that the ancient owner was an unguent seller, for not only did he stock these, but also various shapes which could hardly have been used for such a purpose; *i. e.* types 3, 10, etc. Moreover a chemical analysis by Mr. A. Lucas of the débris contained in some of the glasses shewed no signs of grease or fatty matter. Hence it is probable that we are dealing with the stock in trade of a glass-merchant of about the year 400 A.D. who catered for the average needs of the provincial population of that period.

Thus it is, that in the Kom Washim find we are dealing, not with the shew pieces of glass, but with just the ordinary vessels in everyday use. For this reason no doubt there are not to be found in our group any of the beautiful glasses

⁽¹⁾ GRENFELL, HENT and HOGARTH, *Fayum Towns and their Papyri*, p. 29.

inlaid with gold medallions or of the fantastic and ornate examples of the glass-blowers art, and the same is true of the immensely costly murrhine opaque glasses. With the exception of figures 4 and 9 B. they consist of nothing but common material. Hence the quality of the glass is on the whole far from fine, and no doubt represents a very fair example of the ordinary work of which the ordinary craftsman was capable.

The glass ordinarily consists of five varieties :

1. *Darkish green bottle glass.* — This is the most usual kind; 20 of our total of 70 vessels being made of it. It is at the same time by far the poorest quality; not only being very full of bubbles, but also being more so than any of the other varieties, and as a class may be said to be thoroughly bad. It is about as full of these imperfections as is the ordinary native-made glass of to-day in Egypt. More than half, that is to say ten of the bottles of types 1 A. B. were made of this variety of glass; also three out of the five broad-rimmed dishes of type 7. The class is composed of twenty glasses. Two of the bottles are decorated with impressed flutings, *i. e.* figs. 1 D. F.

2. *Brownish yellow glass.* — This is the next most usual variety, including as it does 19 vessels. The glass is of very much better manufacture than that of the previous class. Perhaps it contains no specimen that is bad like the general run of the former class. There are on the contrary several pieces which merit the name good. Such are, primarily, the dish from box No. 47099 (fig. 8 C.) which stands apart from all the rest, and that from box No. 47098 (fig. 6 A.) which is not at all bad, nor is that from box No. 47097 (fig. 2 B.). The colour, on the whole, is not particularly pleasing, and in the case of the vase figured as 3 C. becomes very ugly. This is because of the strong green colour with which it is tinged. In fact there is more or less of a green tinge in most of the members of this class, and this probably accounts for the unsatisfactory quality of the colour. In some of those in which the colour is more pleasing there are observable very distinct traces of wine-colour, probably produced with manganese; as for instance the vessels shewn as figures 6 A., 8 C., one from box No. 47098 of type 1 A., etc. There can be little doubt but that this yellow glass has been made of a glass from which the green colour has been extracted to a greater or less degree. It would seem that manganese was used to counteract it, for the presence of the wine-colour greatly improves the tint. This will be noticed later on in some of the other classes. The two little orange-brown glasses grouped

by themselves at the end of this list of varieties probably really belong to this class 2, but have happened to get too much of the wine-colour, which combining with the yellow has turned them a pinkish-brown. This class 2 contains practically all the rest of the bottles of types 1 A. B. that were not made of the common bottle glass of class 1. Seven of this remainder belonged to class 2, leaving only one to be included elsewhere. Class 2 also contains two of the three bottles of types 2 A. B. and both of the examples of decorated lamp-glasses (figs. 3 B. C.). It is further noticeable that out of the seven vessels which are decorated with impressed flutings, four are made of this quality of glass.

3. *Transparent white glass with a tinge of wine-colour.* — This is a large class consisting of eleven vessels, all of which shew greater or less signs of admixture of the wine-colour. In the darkest this introduces a greyish tone into the transparency, while in the best it is noticeable only by the perfect transparency and beauty of the tone of the glass. In these finer specimens the fact that colouring matter is present is only observable in the thickened portions of the glasses such as the butt ends of the lamp-glasses and base-rings of the dishes, where a slightly greyish colour appears. In some of the glasses, however, the admixture is very imperfect, the colouring matter appearing in lines and streaks. It seems that this red matter was mixed in to counteract the natural green of the glass. It was observable also in some of the more finely coloured specimens of class 2. The majority of the lamp-glasses, type 3 A., were made of this variety; six of them having been found. The quality of this glass is much better than that of types 1 or 5 both in the comparative absence of air bubbles and of foreign bodies. It is of much the same quality as class 2.

4. *Colourless white glass with only a greenish tinge.* — This is a larger class than might have been expected, consisting as it does of eight vessels. In this class the artisan may be said to have gained his end of making glass that is really transparent and colourless. The green is reduced to the very palest possible tinge, and is only visible in places where the glass is thickened — such as the solid point to the lamp-glasses, or the base-ring to the dishes. Two vessels of this class may be said to be absolutely colourless; these are a flask of type 1 A. from box No. 47099 and the small vase from box No. 47092, which is perhaps an undecorated variety of type 5 C. The quality of the glass is much better than that of either class 1 or 5 and is about the same as that of No. 3. Three of the lamp-glasses of type 3 A. belong to class No. 4.

5. *Pale bluish-green glass.* — A very small class, only containing six vases. It is — perhaps — only a variety of the dark-green bottle glass of class 1 of which the colour has been greatly improved. It is of the same common quality, but is much clearer, brighter and more transparent, and is exactly like the soda-water bottles in England. Only one of the flasks, No. 47100 b (type 1 G.), is made of it; others are figures 2 B., one glass of type 3 A. (No. 47101 h), fig. 8 A. itself and another of this type (No. 47092 g), and figure 12. A bottle of the type 2 B. (No. 47097 c) is decorated with a ring and has flutings impressed on the body. The lamp-glass, No. 47101 h (type 3 A.), has three groups of rings cut round it.

Over and above these five usual classes there were the following, which stand apart :

A pinkish-brown variety, which may really belong to class 2, but has taken on this colour owing to an extra amount of manganese having been put into glass that was intended to be of the yellow colour; class 2. Of this variety there were only two bottles. They are figured in the plate as Nos. 1 E. and 13. The glass of which they are made is not particularly good.

Another variety is the wine-coloured glass. Of this we have two examples : figs. 4 and 9 A. In figure 4 the colour is rich and good and put on quite evenly, but in figure 9 A. it is thin and poor and very streaky, as is visible in the plate. In both pieces the glass is distinctly good.

Last, and standing quite by itself, is a very fine piece of dark blue, transparent glass (see fig. 9 B.). The colour is very rich and is very evenly put on, and the glass itself is of good quality.

Apart from the colouration of the glasses, decoration of some sort was added to twenty of the vessels. Thus, on the whole, it was not very common, being found on less than one third of the group. There is however one type that stands out apart from all the rest in this respect; this is No. 3; the lamp-glasses. Here we have eight out of the total twelve, or two thirds of this type, decorated in some way. This was no doubt to get the effect of the light shining through, and of itself would go far to prove the use for which they were intended. Decoration was obtained by :

1. *Cutting*, of which we have six examples, entirely lamp-glasses of type 3 A. This is confined to simple rings round the glass and there is no example of the patterns which are otherwise often cut on glass. This is no doubt because our glass is not of the thick crystal variety.

2. *The addition of threads and strips of glass.* — Of this sort we have eight examples. These additions are generally of the same colour as the body of the vessel itself, but in two cases they are different. In figure 4 they are made of a blue-grey glass and applied to the wine-coloured vase, and on a vessel of type 2 B. (No. 47097 c) the ring is dark blue and applied to a pale green glass of class 5. In three cases this addition of strips of glass is combined with the impressing of diagonal lines on the body of the vase. The addition of strips of glass is also often used, functionally rather than decoratively, to strengthen the rims, especially in flasks of types 1 A. and B.

3. *The addition of spots.* — Of this we have two examples, both of them lamp-glasses (figs. 3 B. C.). In each case the glasses are of the brownish yellow colour of class 2, while the spots are dark blue.

4. *The impressing of lines on the whole of the body of the vessel.* — Of this we have seven examples. Except in one case (fig. 1 F.), where they are vertical, these lines are always diagonal and always curve downwards towards the right. This decoration is often used in conjunction with some other form; thus in three cases rings of glass have been added to such vessels, and in one (fig. 5 C.) the sides have been pinched in forming a number of vertical oval hollows.

5. *Pinching in the sides.* — Of this we only have one example (fig. 5 C.). Here this form of decoration is combined with the impressed diagonal lines, as mentioned above.

Though it does not exactly fit in with the style of decoration recorded above, it would not be possible to leave the subject without referring to the single example of the coloured rim with which the little dish, No. 47105 h (type 8 A.), is adorned. The pink rim is added to a vessel of plain transparent glass, and is the only example we have of such a technique.

A great deal of the glass is of very much the same quality as that made by the native glass-blowers to-day, just outside the Bab el Futuh at Cairo. Though the better pieces are finer than any of these modern products I have seen, the worse pieces are just as full of bubbles as are theirs. Some vases, especially the tear bottle (fig. 11) and the handles of the vase figure 4, exhibit these bubbles curiously drawn out longitudinally. This gives these pieces a great resemblance to many of the glass bangles made by the modern Cairene worker. It

also gives the impression that it was not possible to obtain a heat sufficiently great to do more than melt the glass to a pasty consistency. This is the state in which it is worked to-day in Cairo. The modern craftsman uses a small closed in furnace built of mud on the floor of a room. He burns wood as fuel and is dependent on no other draught than the natural one. This is so primitive that it is probably the original system, though in its present form it is much degenerated from the imposing kilns in use a century ago⁽¹⁾. A few words may therefore be of value. The kiln in use to-day is a low construction roughly circular in shape and not more than two feet high. It is made of mud and completely roofed by a great plate of mud. This comes off for cleaning purposes, and is about as much as a boy can lift. The fire is in a hollow in the ground in the centre of the kiln. Round the inner sides of the walls there runs a wide shelf, divided into shallow pans and projecting over the fire. In these pans the glass is melted. They do not quite meet across the centre of the fire, but leave a hole through which the flames and heat pass up. The only openings for the draught are, that at the bottom by which the furnace is fed, the central one above mentioned, and one in the walls above each pan through which the workman extracts the melted glass. Thus the glass lies in the midst of the fire; the fire itself heating it from below and the flames and heat being driven by the draught over the glass as it lies in the pans. Each workman has one pan in front of which he sits, dipping out the glass through the hole. A small hanging screen protects him to some extent from the fierce blast which is driven out at the hole through which he works. The kiln which the writer was able to inspect had five pans, and so accommodated five workmen. Built out at the side were two little annealing ovens. Each of these had a hole in the side against the kiln through which the heat passed into them. Just above the hole by which the fire was fed there was a small pan full of glass scoriæ and called the « *mizan en-nar* ». The owner attached great importance to this and said that without it the fire would not burn, and the name itself implies something to do with regulating the fire. Unfortunately a close examination of the place and cross-questioning of the proprietor did not elucidate the service rendered by this contrivance. The proprietor laid great stress on the fact that a skilled man was required to light the fire and that if it were not properly done it must be put out and done again, or the glass

⁽¹⁾ *Description de l'Égypte, État moderne*, tome II, 1812, Text, p. 612, also tome II, Plates, 1817. Pl. II, *Arts et Métiers*, figs. 13, 14, 15, 16, and pl. XXIII, *Arts et Métiers*. The plates descriptive of the *Arts et Métiers* are distinguished by Roman numerals as opposed to Arabic numbers or letters of the alphabet.

would be spoilt. These modern glass-blowers obtain their glass from old broken bottles which they remelt.

To return to our ancient specimens. An examination of our pieces makes it clear that some rotary motion was employed during the blowing process and while the glass was still soft, for many of them exhibit a spiral marking, notably those vases figured as Nos. 5 A. D. E., 8 A. B., 9 A., most of those of types 1 A. B., and most of those of type 3 A. from group No. 47092, and various others. It may be that this was the origin of the decoration of spiral lines sometimes impressed upon the glass.

A modelling tool was used on the soft glass to constrict the necks of the flasks belonging to type 1.

Some means was used for cutting glass to the required shape, as the rims of figures 6 A. B. and the lamp-glasses have not been finished off in any way, but are raw, with sharp edges, and occasionally rough places, such as would be produced were one to run a diamond round and snap off the superfluous piece. This cutting was no doubt done by the same means as was employed for the engraving of patterns on glass. The appearance of the lines engraved on the lamp-glasses shews that the substance used did not bite very much. Perhaps it was powdered emery that was used with a sharp edged stick.

We now come to the discussion of the various types of the vases.

Type 1 A. B. (G.). — This is by far the most common type of vessel in our find, being represented as it is by eighteen glasses. Figures 1 A. B. G. in plate XXXVII give the limits of variation. The eighteen examples of this type were grouped as follows : two specimens from box No. 47094; two from No. 47095; four from No. 47098; five from No. 47099; two from No. 47100; one from No. 47101; and two from No. 47105. That is to say that nearly every box contained at least one specimen and most of them more. Unfortunately, however, as this find was made by *sebakhtin* and not by scientific excavators, we have no guarantee that this grouping is original.

The glass of which this type is made is generally the common dark green bottle glass (variety 1); nine being of this kind. However the following seven are made in the brownish yellow glass (variety 2) and were found in the following boxes : one specimen from box No. 47094; one from No. 47095; two from No. 47098; two from No. 47099; one from No. 47105. One flask (No. 47099 b) is made of an exceptionally transparent sample of variety 4 glass. It is thus the purest white colour we have in the collection and is also the

least imperfect example of glass blowing; the bubbles, foreign bodies and other blemishes in it being reduced to a minimum. One flask (No. 47100 b) is made of variety 5 glass. The glasses are without decoration apart from a clumsy ring of glass which is spun on at the shoulder of nine of the eighteen. The ring is always the same colour as the bottle on to which it is put. It is this which makes the only difference between varieties A. and B. of our type 1.

The type is a strongly marked one with a small range of size and very constant details of shape. As to size, figure 1 A. may be taken as a good average example, while 1 B. is the largest in our collection. Entirely apart from the rest as regards size are the two minute flasks from groups Nos. 47095, 47100, one of which is shewn as figure 1 G. The constant details of shape consist, in the first place, of a broad hollow base from which the sides taper towards the neck in a conical fashion. In even the most rotund of them there is observable a certain concavity of outline. This is one of the features which distinguish them sharply from the type represented by figures 2 A. and B. Figure 1 A. is a good example of the concavity of outline, while figure 1 B. is one of the most rotund. In the second place, the mouth is uniformly of a shallow saucer-shape. This again differentiates it from the type of figures 2 A. B. in which the mouth is deep and funnel shaped. The only exceptions are, firstly, the two tiny specimens from boxes Nos. 47095 and 47100 and, secondly, the strange bottle, fig. 1 E. In the first case the mouths have merely fallen out flat, while in the second it appears to have fallen right down. In the third place, there is a very marked feature which is invariably present in this type and strongly differentiates it from other glasses. This is the constriction at the base of the neck. This is also found in some of the varieties of the so-called «tear bottles», though in these it is neither so marked or so common as in the type under discussion. Our only example of «tear bottle» (fig. 11) does not shew it at all, but Edgar shews quite a number⁽¹⁾. Apart from these tear bottles it seems to be entirely confined to this type; its subvarieties, as for instance, figs. 1 C. D. F.; and to a related class figured by Edgar⁽²⁾, but of which we have no example. At first sight it would appear as if the neck had been made separately and inserted into the flask, but an examination shews very clearly that this is not the case. The neck and body are all of one piece of glass. The surface of the glass at this point,

⁽¹⁾ EDGAR, *Græco-Egyptian Glass (Catalogue général des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire)*, pl. VII, No. 32623; pl. VIII, Nos. 32640, 32643, etc., while not a few shew marks of the modelling tool without any constriction, as for instance, pl. VIII, No. 32637, etc.

⁽²⁾ *Op. cit.*, pl. VI, Nos. 32558, 32562; pl. XI, No. 32782.

however, shews marks of a modelling tool's having been pressed upon it, while still soft, to produce the constriction. This peculiarity was evidently made purposely to serve some useful end. While the reason is not fully apparent, it is at least possible to hazard a guess. The effect of such a stoppage in the neck would be to cause the liquid to flow out in small gushes, and then to stop for a moment. This would assist in the obtaining of a given quantity of liquid, and by a quick turn back again would equally assist in the arresting of the flow of any more. As remarked above, the only other class in which this peculiarity has been found is the «tear bottles», and it is commonly believed that they were for containing unguents. This leads to the consideration of the next peculiarity common to all this type. This is the shape of the mouth which is always widely expanded and saucer-shaped, but not deep. The rim has in no case been left plain, but has always been strengthened in some way. In three cases, from boxes Nos. 47098 and 47099 (two glasses) one or more rings of glass have been spun on under the plain rim. In eight cases, from boxes Nos. 47094, 47095 (two glasses), 47098, 47099, 47100 (two glasses), 47105, the rim itself has been thickened by doubling the edge over on to the upper side of itself. In five cases, from boxes Nos. 47094, 47098 (two glasses), 47099, 47101, the rim has both been thickened in this way and has received one or more rings of glass, which have been spun on to its under side. Two unfortunately have lost the rim and so cannot be recorded. It may be that the rim was designed to withstand some shock, such as would be received by turning the bottle sharply on to the palm of the hand. The hollow form of the mouth would allow a considerable quantity of the contents to remain in the hand when the bottle was quickly jerked back into an upright position. Supposing for a moment some such use for the bottle, it will be seen that its various peculiarities would agree well together in all of them serving a useful purpose. The constricted neck would let a small quantity flow out at one gush, the hollow saucer-like shape of the mouth would afford space for the liquid to lie on the hand, while the strengthened rim would withstand the shock. Something of the same sort is seen in the Greek *aryballoï* with their very narrow necks and their wide massive slightly hollowed mouths, reinforced underneath by a broad strong handle. The *lekythoi*, while not nearly so massively made, also shew a narrow neck, but in this case a deep funnel mouth. There is considerable reason for supposing that these two vessels were for containing oil or unguents. Again the only other glass to shew signs of constriction of the neck were some of the «tear boittles» which are also generally believed to have

contained oil or unguents. I would therefore suggest, that our very common type (No. 1) was also for containing the same substances, though it must be admitted that they seem rather large for such a purpose.

Others of this type were found at Gurob⁽¹⁾, where Petrie supposed them to be about the time of Constantine. Another comes from Hawara, but without the possibility of assigning it a date⁽²⁾. Yet others were found at Karanog⁽³⁾, but as this site covers a long period, from the end of the 1st century A.D. and continuing into the 5th, this group is not very helpful as to dating. But it should be noted that its most characteristic period is the 3rd century A.D.

A small bottle was found at Saqqarah⁽⁴⁾. It is of the same type as our figure 1 G., and slightly smaller in size. Most unfortunately it was only found near the surface, hence may belong to any date. The probability, however, is that it is late, for the foundation of the monastery is put at about 470 A.D.⁽⁵⁾. This does not of course mean that every specimen of the type is of necessity of this date, but only that the life history of the type was not finished by the end of the 5th century A.D. or even later.

Strangely enough nothing really comparable to this very common Egyptian type is figured by Kisa in his *Formenfeln*⁽⁶⁾.

Type 1 C.D. — These two vases belong to one type, which consists of type 1 A. set upon a base. There were no others of this type in our find, beyond the two that are here shewn. Apart from the base No. 1 C., from box No. 47097, differs in no respect from the glasses of type No. 1 A. Its rim is of the simpler type, which has been strengthened by bending the edge back on to the upper part of itself. It even retains the concavity of the bottom, although it is raised upon a base. It is made of the ordinary darkish green bottle glass (variety No. 1). No. 1 D., from box No. 47101, varies somewhat from the simpler type in that it has a decoration of diagonal flutings, pressed into the surface, not raised above it. The bottom of the glass itself is also not hollow, as in No. 1 C.,

⁽¹⁾ PETRIE, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, pl. XXXIII, Nos. 1, 4, and p. 29.

⁽²⁾ PETRIE, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*, pl. XX, No. 4.

⁽³⁾ WOOLLEY and MACIVER, *Karanog*, pl. 37, Nos. 7341, G. 181, 7344, G. 518, and *Text*, pp. 83, 84.

⁽⁴⁾ QUIBELL, *Excavations at Saqqara (1905-1906)*, pl. XXXIV fig. 1 top row, and p. 30. It was found with the little glass also on the top row, which is like our figure 5 c.

⁽⁵⁾ QUIBELL, *op. cit. (1907-1908)*, p. iii, and 1908-9, 1909-10, p. 1, and cf. below, p. 79.

⁽⁶⁾ KISA, *Das Glas im Altertume*, plates at the end of volume III. It may be that figures 32, 33 are intended to represent our type under discussion.

but convex. Its rim is the same as that of No. 1 C. It is made of the ordinary darkish green bottle glass (variety No. 1). Petrie found an example of this type at Gurob⁽¹⁾, but without the decoration in lines. He supposes this group to date to about the time of Constantine.

Type 1 E. — This is apparently a derivative from some such type as 1 D. Though actually it has no base-ring added, yet one is suggested by the outline of the vase. The base is hollow as is usual in the varieties of type 1. The glass shews the same constriction at the neck as the others, but the mouth is different. The rim has been strengthened by doubling the edge back on to its upper side and has then dropped out of shape in the making. The colour of the glass is also different to that of any of the preceding ones, in that it is a warm pinkish brown. The glass is good, being fairly free from bubbles and other blemishes. This is a rare type, being represented in our find by only one specimen, which comes from box No. 47101. Though a rare and strange shape, yet it is apparently a definite type and not merely a sport, for apparent variants of it occur again, though only twice, in the Cairo collections⁽²⁾. Of these No. 32713 comes from Hawara and is dated by Petrie to the period between 250 A. D. and the beginning of the vith century. The other, No. 32756, comes from Fag el Gamus, also in the Fayum, and is given a similar date by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, i. e. somewhere between the ivth and vith centuries A. D.⁽³⁾. This type is thus very well fixed by two independent observers to somewhere between the ivth and vith centuries, and so becomes a valuable piece of evidence for our attempt to date the Kom Washim find. That our example is likely to belong to the earlier part of this period will be seen just below. It is the more satisfactory that No. 32756 was found with a vase similar to another of our types, which is thus carried with it for dating purposes. This is No. 32750⁽⁴⁾, which is clearly a miniature edition of our figure 5 D. Hence the larger vase, our own 5 D., is also likely to date to the ivth to vith centuries A. D., and to the earlier, rather than the later, part of this period, if the reduction in size implies degradation.

Type 1 F. — This is represented by a single flask and apparently should be classed as a sub-variety of type 1 A., though its outline is considerably more

⁽¹⁾ PETRIE, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, pl. XXXIII, No. 5.

⁽²⁾ EDGAR, *Græco-Egyptian Glass*, pl. IX, No. 32713; pl. X, No. 32756.

⁽³⁾ For both see EDGAR, *op. cit.*, pp. II, III.

⁽⁴⁾ EDGAR, *op. cit.*, p. III.

rounded than is usual, and it is decorated with flutings. With these two exceptions it is the same as type No. 1 A. in everything. It shews the rim turned inwards on to its upper surface and also reinforced by a strip of glass spun on underneath. It also shews the saucer-shape of the mouth, the constriction of the neck and the hollow base. The glass is of the darkish green variety (No. 1), as occurs commonly in normal examples of type 1. The decoration of flutings is unique in our collection, for they are perpendicular and not diagonal as is otherwise always the case. They are however normal in being impressed into the glass, and not raised upon it.

Type 1 G. — This is represented by two specimens — the flask here shewn, and another, slightly smaller, from box No. 47095. It is clearly a miniature example of type 1 A. It is not only a miniature, but probably also the beginning of a degenerate variety of the large type, because the discussion as to date shews this class to last on later than the full sized ones⁽¹⁾. The finding of another of this class at Saqqarah has already been discussed under the general heading of type 1 A. B. (G).

Type 2 A. and B. — Of this class we have only three examples coming from boxes Nos. 47097 (two glasses) and 47105. It is not a very common type, only two being figured in the Cairo Catalogue⁽²⁾ and none at all from Petrie's excavations at Hawara or Gurob, or from Woolley and MacIver's at Karanog in Nubia. The type has well established features. In each of our examples the mouth is funnel-shaped, being much deeper than in type No. 1. The edge of the rim is bent back inwards on to its upper surface, but there is no further attempt at strengthening it. There is no constriction of the neck, but in each case there is a strip, or strips, of glass spun on to the neck itself — not on to the shoulder as occurs in type No. 1 B. The shape of the body is sharply distinguished from that of type No. 1 by being of a flattened shape with the greatest diameter above, instead of below the centre. The base is slightly hollow and normally is comparatively narrow. An invariable feature seems to be decoration of some kind applied to the body. All our three examples have the same pattern of diagonal flutings impressed on the body, while one of Edgar's has a row of elliptical depressions round it, and the other, vertical lines in relief. There is no sign of what the contents had been, as our specimens are all empty and clean.

⁽¹⁾ See pp. 73, 87. — ⁽²⁾ EDGAR, *Græco-Egyptian Glass*, pl. VI, Nos. 32565, 32566.

Two of them are of the ugly brownish yellow glass, variety 2, so common at Kom Washim, with rings of the same, while one is of pale green bottle glass variety 5, with its ring of dark blue.

Type 3 A. — This is represented by ten glasses; five in group No. 47092; four in group No. 47101; one in group No. 47105. The size varies considerably, *i.e.* from 0 m. 25 to 0 m. 13. The type 3 A. is strongly differentiated from that represented by figures 3 B. C. by being invariably of plain white glass and without the coloured decoration of the latter; in having a pointed base instead of the hollow or at least broad base; and finally in the angle between the rim and body of the vessel. Our specimens of type 3 are made of the following varieties of glass :

six of variety 3 glass; three of variety 4 glass; one of variety 5 glass

and are thus made of the more transparent kinds of glass. On the whole, the quality of the glass used is distinctly good, air bubbles being reduced to a minimum. This is of course as it should be, if they were intended for use as lamp glasses with the light shewing through them. There are, however, two among them which are exceptional, and will take their place among the worst specimens of glass that we possess. These are the piece of variety 5 glass from box No. 47101, and one of the pieces of variety 3 glass from box No. 47092. Both are among the smaller specimens of this class.

The glasses in groups Nos. 47101 and 47105 are decorated with groups of lines scratched into the glass. Those in group No. 47092 have no decoration, except where a beginning has been made to scratch a few unfinished lines on to one of them. The idea underlying the decoration appears to be, firstly a single line round the rim, then to put on groups and to let these diminish in the number of component lines as they approach the point. Of this figure 3 A. is a good example; under the rim, one line; then groups of 5, 4, 4, 3, lines respectively. There may be said to be no variation in type at all. The lip is always the same in all the representatives of this type that we have. It expands slightly, but is in no way thickened to strengthen the edge. Thus, therefore, the inside surface of the rim is slightly concave to match the convexity of the outside observable in the plate. The lip of the type represented by Nos. 3 B. and C. is really the same thing, though it looks different in the plate. This is only because it expands outwards at a much more acute angle. The shape is very much the same as that of the lamps used in mosques to-day. There can be little doubt

then from the shape alone that this type was used in hanging lamps for a floating wick. The transparency of the glass remarked above confirms this supposition. Nos. 3 B. and C., although coloured, probably served the same purpose.

Type 3 B. C. — The two glasses figured as Nos. 3 B. and C. were the only examples of this type, that to came hand in our find. They both belonged to the one box No. 47101, which also contained one out of the two large groups of glasses of type 3 A. They are made of variety 2 glass, but with a peculiarly ugly greenish tinge to the yellow, and are decorated with spots of dark blue. These were put on while the glass was still soft enough to sink a little on their application to the surface. The lump so made can be felt inside the vessel. These glasses form a type to themselves, quite distinct from 3 A. Their distinguishing peculiarities are; the broad hollow base instead of the pointed one; the strongly marked double curve of the sides; the sharp angle made by the rim and the body; the dark yellowish colour of the glass instead of the transparency of type 3 A., and the other one to be mentioned later; finally in the addition to the surface of a decoration in blue spots or lines. Occasionally the base is sufficiently influenced by the pointed one of type 3 A. to lose its concavity, but the affinities of the vessel remain clear, from its shape, colour, decoration, etc.⁽¹⁾. I have not found any approximation to this shape at all in the transparent glasses of type 3 A. Another clear difference between the two types is the extreme rarity of engraved decoration on glasses of type 3 B. C., while it is the usual decoration on type 3 A. and *per contra* the commonness of the blue decoration on type 3 B. C., and, so far as I can find, its complete absence on type 3 A.

There is another type of lamp-glass intermediate between the two discussed above, but quite distinct from each. Of this third type we have no examples in our find. It is made in simple transparent glass and a large heavy base is added to it, and it usually has a simple, not a double, curve. The shape of the rim varies greatly. Like the type represented by figures 3 B. and C., its decoration is made by means of additions of glass. These are either in the blue of our glasses⁽²⁾, or in the same coloured glass as the rest of the vessel⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Such as EDGAR, *Greco-Egyptian Glass*, No. 32488, pl. III, p. 20. None of these, however, came from Kom Washim.

⁽²⁾ Cf. EDGAR, *op. cit.*, pl. III, Nos. 32485 and 32486. The second of these is not figured in the plate, but can be examined at the Museum.

⁽³⁾ Cf. EDGAR, *op. cit.*, pl. III, Nos. 32483, 32484.

Type 4. — A handsome vase of which we only have one specimen. It is made of a beautiful wine-coloured glass with handles and a spiral on the neck, both added in an opaque grey-blue glass, very full of bubbles. The glass of the vase itself is freer than usual of bubbles and blemishes. It is not identical with any of the other glasses that I know, but the Cairo Museum⁽¹⁾ possesses one not unlike it in general idea. Another less like it comes from Gurob, and is supposed to belong to the time of Constantine⁽²⁾.

Types 5 A. B. C. D. E. — These are all varieties of one type. The groups from which they come will be found marked below each. To them must be added a still smaller vase from box No. 47092, which is not figured. It varies slightly from the normal in that its neck is longer and its body more squat. It is thus something between our figure 5 C. and a vase in the Cairo Museum⁽³⁾. There is also another unfigured one to be added to this group of which it is probably a derivative. It is the glass contained in box No. 47096 which is like figure 5 D., but has been set upon a ring-base. It also has a thread of glass spiralling round the neck and under side of the mouth. It is made of variety 1 glass. The general shape of our specimens is the same, with the wide saucer-shaped mouth, rim turned back on to the inner side, broad neck tapering towards the mouth, and set deeply down into the body of the vessel. The body itself is squat, with its greatest diameter above the middle, and the base is concave, generally protruding sharply into the interior of the vessel, and is comparatively narrow. Apart from our find, it is not a type that is particularly common. Edgar only publishes two small examples: the small one referred to above, and No. 32750. The type does not occur in Kisa's *Formentafeln* at the end of his book.

The decoration consists of diagonal flutings impressed into the glass in figures 5 B. C., while figure 5 C. is still further decorated with depressions in its surface of an upright oval form. Figure 5 E. has a ring of glass spun round the neck. The little one from box No. 47092, and also that from box No. 47096 have a fine thread of plain glass spiralling up the neck and round the under side of the mouth. Figure 5 D. is made of variety 1 glass but of a yellow tinge; figure 5 E. of the ordinary glass of variety 1; figures 5 B. C. are made of variety 2 glass; while figure 5 A. and the little vase from box No. 47092 are made of varieties 3

⁽¹⁾ EDGAR, *Greco-Egyptian Glass*, pl. V, No. 32555.

⁽²⁾ PETRIE, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, pl. XXXIII, No. 2, and p. 29.

⁽³⁾ EDGAR, *op. cit.*, pl. X, No. 32751, pp. III, 74, and was found with a piece of vth century papyrus.

and 4 respectively. Figures 5 A. D. are much more massively made than the others. Two of the large ones (figs. 5 A. B) have their rims strengthened by a ring of glass spun on just below the edge.

Edgar's figure No. 32750 is clearly a miniature example of our type 5 D.⁽¹⁾. It was found at Fag el Gamus in the Fayum with a glass No. 32756 which is comparable to another of our types (No. 1 E.), which is dated both here and elsewhere to the period between the IVth and the VIth centuries A. D. It is therefore probable that our type 5 D. also belongs to this period, and probably the earlier, rather than the later, part of it, if the diminution in size is to be taken as a sign of degradation (cf. p. 74).

Yet another of Edgar's vases (fig. 32751) probably belongs to our type 5 (C.?) and helps to date it to the Vth century A. D. It comes either from Fag el Gamus or Sela, both in the Fayum, where it was found with a piece of Vth century papyrus. Although it does not correspond very accurately with any of the vases figured as varieties of type 5, yet it corresponds pretty well to our No. 47092 f, but which is not figured. This little vase of ours forms a half-way house between such a type as 5 C. without the upright depressions and the vase from Sela. A small bottle was found at Saqqarah⁽²⁾ and seems to be very similar in shape to our figure 5 C. It is decorated with the same upright oval depressions as ours, but does not appear to have the spiral flutings. It is about half the size of our specimen and thus may be a degenerate and later variety of the same type. It was found with the small flask on its left, which also is the same as one of our specimens, i. e. fig. 1 G. — itself probably a degeneration in size of another of our types, 1 A. It is interesting that these two types should have been found in connection once again, hence it is the more disappointing that there is no clear evidence for their date. There is, however, an interesting coincidence between the finding of the Sela vase with a piece of Vth century papyrus and the suggestion of a date not earlier than 470 A. D. for the Saqqarah piece. It goes to shew that type 5 C. can be dated to the Vth century A. D., and this of course carries our type 1 G. with it. Further the fact, that both of them seem to have degenerated from forms still found in our group, suggests that the

⁽¹⁾ EDGAR, *Græco-Egyptian Glass*, pl. X and p. iii. The small glass from Hawara published by PETRIE, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*, pl. XX, 5, is probably of a different class to No. 32750 and our type 5 D. In any case it gives no help as to dating.

⁽²⁾ QUIBELL, *Excavations at Saqqara (1905-1906)*, pl. XXXIV, fig. 1 top row, and p. 30. It was found near the surface, hence there is no clear evidence for the dating, but the presumption is, however, that it would be fairly late as the monastery was founded about 470 A. D.; see the volume for 1907-1908 of the same series, p. iii, and the next volume, p. 1.

Kom Washim glass is earlier in date than the Saqqarah. It is satisfactory that the two indications of date that have been obtained in the discussion of the varieties of type 5 agree together in making them fall within the period from the IVth to the VIth centuries.

Type 6 A.B. — Two vases which are undoubtedly members of one general type. The only essential difference between them is that one is set upon a base-ring; the ring of glass spun on to the neck of figure 6 A. being probably only a fortuitous decoration. Otherwise their outlines are similar; with the highly placed shoulder and body tapering to a narrow, almost flat, but slightly hollow base. The shape and make of the necks are identical, there being no definite border to the rims. The lip expands with a concave inner surface, and has been cut off sharply, but unevenly, in all respects similarly to that of type 3 A. Thus the two vases are quite unlike any others of our find, nor does Edgar publish anything like them. Figure 6 A. resembles nothing in Kisa's *Formentafeln*, and 6 B. only approximates one form, No. 365, and that not at all closely⁽¹⁾. Figure 6 A. is a very handsome, large vase. The glass, of which it is made, is of sufficient thickness to give a suitable weight and solidity, and is also of better quality than most. The colour is also pleasing, being a pale, but warm, variety of the brownish yellow glass, variety 2. It shews a very slight trace of wine-colour, which probably imparts the agreeable tinge, and earns for it the description of «amber coloured». Figure 6 B. unfortunately does not compare in size or quality with the foregoing. It is small in size and the glass is only the poor dark green bottle glass of variety 1 with many bubbles in it.

Types 7, 8 A.B.C. — We now come to the basins, types 7, 8 A.B.C. These are all alike in that they are deep vessels set upon a wide and fairly high ring-base. The bottom of the basin may be taken as intended to be flat. Sometimes it is so actually, though usually it is either a little convex or else a little concave. The base-ring often shews signs of a modelling tool having been pressed upon it. These basins divide themselves into two sharply defined main groups :

Firstly; that with the flat broad brim, type 7.

Secondly; that with a roll brim, types 8 A.B.C.

The first of these is remarkable in that there is practically no variation at all

⁽¹⁾ KISA, *Das Glas im Altertum*, Formentafel F. at the end of volume III, No. 365, and p. 340.

in the proportions and sizes of our five examples. In this type the edge of the brim is finished off and strengthened by being doubled back on to its under side. The second again divides itself into two minor groups according to the methods adopted in the manufacture of the brims. These are :

- a) Those in which the brim is rolled over inwards. This is the normal method in our find (figs. 8 A. B.).
- b) Those in which the brim is rolled over outwards. Of this only one example occurred (fig. 8 C.).

The roll brim is entirely different in its conception from that of type 7, for instead of turning outwards making a broad flange and with the edge turned back under itself as in type 7, in our find it normally, that is to say in group *a*, turns upwards and is rolled back inside the vessel. The sharp ridge made by the overlapping edge of glass is clearly distinguishable on the inside of the basin. The difference is still more strongly emphasized by the fact that the roll thus formed is normally hollow. For a fuller discussion of the methods employed in the manufacture of this hollow rim, see the description of figure 9 D., which appears to be an unfinished specimen.

Figure 8 A. is a good example of this class both as regards size, shape and manufacture. It is normally, therefore, a much smaller basin than the class represented by figure 7. Figure 8 B. is abnormal as to size and shape of rim. It is, however, an isolated specimen in our find, no others occurring here.

Class *b*. was only represented by a single basin, 8 C. In this case the brim is rolled outwards, and here again is no doubt hollow, but the glass is too opaque for such a detail to be visible. A number of basins belonging to these classes are figured by Edgar, but without an examination of the originals themselves it would not be possible to assign them to their right classes.

Of type No. 7 we have five specimens. They come from boxes Nos. 47097 (three vases), 47099, 47105. The three from box No. 47097 are all of the common green bottle glass, variety 1, with plenty of bubbles and other imperfections visible. That from No. 47099 is made of variety 3 glass, but not of the clearest sort. It is also less imperfect than the others. The basin from box No. 47105, which is shewn as figure 7, is of the brownish yellow, variety 2 glass, and is the nearest approach to a good piece of glass of all the specimens of this type. The colour, while better than that of most of these yellow glasses, has not the richness of figure 8 C. Its colour is both paler and shews a tinge of green

which is absent in the other. Cairo Museum possesses several of these basins⁽¹⁾, but none came from either Karanog in Nubia or Hawara or Gurob⁽²⁾. Kisa figures two examples in his *Formentafeln*⁽³⁾.

Of type No. 8 A. we have six specimens, so that at Kom Washim it is a little more common than type No. 7. They come from boxes Nos. 47092, 47094, 47099, 47105 (three basins). Most of them are not very well made being rather lop-sided, nor is the glass of anything but inferior quality, shewing to a great degree all the usual imperfections. The specimen from box No. 47099 is made of a pale variety of the brownish yellow glass, variety 2, and shews streaks of wine-colour in it. The result might be called amber coloured. The basin from box No. 47092 and one of those from No. 47105 are of pale green bottle glass, variety 5, — just the colour of the ordinary soda water bottle in England. Another of those from box No. 47105 is of the whiter variety of this, i. e. variety 4 glass. That from No. 47094 may be said to be quite colourless, having in it only the faintest possible tinge of wine-colour. It is thus made of variety 3 glass. The other of those from box No. 47105 is of the practically colourless glass, variety 4, but is distinguished from all the rest by having a coloured rim. The colour is pink, and has been applied to the inner surface of the tubular rim. This is the only example in the Kom Washim find, and indeed in the Cairo collections, of such a parti-coloured technique. All the others of whatever shape are self-toned, any coloured decoration being obtained by adding to the surface lumps or threads of glass of the desired tint. These additions themselves are self-toned and not parti-coloured.

Of type No. 8 C. we only have the one specimen figured in the plate, and which comes from box No. 47099. It has been discussed above as regards type and class. As for make, it is both a well-made specimen and is also made of one of the best pieces of glass in our find. It is of a fine, clear, dark yellow colour, of a peculiarly rich tone, which is apparently due to an absence of green, and the presence of a little of the wine-colour in its composition. It is thus a very fine specimen of variety 2 glass.

Basins with roll rims of one or other of the above types seem more common

⁽¹⁾ EDGAR, *Græco-Egyptian Glass*, Nos. 32446, 32447, 32448, 32449 (?), p. 11, and pl. II. The rim of No. 32449 slopes away at an angle, but this is probably only an imperfection in a basin of the type under discussion. These specimens seem by the description to be made of variety 4 glass.

⁽²⁾ WOOLLEY and MACIVER, *Karanog*, pls. 37, 38, 39; PETRIE, *op. cit.*

⁽³⁾ KISA, *op. cit.*, Formentafel G., Nos. 420, 434.

than the flat rimmed ones of type No. 7. Kisa figures several⁽¹⁾ of a shape different to, but not unlike, our own. One was found at Karanog in Nubia⁽²⁾. Cairo Museum possesses several, one of which is of importance to us here. The description clearly shews it to belong to our type No. 8 A. It was found by Petrie at Hawara and appears to date to the period between 250 A. D., and the beginning of the vith century⁽³⁾. It therefore gives an indication of the kind of date to which our type No. 8 A. may belong, though it unfortunately differs from our specimens in having its base-ring formed of a roll of glass, not of a strip.

Types 9 A. B. C. D. — These are little bowls or dishes, which are distinguished from the foregoing, first of all by their diminutive size, and secondly by their being set upon a foot. This may lengthen itself into a stem, or may remain so short as to be scarcely more than a base-ring. Although the foot in figure 9 C. may approximate a kind of base-ring yet even here a distinction can be drawn between them, for on turning it upside down the bottom of the dish does not appear within the circle of the base-ring but is covered entirely by the material composing the foot. In the base-ring vessels, however, the base of the bowl is always visible, being merely surrounded by a ring of glass. The foot also slopes out at an angle far more obtuse than is usual with the base-rings. As explained below, figure 9 D. appears to be a spoilt and unfinished roll rim basin, such as No. 32442 (pl. II of the Cairo Catalogue) but with this exception, the rest all depend on the flat, broad, rimmed series; type No. 7. These small bowls or dishes do not seem to be a common type, for the broad-rimmed variety neither occurs in the Cairo Museum, nor yet from Hawara, Gurob or Karanog; nor does the roll rim bowl, with the single exception above mentioned. The broad-rimmed ones are distinctly above the average, both as regards workmanship, colour and texture of the glass, which is comparatively free of bubbles, but figure 9 D. is both badly made, the rim having fallen on one side, is made of bad glass, and appears to be unfinished. This however gives it a value for the student as it exhibits the process of manufacture.

As it is to-day, the higher part of the brim stands up free above the inner surface of the bowl and makes an acute angle with it. It rises, however, not from the body of the bowl itself, but from the edge of the rim, which, as is

⁽¹⁾ KISA, *Das Glas im Altertume*, Formentafel G., Nos. 416, 419.

⁽²⁾ WOOLLEY and MACIVER, *op. cit.*, pl. 39.

⁽³⁾ EDGAR, *op. cit.*, pl. II, No. 32462; p. 14 for description and p. 11 for date.

seen in the figure, is expanded widely beyond the actual bowl. The vessel seems to have been left unfinished, as, in its present condition, it is made unusable by a deep narrow recess all round the inner side of the bowl. This recess is caused by the above-mentioned acute angle between the rim and the bowl. Now, had the edge been bent down on to the body of the vase it would have become usable; the edge of the brim would have been sharply discernable inside the bowl, as in the normal examples of such roll brims; the roll brim itself would have been more or less tubular; and finally the vase would have approximated very closely to that figured by Edgar as No. 32442, pl. II.

Figure 9 A. is of a white glass with a strong admixture of wine-colour in it. This is quite dark on the stem and at the base of the bowl, whence it spirals upwards to the rim as can just be seen in the photograph. One part of the base has not been reached by the colouring matter and remains quite white.

Figure 9 B. is of a beautiful transparent dark blue colour, quite evenly distributed throughout the glass. It is by far the most beautiful object in all our find, as the workmanship, quality of the glass and shape of the vessel are not behind the beauty of its colour.

Figure 9 C. is of no special merit. It is not so well made as either figure 9 A. or 9 B. The glass is of a pale yellow variety of quality 2 glass tinged with wine-colour. Thus is produced a not unpleasing warmth of tone similar to that observable in figure 6 A.

Figure 9 D. has been sufficiently discussed above.

The feet of all of them shew more or less impress of the modelling tool.

Type 10, represented by figures 10, A. B. C. — These are the only examples we got of a well-known type of dish. The two large ones came from box No. 47092, while the little one came from box No. 47105. The type of all three is the same — a wide, open, oval dish set upon a fairly high ring-base. It is fully shewn in plan and elevation in the figures. The rim is strengthened by being bent back under itself. The workmanship is quite good, except that in 10 C. the ends have sagged — perhaps, because being larger than the rest, it had reached the limits beyond which it was difficult to work satisfactorily. In figure 10 B. the quality of the glass is above the average, and the colour is a good transparent white of variety 3. In figure 10 A. the quality of the glass is not so good, but the colour is pleasing, there being quite a perceptible tinge of the wine-colour. This vessel also is made of variety 3 glass. Figure 10 C. is made of variety 4 glass, being perfectly transparent with only a tinge of green.

Thus it does not look so well as the others and the quality of the glass is also more imperfect. Cairo Museum already possesses a large number of these dishes⁽¹⁾, but none came from Karanog in Nubia, nor yet from Hawara or Gurob. Two are figured by Kisa⁽²⁾.

Type 11. — One of the well known vases commonly called «tear bottles». These have the same broad flat rims as the type 1 vessels, though here they are not saucer-shaped, but quite flat. Our specimen is very flat in the body, has a concave base and shews no constriction in the lower part of the neck. It is made of variety 1 glass, and is clogged inside with dirt, presumably the remains of ointment. There is nothing very like it in the Cairo Museum, the nearest being Nos. 32631, 32632 on plate VII and No. 32639 on plate VIII, nor has it any congeners from Karanog or Gurob. From Hawara, however, comes one, which approximates it somewhat⁽³⁾.

Type 12. — No. 12 is a miniature bottle of thin transparent pale green glass (variety 5) with a great many bubbles. The edge of the rim has been turned over on to the inner side of the lip.

Type 13. — This is another little miniature bottle of quite a different style and made of a pinkish-brown glass which is fairly free of bubbles. The base has a small concavity — only just enough to make it stand. The edge of the rim has been left without being strengthened, turned over or trimmed off in any way. It is quite different in make from the «tear-bottles» and is probably related to a vase from Gurob of similar size, but fatter, and in which the rim also is not finished off in any way, but is left uneven as in ours. This vase is supposed by its finder to be later than Constantine⁽⁴⁾.

Unfortunately the dating of our glass is not as satisfactory as could be wished, as there is very little information indeed to be obtained on the subject, and that little is very vague. Edgar has already recapitulated the dateable finds in his publication of the glass in the Cairo Museum, and to this there is nothing new to be added, but that found by Woolley and MacIver at Karanog in Nubia. The following are the only types which are dateable at all :

(1) EDGAR, *Græco-Egyptian Glass*, Nos. 32408 to 32419 and pl. I.

(2) KISA, *op. cit.*, Formentafel G., Nos. 396, 398.

(3) PETRIE, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*, pl. XX, No. 16.

(4) PETRIE, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, pl. XXXIII, No. 12, and p. 29.

TYPES.	DATE.	REFERENCE.
1 A. B.	About Constantine's time.	PETRIE, <i>Illahun, Kahun and Gurob</i> , p. 29, and pl. XXXIII, Nos. 1, 4. WOOLLEY and MACIVER, <i>Karanog</i> , p. 83, and pl. 37, Nos. 7341, 7344.
1 G.	Cemetery dated from the end of the 1 st century A. D. to the beginning of the 5 th . Its most characteristic period is the III rd . Saqqarah specimen was found near the surface, but hardly likely to be earlier than 470 A. D. Ours is probably earlier, perhaps early 5 th century A. D.	QUIBELL, <i>Excavations at Saqqara (1905-1906)</i> , pl. XXXIV, 1, top row, and p. 30. Cf. vol. III, p. III, and vol. IV, p. 1.
1 D.	About Constantine's time.	PETRIE, <i>Illahun, Kahun and Gurob</i> , p. 29, and pl. XXXIII, No. 5.
1 E.	Between 250 A. D. and the beginning of the VI th century. IV th to VI th centuries A. D.	EDGAR, <i>Græco-Egyptian Glass (Catalogue général du Musée du Caire)</i> , pl. IX, No. 32713, and pp. II, III. Found by Petrie at Hawara. EDGAR, <i>op. cit.</i> , pl. X, No. 32756, and pp. II, III. Found by Grenfell and Hunt at Fag el Gamus (Fayum).
5 C.	The Saqqarah bottle is probably 470 A. D. or later. Ours is probably earlier, perhaps early 5 th century A. D. Found with a bit of V th century A. D. papyrus.	QUIBELL, <i>op. cit. (1905-1906)</i> , pl. XXXIV, 1.
5 D.	Probably IV th to VI th centuries A. D.	EDGAR, <i>op. cit.</i> , pl. X, No. 32751, and pp. III, 74. Found by Grenfell and Hunt at Sela or Fag el Gamus in the Fayum.
8 A.	From the end of the 1 st century A. D. to the beginning of the V th . The most characteristic period of the cemetery is the III rd century. Between 250 A. D. and the beginning of the VI th century A. D.	EDGAR, <i>op. cit.</i> , pl. X, No. 32750, and p. III. WOOLLEY and MACIVER, <i>Karanog</i> , pl. 39.
13.	Later than Constantine.	EDGAR, <i>op. cit.</i> , pl. II, No. 32462, and p. 14. Found by Petrie at Hawara. PETRIE, <i>Illahun, Kahun and Gurob</i> , pl. XXXIII, No. 12, and p. 29.

The results obtained from material so fragmentary as the above cannot be very exact, but may serve as a useful indication. It will have been noticed that with the exception of type 1 A. the vessels of our find on which we are obliged to base our results are very few and sometimes even isolated specimens. A similar state of affairs obtains on the other side also, for it will be seen that most of the dates assigned are obtained from single specimens occurring in a very few finds and the vague statements the finders have felt themselves able to make about them. Many of the various quotations given in the above table are thus only different aspects of the same one or two statements, and are not so many pieces of independent evidence mutually corroborating each other. This state of affairs, however, emphasizes the fact that certain of our types have been found

in conjunction before now. It should further be noted that none of the glass from Egypt, which has been dated at all, comes from the first period of the Roman Empire. With these reserves and remarks we can proceed to classify and study such evidence as there is.

By far the most common of our types is the group 1 A. B. It is also the most widely distributed among the dateable finds. Published specimens shew clearly that the type was already known at a date not much earlier than Constantine; say about the IIIrd to IVth centuries A. D. But when the Kom Washim collection was formed, the type had already begun to degenerate, as is shewn by the presence of the small and — at present apparently — late type 1 G. The date of our examples of types 1 A. B. would, therefore, probably not fall at the very beginning of the history of the type. We might, therefore, easily date our specimens to the IVth to Vth centuries A. D.

Type 1 G. is also very well fixed in date to the Vth century A. D., for in the first place the probable date gained from Saqqarah is the latter part of this century (470 A. D.), and 1 G. is apparently a degeneration, and later variety, of 1 A. But as our Kom Washim group not only contains the degenerate 1 G., but also the large flasks 1 A., from which it is probably derived, it may well be that our group comes early in the history of type 1 G., and should be dated a little before 470 A. D. The fact that it was not a full-sized vase of type 5 C. that was found with the Saqqarah specimen of 1 G. but also a degenerate form gives further support to the suggestion that the Saqqarah group is later than the Kom Washim one. This second little vase itself is connected by some of our varieties of type 5 with No. 32751 in the Cairo Museum. No. 32751 was found in the Fayum with a Vth century papyrus. Therefore the dating of our specimen of the type 1 G. to the Vth century A. D., and probably the early part of it, can be taken as reasonably secure.

Type 1 D. is dateable to about the time of Constantine, being not unlike a vase which Petrie puts to this date.

Type 1 E. is very well dated to a period between the IVth and VIth centuries A. D., for we have two bottles like it from two different sites and dated by two different people to this period.

Type 5 C. is pretty well fixed to the Vth century A. D. and probably the early part of it. This is shewn by the little vase from Saqqarah quoted above which is very similar to our own, and the fact that ours is also not very unlike the Cairo

specimen No. 32751 in shape and spiral decoration. Now the Cairo specimen was found with a vth century papyrus. The Saqqarah vase, though undated, is not likely to be earlier than 470 A.D. It should, however, be noted that the Saqqarah specimen is much smaller than ours and is therefore, perhaps, a degeneration of it, and so later than our find. This supposition is confirmed by the fact that it was also found with a little vase of type 1 G., which itself may be a degeneration of our type 1 A. and therefore later than our find. The early vth century, therefore, seems to be a well secured dating point.

Type 5 D. is perhaps not so well dated as most of the others, for we are dependent only on a miniature example, instead of a full-sized one. However, the date of this miniature one is exceptionally well determined by its occurrence with another glass, which latter belongs to our type 1 E. Now, similar dates were given to their examples of type 1 E. by two different excavators, thus fixing the date of the miniature 5 D. The fact that both the miniature one quoted and our own large specimen were found in conjunction with a glass of type 1 E. suggests that the difference in size is not of great importance on this occasion, and that type 5 D. can be assigned with some confidence to the period between the ivth and vith centuries A.D.

Type 8 A. is well fixed to the period between the late IIIrd and early vth, or even early vith century A.D.

Type 13 is later than Constantine.

The results of the above may be tabulated thus :

TYPE.	
Late III rd to v th or early vi th centuries A.D.	8 A.
IV th century A.D. about Constantine's time.....	1 D.
IV th to v th centuries A.D.	1 A. B.
IV th to vi th centuries A.D. Probably the earlier part	1 E. 5 D.
Early v th century A.D. (Probably later than Constantine.).....	13
v th century A.D. Perhaps the earlier part.....	1 G. 5 C.

It is here clear that our choice must be made from a period running between the late IIIrd and early vith centuries A.D., or a space of about 250 years. Several of the items agree together in pointing towards the early vth century A.D.

as the part of this period to be selected. Further the following fact is also noticeable, and it supports this conclusion. This is, that there is one class which far outnumbers all the others and constitutes almost one quarter of the total find. This consists of types 1 A. B. G. This class was dated to the IVth to Vth centuries A. D. or the time and its neighbourhood just indicated above. Also the period of the IVth to Vth centuries A. D. falls exactly in the middle of our period, from which it would be likely, on the face of it, for our find to date. We shall, therefore, scarcely be very wrong, if we place the date of our Kom Washim find at about 400 A. D.

This, again, does not disagree with the vague indications given to the writer by the Antiquities gaffir as to the place of the discovery. The find was made in the northern part of the central area of the «kom». Here there are three layers of houses standing one above the other and all full of rubbish. The position indicated, of course very roughly, by the guard would probably imply a date towards the end of the middle occupation of the city, and before the building of the last and highest stratum of houses. The find seems to have been made rather more than half way up in the mound. Now, Mr. Hogarth says that the town was probably founded when Greek influence was fairly established in the Fayum and ended at the close of Byzantine and the beginning of Arab rule in Egypt⁽¹⁾. This would imply a period running from about 250 B. C. to about 650 A. D. The middle of such a period would be about 200 A. D. and the fact that the glass appears to have come from rather more than half way up in the mound would indicate a date somewhat later than, but not too far removed from, about 200 A. D. With such data as these the period round about the year 400 A. D., as the date of our glass, would agree as well as could be expected from the nature of the evidence.

The glasses were very clean as a rule, but a few of them had a little dirt on the inside. There were also the dead bodies of a number of beetles, which had got in, but could not get out again. This deposit was found entirely in glasses of types 1 A. B. Samples were submitted to Mr. A. Lucas of the Government Analytical Laboratory, who kindly found time to make some examination of them. He says, «The results are as follows :

«No. 47094 Green Glass. No. 47094 Yellow Glass. No. 47098 Green Glass. No. 47098 Yellow Glass. These four samples consist of organic matter mixed

⁽¹⁾ GRENFELL, HUNT and HOGARTH, *Fayum Towns and their Papyri*, p. 29.

with a large proportion of quartz sand. The organic material has not been identified, but it is not grease or fatty matter of any sort. No. 47095. No. 47098 Green Glass. No. 47099. These three samples consist of the remains of small insects like beetles; in the two first cases the insects are similar, while in sample No. 47099 the insects are much larger. »

A sample of the straw packing from box No. 47092 was submitted to Mr. T. W. Brown of the Horticultural Section, who was good enough to reply as follows :

« Re the straw found in box containing glass at Koum Washim, Fayoum, the sample which you brought to us is composed, and almost entirely, of the oat (*Avena barbata*) mixed with a very little straw of wheat or of barley. »

THE GROUPS OF THE GLASS.

BOX AND CONTENTS.	TYPE.	SIZE.	VARIETY OF CLASS.	REMARKS.
47092.	a....	17 cms. long.	3	Undecorated.
	b....	16 1/2 —	3	—
	c....	16 —	3	—
	d....	16 —	3	—
	e....	13 —	3	Decorated with 3 groups of lines roughly scratched on. Groups consist of 1 line under the rim, 3 and 3 lines.
	f....	9 cms. high.	4	White glass, without impressed spiral lines or upright ovals, but with a thread of white glass spiralling up the neck and under the lip.
	g....	5 1/2 cms. high. 10 1/2 — diam. of mouth.	5	
	h....	22 1/2 cms. wide.	3	Figured in the plate.
	i....	26 1/4 — —	4	— —

This box contained the original straw packing.

47094.	1 B.	25 cms. high.	1	
	1 B.	23 —	2	Figured in the plate.
	5 E.	14 1/2 —	1	— —
	8 A.	6 —	3	
		11 cms. diam. of rim.		
	9 A.	6 1/2 cms. high.	Wine-coloured glass.	Figured in the plate.

BOX AND CONTENTS.	TYPE.	SIZE.	VARIETY OF CLASS.	REMARKS.
47095. { a.... b.... c.... d....	1 A. 1 G. 6 B. 13	19 1/2 cms. high. 6 1/2 — 7 — 8 1/2 —	1 2 1 Pinkish-brown glass.	Slightly yellowish tinge. Figured in the plate. — —
47096. a....	5 D. (?)	12 1/2 cms. high.	1	Spiral thread of glass spun on round neck and under the lip. It is not unlike 5 D., but has been set upon a ring-base. It is not figured in the plate.
47097. { a.... b.... c.... d.... e.... f.... g.... h.... i.... j....	1 C. 2 B. 2 B. 4 5 A. 5 D. 7 7 7 8 B.	16 1/2 cms. high. 20 — 17 — 26 — 16 — 13 1/2 — 16 3/4 cms. diam. of brim. 16 1/2 cms. diam. of brim. 16 1/2 cms. diam. of brim. 16 cms. diam. of brim.	1 2 5 Wine-coloured glass. 3 1 1 1 1	Figured in the plate. — — Dark blue ring on neck. Impressed spiral flutings on body. Decoration and handles in grey-blue. Figured in the plate. — — Rather yellowish tinge. Glass very thick. Figured in the plate. Figured in the plate.
47098. { a.... b.... c.... d.... e.... f....	1 A. 1 A. 1 B. 1 B. 6 A. 11	20 cms. high. 16 — 19 — 18 — 17 — 17 1/2 —	2 2 1 1 2 1	Figured in the plate. — —
47099. { a.... b.... c.... d.... e.... f.... g.... h.... i....	1 A. 1 A. 1 A. 1 B. 1 B. 7 8 A. 8 C. 9 C.	21 cms. high. 19 1/2 cms. high. 19 1/2 — 17 1/2 — 17 — 17 cms. diam. of rim. 11 — — 15 — — 8 — —	2 4 1 1 2 3 2 2 2	Figured in the plate. Broken. Neck broken off. Figured in the plate. — —

BOX AND CONTENTS.	TYPE.	SIZE.	VARIETY OF GLASS.	REMARKS.
47100.	a....	1 B. 20 1/2 cms. high.	1	
	b....	1 G. 8 —	5	Rather yellowish. Figured in the plate.
	c....	9 D. 9 cms. wide.	2	Figured in the plate.
	d....	12 6 cms. high.	5	— —
One Bronze bell of oval section and with a strongly everted lip. The iron clapper is suspended by a loop of iron passing through a hole in the top, and secured by turning the ends outwards. The ring handle is cast in one piece with the bell. Total height of the bell and handle, 12 1/2 cms.				
Two Coptic combs of the ordinary type with fine teeth on one side and coarse on the other. Length 10 cms.				
One small clumsily made pottery cup with handle, and a peg at the bottom. Length 7 cms.				
47101.	a....	1 A. 16 1/2 cms. high.	1	
	b....	1 D. 11 1/2 —	1	Figured in the plate.
	c....	1 E. 12 1/2 —	Pinkish-brown glass.	— —
	d....	1 F. 15 —	1	— —
	e....	3 A. 25 1/2 —	4	Decorated with 5 groups of incised lines roughly scratched on. The groups consist of 1 line under the rim, 5, 4, 4, 3. Figured in the plate.
	f....	3 A. 25 —	4	Decorated like No. e, but the groups consist of 1 line under the rim, 1, 4, 4, 3.
	g....	3 A. 17 1/2 —	4	Decorated like No. e, but the groups consist of 3, 3, 3, lines.
	h....	3 A. 17 —	5	Decorated like No. e, but the groups consist of 1 line under the rim 4, 3 (?).
	i....	3 B. 19 —	2	Figured in the plate.
	j....	3 C. 21 —	2	— —
47105.	a....	1 B. 18 cms. high.	2	
	b....	1 B. About 17 1/2 cms. high but broken.	1	
	c....	2 A. 22 cms. high.	2	Figured in the plate.
	d....	3 A. 16 1/2 cms. high.	3	Decorated with 3 groups of roughly scratched lines. The groups consist of 3, 4, 3, lines respectively.
	e....	5 B. 14 —	2	Figured in the plate.
	f....	5 C. 10 —	2	— —
	g....	7 17 cms. diam. of mouth.	2	— —
	h....	8 A. 11 1/2 cms. diam. of mouth.	4	Pink rim.
	i....	8 A. 11 1/2 cms. diam. of mouth.	4	
	j....	8 A. 11 1/2 cms. diam. of mouth.	5	Figured in the plate.
	k....	9 B. 5 cms. high.	Dark blue glass.	— —
	l....	10 B. 17 1/2 cms. wide.	3	— —
TOTAL...		70		

THE WOODEN BOXES CONTAINING THE GLASS.

These ten groups of glass were discovered in as many wooden boxes, nine of which are figured in plate XXXVIII. They are all of the same type, made of the same wood and all decorated with patterns consisting of groups of little concentric circles. With the exception of the very small one, No. 47096, they are roughly cubical in shape being about as broad as they are high and deep through. With the same exception they run very uniformly to two sizes, the smaller being represented by boxes Nos. 47092, 47095, and 47100, and the larger by the other five. All the feet that remain to us are of just the same type, and this can be seen in figures 5 and 6. There is no reason to doubt but that originally all of them were mounted upon such feet, for the places which have been smoothed for them can be seen quite well on the bottom of the boxes Nos. 47095 and 47101. Finally with the exception of the small box they all have the same divisions inside. These boxes thus constitute one very united group. They were, however, in use for a very long time and had become much broken and damaged by wear. For instance, Nos. 47092, 47100 have had new boards at the top of the boxes. No. 47095 has a broken place patched with another piece of wood. The left hand end of the top board of No. 47097 has had a broken piece replaced and the necessary decoration roughly filled in. These repairs can be quite clearly seen in figures 1, 2, 4, 6. The covers, again, of Nos. 47092 and 47094 have had inserted into them boards which do not belong and which break up the pattern. It is therefore possible that the boxes are older than the date to which the glass belongs. On the other hand, it may merely mean that the hoard did not get buried until some time after the year 400 A.D., the probable date of the manufacture of the glass.

CARPENTRY. — They cannot be said to be well made, for the wood is never thick and often very thin, the thicker boards being $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 cms. thick, while the thinnest — the sides of No. 47100, and the cover and floors of all of them — are only 1 cm. thick. The boards are all very narrow, as can be seen in the figures. By far the widest are those in box No. 47099, one in the front tapering from $19\frac{1}{2}$ to $18\frac{1}{2}$ cms. and one at the back from $25\frac{1}{2}$ to $24\frac{1}{2}$ cms. The edges of the boards have been trued with a plane⁽¹⁾, or similar implement, and

⁽¹⁾ A large plane has been found in the Roman city of Silchester in England. It is not at all unlike the modern tools. See PETRIE, *Tools and Weapons*, pl. LXXVIII M. 139, and pp. 39-40. Many other Roman ones are quoted here.

fit to each other very well as is abundantly clear in the plate, and the sap wood has been removed. This is a distinct advance on the old method of using boards cut from the same log so as to get the edges to fit. At the same time, little or no attention has been paid to making the sides parallel, but the boards taper, probably as much as they did in nature. The wood is a somewhat coarse-grained, hard, brown variety — perhaps the heart wood of the sycamore fig (*gammazah*). It is largely secondhand, having the dowel holes from the previous work often visible. In the plate this can best be seen in figure 4, on the lower board of the front and middle board of the side. Such holes have often been plugged up with wood. Bad places in the wood, such as knots or wormholes, have had a piece of wood very roughly fitted in. The fastening together of the boards has been done without exception by means of wooden pegs and dowels. No glue of any sort has been used, nor is there any case of dovetailing, though a rough square dovetail had long been in use in Pharaonic Egypt, and the true dovetailing was well known by the time our boxes were made⁽¹⁾. The boards of the front of the boxes have generally been quite well smoothed to receive the decoration, but the sides and backs have either been left quite rough with the saw marks shewing, or have been only roughly smoothed with a plane or adze.

The carpenter has scratched guiding lines for his work on the wood just as is often done to-day. On box No. 47094 a centre line and one at each side have been scratched on, to shew the width of the cut that is to be made for fitting in the hinges. Similarly, on all of them, guiding lines have been scratched before the decoration was put on.

Apart from the little one No. 47096 each box has a division at one side, such

⁽¹⁾ See EDGAR, *Græco-Egyptian Coffins, Masks and Portraits*, pl. IV. There is another coffin in the Cairo Museum shewing far finer dovetailing than this. It is an earlier specimen (Ptolemaic?) as it has hieroglyphic inscriptions on it. For a fine example of hidden dovetailing of a date not later than the last third of the IVth century B.C., see WATZINGER, *Griechische Holzsarkophage aus der Zeit Alexanders des Grossen*, p. 42, cf. p. 12. For an example of very fine dovetailing, see the small box, figured by PETRIE, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*, pl. XXI. This is dated to about 340 A.D.

The value of true dovetailing as a method of joining planks had been discovered by the XVIIIth dynasty, at which time it was used in the coffin of Maherpra (DARESY, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois*, pl. I, *Catalogue général des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*). The converging sides of the tenons and mortises are situated on the head and foot boards of the coffin, not on the long sides. Hence unfortunately they are not clear in the above-named plate, partly owing to the play of perspective and partly to the dimness of this part of the photograph. They are, however, perfectly clear on the original itself. The work is of a coarse large type employing only a few large, widely spaced dovetails, and is not of the delicate workmanship and closely placed dovetails used later with thinner boards.

as can be seen in figure 4. Of the eight boxes five had it on the left side and three on the right. It is made of a low board scarcely rising to half the height of the sides. This runs from back to front as can be seen in figure 4 and cuts off about one third of the space. This small division is separated into two halves by another piece of board set across it. These little cells were no doubt intended to contain the smaller glasses, but present no peculiarities by which it is possible to determine their use. In box No. 47092 the board has a large hole cut in it leading into one of the cells. Its sides are tapered, narrowing towards the main part of the box. As a number of lamp-glasses of type 3 A. were delivered to us in this box, at first it seemed that perhaps this was intended for holding them. But as it was not possible to insert the ends of these glasses into the hole in accordance with the taper of the sides (*i. e.* from the little cell, not from the main part), it seems that this was not its purpose, but that the hole is quite a chance feature and is probably the result of using secondhand wood. The other two boxes containing glasses of type 3 did not shew such a hole.

HINGEING. — There were two methods of hingeing, one by far the most common and the other only once used — in box No. 47094.

The usual method is to carry up the back above the level of the sides and front to a height corresponding to the sides of the cover. This piece can be seen sticking up above the boards of the broken cover lying on the top of box No. 47098 (fig. 3). The sides of the cover fitted over the ends of this piece and a peg of wood or iron was put through into the ends of the back piece. On these pegs the cover hinged, as is very well seen in figures 4, 5. A weaker method it is scarcely possible to imagine, as, the boards being very thin, the least strain split the board at the back of the box and the peg came out. This has happened to most of the boxes and in two cases, Nos. 47092, 47101, it happened, not only once, but three times. In the little box No. 47096 (fig. 5) this has been allowed for by pegging an extra thick piece of wood on to the top of the back specially to take the strain. To enable the lid to open and shut, the corners of the sides of the cover have been rounded off below the peg.

In box No. 47094, however, the system of hingeing is quite different. Here the back of the box is no higher than the sides and the front, and the cover has sides to it all round. At the outer edge of the back of the cover are cut two slight hollows, and corresponding ones are cut at the edges of the back of the box also. In each of these there are still the remains of iron that had been driven diagonally through the board so as to come out on the inside. This must represent

iron loops each passed through a corresponding one, so forming a hinge, just as is still seen in old furniture in Egypt and Europe to-day. These hinges served their purpose better than the others in that they did not split the wood, but it must be admitted that the wood is thicker in this box than in most of the others.

LOCKS. — Except No. 47098 (fig. 3) all the boxes have had locks. These have been provided with escutcheons fastened on to the outside, and the marks are visible in the figures of the plate. That some were ornamental is seen in figure 9. Unfortunately they have all come off, but two of them were discovered and delivered to the museum with the boxes, and these are of bronze. Unfortunately all the locks have been destroyed, so for an understanding of them we are dependent on a study of the holes prepared to receive them and the slight vestiges remaining. The locks were all of the same type. There is always a slight hollow cut in the wood at the centre of the place, and there is generally some iron remaining in it. That this was a pin for the key to revolve on is made clear in box No. 47100, where it still remains perfect, and in figure 2 the shadow cast by it can be clearly seen. To the left of this a hole has been cut down from the edge of the box in the thickness of the side and is connected with the rest of the lock on the surface of the box by the black hole so very visible in the photographs. It is into this hole that the hook of the cover descends in order to be fastened. Running across the top of the central hollow and into the hole for the hook is a shallow slot, which can also be quite well seen in the figures. Now in the slot of box No. 47092 (fig. 1) there remains a broken piece of iron, and this turns down into the hole in which the broken hook still remains. It is evident, therefore, that this was moved backwards and forwards by the key and that the end in the deep hole was pierced in order to work over the point of the hook and so catch it when the key was turned. On box No. 47094 (fig. 9) a loop of iron has been put on to the cover and there are the remains of one similarly placed on box No. 47101 (fig. 8). These were no doubt used for a padlock which was probably put on after the original lock had been broken. The glasses or their contents must have been considered of great value to have been put so securely under lock and key.

ORNAMENTATION. — The boxes were all set upon feet which were decoratively cut in a rough kind of way. They were all the same, with two triangles taken out of the bottom of each foot, and with the front end cut into a rounded point above and a pointed foot below. It is seen quite clearly in figures 5, 6.

The fronts of the boxes were elaborately ornamented with patterns composed of groups of little concentric circles — a common method in Coptic days. These patterns fall into the following groups :

1. A ring in the middle with rays running out to the edges (figs. 1, 4).
2. A Y-shaped figure dropping from the two top corners with corresponding lines rising to meet it from the two bottom corners, or lower part of the box (figs. 2, 3, 6).
3. A central pointed figure like an obelisk, on either side of which is a rectangular triangle raised on a pillar, and the whole standing on a base (figs. 8, 9). Figure 7 shews a sort of derivative of this in which the triangles seem to have been elaborated into a pair of jugs with handles and legs or something similar.

The circles are usually double, but on boxes Nos. 47096, 47097, 47098 (figs. 3, 5, 6) they are triple. Often the pattern is added to by rows of spots punched on to the wood. This is generally to make the central line about which the circles are grouped, or else to outline the pattern. On box No. 47098 (fig. 3) these small spots are replaced by large ones bored with a drill. The front of each box is edged at the sides with a border regularly composed of two lines on the outside and three on the inside and, in the space between, a row of the concentric circles. The only exceptions are box No. 47101, and the little one No. 47096 (fig. 5). In both of these the only variation from the normal is that the inner group of lines is composed of two instead of three.

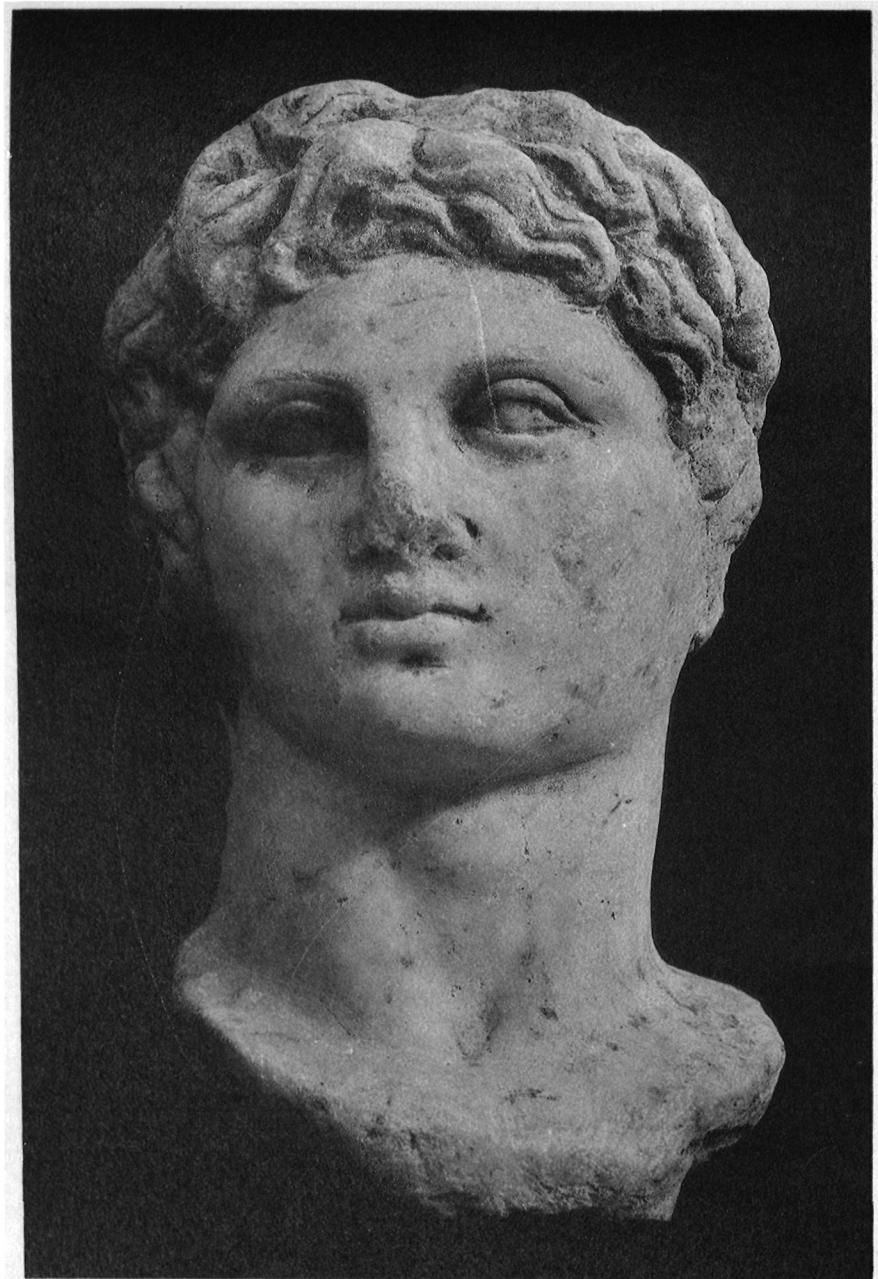


Fig. 1

Greek marbles from Tell-Timai.
Fig. 1. Male head. — Fig. 2. Bacchic head with small horns.

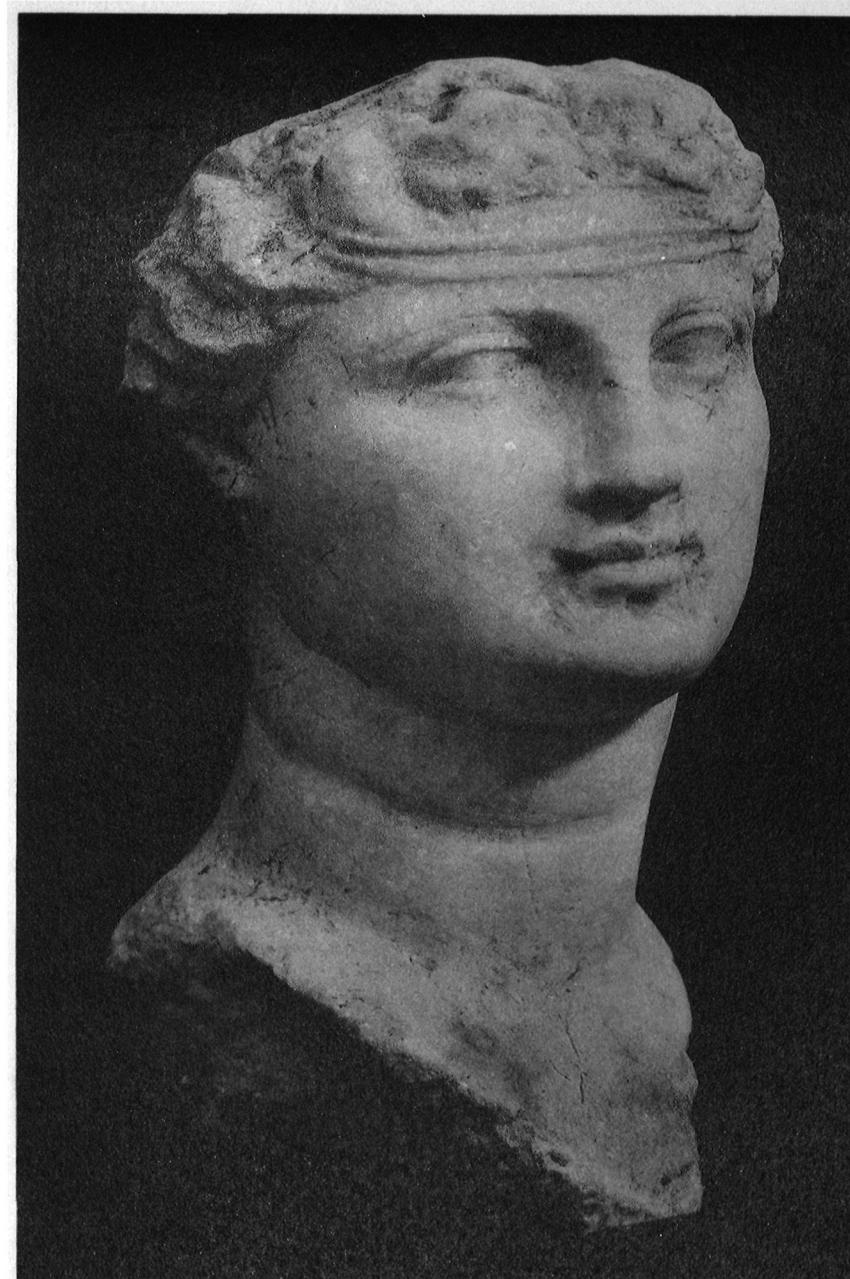


Fig. 2

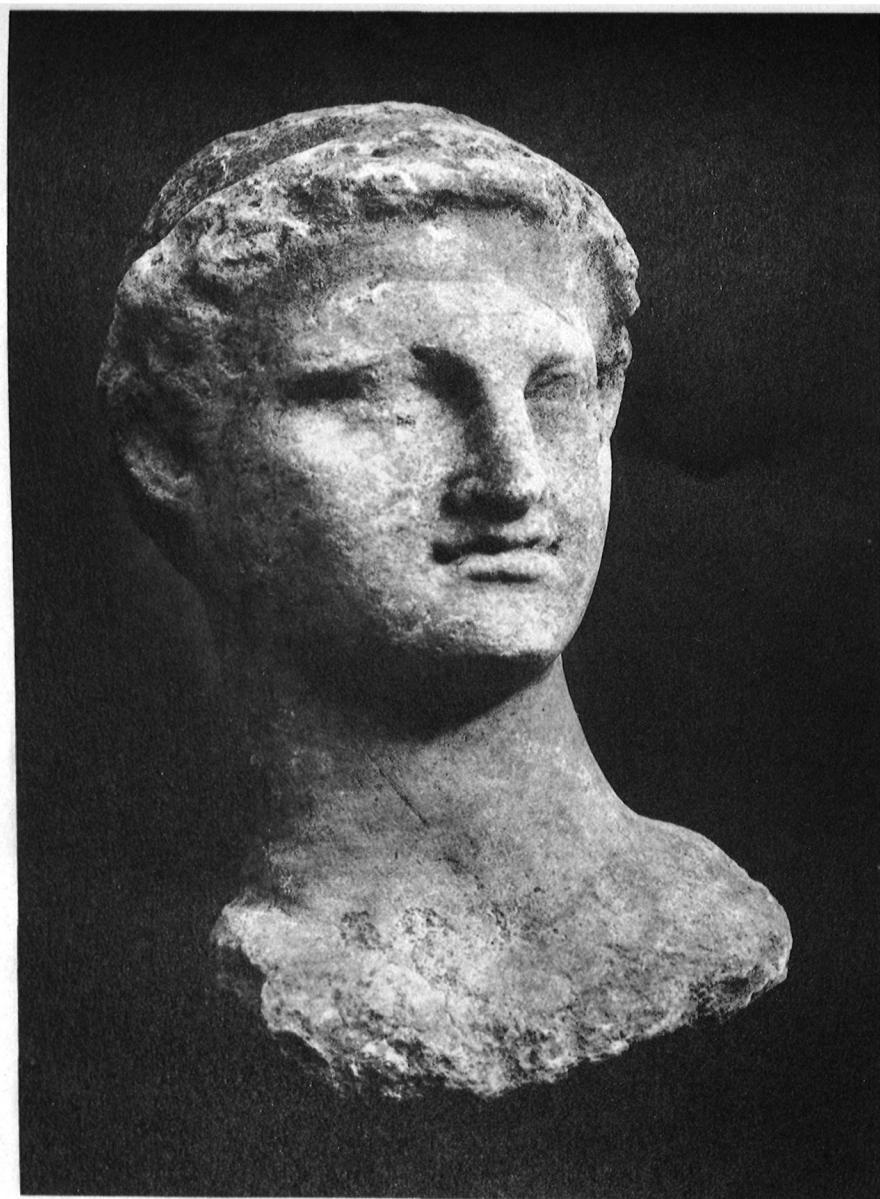


Fig. 1

Greek marbles from Tell-Timai.
Fig. 1. Male head. — Fig. 2. Female head with long tresses.

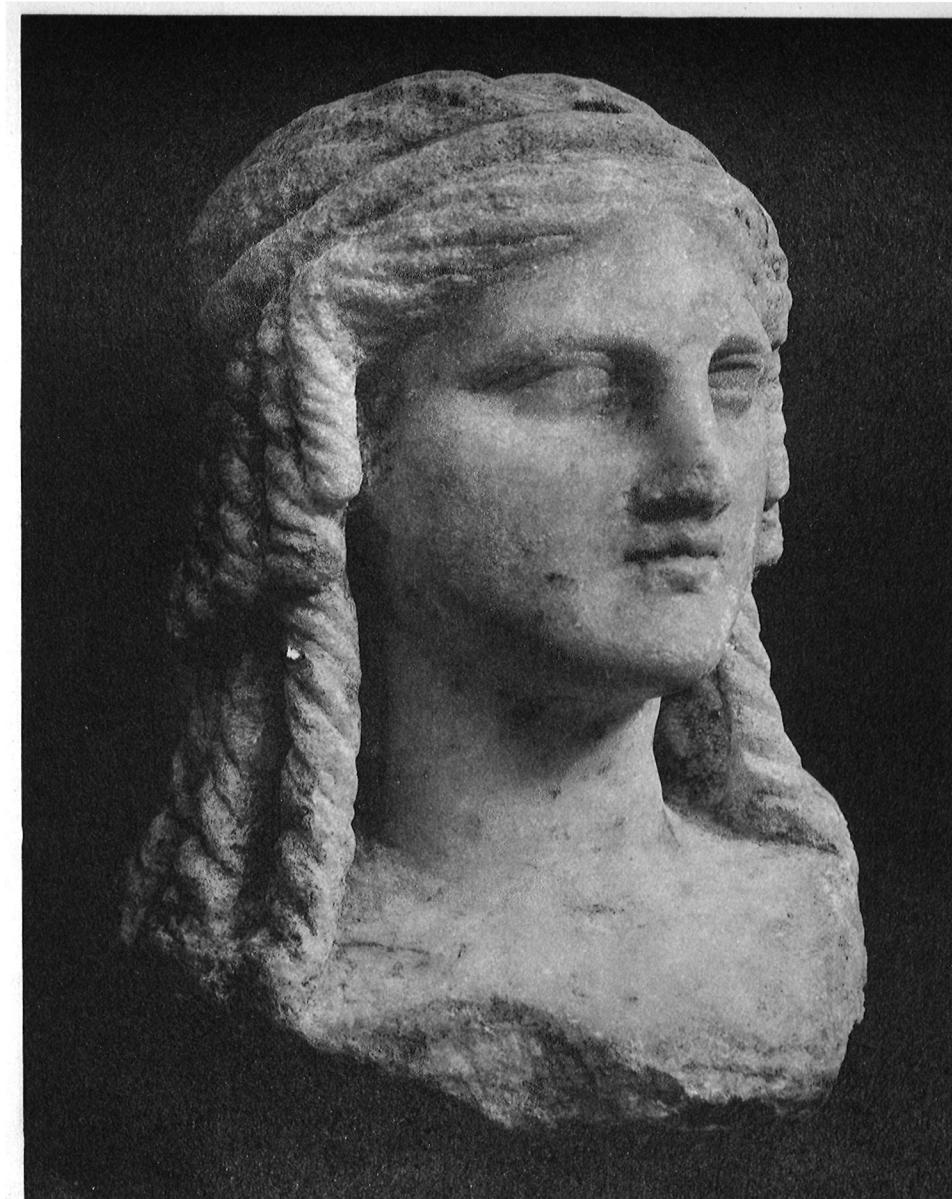
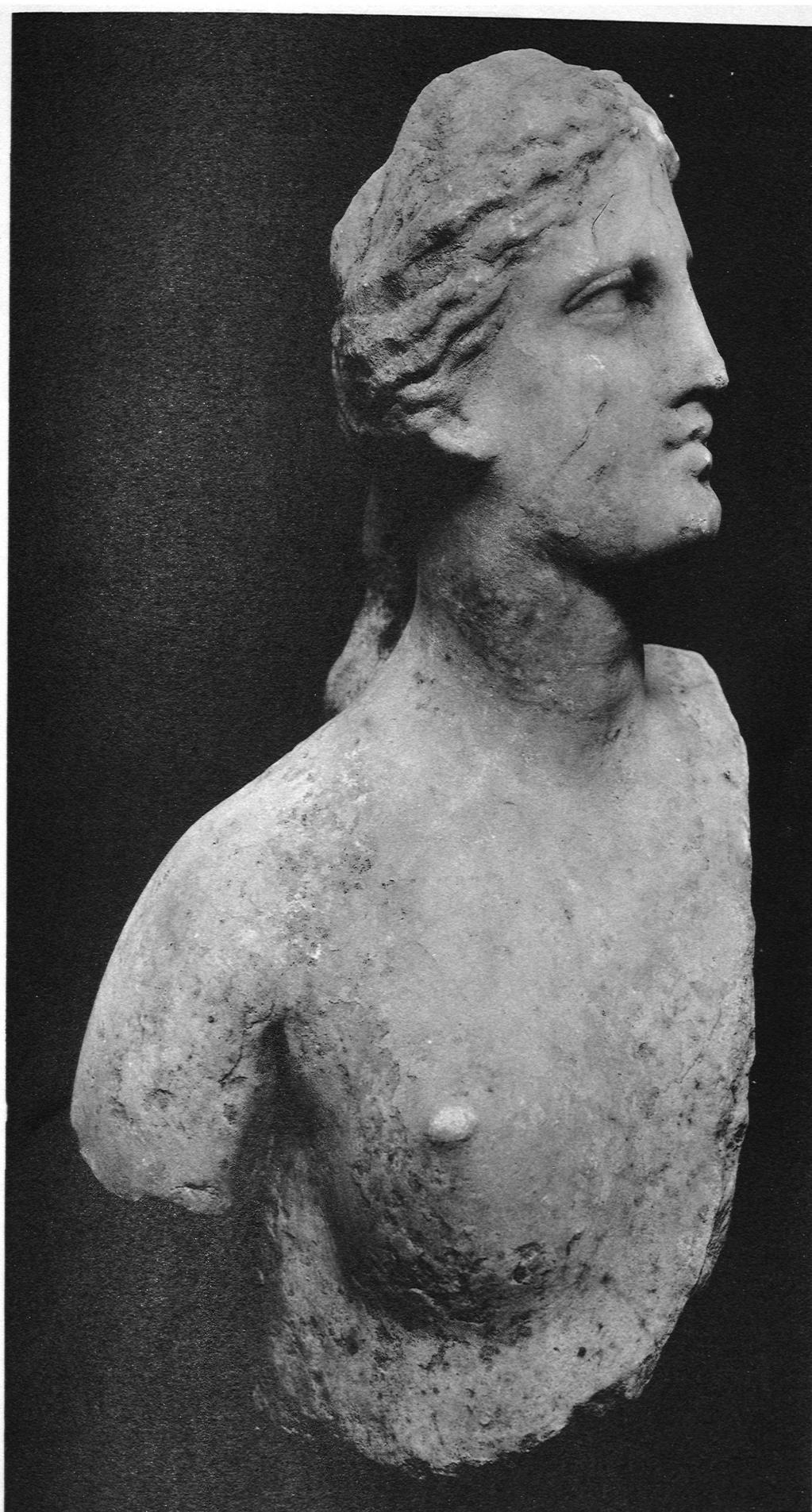


Fig. 2



Greek marbles from Tell-Timai.
Bust of Aphroditē.

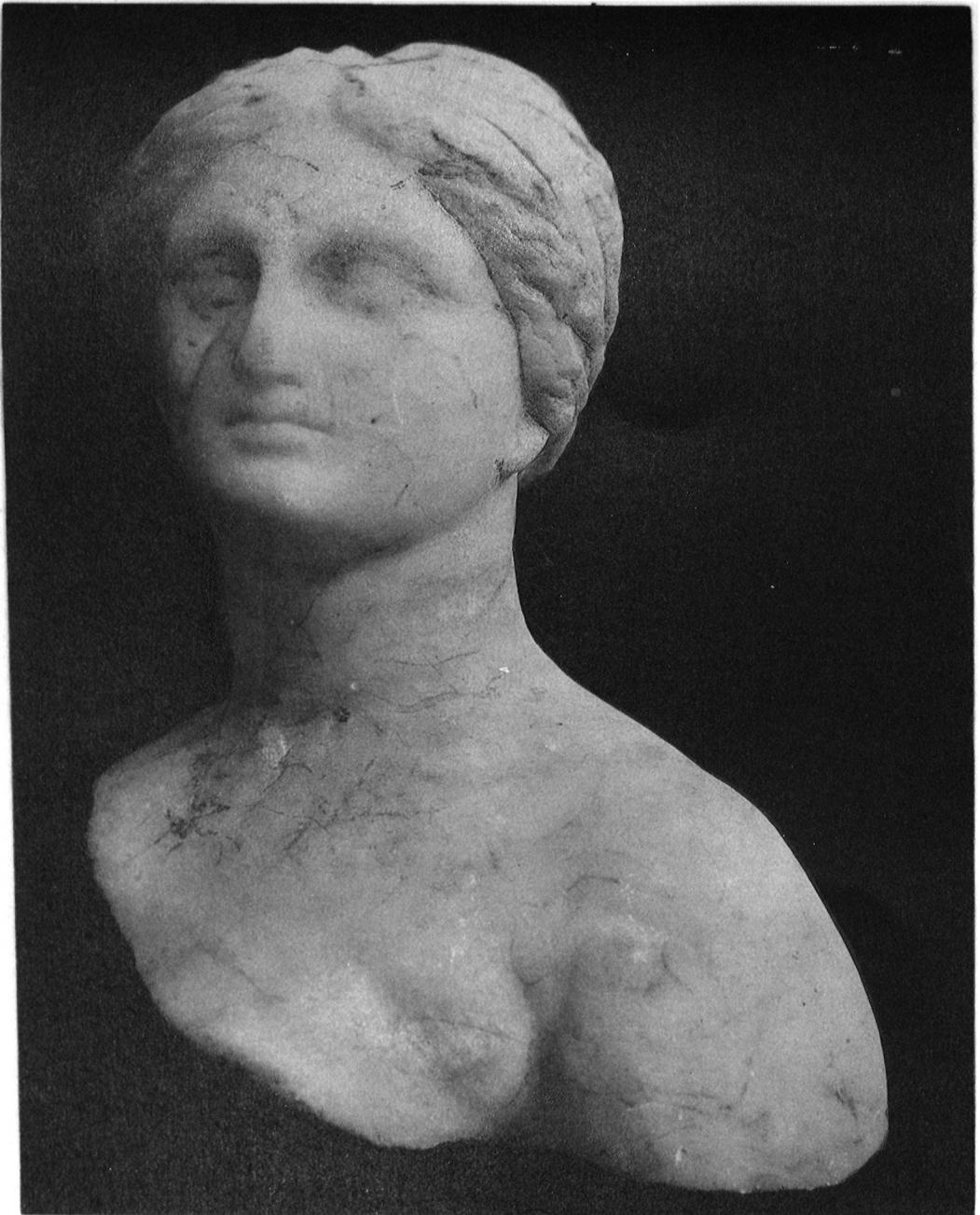
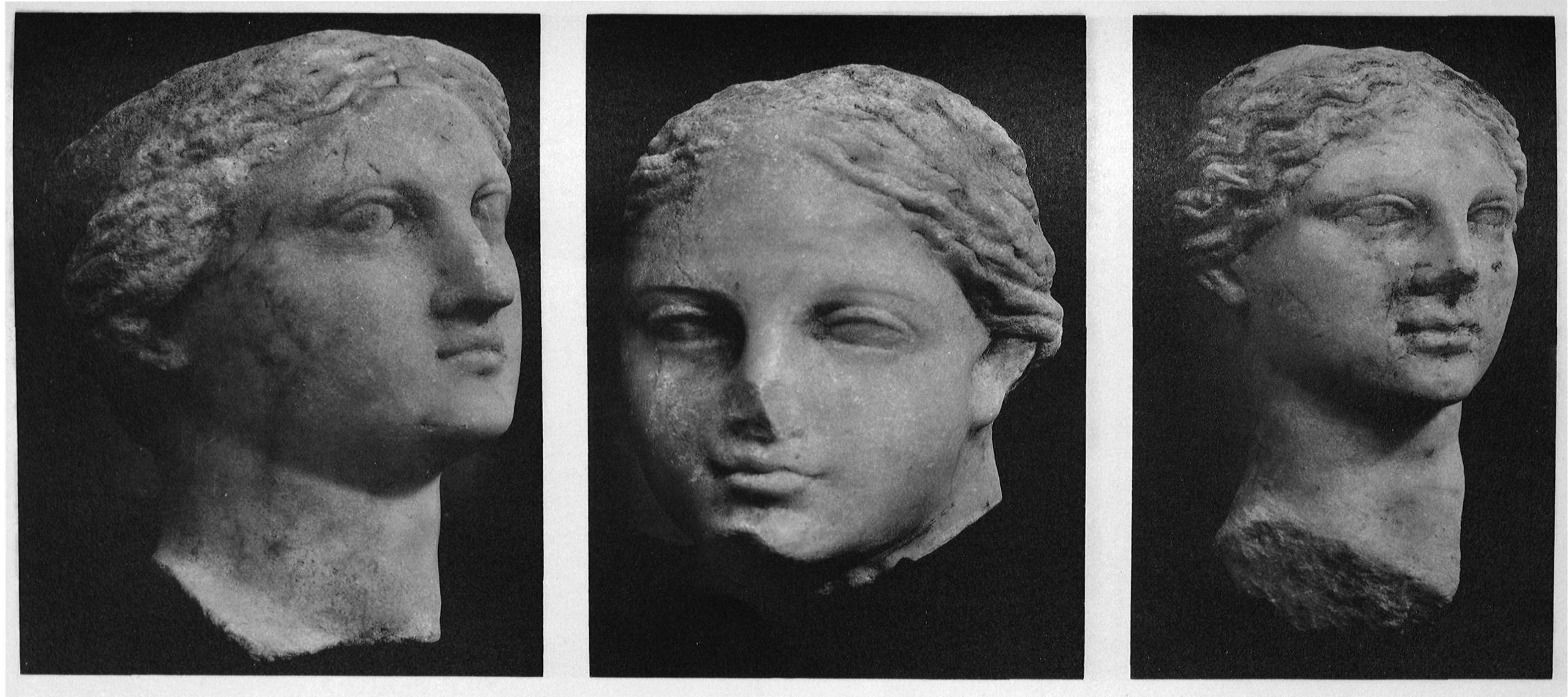


Fig. 1

Greek marbles from Tell-Timai.
Fig. 1. Small bust of Aphroditê. — Fig. 2. Head of Aphroditê.



Fig. 2



Greek marbles from Tell-Timai.
Three female heads.

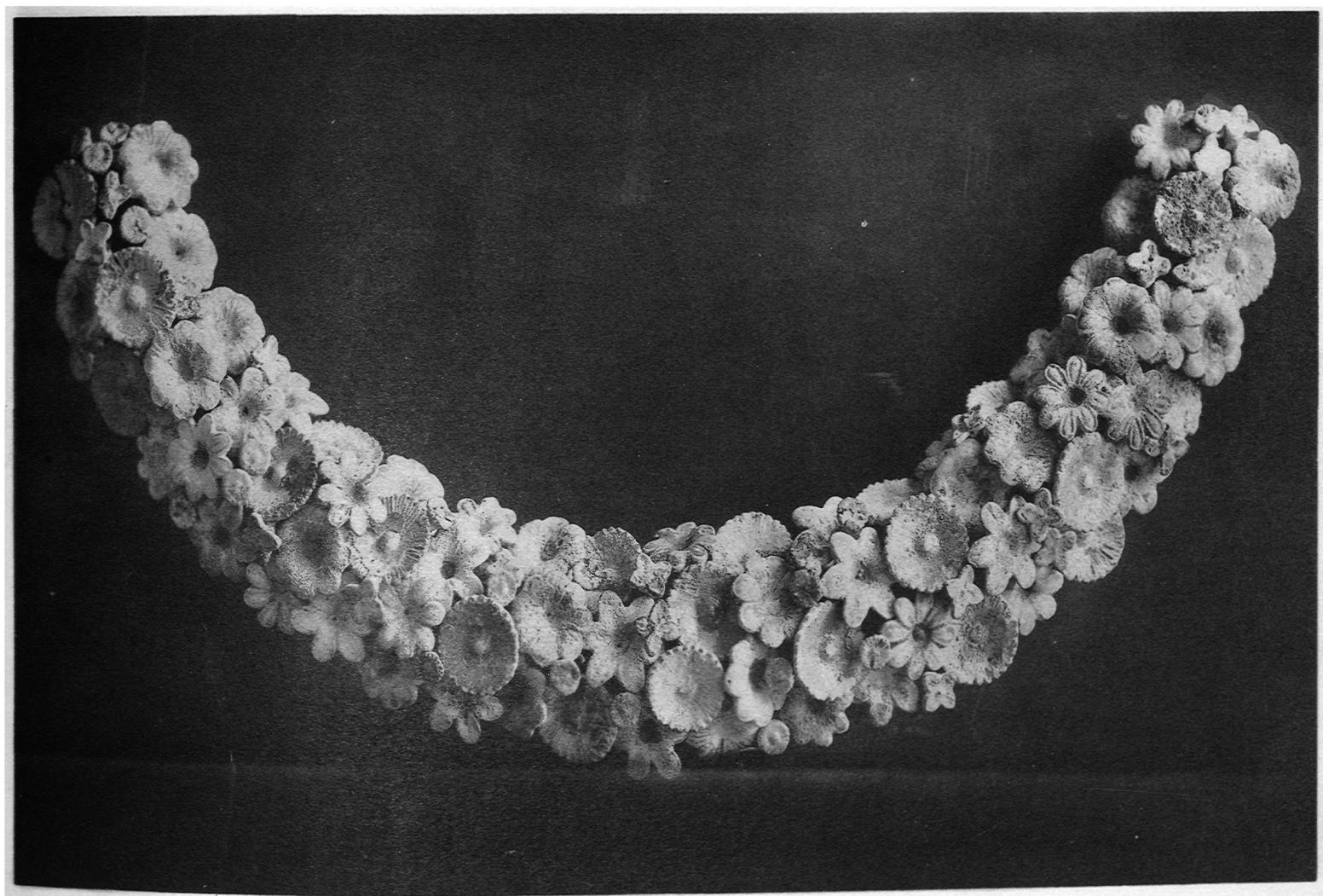


Fig. 2

Fig. 1. Pezzi dei sostegni di ghirlande artificiali alessandrine. — Fig. 2. Festone di fiori artificiali.



Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Fig. 3. Festoncino di foglie e bacche di edera. — Fig. 4. Festoncino di foglie e bacche di mirto.
Fig. 5. Urna funeraria — Calpe — e festoncino diedera.



Fig. 6

Urna cineraria — Calpe — e ramoscello di mirto.

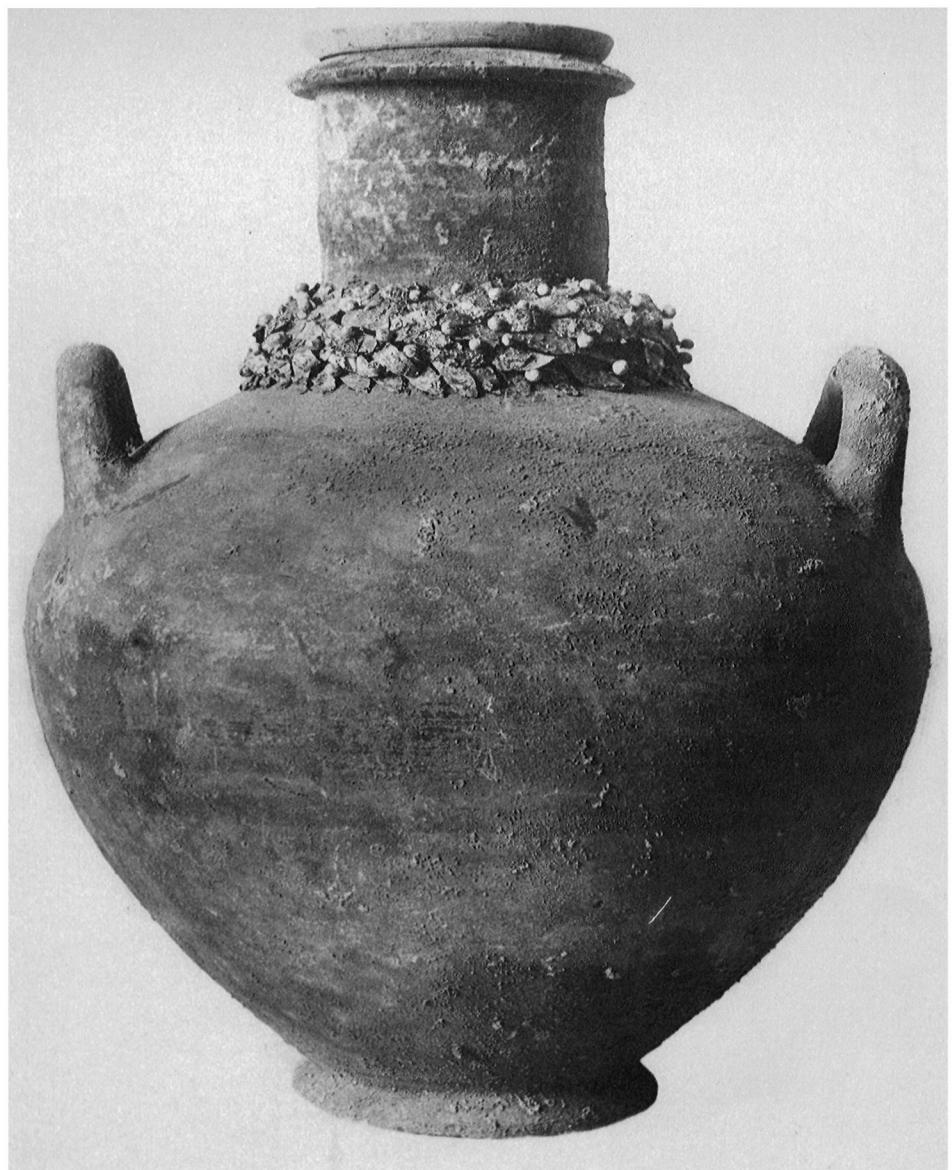


Fig. 7



Fig. 8

Fig. 7. Urna cineraria — Anfora — e ghirlanda di mirto.

Fig. 8. Urna cineraria — Calpe — decorata con festoni di fiori dipinti prima della completa cottura.

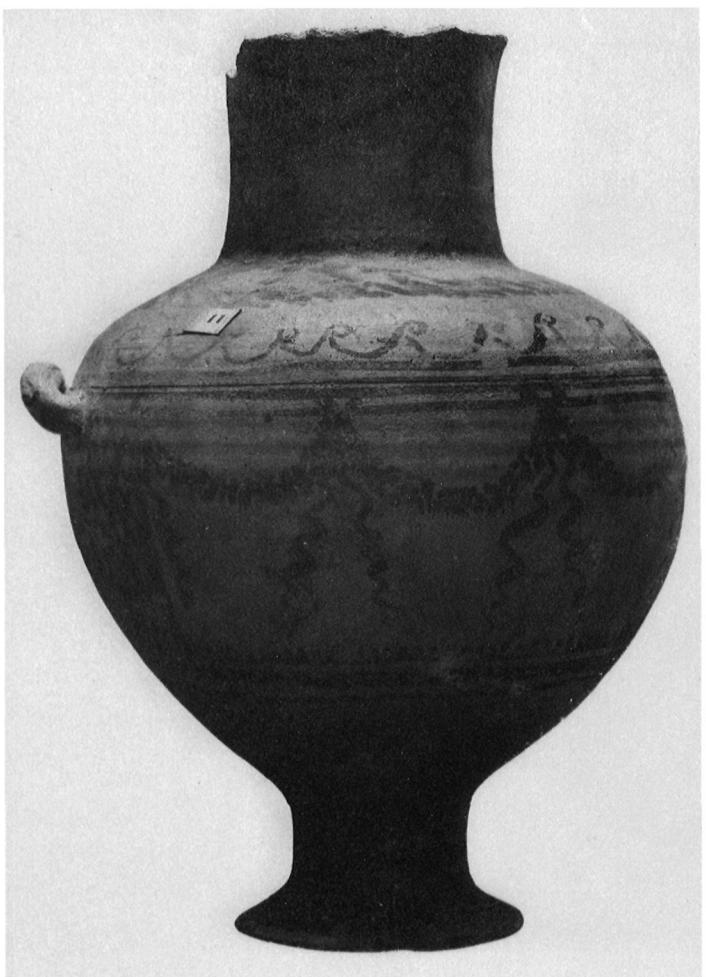


Fig. 9

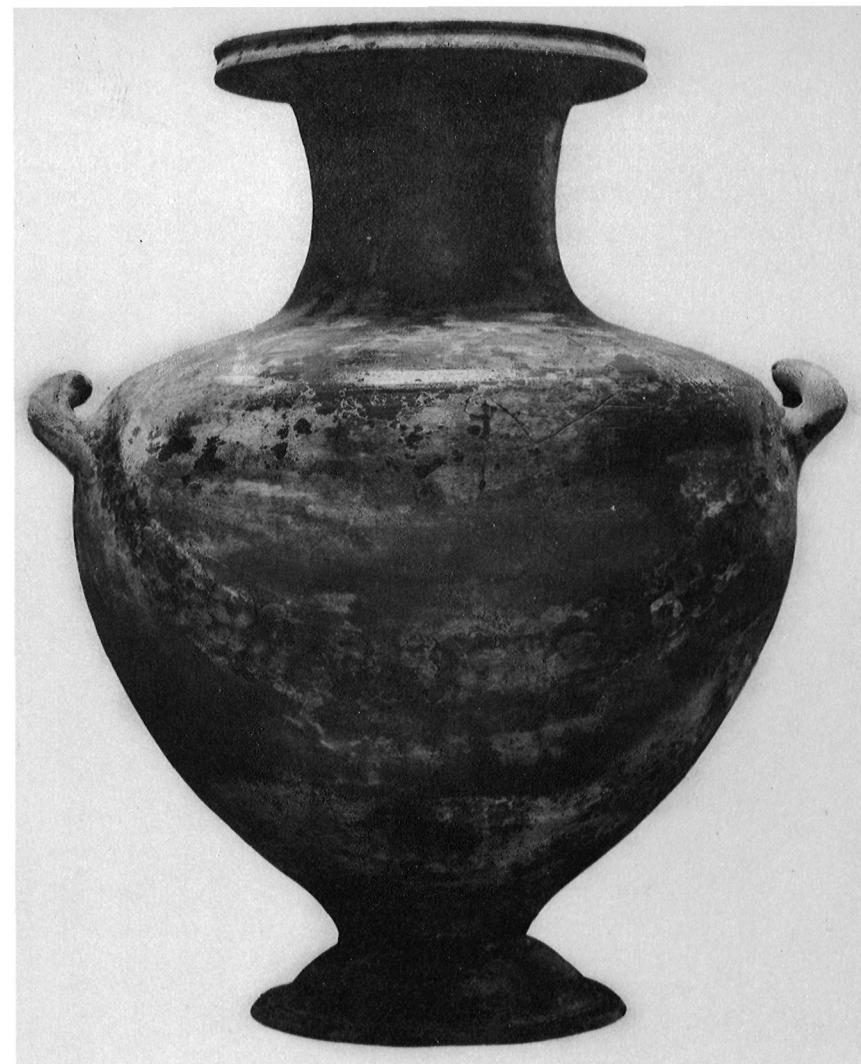


Fig. 10

Fig. 9. Urna cineraria — Calpe — con festoni di fiori dipinti prima della completa cottura.

Fig. 10. Urna cineraria — Calpe — decorata con un festone di fiori dipinti dopo la cottura.

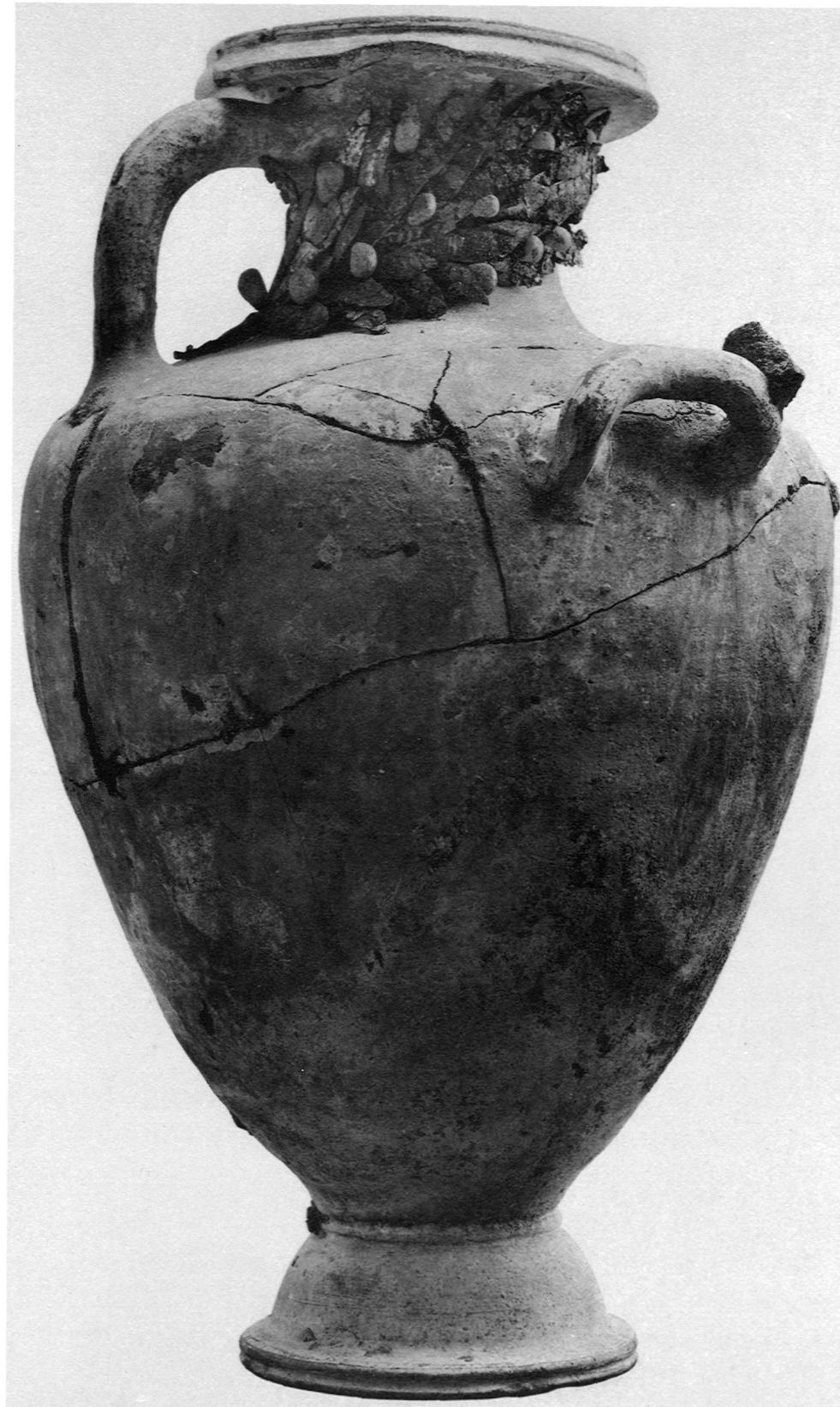


Fig. 11

Urna cineraria — Calpe — decorata con un festone di fiori dipinti dopo la cottura.



Fig. 12

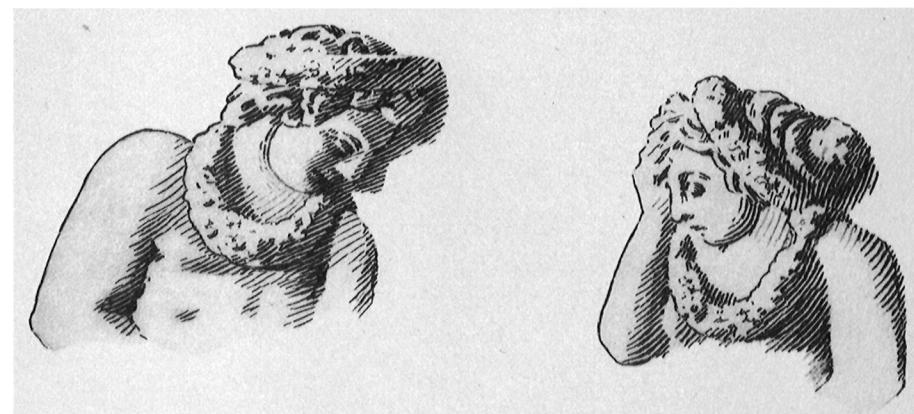


Fig. 13

Fig. 12. Figurine di terra cotta, reggenti ghirlande. — Fig. 13. Particolari d'un fondo di piatto con rappresentanza a rilievo.



Fig. 14

Paste vitree con disegni di fiori.

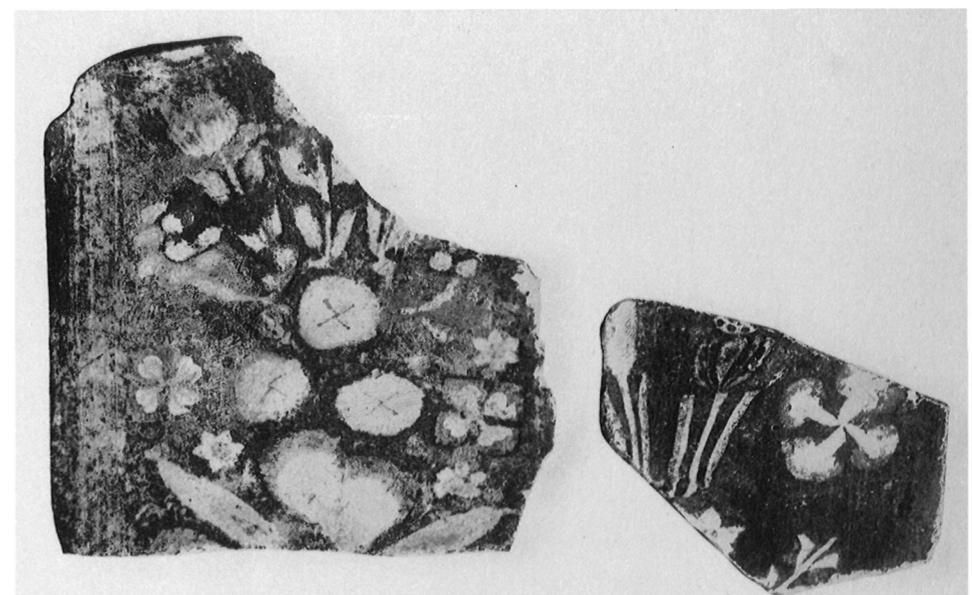


Fig. 15



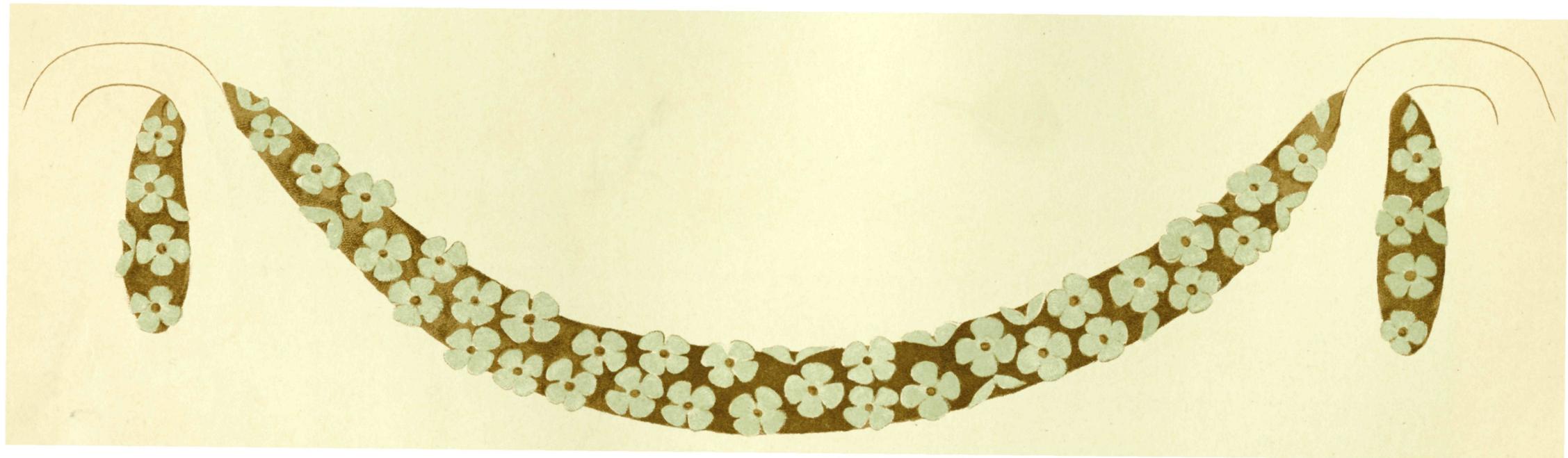
Fiori artificiali di terra cotta, dorati o dipinti.



Festone di fiori, dipinto sulla pancia di un'urna cineraria.



Festone di fiori, dipinto sulla pancia di un'urna cineraria.



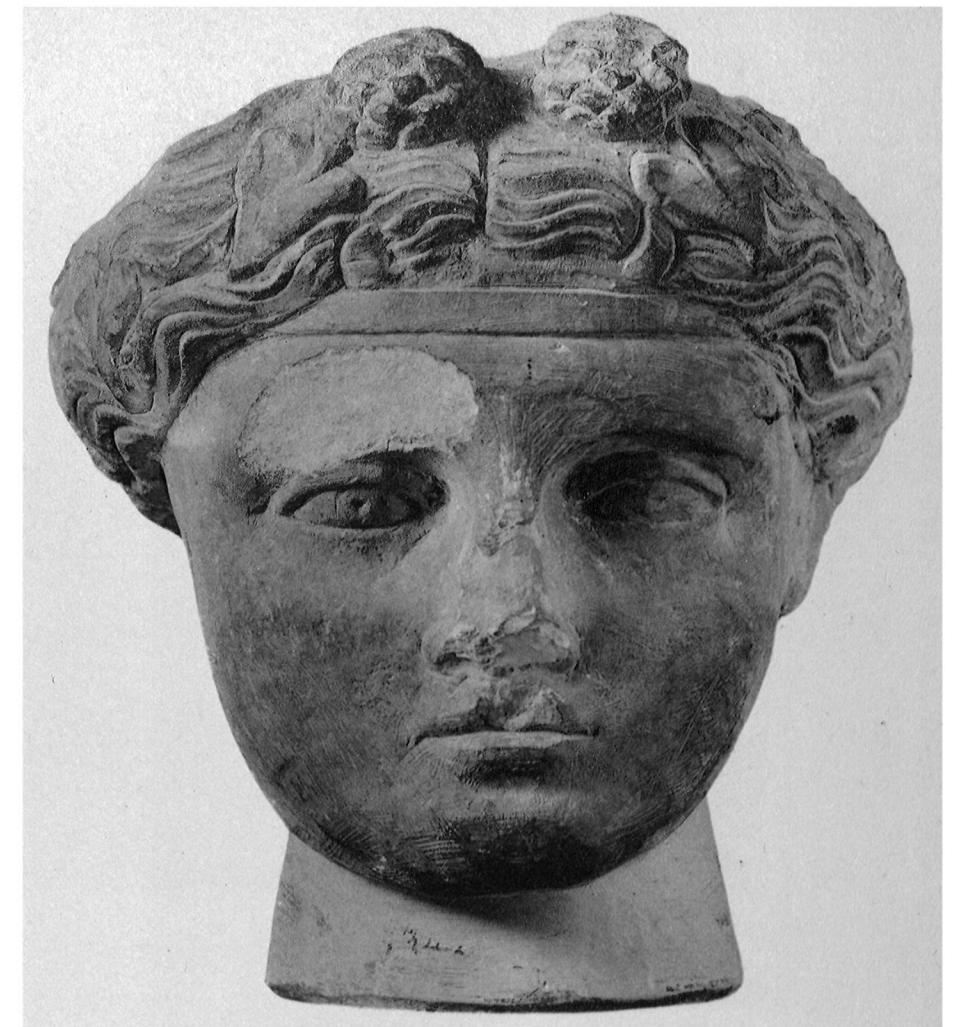
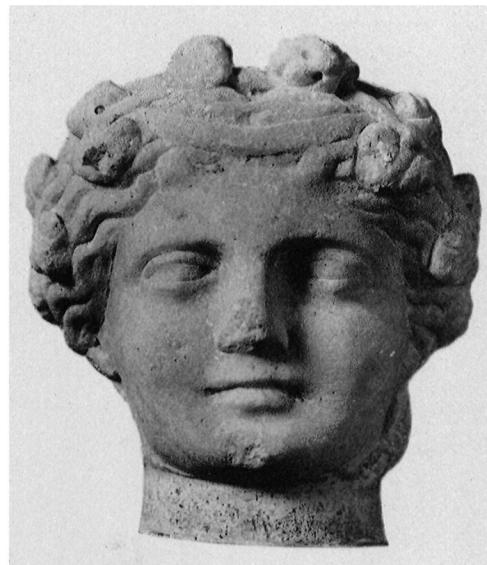
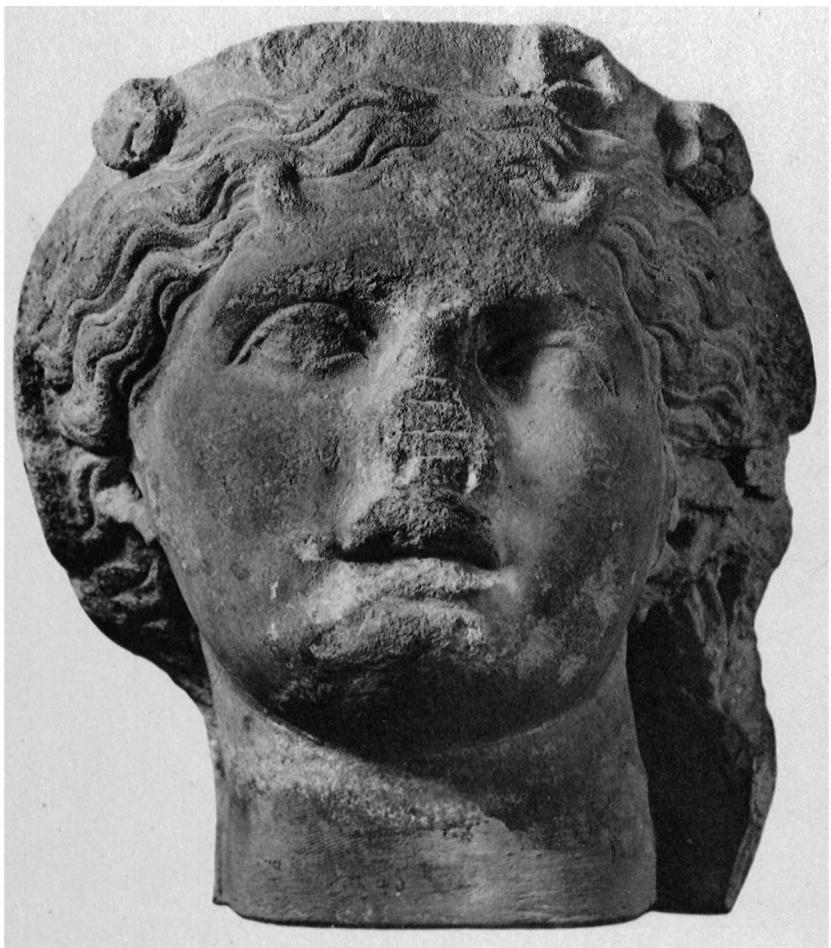
Festone di fiori, dipinto sulla pancia di un'urna cineraria.



Sarcofago del tipo detto a Ghirlanda. (Museo di Alessandria).



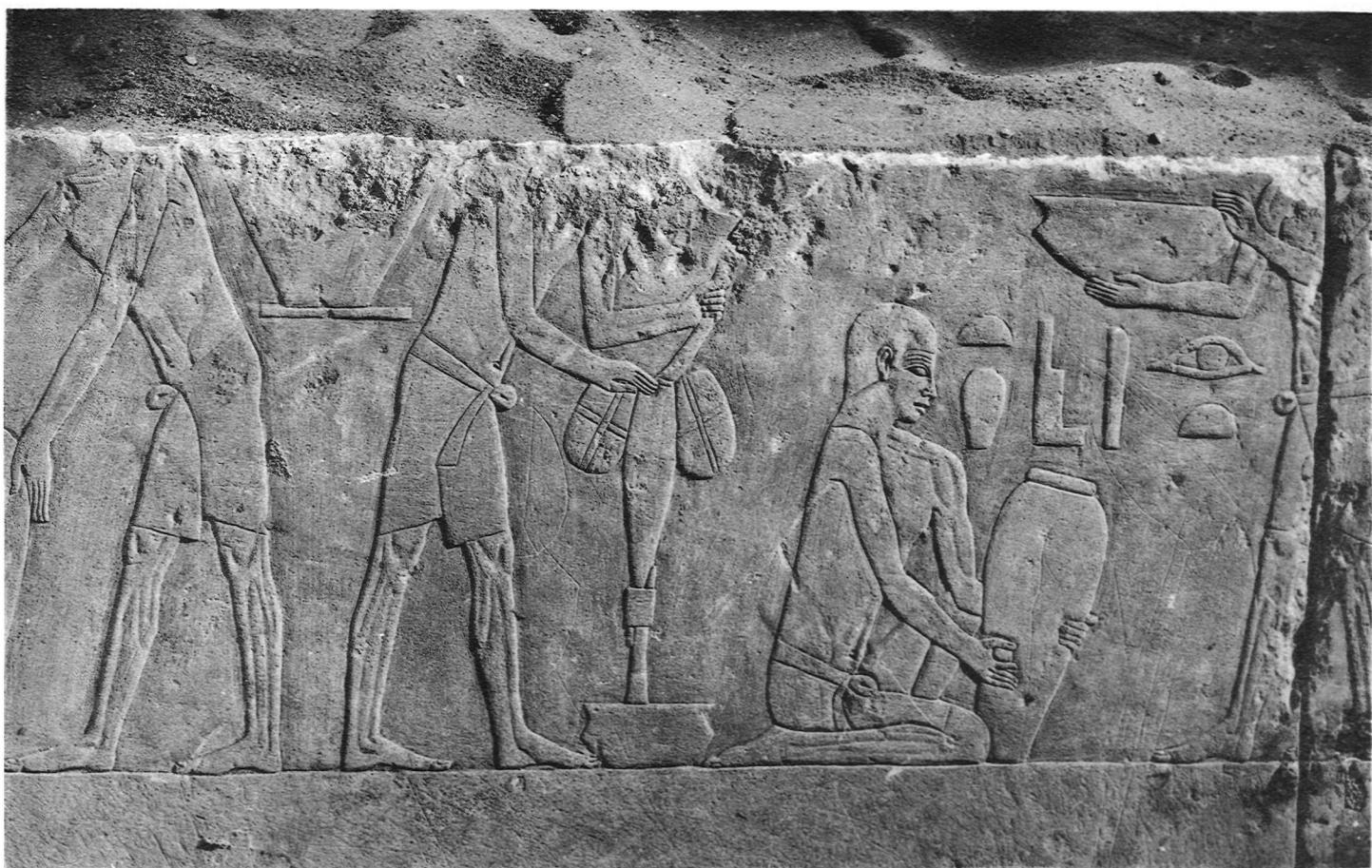
Sarcofago del tipo detto a Ghirlanda. (Museo di Alessandria).



Teste femminili di marmo, coronate di fiori. (Museo di Alessandria).



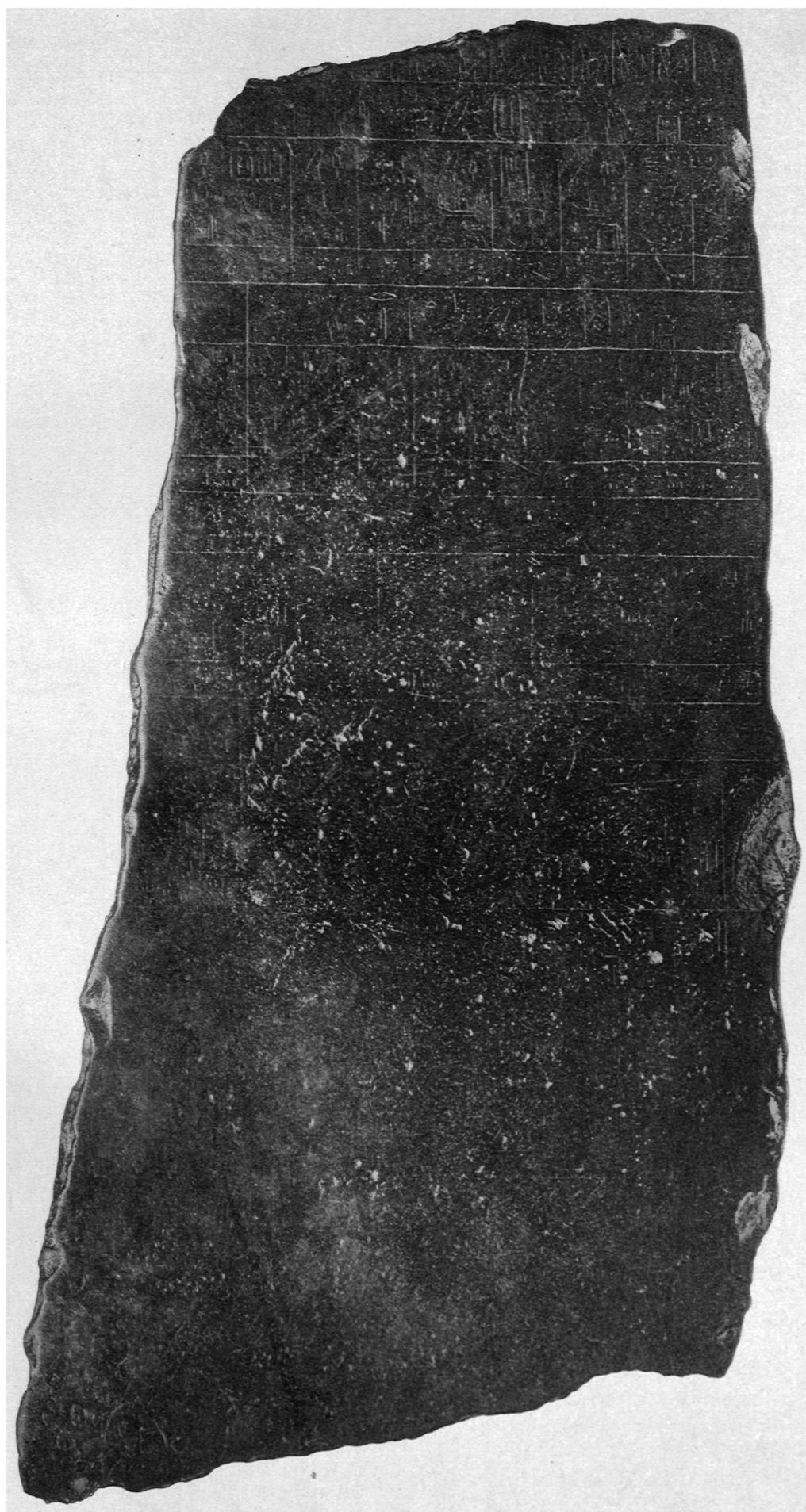
Parete anteriore di un sarcofago a panca. (Museo di Alessandria).



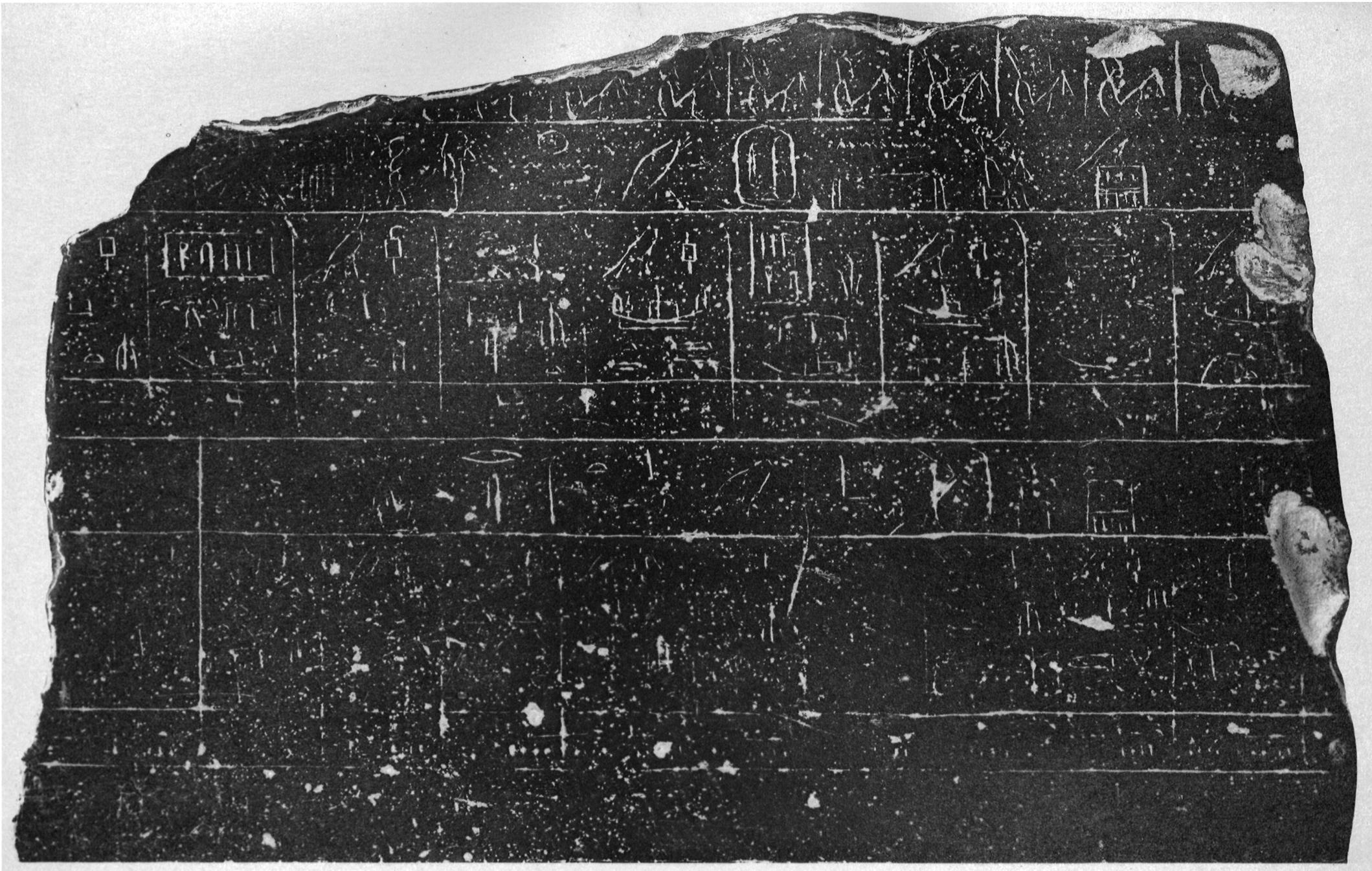
Making of stone vases.



Statuette funéraire du temps des rois hérétiques.



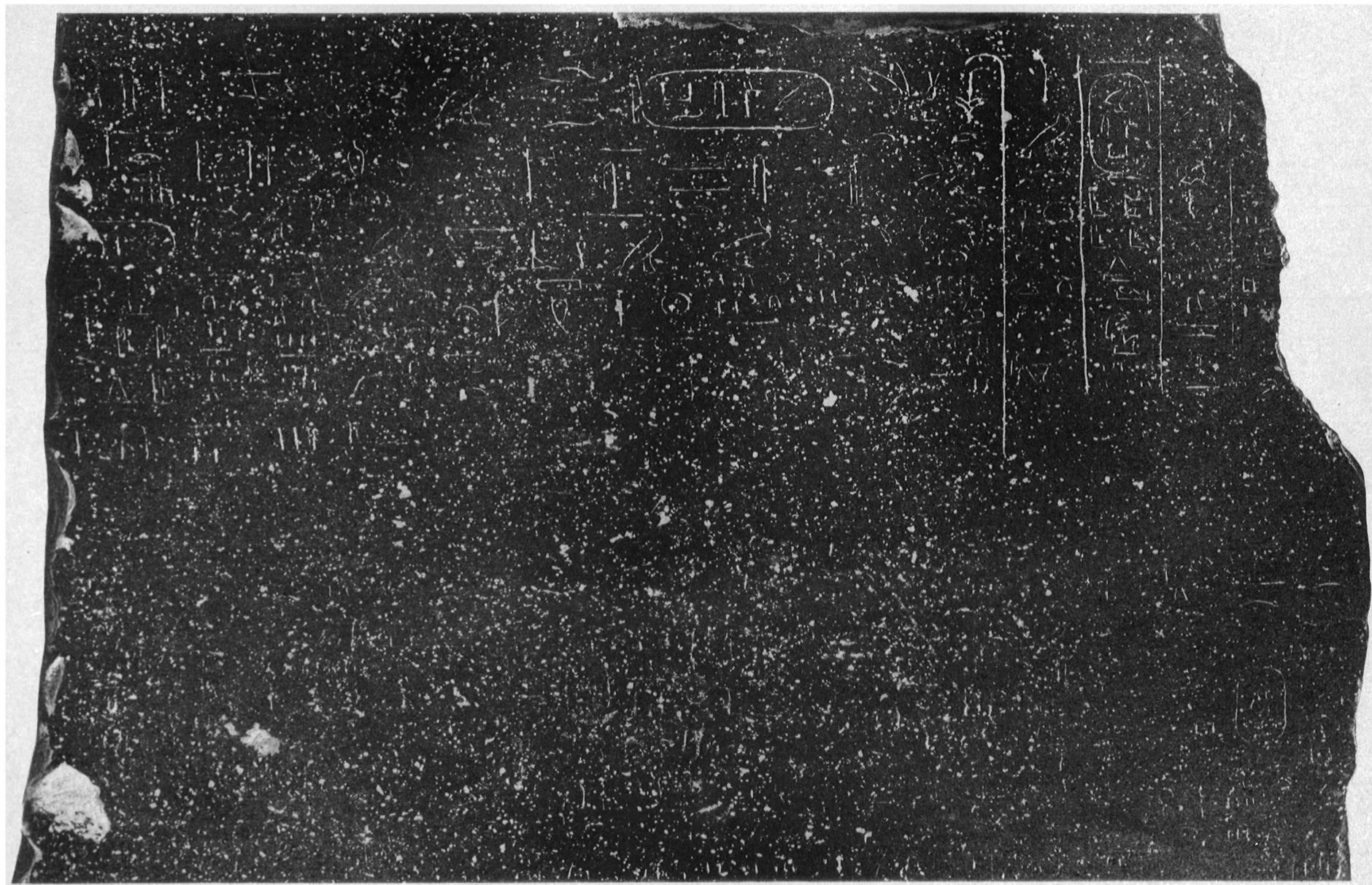
Pierre de Palerme
Fragment n° 1. Recto. Ensemble.



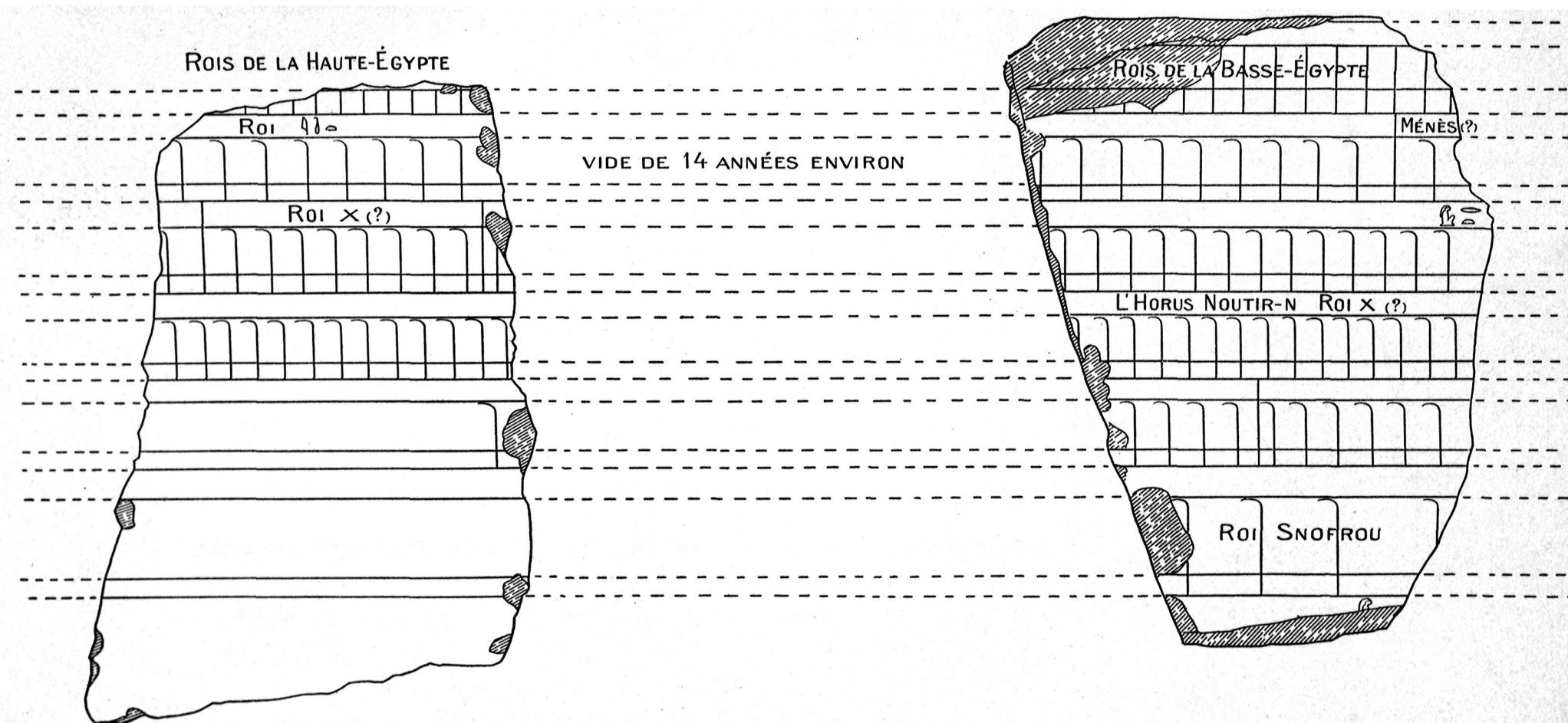
Pierre de Palerme
Fragment n° 1. Recto. Registres supérieurs.



Pierre de Palerme
Fragment n° 1. Verso. Ensemble.



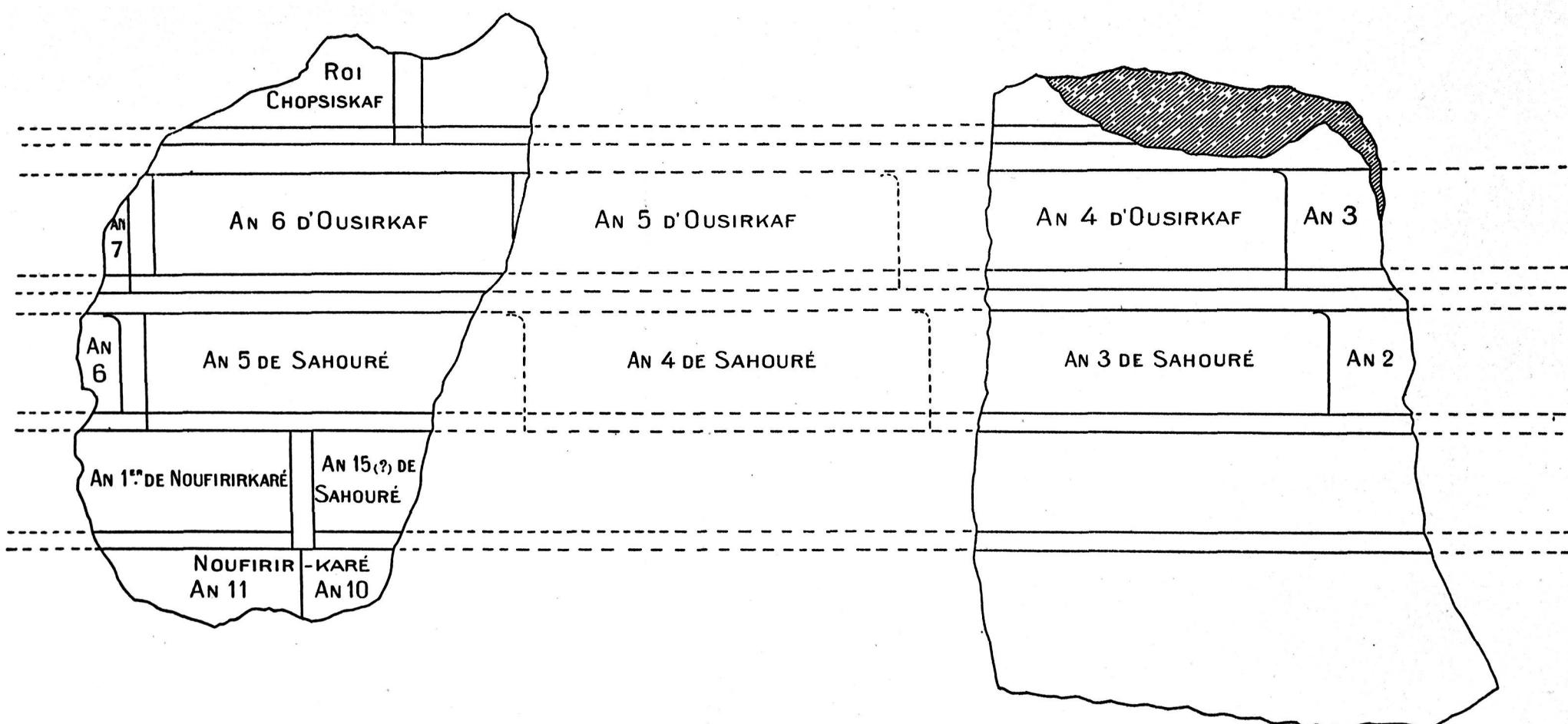
Pierre de Palerme
Fragment n° 1. Verso. Deuxième et troisième registres.



Fragment du Caire.

Pierre de Palerme. Recto.

Fragment de Palerme.



Pierre de Palerme. Verso.

Fragment de Palerme.

Fragment du Caire.

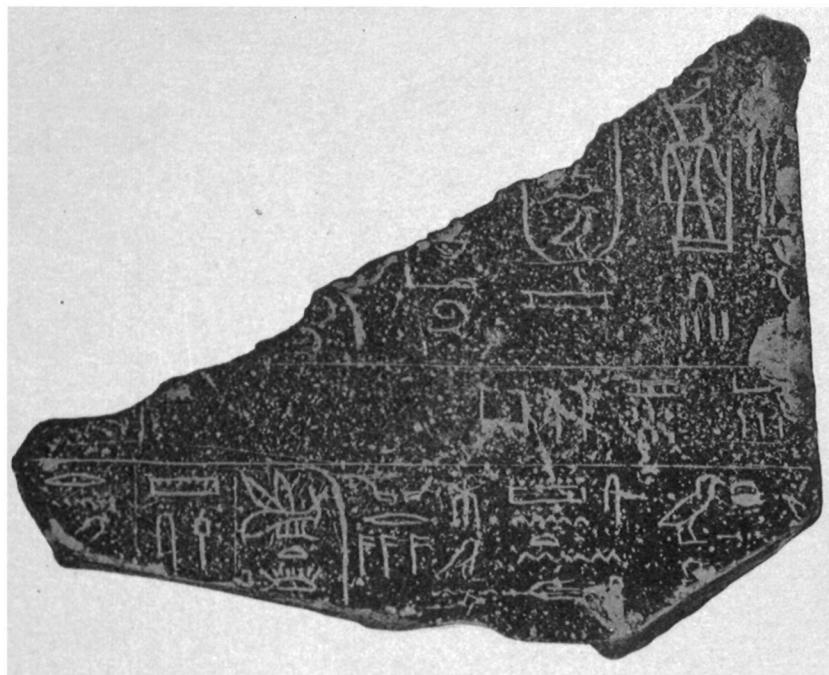


Fig. 1

1. — Fragment n° 2.

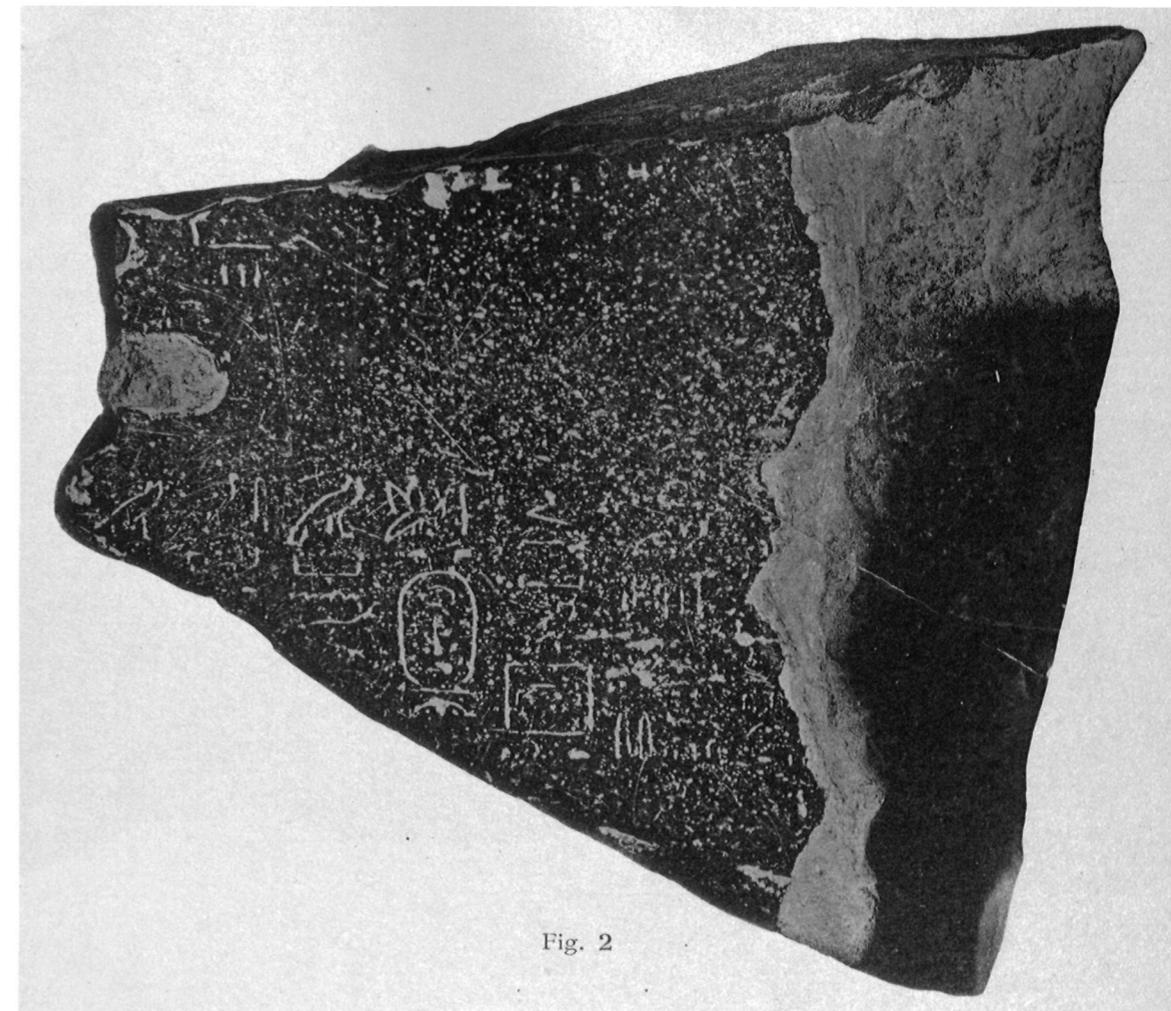
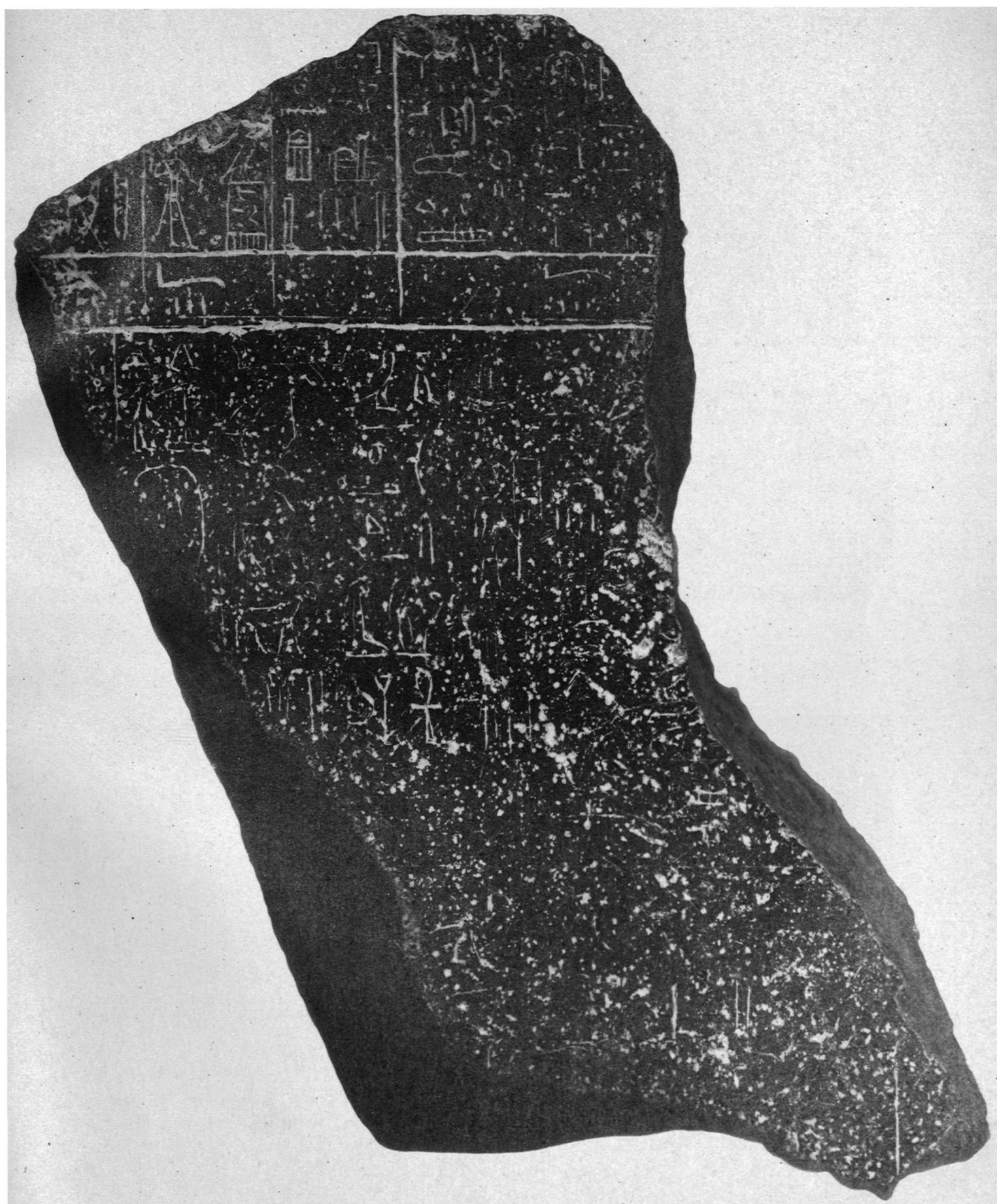


Fig. 2

2. — Fragment n° 3.

Pierre de Palerme



Pierre de Palerme

Fragment n° 4.

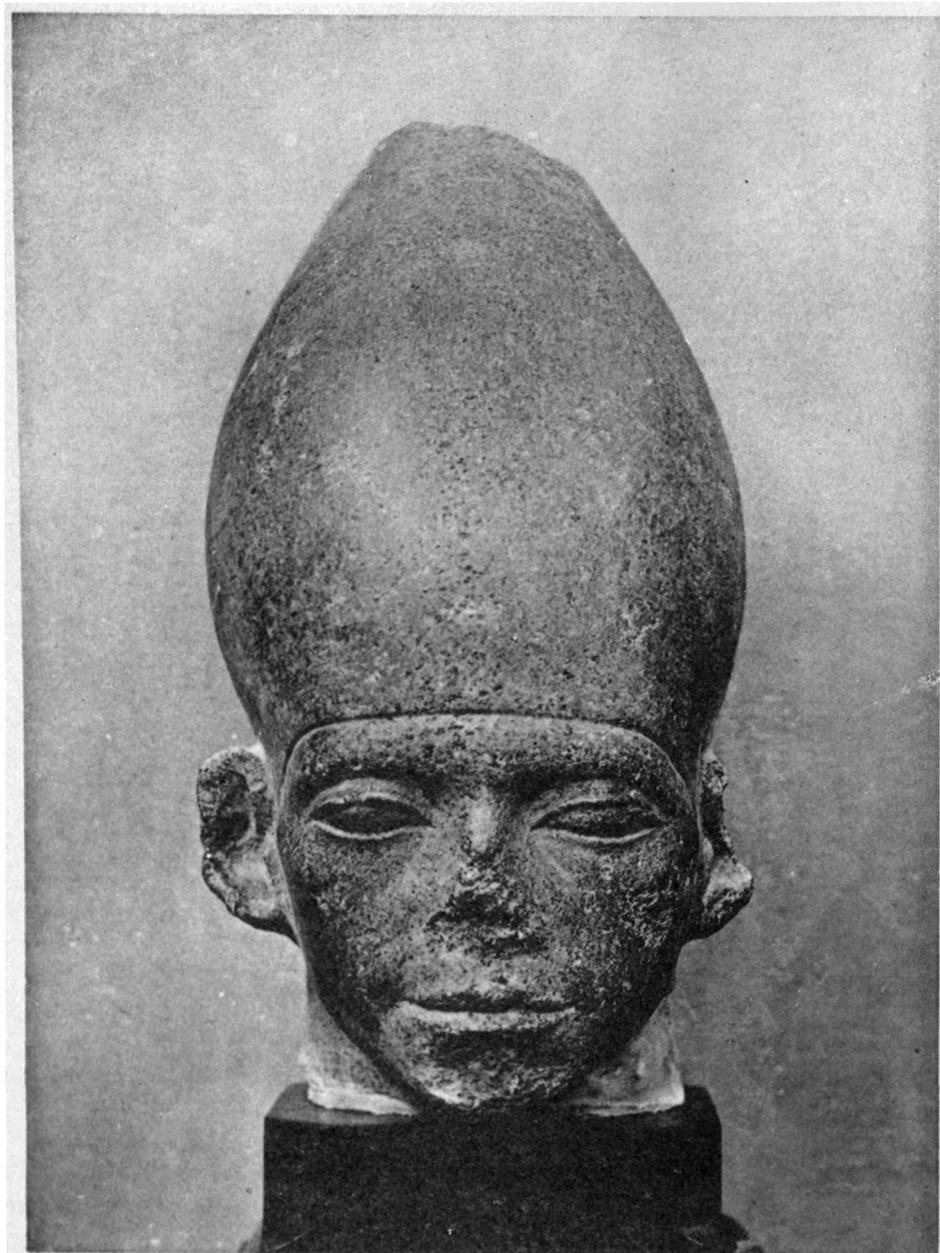


Fig. 1

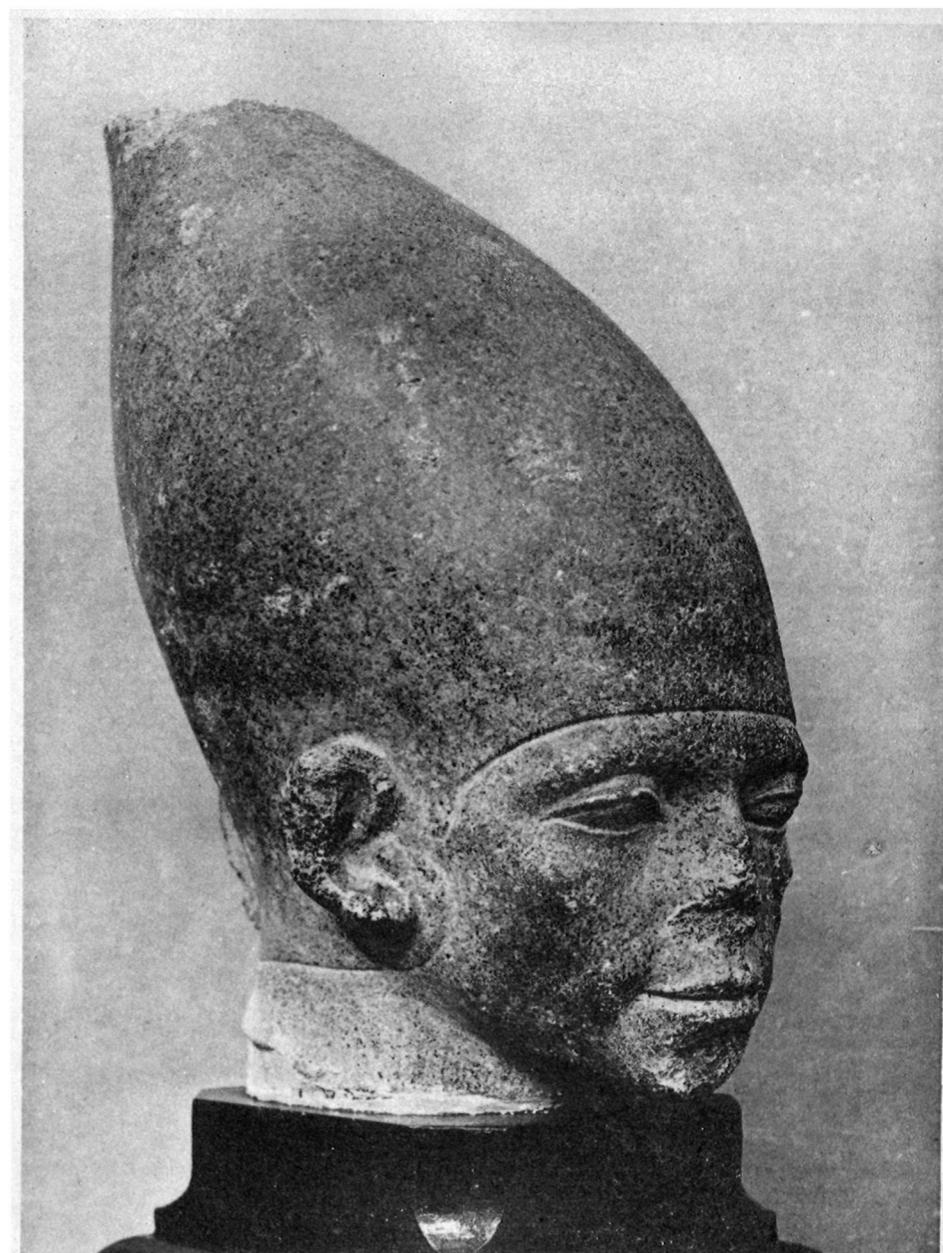
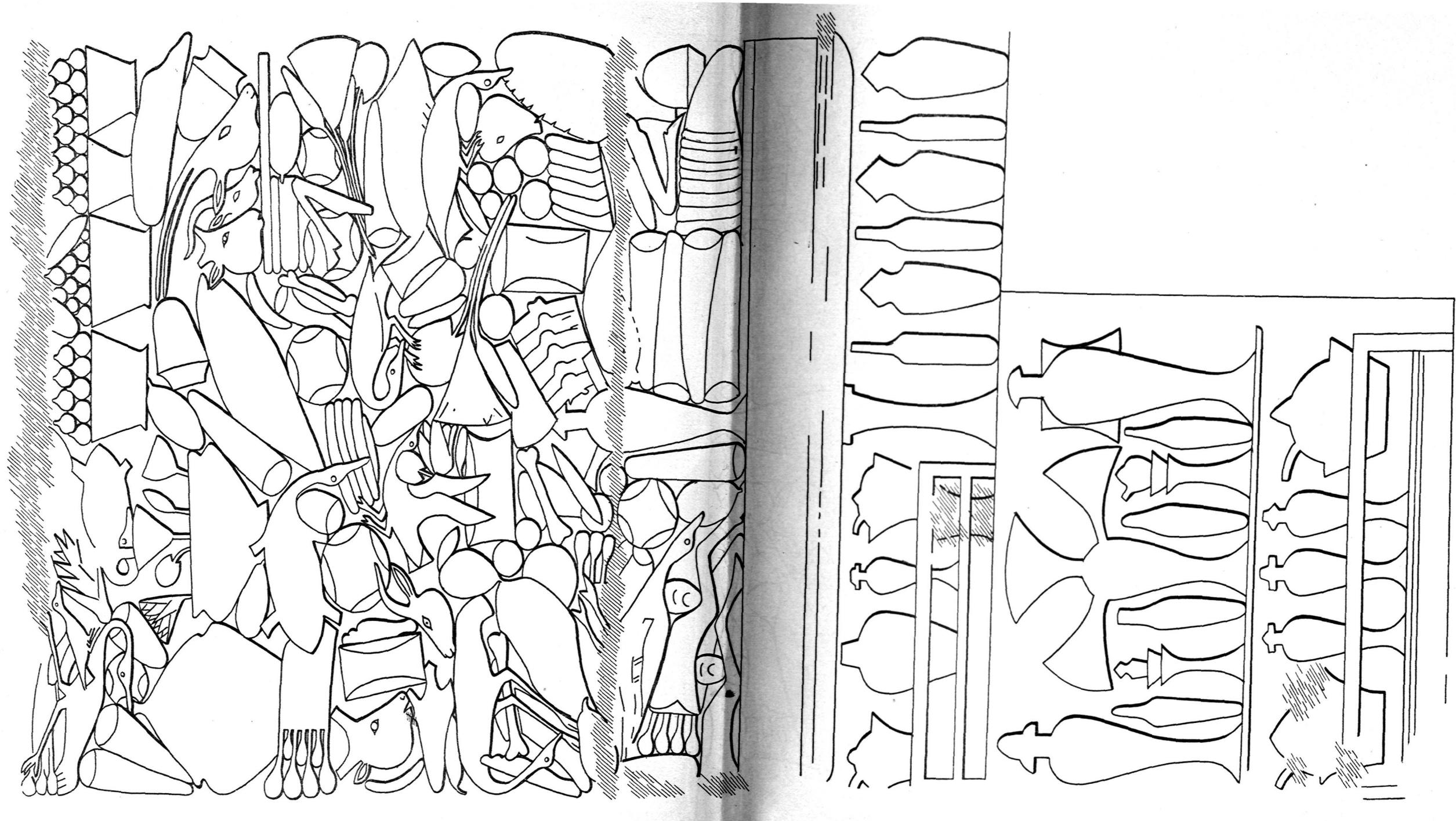


Fig. 2

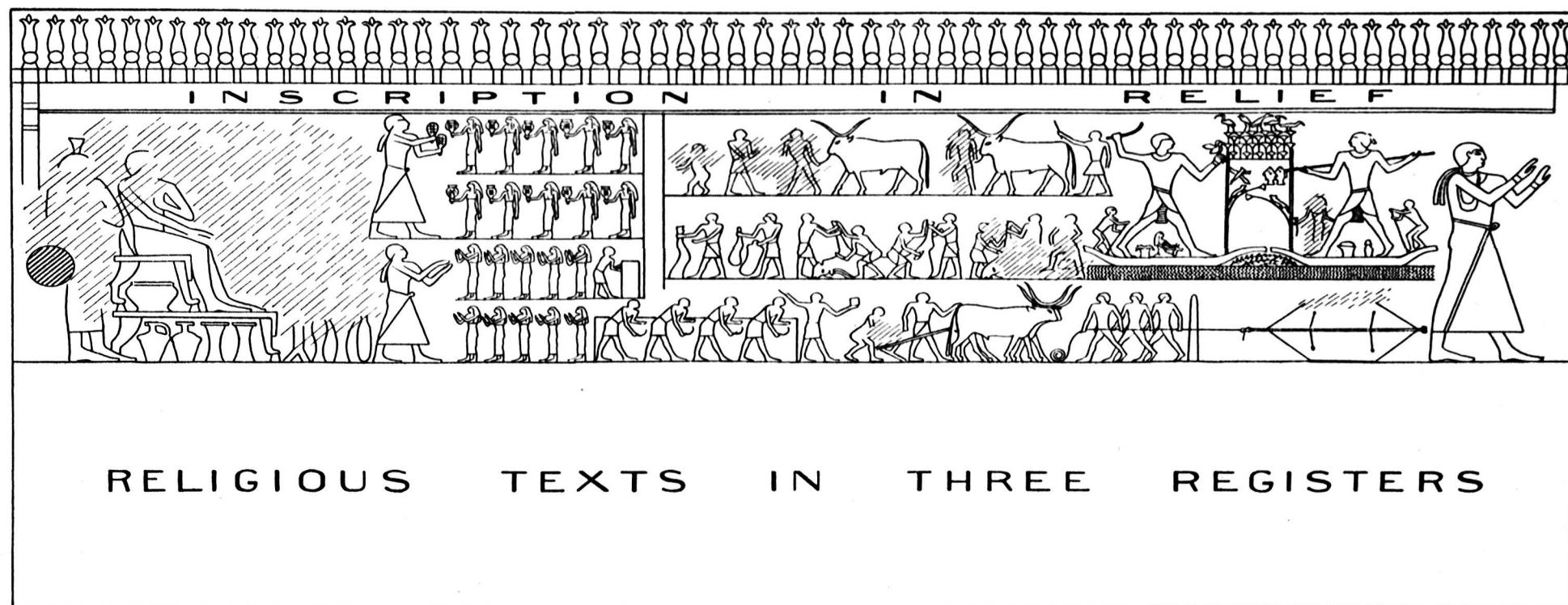
Head of a XIIth Dynasty King.



Tomb at Kom el Hisn.
East wall. Scenes of the north end.

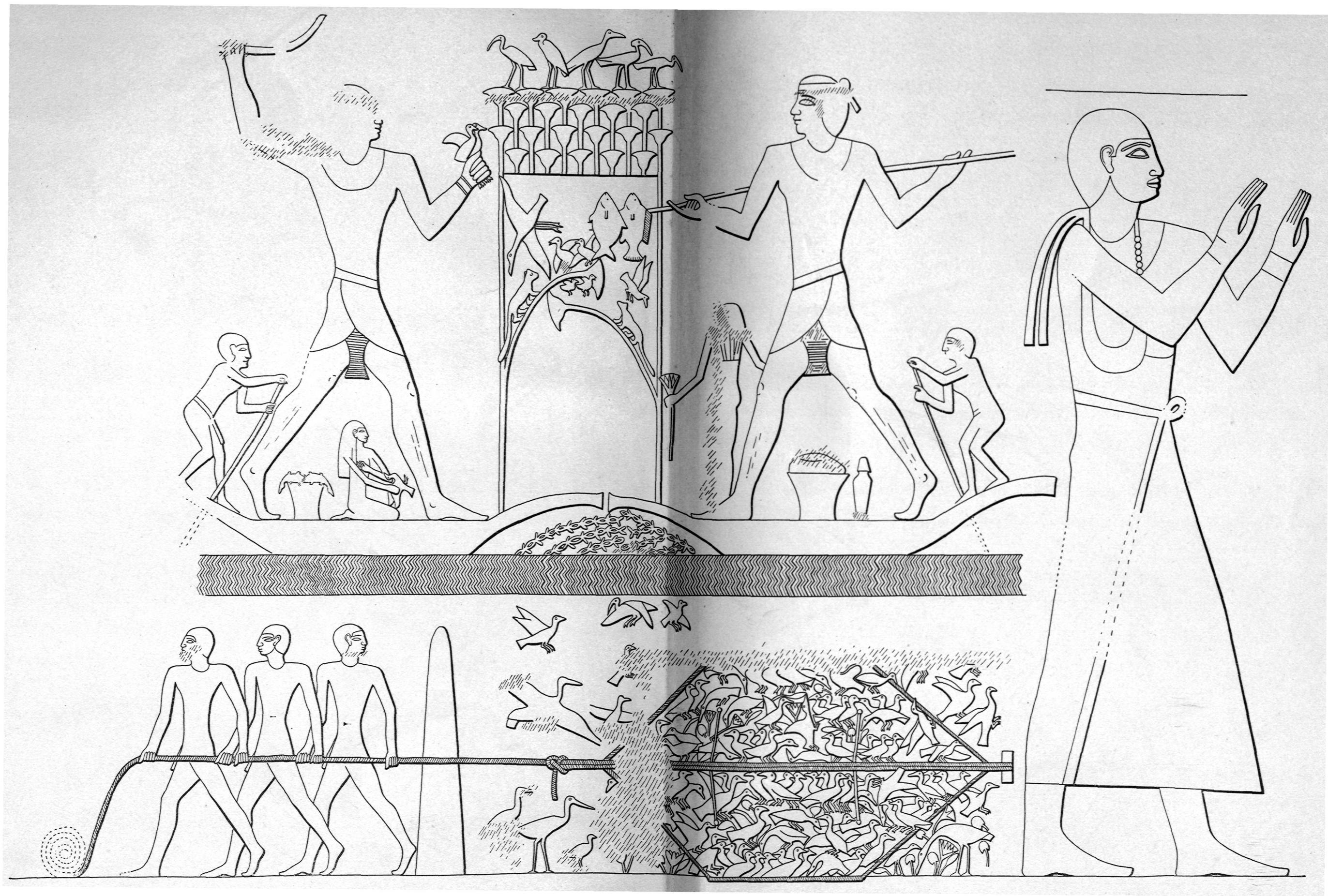


Tomb at Kom el Hisn.
East wall. Pile of offerings and group of vases.



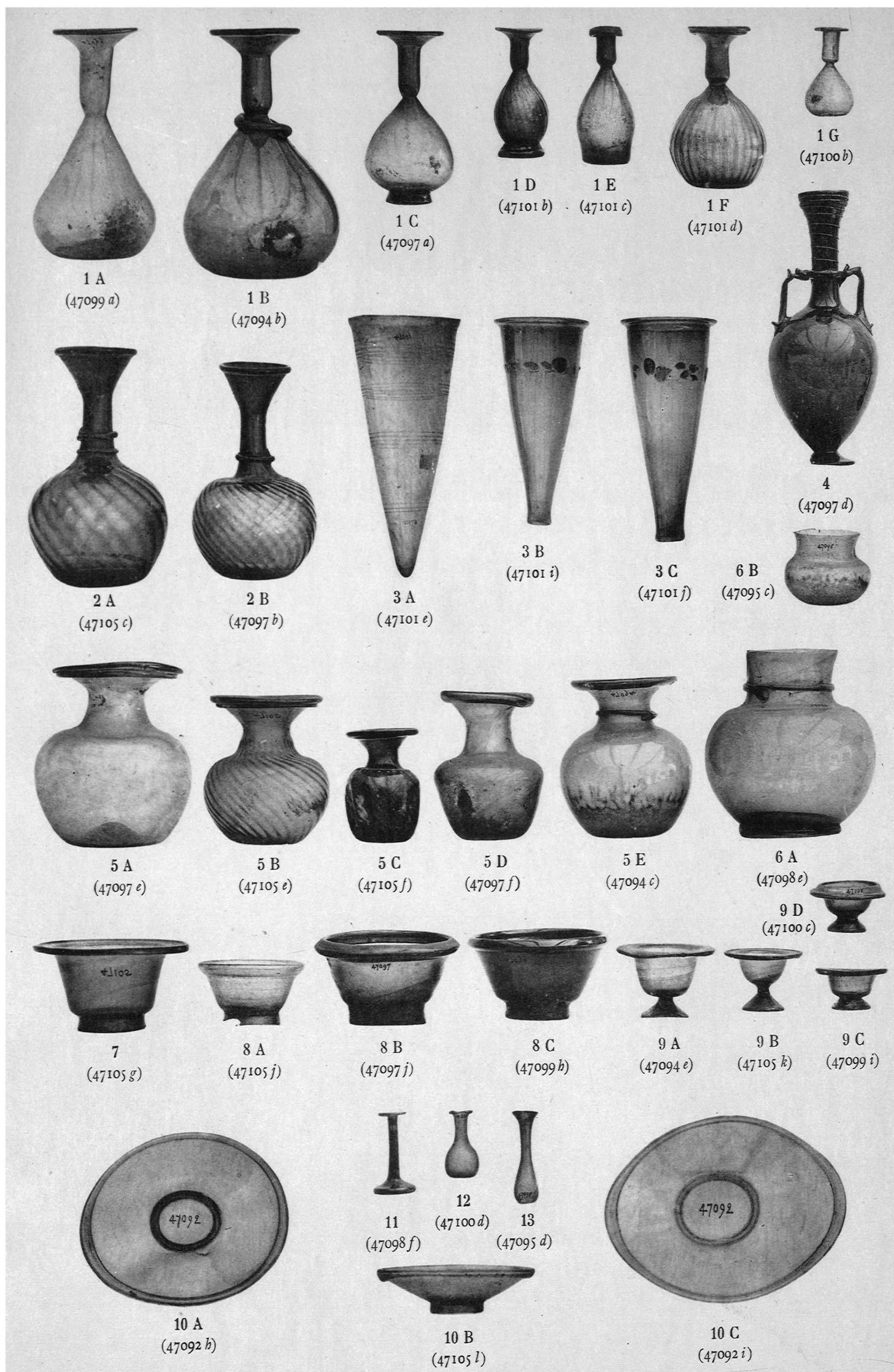
Tomb at Kom el Hisn.

West wall.



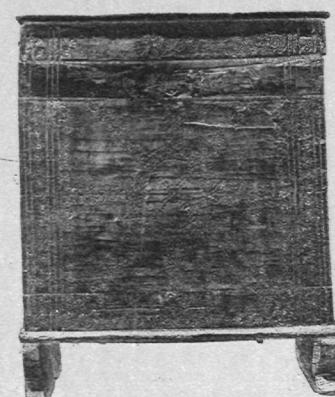
Tomb at Kom el Hisn.

West wall. Scenes of the north end.



Roman Glass from Kom Washim.

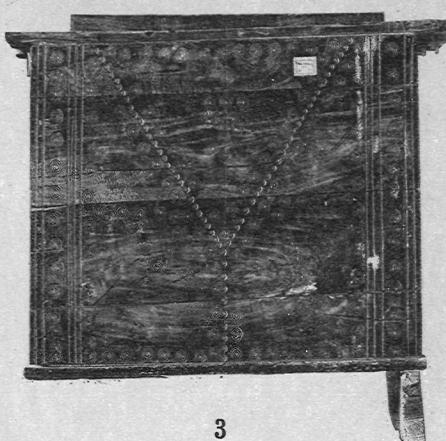
Echelle 1/5



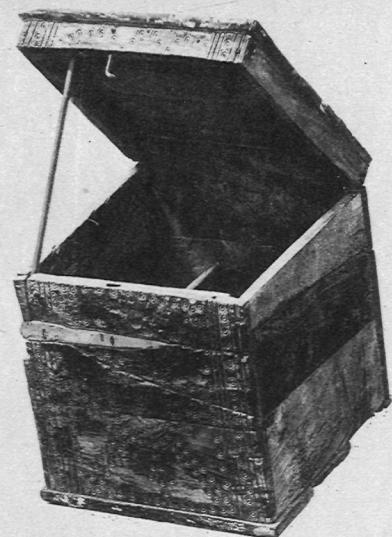
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2
(47100)



3
(47098)



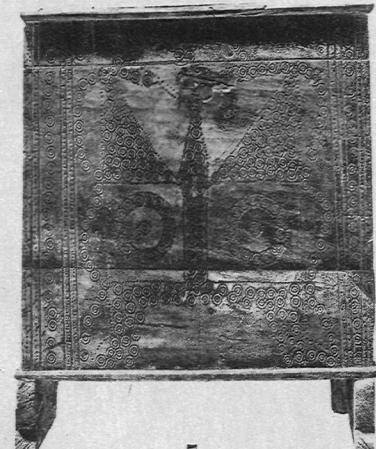
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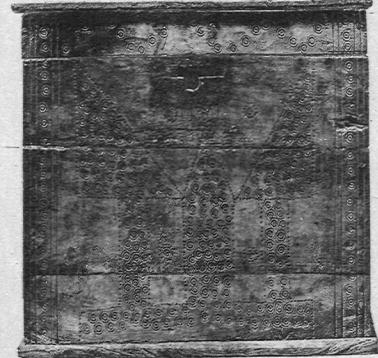
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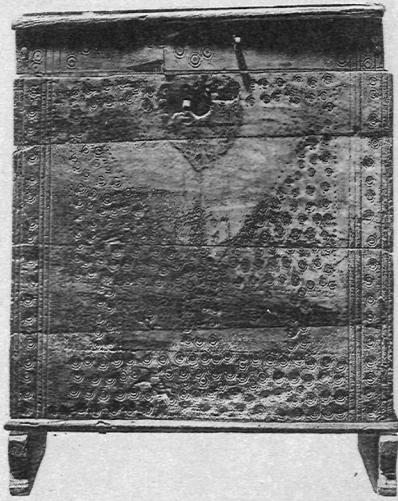
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7
(47099)



8
(47101)



9
(47094)

Roman Glass from Kom Washim.