

BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN EGYPT  
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ATHRIBIS

BY

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# ATHRIBIS

## INTRODUCTION

1. BEFORE beginning work at Memphis, two or three months can only be spent on excavation in drier sites, for the inundation covers the area of the great temple of Ptah till the middle of February, and the surrounding mounds are so damp below, and so miry with continual rain, that work on them is not desirable in December and January. In view of this, the work of the British School was resumed in Upper Egypt, in the same region as last year, for the beginning of the season.

Seven years ago I had noticed, near Sohag, the site known as Athribis; here there appeared to be the ruins of a temple, covered by sand, on the desert edge. It is so seldom that temple ruins are on the desert, and not swallowed in the growth of Nile deposits in the plain, that it seemed desirable to examine this. We accordingly camped there, while some of the party were two miles further north, at the Deir Amba Shenudeh, or White Monastery, and our work extended to copying tombs two miles to the south, near Hagarseh. The periods thus covered are of the Old Kingdom (the IVth—VIth dynasties) at Hagarseh; of Ptolemy IX, Physkon, the first temple at Athribis; of Ptolemy XIII, Auletes, the second temple, which was continued under Claudius and Hadrian; and of the early Christian age, IVth century, the Coenobium of Amba Shenudeh.

From the late date of the tombs and temples, and of all the town remains at Athribis, it appears that the city was not of early foundation, but was probably the Saite or Ptolemaic successor of an older city in the plain. The site of the older city was probably more to the south, most likely at Es Sala'a, as the tombs of the Old Kingdom are opposite to that. From Sohag is seen a great headland of cliff projecting into the Nile valley; the early tombs are southward of that, and the later town to the north. The modern village nearest to the tombs is Hagarseh, a mile south-east, and they are here named from that

place. The name of this city Athribis must not be confused with Athribis in the Delta, the modern Benha. The Delta town was Hat-her-ab, "the fortress in the midst" of the plain; the southern town is Hat-repyt, "the fortress of Repyt," a lion-headed goddess, who is scarcely known elsewhere.

2. The principal result at Athribis is the finding of the temple of Auletes. The plan of it is different from that of any temple yet known. In size it was of the same class as Denderah or Edfu; but the colonnade around it seems to have been due to Greek influence. This does not imply that there was a Greek centre here; on the contrary, though we searched the mounds widely, no Greek papyri were to be found, and Greek ostraka were rare compared with Demotic. The remaining sculptures of the walls are of better style than is usually credited to late Ptolemaic and Roman art. The material is a smooth limestone quarried from the cliff behind it, and this has encouraged the artists to much finer results than are seen in the coarse sandstone buildings. Hitherto all our ideas of the later art have been gathered from the temples of Denderah, Edfu, Kom Ombo, and Philae, which were carved in sandstone. The limestone temples have all been destroyed, and thus it has come about that the work in the coarser and poorer material has been accepted as characteristic of the whole age. Now, on the contrary, we see the finer class of such work, and find it to be in parts quite on a level with that of some earlier periods. The band of relief hieroglyphics, along the inner east side of the temple (see Pl. XXII) is as good in drawing as the general work of the later dynasties. Another interest here is that of the dedication of incense trees from Punt. The active trade down the Red Sea, carried on in the Ptolemaic and Roman times, may well have brought the trees as well as the incense to Egypt, and the record here is thus in accord with the affairs of the time.

What the future of these sculptures should be is uncertain. Being of limestone, they are sure to be

destroyed if left exposed in a remote village; the inspection would lapse at some time in a century or two, and then nothing would be left. As the walls are all imperfect, only in a few parts reaching ten or fifteen feet high, the whole would not constitute a show for ordinary visitors. The best solution would be to remove all the sculptures to museums, and so secure that some part shall remain for ages to come. But until this course is permitted and undertaken, it would be improper to leave the walls exposed; so we only cleared enough to get the plan, and the greater part of the sculptures visible for copying, and then covered over the walls again. Whenever the whole is bared for removal, then the entire plan will be ascertained as far as it still exists; meanwhile, we have done in a month or two as much as a temporary excavation will allow.

3. The party at Athribis fluctuated in number, owing to work elsewhere. Mr. Ernest Mackay was there for ten weeks, from the beginning to the end of the work. I was there for seven weeks, arranging the work and copying. Herr Schuler of Munich was occupied in copying for a month, mainly on the zodiac tomb. Mr. Wainwright was copying for three weeks. Mr. E. Ward, Mr. Ivo Gregg, and Mr. Humphry Hill were at the place for a fortnight, but mostly concerned with finishing the plan of the Coenobium, which they had excavated during a fortnight before. Mr. George Wyatt stayed for ten days, and did some of the copying. The net amount of work in excavating and copying at Athribis was about six weeks to two months for three people.

## CHAPTER I

### THE TOMBS OF HAGARSEH

4. NEARLY five miles south of Sohag, the cliffs of the western desert are pierced with a large group of rock-tombs, as shown in the diagram-view, Pl. I. The cliff here is somewhat broken down, so that in a few places it can be ascended, from ledge to ledge, but it is not easy to find a practical way to the top. The best path is that marked by a dotted line; and that must have been the ancient course, as the rock in some parts is cut into steps, and the main tombs are on this line. Yet it seems a strange labour to drag coffins up the steep crags to the tomb level, about three to five hundred feet above the plain; the whole height of the cliffs is about six hundred feet.

Few of the tombs contain any inscriptions or

sculpture. Most of them are small recesses, about three feet square, leading to a pit; some have a chamber about five feet wide above the pit. Most of them have been occupied by Coptic recluses, belonging to a brick-built *deir* which stands on the plain below. Some Coptic paintings remain in the chamber at the south end of the top row, and there is one scene of the ascent of Elijah. The anciently inscribed tombs are of Ka-em-nofer of the IVth dynasty (drawn), and of the VIth dynasty there are Mery I (drawn), Mery II (photographed), Mery III (rough, not drawn), Sebeknofer (mostly drawn), and a rude panel next to that on the north, without visible name.

5. The tomb of Ka-em-nofer and his wife Debat (the hippopotamus) has been a finely planned work, with a large entrance hall, and two smaller chambers for offerings, one on either side. Behind these were two funeral chambers, roughly cut, with rock coffins carved in the solid mass. The passages to these funeral chambers are peculiar, and the position of the coffins higher than the tomb chapels is also strange. The whole system seems to have been an imitation of the pyramid of Khufu, as we notice below.

The middle hall of entrance has been broken down in front, and also the east side of the north chamber has been broken away. The date of this destruction was probably two or three generations ago, as the rock has been blasted, and yet the broken faces are weathered brown by exposure. Of the middle hall, the only sculpture left on the side is the group of women servants, Pl. I, high up on the south. The first two figures were perhaps of the family, as they have no occupation. Next is the casket bearer, with shorter dress and no anklets; then the harp bearer, similarly dressed, with a seven-stringed harp; then a tall girl, nude, with a long sack on the back and some object in the hand; lastly, a dwarf carrying a tall stand, probably a cupboard with toilet things. The features are all of the coarse snouty type, except the girl, who is of the aquiline, higher-class type.

Along the back of the hall is a lintel, Pl. III, with inscription well cut, and with painted detail in the sunk signs. It has the usual prayer to Anubis, for the royal *nab* priest, the overseer of the royal couch (?), director of the palace, Ka-em-nofer. The title of royal priest is below that on each side, and a panel with figures of Ka-em-nofer and "his beloved wife, royal friend, priestess of Hathor, devoted to her husband (?), Debat." Between these panels is the entrance to the sepulchral chamber.

In the south chamber is a similar lintel; below it are panels with figures of Ka-em-nofer, on each side of a false-door niche, the beam over which has only traces of the name upon it. At the north side of these is another panel (see Pl. I), with the figure of the deceased, "... his goods every day in all festivals of the underworld."

The northern chamber has a lintel, with the prayer to Anubis for Debat, and below it two panels of Debat and her two sons, whose names are lost. It seems then that the sepulchre of the middle hall was for Ka-em-nofer, and that of the northern chamber for his wife.

The plan of the chamber is given on Pl. V, with the section of the northern sepulchre above, and that of the southern sepulchre below. In each there is a descending passage, and then a rise up to the sepulchre, in which is a square coffin cut in the solid mass of the rock, for the sepulchre is at a higher level than the chapel, a feature not known in other tombs. The descending passage is common enough in tombs; but there is no example of the subsequent ascent, the only prototype of which is in the passages of the pyramid of Khufu. There are also details curiously like those in the pyramid. In the southern tomb the slope upward begins with a vertical face like the Grand Gallery; and the slope has a bench or ramp along both sides, like the gallery. In the northern tomb, though the slope merely has a vertical end, there is a groove on either wall, sloping down and up again, implying a passage sloping both ways, and reminding us of the groove cut in the wall of the Grand Gallery. The resemblance in apparently unimportant detail, and in the general idea of the passages and the square-cut massive coffins, connects these tombs so closely with the pyramid of Khufu, and with no other structure, that we must suppose Ka-em-nofer to have been familiar with that building, and to belong to that reign. This would agree well enough with the fine and bold style of the inscriptions.

6. The tomb of Mery I is in the top row. The historical order of the three tombs of men named Mery is not known, and they are here numbered in the order of position, from top downwards. But this is also the order of workmanship, beginning with the best; and it may probably be the order of age. The plan on Pl. VII shows the outer chamber, which has sculpture on all sides of it, and the inner chamber, or long recess, which has only a few traces of figures at the beginning. In the floors are two sloping passages leading to the sepulchres. A great number

of mummified crocodiles have been buried in the tomb in a later age, and a heap of their bones lies before the doors, turned out by plunderers. It seems strange to have carried crocodiles up five hundred feet of rugged cliff to bury them. The east wall north of the entrance was covered by an inscription in eleven lines, but a large part has been cut out by the Copts in making a window at the side of the door. Nearly all the signs were cut into the rock, but some were only painted with the green paint which was used to colour the cut signs.

The north wall is shown in the double plate, VII. The top register begins with Mery spearing fish. The fish are painted in red and green. The first is marked with red cross-lines; the middle one has red head and tail, with green dorsal fin, the different colours being here shown by the heraldic shading. The spots are green where circled, red where solid. Below is a green spray of plant. No trace of the spear is seen; it has been painted in a fugitive colour. Green papyrus heads and lotus buds stand behind. Next Mery is shown fowling, with several delicately drawn figures of birds about the papyrus clump.

We now enter on the complications of his family. Mery had six wives, a number probably unknown for any other private Egyptian. They were named Asa, Hesyt, Nofertentet, Tepu, Neha, and Untsha. Children of all of these are figured here, excepting the chief wife Asa. Behind Mery fowling is a daughter Shemat, and probably her mother Tepu. Then appear three sons before Mery and Asa. The formula before each is peculiar: "His son *nu-u khredu* born of so-and-so." Immediately before Mery is an exquisitely drawn figure of a daughter, outlined with the greatest delicacy in ink only, with a long green robe. Lastly is Mery, with "his beloved wife, the royal favourite, the princely one, priestess of Hathor, Asa." Between Tepu and Mery fowling are three lines of hieratic writing, with traces of a fourth. They are given in full size at the base of the page.

The lower register has at the left Mery and a wife seated, probably Asa. The object behind may be a feather fan, as there is something of the kind on the west wall, and these can hardly be birds held by attendants. Before them is the eldest daughter Tenu born of Hesyt, and her sister Beba; then Shemat born of Nofertentet, and her sister Deben; then Shatres born of Neha, and her sister Shem... Then follow the figures of the wives, Hesyt, Nofertentet, Tepu, Neha, and Untsha.

At the base are figures of cattle. One bull tossing

another is addressed by the herdsman, "Day of strength, bull of black bulls." Another looks back, and a fourth is led by the man, both with other phrases addressed to them.

The west wall is shown in Pl. VIII. In the upper register Mery and Asa receive offerings of a bird from the son, and other food prepared below. In the lower register a girl offers drink to Mery and Asa seated; behind them is a servant with a feather fan (?) named "the seal bearer Teta-ta."

The south wall, Pl. IX, is occupied with farm scenes. First Mery stands before a pile of offerings. Next he stands leaning on a stick, looking at the farm; the resting leg has been shown bent, but has afterwards been cut out. The oxen, donkeys, and goats are roughly designed, with slight outlines scratched on the stone, and completed by colouring. On the east wall, south of the door, are drawings of granaries roughly done, which we have not copied.

7. The tomb of Mery II is the farthest north, and is barely accessible along a narrow ledge of rock. It is in good and clean condition, so that it could be photographed by Mr. Mackay, as given in Pls. X, XI, XII. The north wall has a figure of Mery, with three sons and nine daughters before him, and two lesser figures behind him. The eldest son was named Mery . . . mut, the second Sep-pa, the third Shera. The eldest daughter was Ababa, next Theftu, and Aasta. The remainder are illegible. On the west wall is painted the false door, with a figure of Mery on each side, and a seated figure accepting his table of offerings above it. The false door has a prayer to Osiris, and a panel at the side of it has a prayer to Anubis. The only title of Mery is *semer uati*, or "lordly companion." The south wall is occupied with farm scenes. Mery is named also *suten tep kher*, or royal deputy; his wife behind him is named Atef . . . He is said to be "beholding his oxen and his goats and his asses." In the top register are servants bearing a haunch, a goose, a gazelle, an oryx, and a tray of loaves. Below are goats 12,000, asses 20,000; and at the base are a gazelle and young one, and two pairs of bulls fighting. The carving of all these animals is clean and spirited, though without the breadth of earlier times.

The tomb of Mery III faces north, and is not seen from below, but only on ascending the path. It is a low chamber, with roughly painted scenes of offering on the south wall. There are no names of relatives or inscriptions of interest, and it was not copied.

8. The tomb of Sebek-nofer, Pl. XIII, is a small chamber, 78 inches square. Over the door is a lintel, the first part of which is copied, the rest being inaccessible. It reads: "Suten hotep du Upuatu, lord of Horshen, a house of offerings (?) for him in his dwellings in Kher-nuter." The door-jambs have been cut away, but show traces of the figure of the owner. Inside the tomb on the south side is another lintel, also copied, reading: "The royal sealer, the lordly companion, devoted to Upuatu, lord of Horshen, Sebek-nofer." This repetition of the place Horshen seems to show that it was in the neighbourhood, if not the actual capital of the nome.

On the east wall is the best inscription. It begins with the titles, "royal sealer, (lordly) companion, overseer, priest of Sebek." The adjective "lordly," *uati*, has been omitted in cutting, and painted in blue over the other signs. The inscription continues below with (1) "the *sam* priest, lordly companion, reciter, the devoted Aba"; (2) his son, lordly companion, Qar heb; (3) his son, lordly companion, priest, A . . . ; (4) his son, lordly companion, Pepy-en-sed-heb; (5) the reciter, elder of the house of clothing (or bandaging mummies?), divine scribe of the palace, Ad(u). Apparently the tomb is not entirely for Sebek-nofer, but also for a brother or relative Aba; and, if so, the sons are those of Aba. On the north wall is a long list of offerings, only slightly engraved, and choked with whitewash; there are thirty columns, and figures of a son and daughter without names. On the west wall is the table of offerings before the deceased, roughly cut and whitewashed over.

Joining the above tomb on the north is a chamber, 78 by 63 inches, with a very rudely cut and coloured tablet, 16 by 18 inches, with a prayer to Osiris of Abydos, for a man and his wife, whose names are illegible.

## CHAPTER II

### THE TEMPLE OF AULETES

9. THE temple of Ptolemy XIII (Auletes) at Athribis is so far more important than the site of the rather earlier temple of Ptolemy IX (Physkon) that it is here given precedence.

The building had undergone several changes. It was begun by Auletes (80—52 B.C.), then largely sculptured under Tiberius and Claudius, and finished under Hadrian, whose name is on a piece of cornice.

It was next converted into a church; the figures of gods in relief on the inside were chopped away, and the whole whitewashed. Then it was attacked for stone; and as some inscribed stones, apparently from here, are in the Deir Amba Shenudeh, it is probable that this temple was quarried for that monastery. Then it became a cattle pen, more quarrying was done, rubbish from the town was heaped in the ruins, and lastly it was hidden by blown sand.

The work is peculiar. The carving was in many parts well done, but covered over with plaster, hiding all the detail, and then the detail was renewed in colour on the plaster. It seems that the plasterer was very careless, and paid no attention to the fine stone working which preceded him. Plaster had also been used to make good considerable defects in the stone, but so carelessly stuck on that large hollows of the intaglio have been quite filled. It was needful, therefore, in some parts, to strip the weathered plaster in order to find the signs beneath it. Doing so, however, often only revealed bad places or mere holes in the stone. Where small signs were used, as on the west doorway, they are often hollows with scarcely any shape; and where they are incrustated with salt and lime, it is hopeless to see what they were intended to be. Another difficulty was from the great roofing blocks fallen in the inside. Along the east wall we had to tunnel in the rubbish under the blocks, for me to crawl beneath to copy the long band of inscription (Pl. XXI).

A complete clearance was not attempted for several reasons. It would be premature to bare the sculptures that remain until it is settled whether they shall be protected in place or removed. And we had not time or money to spare for the great clearance which would be needed. But enough was exposed to make a plan of the main features, and to copy most of the inscriptions and scenes that are worth notice. It was then covered over again to protect it, after removing (by Professor Maspero's permission) one figure of Auletes, which belonged to a scene almost destroyed, and a few of the innumerable figures of nomes which were carved round all the walls inside and outside.

The source of the stone for the temples here is obvious in the quarries cut into the cliff above. Along a stratum near the top, fully five hundred feet up, is a vast quarry, cut one to two hundred feet into the hill, and running along for perhaps a quarter of a mile. The front part of it has collapsed, and so hides

it from below; immense masses are fallen, so large that they appear like unmoved rock when walking over them. In one place a fallen mass had tipped up on end, and on the flat face of it a scene has been cut about ten feet long and two feet high. It originally had twelve figures, of the king offering to gods; but ten have been cut out by dealers, and only figures of Isis and Nebhat remain. This work was probably of Roman age, the panels for inscriptions being all left blank. No other inscriptions except Coptic graffiti were seen by me. Scattered quarries extend further south as far as the great vertical cliff, and there are other great quarries at the mouth of a valley to the north. A large amount of stone was required for these temples; for not only was the visible part nearly as great as the temple of Denderah, but the foundations at the north-east were seven courses deep, and at the crypt there are eleven courses under the floor level.

10. In the plan of the temple (Pl. XV) the parts which were actually preserved and seen by us are marked with shading, while the parts inferred are in outline. It is desirable to state the reasons for this restoration, before considering the form. Beginning at the back, the north-east corner-stone was found. It had traced on it the lines for the alignment of the walls, at  $9\frac{1}{2}$  and 10 inches from the edge, which was set further out as a footing to the wall (see Pl. XXXV). Outside of the footing the stone was considered surplus, and was marked off by a rough trench cut along it. But two tongues of stone in the continuation of the wall lines ran along unbroken, bearing the alignments; and these alignments were marked down the outsides of the foundations for three courses in depth. The wall line on the east was within an inch of where the direction of the wall would fall by the survey. Of course, the batter of the outside has to be reckoned; this amounts to 8 inches in 152 height of the west doorway. And thus the side wall must be 117 thick at the base. The east wall was actually cleared as far north as the back of the naos, but it is destroyed in the upper parts between this and the corner, and we only saw the foundations. The west wall was bared along all the shaded part outside, and near the west doorway on the inside. The double line along here shows the base, and the batter up to the top of the doorway. As this wall runs on southward to nearly half the depth of the portico, it is clear that there was not an enlargement of greater width for the portico, as there is in other temples.

Of the colonnade around the temple, three columns were found in place on the west, and two on the east side, a fragment of one lay near the entrance on the south, but none were found on the north. These columns were not for the support of chamber roofs, as I copied 50 feet length of inscription, and saw altogether 75 feet of the east wall along the inside, without any cross-walls. The distance of the adjacent columns from centre to centre was  $168\frac{1}{2}$  inches where I measured it on the south; and the long distance of seven columns on the west was 1180, or  $168\cdot6$  each, and on the north 1178, or  $168\cdot3$  each. These long distances being thus an exact multiple of the column spacing, shows that the columns extended along the sides and ends of the building in equal order. The long measurements were, of course, found by triangulation, as direct measurement was impossible over the mounds of rubbish; hence differences of an inch or two are not unlikely.

11. The central block of chambers has been much destroyed. The naos was traced along the north and west sides. On the north only one course remained, and that not all the way. On the west none was left in some parts, the length only being found by the hole in the pavement; and one or two courses remained elsewhere. It was doubtless divided in the length of it, but cross-walls were not seen as far as we cleared it. A forced opening has been made in the west side.

The chambers to the north have been nearly all destroyed. The piece of wall running north implies a symmetrical wall on the other side of the axis, and thus three chambers would result. It is probable that a space extended along the back of the temple equal to that of the sides; for the distance of the remaining columns from the back wall is equal to the distance to the side wall *plus* one column space: hence the depth of the chambers as here drawn. The length of the dividing wall precludes doors between the chambers; they may have been entered from outside, like a Greek *opisthodomos* at the back of the temple, or through doors in the southern walls of the two side chambers. Similarly the equal spacing from the columns on the west going southward brings a line of columns almost exactly in the middle of the space between the naos front and the preceding wall. This agrees with the colonnade being in front of the naos, which was almost certainly the case, as it is seen to extend along the sides.

The chambers at the side of the naos were only cleared on the west. There was no entry from the

naos side, as is usual in other temples, except a narrow door at the end. This door is destroyed on the west, but was doubtless like that on the east side. The long chamber marked "Punt Chamber," and that opposite to it, were both entered from a middle chamber which opened from the outer side. The eastern group of chambers is supposed to be like the western, but was not excavated.

In front of the naos the walls have been greatly destroyed. The two chambers at the west were traced along the front, but were not cleared inside. A piece of wall before these implies that there cannot have been a hall with two rows of columns, as at Denderah and Edfu. There is just room for a single row, spaced like the columns of the peristyle around the temple. Between this wall and the temple there must have been a chamber, and perhaps the stairway to the roof. At the south side there is a clear space; this originally ended at the east wall, which has been later cut through for a doorway. This space at the west side led out by a side door, the lintel of which is shown in Pl. XXV. There seems to have been a solid mass of masonry against the east wall, in which was the entry to a crypt. This crypt is shown in dotted outline on the plan, and on a larger scale on Pl. XXI.

12. The portico has been greatly ruined. It is a piled confusion of immense architraves and fragments of columns. The back wall was cleared at three places, but appeared unsculptured and somewhat irregular. Probably a skin-wall of sculpture has been removed from it, especially as the depth to the existing wall is too much for two rows of columns and not enough for three. A skin-wall of a metre thick is therefore allowed here up to the broken line. The front row of columns is fixed by part of one, with the screen-wall between the columns still in place. From this piece the lower part of the column appears to be 90 inches diameter: a drum from the top of a column was 80 inches diameter. The screen-wall has a footing 29 inches high over paving, and 7 inches forward; with a step below it 8 inches high, and 25 inches forward from the screen, or 18 inches from the footing.

The two end columns being thus fixed, the positions of the others are approximately known. Doubtless the middle opening was wider than the side openings, as in other temples. Some indication may be reached by the drain shown in dotted lines. This has an opening opposite the interval between the second and third columns from the east. If this opening were

exactly in the middle of the interval, the columns would result in the positions here shown.

The drain was found by a broken roof-stone between the first and second columns from the west. It was explored and measured by Herr Schuler, whose plan is here incorporated. At the square marks shown along it, the roof is raised and closed at a higher level, probably for the intake of surface drains. The slanting drain runs southward for 109 feet from the cross-drain; but the ends of this and of the other lines were not found. Though no part of the drain was less than ten or fifteen feet under the modern surface of rubbish, yet an Italian match-box was found in it, showing that it had been reached in modern times. Obviously the lines of drain were arranged to run clear of the pressure of the columns.

A few inches in front of the drain line is a brick wall, stuccoed on the north side. It was part of an enclosure, boxing-in the front of the temple, which was occupied by Coptic brick buildings over its ruins. At the south-west corner is another brick wall, with a return of stone bearing a semicircular engaged column. This was doubtless part of the building of the church here.

13. We may now consider the building as a whole, having studied the restoration of its different parts.

No such temple is known elsewhere in Egypt. The naos isolated from the surrounding buildings, the colonnade running round the whole block, the shortness of the structure before the naos, the side entrance from the portico to the first hall—each of these features is unusual or unknown elsewhere. It seems clear that Greek influence has brought about these changes. The peripteral form, the subordination of the introductory parts to an enlarged naos, the use of a single row of columns in place of the two or three lines in the hall, seem to be copied from the type of Greek temples. It is curious that we have the Egyptian temple modified to the Greek type at Athribis, and modified to the Christian type at Deir Amba Shenudeh near by this.

The dimensions of the temple are as follows:—

LENGTHS.	Inches.	Feet.	Metres.
Portico	435	36' 3	11'05
Halls and walls	544	45' 4	13'82
Court	1831	152' 7	46'51
Wall	117	9' 9	2'97
Length	2927	243' 11	74'35

BREADTHS.	INCHES.	FEET.	METRES.
Wall	118	9'10	2'99
To columns	180	15'0	4'58
Colonnade	94		2'39
Wing	306	443	36'11
Passage	43		
Naos	287		23'11
Wing to columns	450	450	37' 6
Columns to wall	178		14'10
Wall	118		9'10
	<u>1774</u>	<u>147'10</u>	<u>45'06</u>

Taking the level of the west door sill as 200 inches (arbitrarily), the pavement before the portico is 199, crypt door sill 197, crypt chamber floor 26, Punt chamber floor 207, corner-stone at north-east 194, top of drain cover 203, top of west door 351, top of lintel 406, highest masonry left 419, highest rubbish heap 458.

The more exact dimensions, and the details not yet recovered, wait to be traced whenever the building shall be cleared as a whole, either when it is cleared for conservation, or (more probably) when it is cleared for removal to museums. At least no part should be removed without complete measurements, which will fix it in the general plan. For the present it is not practicable to do more until the future mode of preserving the sculptures may be settled.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE SCULPTURES OF AULETES AND CLAUDIUS

14. THE copies of the sculptures of the temple are arranged here beginning with the chamber of Punt, then taking other interior parts, then the inside of the girdle wall, and lastly the outside walls.

The large room called the Punt Chamber on the plan, is devoted to the offering of various trees from Punt. Around the lower part of the room are figures of the trees with descriptions between them. Over these is a band of historial account; and the upper part is covered with scenes of the king offering to deities. The complete deities are Min and four lion-headed goddesses; two of them are called Repyt, one Sekhmet, and of one the name is lost. The work is good for the period. The drawing and cutting is spirited, but the signs are often left with the original block face on them.

Pl. XVI. The best scene is here given in facsimile, showing Aulètes presenting five trees to Sekhmet.

The face is carefully drawn, and the figure is creditable; the goddess is rather exaggerated in the planes of the figure, but is well outlined, and the head is good, though overwrought. The king is stated to present the trees brought from Punt, to satisfy the heart of the goddess.

Pl. XVII shows the inscriptions on the west wall all together, including the scene just given in facsimile as an example. The four goddesses whose figures remain are all lion-headed. The right-hand one is named Sekhmet, the next Repyt or Ropyt, the consort of Min has no name remaining, and the left-hand one (on the south wall) appears to be Repyt again. On the outside of the temple the lion-headed goddess is called Sati more than once. Thus it seems that there was a local lion-goddess, identified with many different goddesses of other places. And as none of these goddesses have cities associated with them, they are probably all forms of the goddess of this temple. The case is at once different with Min. He does not belong to Athribis, but is "in Hat-u," and on the long band inscriptions (Pl. XVIII) he is "in Hat-aah" (Panopolis, Ekhmim). Below the scenes of offering is a long band, which is largely the same as the band on the east wall. It was copied in facsimile by Mr. Wainwright, and is placed on the next plate, with my hand copy of the east band for comparison. Below the band are figures of the trees which were imported, and descriptions of them. The second and third seem to be Syrian rather than Punite.

Pl. XVIII. The long bands of inscription are given here for comparison, from the west and east walls. The west band is above, divided into three lines. The east band is given with the inscriptions over and under it. The bands refer to Min, lord of Panopolis, and to building a temple to him in Punt, and dedicating trees to Repyt.

Above the band on the east wall are scenes of the king offering to goddesses, of whom only the feet are left. Below the band are other trees, with descriptions.

Pl. XIX. Photographs of (1) the lintel of Auletes, over the western doorway of the square chamber south of the Punt Chamber, again mentioning a temple in Punt. (2) The trees on the eastern wall of the Punt Chamber. Those on the western wall are different; but owing to a misunderstanding they were not photographed before filling in the sand again. (3) The nome figures along the west outer side of the naos. As they were not part of any larger

scene, some of them have been removed to museums. We found similar rows of standing or kneeling nome figures, along the base of the whole girdle-wall of the temple, inside and outside, wherever we uncovered it.

15. Pl. XX. At the left is the section and plan of the deep crypt in the south-east corner of the temple. How it was originally entered is not seen, as the masonry all about the entrance has no external face, but only joint surfaces. The floor of the entrance is within two or three inches of the floor levels of the temple. Thence an opening descends eight courses deep to the door of a chamber, when it drops one course further. Another course is exposed in a pit, with a stone floor, showing altogether eleven courses under the temple floor. At the north-east corner seven courses were bared below the floor, without reaching the bottom; so it seems likely that there are other crypts under the building. The shading in this plan shows the walls that would be visible if bared to the pavement level.

16. At the top on the right is a detailed copy of the sign for a temple in Punt, which occurs in the eastern band on Pl. XVIII. A similar sign, partly effaced, occurs behind the figure of Min on the eastern wall, Pl. XXIII. It is also known elsewhere (see Lanzzone, *Diz. Mit.* cccxxxii, 3, &c). The meaning of this sign is now evident from this detailed example. It is a conical hut, like those of the people of Punt, but taller and narrower—perhaps to adapt it for this sign, perhaps as a mark of importance. That it is a dwelling of god or man, is proved by the Egyptian doorway and cornice added in front of it. Thus the old sacred character of the hut was kept up, probably copied in stone, while its adoption by the civilised Egyptian was marked by adding a stone portal. Before it all was a portico or verandah of papyrus columns, with a fork on the top carrying the roof beams. Further, in the large example, Pl. XXIII, the column has a Hat-hor capital. Late as this picture is, it has preserved some most important points of primitive times. Min would not have been thus honoured in Punt, and in a hut of the native form, unless he belonged to that country. And the Hat-hor capital gives a strong suggestion that Hat-hor also belonged to Punt. Now I have already pointed out that Min and Hat-hor are co-relative, the father and mother deities; and that they both probably belonged to the last stratum of gods—those of the dynastic race (*Religion and Conscience*.) And, further, that

race appears to have probably come from Punt. Here we have the crossing link, showing the dynastic gods to have come from Punt, thus re-affirming both of the previous conclusions.

Below this on the plate is a female figure adoring a sacred bird on a tree. No inscriptions have been cut on the tablets. This is from the northern side of the door, beneath the lintel on Pl. XIX.

17. Pl. XXI is a portion of the inside of the girdle-wall, above the western doorway. The signs in relief still retain most of their colouring; and though roughly done, they are of some interest as late examples of coloured signs. The relief figures of the gods and king have all been chopped off from the wall, leaving roughly broken outlines, and the whole wall has been whitewashed. This seems to show that it has been used as a church. The subjects are Tiberius offering drink and incense to Osiris and Isis. Tiberius also is figured on the face of the thickness of the wall in the doorway, though Ptolemy Auletes is upon the outside of this wall.

Pl. XXII. This band of inscription is here divided into four lines for convenience of publishing. It runs along the inside of the eastern girdle-wall; below it is a row of nome figures, and remains of scenes of offering over it. The wall is imperfect at the north end, and completely hidden by large fallen blocks at the south end. Along the course of it large blocks of roofing have fallen, so close to the wall that many parts are invisible, and can only be felt, and others are seen very obliquely; while in other places it is needful to crawl under the blocks to reach the wall face. As the temple has been used for a stable, the lower part is full of refuse, in which a way can be cut to squeeze through beneath the blocks. The inscription is entirely in relief, and well carved; the execution is as good as anything of the kind since the XVIIIth dynasty, and it shows that when in suitable material the art was well maintained. Much of the carving has been chopped away, in the defaced spaces marked on the copy, and also at isolated signs which seemed to attract the destroyer's attention.

18. Pl. XXIII. We now reach the outer faces of the temple. The east face is removed down to the shoulders of the large figures, or lower. Beneath these figures is a long band of inscription, and below that a band of nome figures; but these lower bands were not uncovered by us. The whole sculpture appears to be of one design and period, dated by the cartouches of Claudius. The first scene is of the emperor offering to Min; a shrine is shown before

the god. Below this is given a part of the band of inscription, in order to show the character of it. There is then a long break in the wall, and it resumes with another scene of Min, of which there is only the lower part of the conical hut remaining, and then the figures in the lower half of Pl. XXIII. These figures were a collateral god and goddess behind Min, to all of whom offerings were made by a figure of the emperor, now destroyed.

Pl. XXIV. The next scene of the east wall is the emperor standing with his *ka* behind him. The *ka* name is new to us, as that of Claudius is not in the *Königsbuch*; but this may be an error or variant for the name of Auletes. The five standards had thus been carried before the king since the days of Narmer: the mystic figures of *ankh* and *dad* are seen below, holding the poles on which the ensigns were placed. Next is the scene of two gods purifying the emperor by pouring streams of life and power over him. Beyond this the wall has disappeared.

19. Pl. XXV. The west wall is less destroyed. At the south end it remains for about half the depth of the portico, showing that the portico was not wider than the temple, unlike the temples at Denderah and Edfu. On this part the figures were much larger than on the side of the girdle-wall, probably covering the whole height of the temple. The first part in good state is the doorway leading to the hall of columns. When found, this was encrusted with salt and dust of the organic rubbish which is piled along this side of the temple. But by scrubbing it with water, and scraping, I succeeded in cleaning the face entirely. Over the lintel are four columns of inscription still remaining. The name of Claudius appears here, as also on the lintel below. The first cartouche is destroyed, the second reads "Kaisaros Germanikos." On the lintel are the names "Tiberius Claudius Kaisaros Germanikos," namely Claudius, as Tiberius does not bear the names Claudius or Germanicus in hieroglyphics. The vulture and uraeus-name is not recorded in the *Königsbuch*. The lion-headed goddesses are forms identified with the local lion-goddess Reptyt. Claudius is brought before them by Horus and Tahuti, and by Ra and Shu. The jambs of this doorway were not uncovered, as the loose sand made it difficult to reach the lower part.

Pl. XXVI. The next subject to the northward is that of the goddess Safekh assisting the king in laying out the temple with staves and cord.

Pl. XXVII. Further north comes the scene of Tahuti presenting the *usat* eye to a youthful king,

whose name is lost, attended by the goddess Reptyt. As the names of Claudius occur in the scenes on each side of this, it is difficult to see who this youth can be. Caesarion is the only boy-king of the period; but it seems unlikely that an isolated scene would be carved while the rest of the wall was left blank for eighty years.

Pl. XXVIII. Lastly, we reach the great scene of offering, which completes the half of the outside, up to the western doorway. Claudius is figured as presenting a bull and a mass of offerings to Sokar, Horus, and Reptyt; while behind the king are two musicians with tambourines. The figure of the king has been cut away entirely up to the neck, by a doorway being pierced through the wall, probably when the building was converted into a church.

20. Pl. XXIX. The western doorway is much injured by salt and encrusted, so that it is difficult to determine the figures; and the inscriptions, roughly cut at first, are now illegible. The lintel over it is in good state, and is here copied. Osiris Khentamenti is the middle figure, adored by Isis, Horus, Shu, Mehit-Tefnut, and Claudius, before him; behind him are Nebhat, Ra, Nut, Anpu, and probably another figure of the king, now lost. The hieroglyphics are only roughly incised, and are often almost impossible to determine, as the carver has neglected the details. Below this are given the figures of Auletes and his *ka*, which stand to the north of the doorway. As these figures were isolated, owing to most of the scenes before them being destroyed, we were permitted by Professor Maspero to remove them for the Edinburgh Museum.

Pl. XXX. The piece of a scene at the top is over the lintel on the previous plate. The seven columns of inscription in the middle are in front of the figure of Auletes, like the similar inscription before the king on the east wall (see Pl. XXIV). The rest of this wall to the northward has the feet of figures and scenes similar to those on the east wall, as given on Pl. XXIV.

Below all the scenes on both walls is a long band of large inscription deeply cut, of which a sample is given on Pl. XXIII. As it was in bad state in parts I did not uncover it. Below that band is a row of nome figures, apparently around the whole temple; they are roughly cut, and much decayed in parts, but a sample of them is given at the base of Pl. XXX. To clear these lower levels would have needed a much larger trench along the wall, as it would not be safe to work in a narrow trench, owing

to the looseness of the sand. The complete clearance and removal of the sculptures, with a full publication of the whole as they stand, is desirable: but within the limits possible this season we have secured the main results, so that if this temple should disappear like other limestone buildings in Egypt, the facts will not be entirely lost.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE TEMPLE OF PHYSKON

21. THE earlier temple at Athribis was that built by Ptolemy IX, nicknamed Physkon, two or three generations before the temple of Auletes. On Pl. XIV will be seen the position of the great pylons of Physkon, which show all that remains of his building. Of the temple itself only some rock cutting and blocks of pavement were found at the back against the cliff. At first I supposed that the temple had run back as a rock temple inside the cliff, since the external length is so short compared with the breadth of the pylon. On clearing down the cliff we found stonework, and a piece of cornice of gigantic uraei. As this was upright, it seemed as if it must be over a doorway in the rock; but, on clearing more, we found that it was only a block re-used in a foundation. Probably something more might be found of this temple; but as the site is covered with about twenty feet of house ruins, it would scarcely be worth clearing.

The pylon of the temple was the part first uncovered. I had seen the gateway in the temenos to the east, and was searching for the temple which that had enclosed. Seeing a long line of chips in the ground I expected that it marked the rubbish thrown out in destroying a great stone wall. On clearing to the west of the chips for some days we found nothing but house ruins. At last it appeared as if rock existed at a high level there amid the ruins, and we worked round it for some days further, searching for foundations. But to our astonishment I found a joint beneath it, and our rock proved to be the immense roofing blocks of chambers within a pylon. The plan of these chambers is given on Pl. XXXV. Across the outer chamber is a broken line showing the extent of the stone roofing which lies over it.

We then cleared deeply along the line of the pylon, and found the lower part of the gateway itself, with cartouches of Physkon. This gateway had been roughly blocked on the inner side, leaving only a

narrow door of access. This points to the enclosure of the temple being completed, and intact after its disuse, so that it was employed as a defensive position in the frequent turmoils of later Ptolemaic times. The south-eastern end of the pylon had been entirely destroyed; but it was evidently symmetrical, and is here, therefore, duplicated from the other end. The place of the side-walls is shown by a groove in the masonry of the pylon, 40 inches wide and 27 inches deep, opposite the south end of the inner chamber. This was doubtless to receive the side-wall, leaving about 280 inches of the pylon projecting beyond the sides. This is like the wide projection at Edfu and at Philae. There were no traces of inscriptions upon the chamber walls. The inner chamber was lighted by two long horizontal slits in the wall at the level of the top; widening embrasures led down from these, sloping steeply to near the chamber floor. Thus the inner end of the chamber was completely lighted.

22. The temenos of this temple was entered by a gate to one side of the temple axis. As a piece of older cornice was re-used by Physkon, and pieces of granite work of Apries are found at the white monastery, and were probably removed from here, it seems that an earlier temple of the XXVIth dynasty may have been built in the axis of the great gate. If so, the temple of Physkon was a new work to one side of the older temple then ruined. We cleared a deep pit between the gate and the temple pylon of Physkon. This showed a pavement belonging to the present gate level. But below that lay fifteen feet of rubbish, showing that the ground had been occupied long before the time of Physkon.

The temenos gateway remains complete up to about five feet high. The inscriptions on these four faces are given in Pls. XXXI to XXXIV. Each face was probably similar to that on Pl. XXXII, with a band of inscription above it, and scenes above that. Hence, scarcely anything has been lost from the tops of the columns, and the defects are all in the effacement of the text by decay. The size of the gateway is shown by the plan in the middle of Pl. XXXV.

On Pl. XXXV is also given the plan of a roofing block from the south corner of the temple of Auletes. The parts originally resting on walls are shaded; those left white were exposed as roofing, and are covered with small stars roughly cut in relief. It is as yet impossible to identify how this block fitted on to any doorway in the plan. It should, of course, be turned upside down to compare with the plan of the

building that remains; but it seems that further excavation is needed before its place could be identified.

23. Below that is the plan of a chapel of Roman age, the position of which is shown on Pl. XIV, at the side of the approach to the gate of Physkon. It is covered with long scenes of gods, and the work is so rough that it was not worth copying. The interior was not cleared out.

24. At the base of Pl. XXXV is the plan of a dyer's workshop, shown on the general plan, Pl. XIV, at the top. The two entrances are to the south. One leads to a room with a large well in the middle, and a bench along the west wall. This wall was lined with tiles above the bench, probably to receive the splashing of water. North of the well was a square pit, about three feet deep. The sides were of very rough brickwork, uncemented; and it seems likely that it was lined with lead as a cistern. There are three vats in the bench on the north, and beyond the cistern the bench passes into the vat room, with sixteen vats in the raised bench around the sides. These vats are lined with cement, and deeply stained. Most of them are black-blue with indigo, and some are red. Samples of colour from each vat have been brought away for examination. In this northern room the roof was carried on two pillars. To the west was a room, probably for business with customers, and giving access by a stairway to the upper storey, now destroyed. The great quantity of weaver's waste found in the rubbish piled against the temple, shows that much manufacturing was done in the town; hence large dye-shops would be required.

Next to this on the ground, Pl. XIV, is a large building of curious form, planned at the base of Pl. XXXV. A long gallery, of over eighty feet, has a row of five rooms opening off each side of it, while at the end is a smaller room built of red baked brick laid in mortar. From the form this seems as if intended for a community living in a common hall, and may be an early type of monastery.

25. The principal product of late times that we found at Athribis was a multitude of Demotic ostraka, with a few Greek ones; but scarcely a fragment of papyrus was recovered, although we sampled all the mounds carefully, and found layers of organic waste in which papyrus might have been preserved. The scraps we obtained were all Coptic. The ostraka will be worked up and reported on in future. There are some interesting astronomical ones, with entries of stars; but the greater number are rough writing

lessons, where the pupil was left to repeat a stroke hundreds of times in a descending order of carelessness.

## CHAPTER V

### THE ZODIAC TOMB

26. FOR many years a tomb has stood open, roughly painted with funereal subjects on the sides, and two zodiacs on the ceiling, containing the horoscopes of the deceased. The whole ceiling is shown on Pl. XXXVI, and the two zodiacs coloured on a larger scale on the following plates; the walls are shown on Pls. XXXIX to XLII. The position is in the lowest of the line of tombs cut in the cliff face (see Pl. XIV); but it is curiously invisible from below, as the entrance is blocked up with rubbish in front. The name of the owner seems to have been Mery-Hor. He was son of Ab-pe-many, who was son of Mehyt. The Egyptian's first sketch was drawn on the walls of the tomb in yellow, and the black outlines and colours were added to that. The present outline copy was made by Herr Schuler, helped by Mr. Wyatt; this was checked, and colours added, by myself.

The two zodiacs painted on the ceiling are the main interest of this tomb. They show a combination of the Euphratean-Greek signs with the Egyptian figures of Orion and the two *ba*-birds representing the souls of the Osirian deceased, Mery-Hor and his father Ab-pe-many. This mixture is also seen on the zodiac of Denderah, which is fuller than the present examples. We learn, however, here, from the *ba*-birds put near Orion, five in all, that this constellation was regarded as the home of souls. It should be noticed that the two zodiacs differ, both in detail and in the starting-point. That here marked A (XXXVII) is divided at Aries-Taurus, and at Libra-Scorpio, or about the end of April and of October in Roman times. The zodiac B has fewer constellations, and is divided at Gemini-Cancer, and at Sagittarius-Capricornus, or the end of June and of December. These divisions may refer to the May year and the solstitial year, or perhaps to the signs that were above and below the horizon at the hours of the horoscopes.

In Pl. XXXVII we see the sun between Capricornus and Aquarius, the moon in the middle of Sagittarius; Mercury is shown by the hawk with a head of Set, and a tail, in the forefront of Capricornus;

Mars is a hawk with horns in Aquarius; Venus a double-headed man in Pisces; Saturn a bull-headed hawk in Gemini; and what must be intended for Jupiter is a hawk with three serpents' heads in Leo. For the identification of the first planets there is known authority in the other astronomical inscriptions. If the division of the sky refers to the hour, then Aries is in the ascendant.

In Pl. XXXVIII Jupiter must apparently be identified with the long-beaked hawk in Capricornus, as that is too far from the sun to be Mercury. Saturn is in Pisces; the sun in Taurus, with Mercury and Venus before and after it; the moon is in Gemini; and Mars is in Cancer. If the division refers to the hour, then Gemini is in the ascendant. These two horoscopes are probably those of the two *ba*-birds named in the sky—the owner Mery-Hor and his father. The signs around both the zodiacs are probably the decans or mansions of the moon. This ceiling is apparently the only coloured zodiac that is preserved.

27. Pl. XXXIX. Around the top of the walls is a border of jackals on stands, alternating with three *khaker* ornaments. The figure of Heqt comes behind the Isis in the recess, at the top right hand of Pl. XLI. The lines of mythological figures below appear to be leading the deceased and his father in the underworld. The wall is much defaced by wear and cutting, and the inscriptions cannot be completed.

Pl. XL. The western side has a large shelf recess, on which the body seems to have been laid; the sides of this recess are given in Pl. XLI, and the top and bottom of it in Pl. XLII. The remainder of the western side, south of the recess, is on Pl. XL. The same frieze of jackals and *khakers* is continued here, and on the east side, which latter is too much defaced for the traces to be worth publishing. In the middle register is the dead Osiris of Ekhnim, mourned by Isis and Nebhat, and guarded by Anubis and the gods of the hours, which the father and grandfather of the deceased adore. In the lower register is the deceased on a bier, mourned by Isis and the goddesses of the hours of the night.

Pl. XLI. The recess in the west wall, in which the body was placed, has on the south side (top left in plate) the dead Osiris on a bier, coloured green, and with plants sprouting from his head. Anubis is seated at the head, and a female mourner at the feet. On the back of the recess (base of plate) is another deity on a bier, much defaced; Isis is at the head, and the goddess Mehyt at the feet. Behind Isis are figures of the deceased and his father adoring. On the north of

the recess (top right in plate) is Sokar on a bier, with Isis at the head, and another goddess at the feet.

Pl. XLII. At the left is the painting on the floor of the recess. An immense *dad*-sign has a red and green object on the top of it, and red drapery on the stem. At the right is the painting on the roof of the recess. The radiant sun is surrounded by an inscription, beginning "O lord of heaven, Ra, in the horizon," and ending with the name and genealogy of the deceased. Below in the plate is a part of the painting of the west wall below the recess; the rest has been even more effaced.

28. It may be added here that the tombs of Athribis seem all to belong to a late age; none could be dated earlier than the Ptolemaic period. They lie in several strata, and were largely cut as quarries adapted for tombs. Probably the quarrymen made a business of providing tombs. Some are shallow pits with chambers below; but the majority are merely rooms cut in the rock. They extend from that marked "North Tomb" on the plan, Pl. XIV, to a little beyond the tomb with a Greek inscription at the south. Only one other tomb has a hieroglyphic text. This is entered by a short shaft. The chambers of the tomb below are covered with very roughly cut inscriptions and scenes, for P-shen-asir, son of P-du-asir called Serapyon, and Thetaset. The whole cliff side is strewn with fragments of blackened bodies, which have been dragged out and broken to pieces in recent years by plunderers.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE COENOBIMUM OF ATHRIBIS

29. WHEN seven years ago I visited the White Monastery, or Deir of Amba Shenudeh, near Sohag, I noticed a large extent of brick ruins on the south of the Deir; and as the rubbish heaps around it contained broken pottery of about the Constantine age, they seemed to be older than the stone Deir. This site appeared therefore worth some examination, as bearing on the earlier Christian organisation; for as it was apparently older than monasticism, it must have been first occupied as a Coenobite establishment.

The ground is a piece of flat open desert, slightly sloping down to the cultivated plain. The plan on Pl. XLIII being drawn with north-east at the top, lies as if viewed from the higher desert looking down to the plain. The relative positions of the Deir and

the Coenobium are shown by an inset on a smaller scale at the top left corner. The enclosing wall of the ruins was traced on three sides, but could not be found along the edge of the cultivation owing to wear by the road, and perhaps being swamped in the rise of Nile mud. The excavation here, and the preparation of the plan, are entirely Mr. Ward's work; and the following account is drawn from his observations, and from what I could see in beginning the work and visiting the place later on.

The enclosing walls and most of the inner buildings are of mud-brick; but a few buildings, cisterns, and baths are of burnt brick and cement. The outer wall was not intended for defence, as it is too slight to resist open violence; it was merely a protection against private marauders or a Bedawy raid. The construction with internal buttresses on the southern side is peculiar; they may have been placed inside in order to avoid their being used for climbing over the wall. On the western side are two semicircular buttresses; but they are not placed on either side of the entrance, as is usual in Roman work.

30. The gateways are three, one on each of the remaining sides. On the south the gate was sixteen feet wide. The threshold is of large irregular blocks, and inside that is a raised mass of brickwork, with a trench between that and the wall on each side. This seems to be the place of a stone walling on each side, which has been removed, leaving the roadway rising between the foundation lines. On the north is a space, twenty-one feet wide, between two drains, which apparently show the breadth and direction of the road. These drains are made by pottery drain-pipes, fitting together with collar and socket, and sunk below the surface. But two such parallel lines are not likely to have been run under houses, and were probably put below the sides of the road. The western gate was only a postern, rather over four feet wide, and had been disused and blocked up.

The main feature of the inside area is a large slag heap due to lime burning. This proves that a considerable building of limestone had stood here. The general positions of beds of limestone dust and chips indicate that the building was in the centre of the area, the dust being east of it, the chips north of it, and the slag to the west. No portion of the building could be found in place, the ground being high and bare of remains. So large a building of the Constantine age on this site, remote from towns, was doubtless a church. It seems to have been systema-

tically and economically removed, as there was no general smashing of the stones, but they had been taken away whole, and only the minor part broken up and burnt for lime. The dust and chips are the refuse left by the builders of the church, as they underlie the brick walls of the houses.

31. Some minor details may be noted here. The diagonally shaded areas are floors of crude brick rooms, of which the surrounding walls have been carried away. Near the middle of the west side is a large oval vat of pottery in a chamber. At the north-west corner there are two walls; the long one is part of the side, and another was built six inches outside of it or touching it in other parts. The inner wall ceases before the skew wall runs upward; the outer wall continues for a long way behind the Deir, and includes many brick ruins outside of the Deir. In the corner formed by the west wall and the skew north wall is a vaulted chamber; the brickwork fills up the corner rounded, and is plastered and white-washed over. A barrel-roofed passage runs across the end of the chamber, and to the east a flight of steps led down to this passage. For about forty feet to the south of the vaulted chamber, a large raised mass of solid brickwork has been built in. Outside of the north wall are many cross-walls of chambers, and in one chamber near the gate are three circular vats of pottery. At the north gate is a square block of granite, nearly in the middle. A curious construction is at A. A square chamber or tank is sunk in the ground, not so deep as the drain, and unconnected with it. The tank is of baked brick, with a limestone kerb round the edge, plastered inside, and with a Roman granite dish or bowl set in the plaster at the south corner. Within the area is a large square building of red brick, with walls still six feet thick, narrowing upward to the top. The size of the building, about twenty-seven feet by thirty inside, and the solidity of construction, shows that it was for some important purpose.

We can now take a general view of the relation of the parts. The skew wall on the north is clearly of the same age and style as the other outside walls; while the continuation of the west wall further north is of later age. The walls which join it askew on the outer side were built up against it, butted and not bonded, in some cases remedied by skew buttresses added to the long wall. The building inside the area to the east being parallel to the skew wall, also points to its being an original feature. And the large red brick building being askew to the buildings on the west

of it shows that there was a skew road, and therefore a skew wall here, when the most important buildings were erected.

32. We may now consider the history of this building and its relation to the Deir. The stone Deir is one of the most interesting buildings in Egypt. It has the external form of an Egyptian temple, the sloping walls only broken by doorways on the south, west, and north, and the deep cavetto cornice overhanging the top. But it has been designed for a great church, as there is a row of windows high up on both the long sides. Inside the walls a space along the south has been reserved for vestries and clerical offices, and the whole of the rest was one great basilica, with a portion separated at the west end, perhaps as a baptistry. Some of the material had been brought from a pagan temple; pieces of inscriptions on red granite are built into the western doorway, the name of Apries occurs on a block of red granite lying outside on the north; and the floor of the nave is flagged by immense squares of red granite, placed alternately square and diagonal, which are the sides of a monolith naos of Neferites of the XXIXth dynasty. These temple remains probably came from the temple of Athribis, which was rebuilt by Physkon, or possibly from some earlier temple of the nome capital in the plain.

The later damage to this massive basilica has been extensive. The western and northern doorways are blocked up for defence, the south-west corner has fallen away and been rebuilt, the whole has been unroofed, and the nave appropriated for houses, leaving only the eastern end for divine service. It is now undergoing most thorough conservative repair, under the direction of Herz Bey, and will gradually be put back to its original state. The beautifully careful cleaning of the sculptures has brought out an important fact, that the bands of foliage-carving around the apses are not all in order. In one apse the stones are wrongly set up, and the pattern is disjointed. In some other details also, such as the combination of wood and stone, there seem to be signs of a re-use of material somewhat differently to its original design. The whole building will, however, be thoroughly published and discussed, and here I need only state such points as bear upon our own work.

The Deir, or Basilica as it should be termed, can hardly be dated earlier than Theodosius, by several features of decoration, and it might be

Arcadian. It seems, however, from the pottery heaps, that the brick buildings which we have described are certainly earlier than this age. Moreover, the enclosure did not originally contain the Basilica, which was built near the northern side, and was included in a later extension of the brick wall. The enclosure, however, originally contained a large church which has been entirely removed, and the lesser stones burnt for lime.

33. The history of the whole site seems then to have been somewhat as follows. Under Constantine a large church was built on a slight rise of desert, and surrounded by a considerable Christian settlement or Coenobium, built squarely with it on the south and west. While this was being extended, and was still incomplete, a check was put upon it, possibly by Julian, and a skew wall was built to fence in the buildings already standing. Then a second period of expansion set in, probably under Theodosius. A much larger settlement and a new church was required by the flourishing monasticism of that age, under Saint Shenudeh. A fresh site was adopted, outside of the existing town, which was partly deserted; the old church was taken down, and the more important parts of it re-used in the great new basilica (some of the carving becoming confused in the rebuilding of it), and the less useful stone was burnt for lime for the new building. The old Coenobium wall was carried onward to include the new basilica, as the central object of the whole settlement. Around the basilica fresh dwellings were built square with it, and so running back askew to the old north wall against which they butted. Such seems to have been the growth of the place which became celebrated as the home of the great saint Shenudeh, whose life has been preserved to us. To enter on the Coptic history is outside of the present scope, as we are only dealing with the archaeology of the remains, which may deserve closer examination in connection with the literary records of the site.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE INSCRIPTIONS

By Dr. J. H. WALKER

34. THE inscriptions of the time of the Old Kingdom are recorded on Pls. II—XIII. They are of the usual type, which appears in the tombs of this period. There are, however, two interesting





titles, which do not seem to occur elsewhere. One is a man's title, on Pls. II and III, *mer at suten*, for which I suggest "superintendent of the royal couch." The other is a woman's title, on Pl. III, reading perhaps *hrp kp-s*.




The Ptolemaic inscriptions occupy Pls. XVI—XXXIV. Texts of this period are always difficult to translate, owing to the numerous different values which many of the hieroglyphs possess, and frequently unexpected values. This difficulty is increased, in the texts under consideration here, owing to many passages being very corrupt. Very good evidence of the corrupt state of the text is shown on Pls. XVII and XVIII, in the list of trees from Punt. By comparing this list with a very similar list in Dümichen's *Geographische Inschriften*, a number of mistakes are at once apparent in our text. Further trouble arises from each temple having had apparently its own school of scribes, as Junker points out in his Grammar of the texts at Denderah; so that the texts in each temple have a different grammar.

I wish to thank Sir Herbert Thompson for most valuable help and encouragement, and especially for pointing out to me the interesting fact, already alluded to, of the parallel text at Edfu.

35. Pl. II. *Tomb of Ka-em-nefert*. "May the King present an offering table to Anubis, Lord of the sacred land (the Necropolis), and a burial in the Western desert, (after) a very happy old age, before the great god." Apparently *imakhu* has been omitted. The usual phrase is "for the worthy one before the great god."

"The King's intimate (*rekht sutn*), superintendent of the royal *at*, he of (?) the great Residence, the royal priest Kem nefert (or Ka-em-nefert)."

 is a word I have not seen elsewhere. Possibly it may be a shortened form of   , a couch, which occurs in this form in the tomb of Thy at Sakkara.

 is also unknown to me. The usual title is . Perhaps the sign here is , *ti*, "belonging to" (see *A. Z.* 1892, p. 80).

Pl. III. "May the King give an offering table to Anubis, who resides within the sacred hall, and his (Kemnefert's) burial in the Western Necropolis, for the possessor of the reward of merit (*n neb imakh*), and (or after) a very happy old age before the great god."

"His beloved wife, the worthy one, the regulator of her nursery ?, Debi."



In front of Mery, his son offering the vase and cup. "Making fragrant offerings by thy son, Aas."

"Inspecting the enumeration of the cattle by the prince, the sole confidential friend, the lector, the worthy one, Mery (read  $\text{⊖}$  for  $\text{⊕}$ ), rich in his possessions and fatlings."

Behind man bearing baskets. "Superintendent of the basket (*gat*), Shema."

In front of second man, with bulls fighting. "O strike him, and he will let go."

In register below. "An excellent counting of small cattle (?)."

Next register below. "An excellent counting of asses; they are very numerous."

"Overseer of the asses, Neba." "Thena."

37. Pl. XIII. *Tomb of Sebek-nefer.*

"The treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, the sole confidential friend, the worthy one before Upuat, lord of Hor-shen, Sebek-nefer."

"A *stn dj htp* to Upuat, lord of Hor-shen."

"The treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, the confidential friend, the superintendent of the priests, Sebek-[nefer]."

Over figure 1. "The *sem*-priest, the sole confidential friend, the lector, the worthy one, Aba."

" " 2. "His son, the sole confidential friend, Kar(?)"

" " 3. "His son, the sole confidential friend, priest of . . . A . . ."

" " 4. "His son, the sole confidential friend, priest of Sed-heb-n-Pepi."

" " 5. "The lector, the *semsu hayt* of the god, the scribe of the palace, the worthy one, Adu."

38. Pl. XVI. *Punt Chamber of Auletes.*

Over King offering five trees. "The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, the heir of the god who saves, chosen of Ptah, doing the will of Amen, (the living image) of Ra. Son of the sun, lord of diadems, Ptolemy, living for ever, beloved of Ptah and Isis."

Behind him. "All life and strength surround him, like Ra for ever. As the good god lives. Pleasing his mistress by counting out her beautiful things, the trees which come from Punt, for the purpose of making her heart to live, with that which comes forth from it (Punt). May no evil ever happen to her. Son of the sun, lord of diadems, Ptolemy," &c.

Over the goddess. "Sekhet, the eye of Horus, regent of the West, lady of Ta-netert, the great one

in heaven, whose beauties make brilliant the two lands, the scintillating one, manifold of forms, great of respect, great of reverence, fear of her is in the hearts of the gods, the one who lives like Ra for ever. The princess, lady of all rulers, great of marvels in the two lands and the deserts, shining of face, great of reverence, ruler of rulers, manifold of forms (colours), the two lands are lit up by her beauties, every foreign country trembles (?) before her, she who lives like Ra for ever."

In front of the goddess. "I grant thee greatness of might, to conquer North, South, West, and East."

In front of the King. ". . . to thee, the plants which proceed from the eye of Horus, to satisfy thy heart, consisting of what comes forth from . . . consisting of all trees."

Pl. XVII, reading from left, lines 1 and 2. Ptolemy. "An offering of two vases of wine to my mother, the powerful one, in order that she may grant eternal life. (3) Ropyt, ruler of the West, lady of heaven, mistress of . . . I grant the coming forth of thy heart's wish, thy face being joyful, and no evil happening to thee. (4) White (?) . . . with green eye-paint, with . . . for adorning thy face. Behold them, there is nothing which surpasses their beauty; Ptolemy. (5) Rejoicing (or adoration) . . . satisfying thy divine brother with thy love. (6) Ptolemy. Green(?) and black eye-paint in bags for his father, that he may give life and strength." ( $\text{Ⓜ}$ , probably for  $\text{Ⓜ}$ , "green," and  $\text{Ⓜ}$  for *msdm*.) (8) "Min, lord of Apu (Ekhnim), lofty of the double plume, King of the gods in Hat-w (? Hat-aah of Pl. XVIII), beautiful as to his garments (? *wbht*). I grant might to thy sword, for the purpose of smiting the desert folk. (9) . . . protecting his place . . . (10) . . . the eye of Horus, ruler of the West, protecting (11) . . . protecting the eye, the protection made for Horus, shining forth from . . . I give to thee all foreign countries with their chiefs (?), in order that thou mayest live upon their tributes. (12) Mayest thou come in peace, that tributes (*nst-hr*?) may be brought to thee, filling thy desires, and offer up prayers to the Uzat-eye in its place, without forgetting anything, they will unite themselves with it in their . . . it living like Ra for ever. (13) As the good god lives. The performance of entering with the Uzat-eye and seeing the greatness of its tributes . . . providing the eye with its protection, he presents it to its owner. Ptolemy, &c. (14) Ptolemy . . . in its place in front. Nothing harmful in that which

shines forth from it. I present to thee the Uzat-eye, provided with its belongings, filled with its . . . (16) The eye of Horus, Ropyt, ruler of the West, filled with what proceeds from her, (17) with the products of Punt, providing her place, with that which proceeds from (18) Ta-netert. Her right eye by day illuminates the two lands, her left eye by night (19) driving away villainous darkness, she living like Ra for ever. (20) The mighty one in heaven, the powerful one on earth, brilliant in her disc (*sbk*, the moon's disc) over Egypt, shining like gold, illuminating mortals with her rays. The gods behold her when she rises, the goddesses live at sight of her, living like Ra for ever." (Lines 21 to 28, see Pl. XVI.) (29) "Lives the good god, the valiant one, who smites the foreigners, great of might, who seizes in strength, his . . . Satisfying his mistress with things which she desires, rich in the perfumes from trees which she loves."

On the right of the plate. (1) "(Lord of) diadems, Ptolemy."

(2) Behind goddess. "The whole land is in awe of her, she who lives like Ra for ever. (3) . . . thine eyes (?), may there be no darkness in thine eyes."

(4, 5) Below figure of King offering. "I give (?) to thee, without ceasing, beautiful trees which come from the Uzat-eye, the hezt trees which come from the eye of Geb (?), the living god, the perfume is as . . . perfume."

39. Pl. XVIII. *Punt Chamber, bands.*

A. (1) ". . . his father Min, lord of Apu (Ekmmim), lofty of plume, the King of the gods in Hat-aah (*ht-i'h* = Ekmmim), . . . furnishing the deserts, whilst trampling the Nine-bow people under foot. He has built a shrine in Ta-neter, filling it with incense trees . . . for his mother, the mighty one, Repyt, the (2) eye of Horus, mistress of the Western desert. Providing a temple with very excellent unguents for his father, Harpocrates (?), the glorious child, who comes forth from the eye of Horus, making glorious his chamber (?) with all good things, for the purpose of establishing the shrine in Ta-neter. Heaven and earth rejoice (*msk*) within the temple of Sekhet (or Repyt)."

B. "The throne of the eye of Horus rejoices because its lord (?) is making glad his heart with what he loves, without ceasing. Pouring forth perfume of myrrh (*nt*) in the temples during the course of each day (*m hrt hrw nti r nb*) before him. With all life, stability, and strength, all health, and all gladness of heart, crowned with the double crown upon the

throne of Horus, prince of the living like Ra for ever."

4th register, reading from left. (1) "Ptolemy. (2) Indestructible are the works which I have made, living like Ra for ever. (3) He is as the ruler in all foreign countries. (4) Making the Uzat-eye of . . . its form is of granite (?). (5) . . . cedar wood (?) . . . myrrh, most excellent are these emanations. (6) Ptolemy. (7) . . . (8) furnished with his tributes (9) . . . which comes forth from the eye of Horus, the living one, (10) the goddess, myrrh, most excellent are the emanations. (11) Ptolemy. (12) Darkness (?), great of fear and great of flame, living like Ra for ever. (13) . . . inundating the lands with beauties. (14) . . . her titles are established (*nhb*) when she comes forth (15) . . . to her place, no one shall remove (?) her therefrom for ever."

5th register. "(Min) lord of Apu (Ekmmim), lofty of plume, King of the gods in Hat-aah . . . the good god of Punt. He set up for him the shrine of the bull (?), and built the shrine in Punt, filling it with myrrh-trees for his mother, the mighty one, the eye of Horus, Repyt, mistress of the West. He inundated the laboratory with an exceedingly great quantity of unguents for his father . . ."

40. Pl. XVIII. *Punt Chamber, trees.*

In describing this list of trees brought from Punt as an offering, the order of the plates has been here reversed, because there is a parallel passage in Dümichen, *Geographische Inschriften*, II, Pl. 86-88 (this volume being vol. IV of *Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens*, by Brugsch and Dümichen), where these trees are mentioned as providing ingredients for an unguent made in the laboratory at Edfu. By beginning with Pl. XVIII here, the trees fall into the same order as they occur in the Edfu text. Several of the unintelligible signs in our text are supplied from the Edfu text.

Beginning on the left; see Düm., Pl. 86, lines 3-4, and Pl. 87, 12. (1) "A myrrh (*antiu*) bearing tree, whose name is *qabtt*. Its clear colour is . . . (and has the scent of (?)) . . . if . . . is (2) put over it, very brilliant is its beauty . . . it comes forth from the bones of the god's limbs. It is used in every ceremony (*irt kat neb im-f*) in all the temples of Egypt."

(2) See Düm., Pl. 86, 4-5. "A myrrh-tree, *shemer-khet-aa-bertet* is its name. Its colour is the gold (? *mersh*) of the divine limbs. Pleasant and sweeter than . . . which comes forth (?) from the divine . . . When there is decay (?) inside it, its

colour is as the sun in winter (?). It is brought from the land of *Khet*."

(3) See Düm., 86, 5-6. "A myrrh-tree, *maa ma* is its name, or *beshesh*. Its colour is as crystal, of the god of Punt (?). Myrrh . . . as *beshesh* as crystal. Its scent is pleasant. Great is the quantity of myrrh. *Maa ma* (?) is its name. Its juice (?) is like the rays from the eye of Horus."

(4) See Düm., 86, 6-7. "(A myrrh-tree, *ky resef*) is its name, its colour is as *sekhem* (?) . . . myrrh . . . *akhutem* in its interior of the colour of gold . . . the divine . . . which comes forth from the eye of Ra."

(5) See Düm., 86, 7-8. "A myrrh-tree, *mta* (myrrh) of Aam is its name. Its colour is whiter (?) than *shem* . . . myrrh. If it is softened with water . . ."

Pl. XVII. Lower register, reading from right to left.

(6) See Düm., 87, 20-1. (1) "A white tree, it is the eye of Horus, like the wood (?) of the carob-tree. The white tree—the rays from the eye of Horus.

(2) It is like the dried date of the carob-tree . . .

(3) . . . like the colour of gold. Its scent . . . (4) A tree, *mawtet* is its name. Its colour . . . the eye of Horus. (5) A tree, *kelel* is its name, its colour white *zetem* (?). (6) It is the eye of Horus. (7) A tree—the white olive-tree is its name. Its colour is black and white. It is the eye of Horus. Its wood is black throughout . . ."

(7) See Düm., 88, 25. (8) "A tree (?) *kaheb*—the wood from it . . . (9) . . . (10) It is red like (?) *kau*. Its branches make the *hekenu* unguent. Its scent is as myrrh . . ."

(8) See Düm., 88, 28. (11) "A tree, *rwt*, its colour is glistening, it is *Sekhem*. A black wood, it is the myrrh of Punt . . . (12) is colour . . . myrrh is its name. (13) Its scent is the emanation from dried myrrh in the laboratory of the god . . ."

41. Pl. XXIV. *East wall, outside.*

Reading from the left. (1) ". . . when she comes to the house of the Phoenix (*or* the house of glory) he magnifies her, her beloved son, Tiberius Claudius, Caesar Germanicus, living for ever. (2) . . . like the son of Isis, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Tiberius Claudius, the god and son of the god (*ntr s' ntr*), Caesar Germanicus, living for ever. (3) The Horus, the mighty bull, shining in the horizon, the King, &c., &c. (4) his . . . together with his *Ka* in the great place, she crowns (?) her beloved son the King," &c., &c.

*Ka*-name. "The mighty bull repeating coronations (?)."

In front of the King. "The white sceptre in his right hand, to protect him from harm (?). The prince (?) comes forth with protection (?), and enters into the temple of *Sekhet*."

Behind the priest offering.

"I make offerings to thee of pure things and incense . . . the great goddess of the South, *Nekhebt*, wearing the white crown, the lady of the great house. The uraeus diadem is on the head of the King, the goddess *Menh* embracing the front of *Mehent*. Glorified with the sacred oil of life."

In front of the *ankh* figure bearing standard, reading from right to left.

"Opening the sacred roads for the King of the two lands, opening the roads for the King of the South, for the purpose of seeing the . . . of the gods, in the white (?) chamber. He grants thee great festivals for ever."

In front of the *dad* figure bearing a standard.

"Walking along the path to her, to see the child of *Maat* (?) in the great place. She grants thee all gladness (of heart) for ever."

In front of the *was* figure bearing a standard.

"Smoothing (?) thy paths in the approach to the temple of the divine mother. Mayest thou be crowned with diadems in the house of gold. She grants thee . . . with both hands for ever."

In front of *ankh* figure bearing a standard.

". . . thy paths—thou comest rejoicing . . . the heart rejoices at sight of thee. He grants thee to be crowned with the crown of the South for ever."

*Lower register.*

The King having the water of purification poured over him, represented by streams of *ankh* and *was* figures, probably by Horus and Anubis.

"May thy body be purified with the great water, which flows from . . . for thy body . . ."

"I have purified thee with water, thou art made divine in the horizon; thou art cleansed, together with thy *Ka*, by . . . water, as *Geb* purifies the earth."

"Adoration to . . . Praises in the face of . . ."

"The water (*or* ointment) has entered into my body. I am cleansed like . . ."

"Water of *sam* (?), which flows forth from *Nut*, sanctifying (thee) with thy image, as heaven is purified . . ."

". . . To the house of the full moon. The provender (?) of *Aast* (?) for the purpose of seeing thy approach . . . without thy journeying (?) . . ."

"I fix the diadem on thy head, in the form of the

white crown, making thee perfect(?) with the red crown upon thy brow."

"I come to thee, chief of the gods, that thou mayest grant me the reward of merit and all praise."

42. Pl. XXV. *West wall, south end.*

1st line on left. "The god, the son of a god, Caesar Germanicus."


1st line on right. "... Standing firm when opposed, subduing(?) foreign countries by might (2) ... their ... that they may give their children with their produce, their ... with the portions(?) from the desert gardens with their tribute. (3) ... in the horizon of the Western desert like Horakhti (*i.e.* the god of the two horizons), the lord of the horizon."

Cross band. Commencing in the middle at the *ankh* sign, reading from middle to right. "The living Horus, the goodly youth, sweet of love, crowned with the double plume, with the vulture and uraeus diadem, with his *Ka*. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Tiberius Claudius."

Reading from middle to left. "The living Horus, the warrior great of valour, bringing the whole extent of Egypt into his power, Caesar Germanicus, beloved of Reptyt(?), the eye of Horus."

On left of winged uraeus. "Lord of heaven, shining as the one with many coloured feathers (*ab šw*) from the horizon, the lord of Mesen."

Vertical line on left. "... placing the temples in the place where they are, lord of diadems, Tiberius Claudius."

On left is the King offering the uzat-eye, his two cartouches above him. In front of him is Thoth named , "the doubly great one, the lord of Khemenu." Next is Horus, with his name in front of him in cartouche, "Horus, the son of Isis"; and finally Reptyt seated, to whom they are offering. She is named "the eye of Horus, Mehent."


In similar scene on the right, Reptyt is called "mighty goddess, chief of the two lands." In front of her is Horus, named "Horus, the great god, lord of heaven(?)" ; next comes Shu, named "the great god of gods and men" ; finally the King with a table of offerings.

43. Pl. XXVI. *West wall, king and gods.*

The King and the goddess Sefekht are here represented driving in posts, for the purpose of fixing the angles of the foundation of the temple, by stretching a cord round the posts.

An excellent representation, exactly resembling this, occurs in *Baugeschichte des Dendera Tempels*, by

Dümichen, Pl. 56, in which the ceremony is called "the stretching of the cord."

The phrase "stretching the cord" may have been in the blank at commencement of the inscription in front of Sefekht,  being the sign for "to stretch." "... in the temple, driving in(?) (*kr*, (?)) "to strike") ... with the sacred mallet, making it firm, like heaven."

Middle line. "Making excellent the foundation with his ... Thoth being with him ... Sefekht establishing the angles (*kheses*) ..."

In front of King. "Founding thy sanctuary like the horizon. Establishing it with the sacred mallet(?)"

Pl. XXVII. Reptyt standing; above her is "... Reptyt, mistress of the West, the mighty goddess, providing(?) the sanctuaries of Min with statues(?)"

In front of her. "I grant thee eternal(?) ... and the correct foundation for ..."

The young King, represented as Horus; above him are three lines reading from right to left. "Comes the son of Isis, born of Isis by divine seed ... (2) proceeding from the eye of Horus, beautiful of face, lord of the two lands (3) ... whilst he beholds the august god in the temples."

Below, in front of King. "I cause to come to thee Sefekht, that she may ... the royal ... in her hands."

Above Thoth, holding the uzat-eye in his right hand, and a stick with measuring cord in his left hand, is his title, "lord of Khemenu," with the ape determinative of Thoth.

In front of him. "I present to thee the uzat-eye ... may thy boundaries be opened up ... to the limits of the sea."

44. Pl. XXVIII. *Scene of offering.*

On the left is the figure of Reptyt, with titles above. "Reptyt, divine wife(?), ruler of the Western desert, the eye of Horus, the gods exalt their divine sister ... possessor of fear(?) (inspiring fear(?)), great of valour, the mighty one amongst the gods like Maat(?), satisfying the heart at sight of ..."

In front of her below. "... at sight of thee, whilst bringing the sacrificial ox (*nefer*) to the slaughter house, and commencing for thee the festival of eternity."

Next comes Horus, "the son of Isis and Osiris, repeating births in Apu (Ekhmim), he who protects Osiris (? *wd ab*)."

Below in front. "I give thee thy scimitars(?) for the purpose of smiting thy enemies ... to thee on earth."

Next comes "Sokaris-Osiris, the god accounted to Athribis (Hat-Repyt), the glorious god of heaven, the King of Egypt, the prince of the Western desert, he who gives orders to the gods, the god who smites his enemies."

Below Sokaris in front. "The god has come, that he may smite thy enemies."

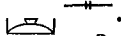
In front of a large table of offerings, consisting of all kinds of provisions, where the sacrificial ox appears. "Making an offering to thy Ka, of all things pleasant and sweet . . ."

On the right is Claudius, with his usual cartouches, and behind him two women playing tambourines.

45. Pl. XXIX. *West doorway.*

The winged disc, with uraei; on the left apparently the hieroglyph representing this disc, "the great one, protecting the shrine of the shining (?) gods."

On the right. ". . . Horus, the great lord, within the horizon, protecting (?) the temples."

Below stands Osiris Khent-Amentet, in the middle of the register. In front of him is Isis, with the peculiar spelling of her name .

Behind her is Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris, Isis being again spelt in the same manner. Horus holds a libation jar in his right hand, and a censer in his left. Behind him comes Shu, with the crook and flail in his right hand, and a sistrum in the left. Behind him is Meht Tefnut, "who overthrows the enemies of her brother, the goddess who shines forth from her dwelling, the great goddess in Athribis (Hat-Repyt)"; she holds two uzat-eyes. Finally comes Claudius, with his usual cartouches, offering a figure of Maat and a vase.

Behind Osiris stands Nephthys. Behind her is the King offering a vase and uraeus; next comes Nut, holding a vase of milk or wine in her left hand; finally Anubis, with two vases.

In front of the large figure of the King below, the inscription reads, ". . . the *ams* sceptre in the left hand, that it may repel for thee (all) evil."

Behind him stands a figure with the *Ka* sign on his head, and the King's *Ka* name, "The mighty bull giving birth to (?) crowns."

Pl. XXX. The same figures appear, bearing standards, as in Pl. XXIV. (1) The first line refers to the North, as the two lines in front of these figures in Pl. XXIV refer to the South. "Pure offerings and incense, the great one, the goddess of the North,

Uazyt, the chief deity of the North, lady of the great house . . . Menhet is glorified (?) with the sacred oil of life. (2) . . . the deified majesty (?) for the purpose of seeing the . . . of the gods, in his glorious white house. May there be given to him all life, stability, and strength like Ra for ever. (3) . . . for the purpose of seeing the glory of Usert in the house of gold. May she give him all . . . and all health for ever. (4) . . . for the purpose of seeing the child of Maat (?) in the great house. May there be given to him the crown like . . . like the child of . . . for ever . . . (5) . . . in the white house. May there be given to him many great festivals, he being crowned as King of Upper and Lower Egypt upon the throne of Horus for ever . . . (6) . . . the two lands, for the purpose of seeing her majesty in the horizon. May she give him tribute (?) from the orbit of the earth for ever."

Last line. "He comes forth from the palace (*menqeb*, literally 'a cool place'), and enters the temple of Repyt, to behold his divine mother, to praise (?) the god of the West, at the lighting up (?) (of the land)," *i.e.* daybreak.

46. Pl. XXXI. *Pylon of Physkon, N.E.*

(1) ". . . Min, twice great (?) . . . (2) . . . seeking (?) the desert. Hail . . . (3) twice great, pillar (?) . . . in (?) as the river (it is), great . . . narrow (?) poor) . . . (4) . . . twice great are these, thy words are not rejected . . . sleep (?) (5) . . . thou knowest me (?) . . . raising (?) strength and power for Horus in his boat (?) (6) lift up the poor man . . . hark, hark in every place. Ho! it is the feat (?) of my sight (?) (7) Min standing on the deserts, taking to himself (?) every land (?) the . . . of the desert is strengthened, the *hwnt* (?) of Coptos, the holy land (8) . . . leading princes (?) . . . Min, great (?) in leading the bulls (?) cows), who sees the bull twice great, who brings the sucking (?) calf (9) resting in . . . as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands (the heir of the Euergetes and the goddess beloved of her mother Neit, the living image of Ptah, chosen of Ra and doing the justice of Amen) [Soter II], fixing the white crown on thy forehead, he has brought the red crown . . . on thy head, Min, who embraces his mother, hidden is that which thou hast done to her (?) (10) . . . the night (?) of Horus, unique in charm and joy, thou givest life to the son of Ra, lord of diadems (Ptolemy, living for ever, beloved of Ptah), praiser of . . . thou art united to him (11) Pharaoh . . . throat . . . thou standest on (?) the steps, true (?) is the

utterance of thy words concerning thy father (12) . . . King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands (Soter II) . . . people . . . (13) . . . of heaven . . . lord of thy feathers making obeisance (*sn-to*?) before the throne of the prince (14) the son of Ra, lord of diadems (Ptolemy, &c.) . . . shall come to (?) life, otherwise said, shall come to . . . his father proceeding from Sochmet, bringing (?) . . . on thy right hand, the gods of the East are seen . . . (15) . . . is concealed in this thy name . . . of Min . . . thy white crown from (?) them, bringing to thee thy plumes on thy head (?) (16) Hail to thee, they have . . . the house of the enemy (?) . . . in her (?) name of . . . of the Plumes, taking to thee (?) . . . thou . . . thy White Crown from them, an image of the nomes (?) in the heaven of Ra (17) . . . Ho! human beings, gods, men of eloquent speech of the nomes and the deserts, the gods of the East come forth (18) . . . linen . . . hail to thee, Min, there is a coming in triumph, thou bringest (?) a box (?) of natron (19) . . . over (?) thy enemies, triumphant is (?) Pharaoh over his enemies in heaven, on earth, in the council of every god and goddess (20) . . . (Soter II), son of Ra, lord of diadems (Ptolemy), beloved of gods and goddesses, of the Eye of Horus (Sochmet) in the West and of Harpocrates (?)?"

47. Pl. XXXII. *Pylon of Physkon, S.E.*

Horizontal band. "... pleasing their hearts in . . . Ho! all persons, all men, all people, all mortals . . . let us come, let us cause you to come (?), pure from (?) every . . . praise ye Sochmet, the Eye of Horus, over the Apis-nome (IIrd of Lower Egypt?), glorify ye Sochmet in Apu, (ye) whose hearts are filled with all things . . . in their limbs with the good scent of Punt, preparing (?) in your time (?) for the day of inundation wreaths for their favour (?) from every bush, every flower sweet of smell, great loaves . . . without occasion . . . in justice, making happy their hearts in the night until dawn, in the day-time (?) till evening, at all times to their fullest enjoyment without their thinking of evil. The Eye of Horus hath received (?) the sun's disk, and *vice versa*; there is no darkness in it (but) dancing by day (?) and night . . . in heaven (?) like Ra for ever and ever."

Vertical lines. Reading from right to left.

(1) "... (2) head of (*or* "on" =  $\overline{\text{GXXN}}$ ) the bull, the pillar of Sochmet, glorious . . . (3) pray for a vessel (?) of wine (?) . . . (4) find . . . valley, we have given thy valour (?) . . . thou makest in *Dnm* (5) . . . towards (?) *Dnm* . . . the *Shay* . . . (6) the . . . of

This . . . bull twice great, lord of terror . . . lady in *Dnm* (7) Shu, lord of the heavenly vault, coming . . . in the great temple of Isis . . . (8) Come to us, bull twice great, and we will look (?) . . . thou bringest (9) thy . . . s in *Dnm*, there comes to thee every eye . . . (10) . . . the face of Min in peace: hail to thee . . . peace, priests of Min having (?) . . . (11) . . . (12) servant of Set (?), servants . . . Min (13) . . . inhabitants of Letopolis (? nome II, Lower Egypt), inhabitants of Hetet (?), inhabitants of . . . bring to us festivity in the name of his mother (?) Isis (14) in Neter (the Iseum), established in every . . . (15) . . . Come to us, for Min, mighty and strong, he bringeth (?) to us . . . thou sailest to Busiris (16) . . . behold . . . in sailing down stream (?) to Busiris to see the purification (?) of . . . twice great, coming forth by the name of Sobek, son of Neit (17) . . . rejoice in Ro-mam (?) . . . before thee in Ro-h . . . river to catch (?) fish, crocodile and serpent (?) (18) . . . Cleopatra and her son (?), the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands (Soter II), son of Ra, lord of diadems (Ptolemy), beloved of gods and goddesses, and of Min, lord of Apu."

48. Pl. XXXIII. *Pylon of Physkon, N.W.*

(1) "May thy dream (*or* waking, watching) be peaceful in the peace of thy dream (*or* waking) . . . Min, mighty . . . in the peace of thy dream . . . (2) . . . peace . . . dream, grant . . . Osiris in the peace of every dream. May thy dream be peaceful with the peace of a dream . . . (3) . . . Horus (?), the great one in Apu, lying down in . . . her suffering (*or* sickness) in the peace of thy dream. May thy dream be peaceful with [the peace of a] dream of a great spirit (4) . . . thy dream with the peace of a dream of the living majesty, granting breezes which . . . his throat (5) . . . May thy dream be peaceful with the peace . . . to the health which is in her with the peace of thy dream. May the dream be peaceful with the peace of a (?) dream . . . (6) . . . thy dream . . . with the peace of a (?) dream . . . rejoicing (in ?) the beautiful day of the gods (7) . . . of his *Ka* (?) with the peace of a dream (?) . . . with the peace of a dream . . . the living reverence (*or* ? [Har-]shefi) . . . in the peace (8) of thy dream. May thy dream be peaceful with . . . strong . . . lord of the Nine Bows . . . in obeisance in the peace of thy dream. (9) May thy dream be peaceful with the peace of thy (?) dream . . . by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord [of the two lands, So]ter II . . . Horus, lord of Sechmet (10) . . . in loaves . . . *šedeh-beer* . . . the lord of the two crowns, Pharaoh.

(11) . . . Nubt . . . spirits of Senti . . . (12) . . .  
 (13) . . . (14) . . . Pasht (?) . . . Bast . . . (15) . . .  
 (16) . . . Horus, who frees the path to the altar (?) . . .  
 (17) . . . Sochmet . . . lady of heaven . . . every  
 festival daily (?) eating (?) green food (18) . . . praise  
 to the gods, they see him under . . . death (?) . . .  
 lord of the flame (19) . . . power (and?) rejoicing,  
 Ra . . . gauze in making to shine . . . (20) . . . the  
 lord of the two lands (Soter II) . . . (Ptolemy)."

49. Pl. XXXIV. *Pylon of Physkon, S.W.*

(1) "Hail to thee, Soul (*or* Ram), that cometh  
 forth from the abyss, Sochmet, holy one among . . .  
 Hail to thee, Osiris, in Egypt (?), that maketh glad  
 the heart of Thoth . . . the lion (2) strong, making  
 bright the night even as the day. Hail to thee,  
 Khnum, that fashioneth mortals, that maketh gods,  
 that createth every seed . . . Hail to thee (?)  
 (3) Horus (?), lord of ten thousand, as Amen-Ra, as  
 one who is unknown (?), let there be granted plenty,  
 let there be granted glorious provisions of all bread,  
 all food [on which gods and men (?) live] (4) food for  
 the dead (?). Hail to thee, lover of the gods, that  
 maketh glad the heart of Horus, lord of the Four  
 Genii . . . art thou . . . lord of . . . (5) . . . of Ra,  
 of the Two Eyes, make . . . rays of light, lord of  
 light, giving life to the earth with . . . (6) . . . every  
 night, ruler of the festival of the 15th day of the  
 month, of the festival 'Six are reckoned to thee' (?),  
 of every festival, in the festival . . . the land since (?)  
 the (appearance of) light in the horizon, every land (?)  
 praises thee, all the people (?) rejoice . . . (7) there is  
 health; I have given it (?) at thy wish (?), resting on  
 thy head (?) the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt  
 of the Pharaoh; it is established for thee with  
 thy consort (?) . . . glorious . . . in pleasing the  
 heart of (8) every . . . Osiris, lord of eternity,  
 King of Upper and Lower Egypt, ruling all  
 districts, noble ruler of subjects (?), great over  
 foreigners (?) . . . loving his father he shines (as?)  
 a Youth . . . forehead (?) . . . he cometh forth . . .  
 moment (9) . . . flooding with light the . . . thousands  
 of years, the seat of eternity, traversing his two lands,  
 begetting justice, destroying . . . king of every (?) . . .  
 food. (10) . . . beautiful of beard (as?) gold and  
 lapis-lazuli, chief . . . seeing the face of all men, the  
 son eldest and first of Geb (?), taking possession of  
 the two lands, he is established in heaven, great  
 one (?) of the two lands, great prince in the Under-  
 world, lord of life, strong . . . (11) tribute (?) of all  
 people, a youth illuminating the inhabitants of the  
 abyss, he is born chief . . . in the two lands with

the emanations of his limbs, bringing . . . (12) . . .  
 the food of the gods, the offerings of the spirits,  
 causing to flourish the two lands and all districts with  
 all flowers, indeed (?) (with?) every precious stone,  
 making strong the durra (?  $\overline{\text{d}}$  | =  $\overline{\text{d}}$  | *bd*, error  
 of writing for *bd* = *bd*) among all plants . . .  
 (13) . . . creating protection for his son Horus,  
 seizing the power of the Asiatics (?) and (?) establish-  
 ing his *Ka* (as) lord of eternity in this name of  
 confirming it (?) for ever (?); he hath raised the  
 districts among the Greeks by the name of . . .  
 (14) (giving to?) every place water by this name of  
 Hapi. Come thou, greatly and mightily (?) praised  
 be these joys, let the weak (?) be uplifted and re-  
 juvenated every day, rescue . . . of Pharaoh. (15) Hail  
 to thee, Min, lord of Apu, lord of Sennut, the true  
 lapis-lazuli of the house of Sochmet, who is on (?) the  
 mountain, who is like a cow that is on the mountain . . .  
 (16) . . . (17) he is swifter than the winds, sharper  
 than a thorn, his flame moves faster than the fire of  
 the burning lake . . . (18) . . . in the great sea,  
 there being a lion (prowling?) after the house of the  
 cattle . . . (19) . . . piercers of bones (?) . . . lifting  
 up . . . (20) . . . lord of truth, thou hatest deceit . . ."

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE DATING OF THE HOROSCOPES

By E. B. KNOBEL

#### 50. *First Horoscope*, Pl. XXXVII.

	Geocentric Longitude.	Epoch, A.D. 59.
Sun between Capricornus and Aquarius	300°	January 20
Moon in Sagittarius	241°-270°	{ About Last Quarter, January 25
Mercury in forepart of Capricornus	271°-285°	
Venus in Pisces	331°-360°	250°
Mars in Aquarius	301°-330°	327°
Jupiter in Leo	121°-150°	148°
Saturn in Gemini	61°-90°	58°

The horoscope positions are probably taken from  
 tables and not from observations, and the positions  
 are in signs and not in constellations. The year  
 A.D. 59, January, suits well for Moon, Mars, Jupiter,  
 and Saturn, but is discordant for Venus. No attempt  
 has been made to reconcile Mercury. Jupiter and  
 Saturn would be in similar relative positions about

every 58 or 59 years. In the epochs -118, -60, -1, +59, +117, the only year that suits for the three superior planets is A.D. 59, but the position of Venus is quite wrong for that year.

*Second Horoscope, Pl. XXXVIII.*

	Geocentric Longitude.	Epoch, A.D. 52.
Sun in Taurus	31°-60°	May
Moon in Gemini	61°-90°	{ May 20 (New Moon, May 17)
Mercury in forepart of Taurus	{ 31°-45°	?
Venus in hindpart of Taurus	{ 45°-60°	{ 25° Longitude greater than Sun
Mars in Cancer	91°-120°	92°

	Geocentric Longitude	Epoch, A.D. 52
Jupiter between Capricor- nus and Aquarius	{ 300°	306°
Saturn in Pisces	331°-360°	358°

The year A.D. 52, May 20, suits well for Moon, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn.

The suggestion that the two horoscopes are those of father and son is improbable from the positions of Jupiter and Saturn.

(My best thanks are due to Mr. Knobel for his study of these horoscopes, received just before going to press.—W. M. F. P.)

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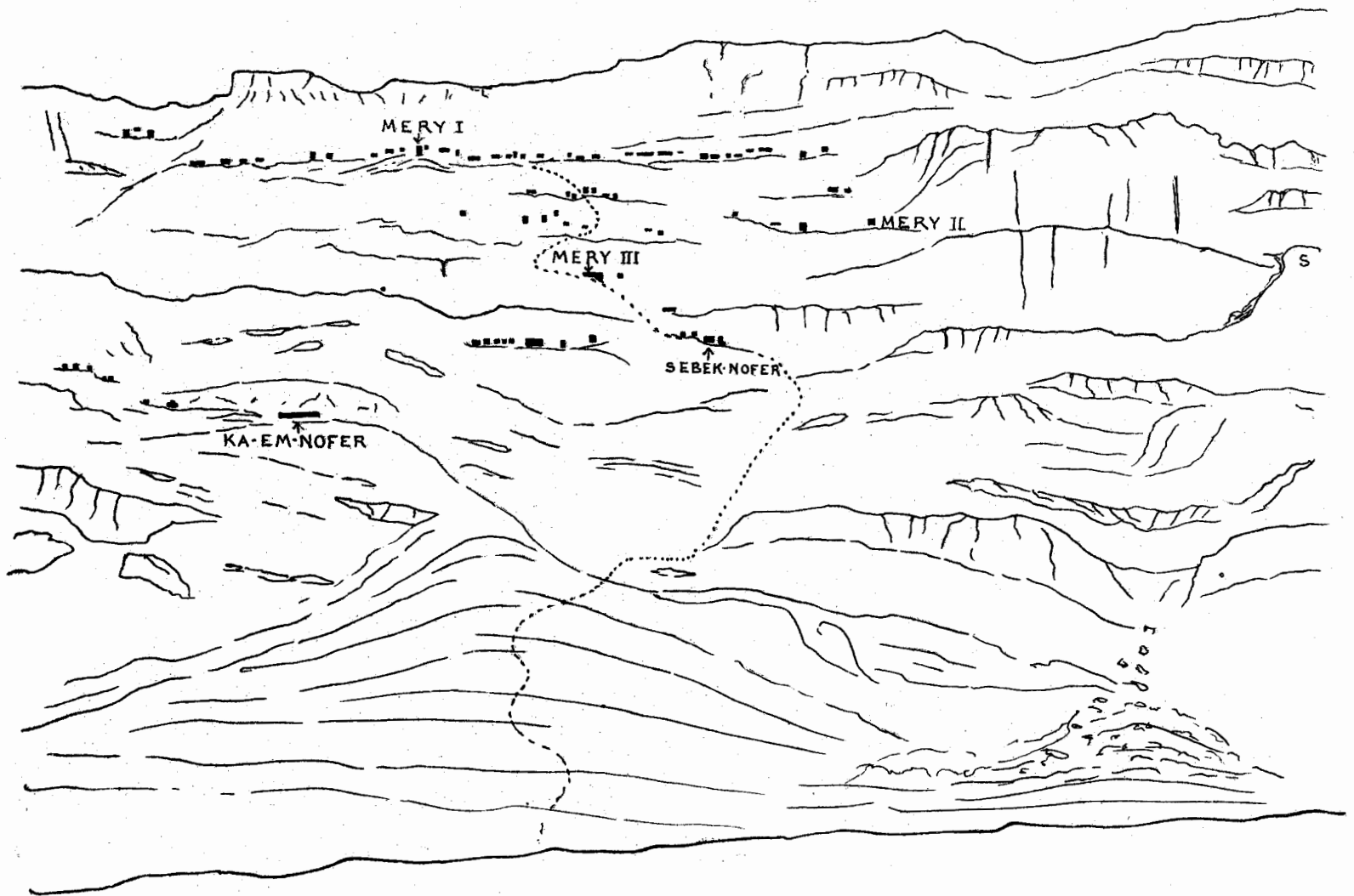
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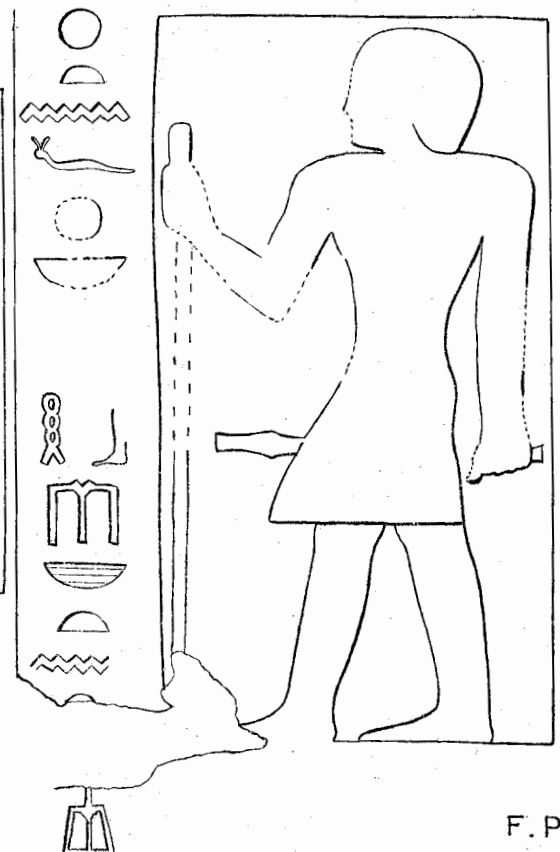
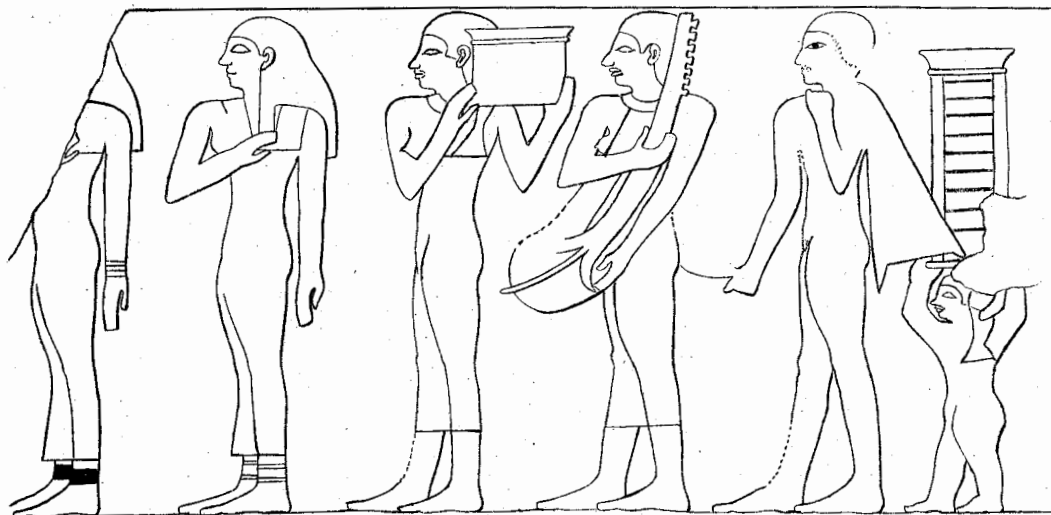
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KA-EM-NOFER. PANEL N OF PORTAL  
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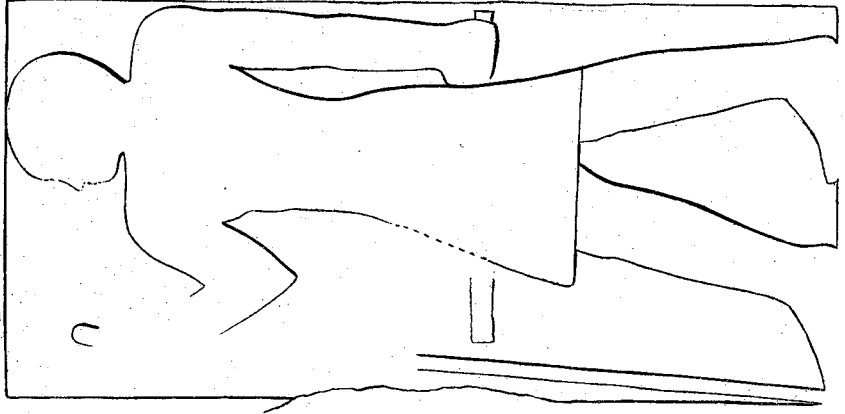
1:8 KA-EM-NOFER. WOMEN ON S. WALL, MID CHAMBER.



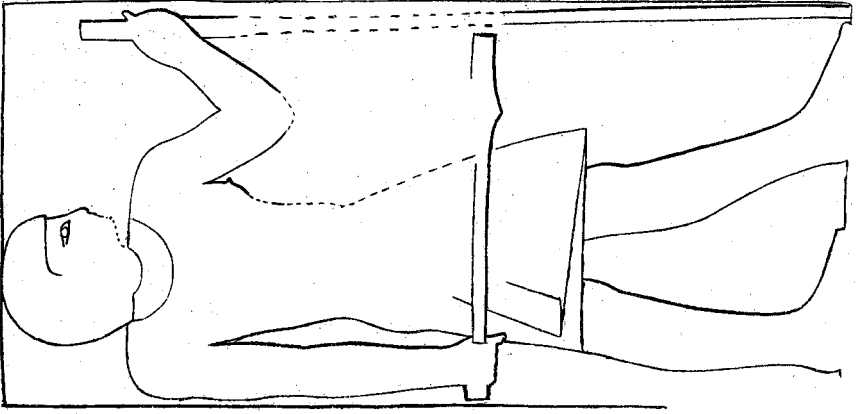
F. P.

Hieroglyphic text in the left column, likely a list of offerings or a dedication. The text is arranged in a single column and includes various symbols such as birds, fish, and other objects.

Hieroglyphic text in the middle column, likely a list of offerings or a dedication. The text is arranged in a single column and includes various symbols such as birds, fish, and other objects.

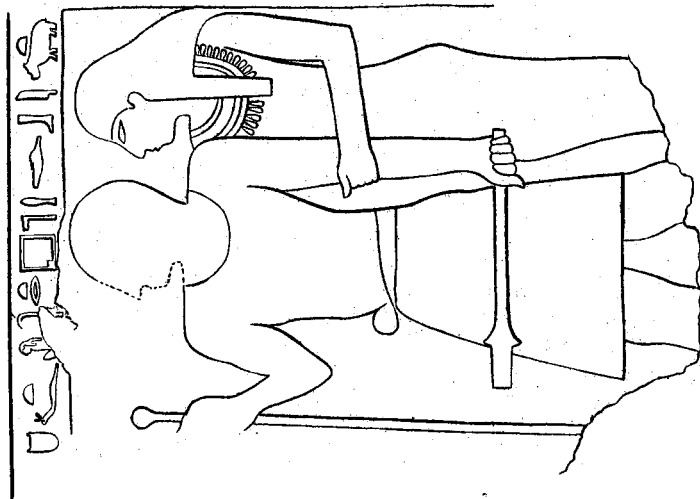
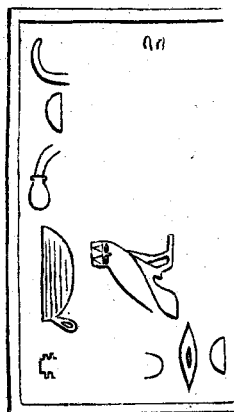


Hieroglyphic text in the middle column, likely a list of offerings or a dedication. The text is arranged in a single column and includes various symbols such as birds, fish, and other objects.

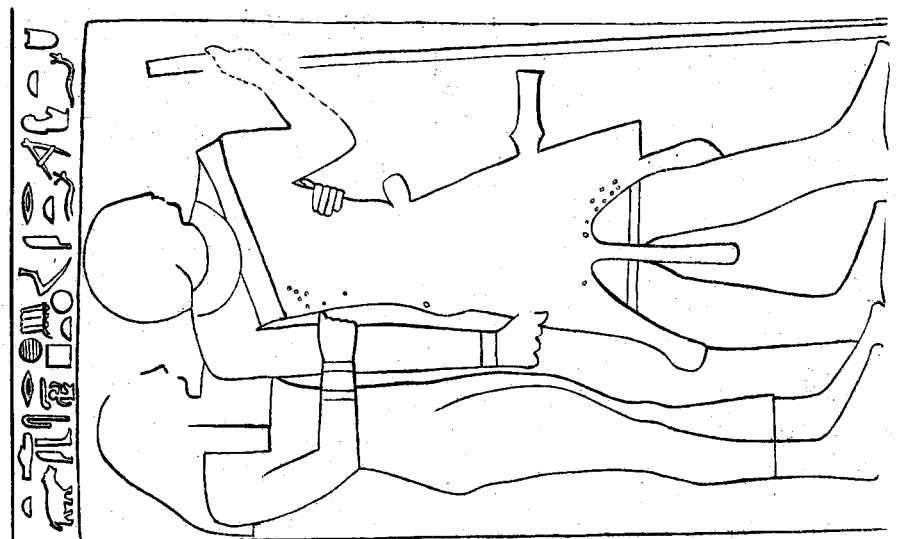


Hieroglyphic text in the bottom column, likely a list of offerings or a dedication. The text is arranged in a single column and includes various symbols such as birds, fish, and other objects.

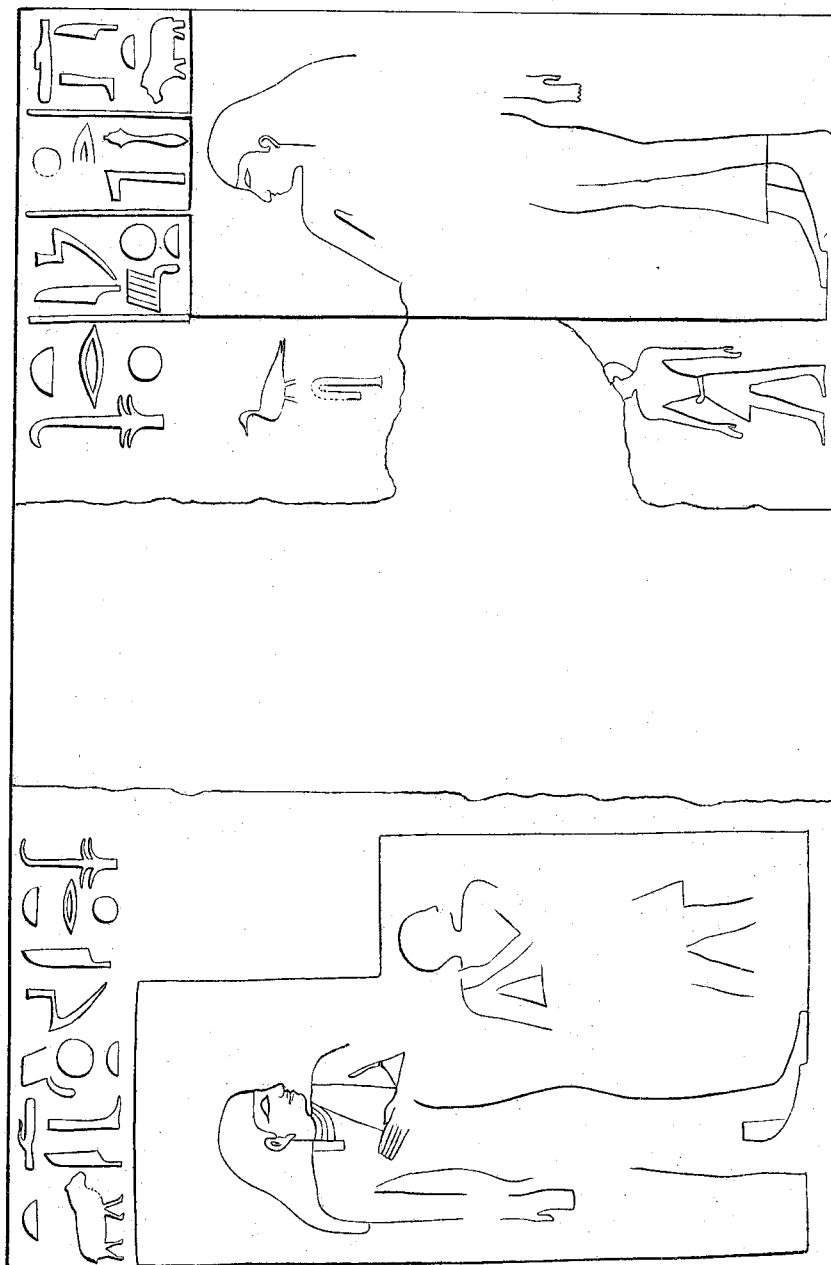
Hieroglyphic text in a single column, likely a cartouche or a list of offerings. The text is written in a standard Egyptian script, with various symbols including birds, fish, and other objects.



G.W.

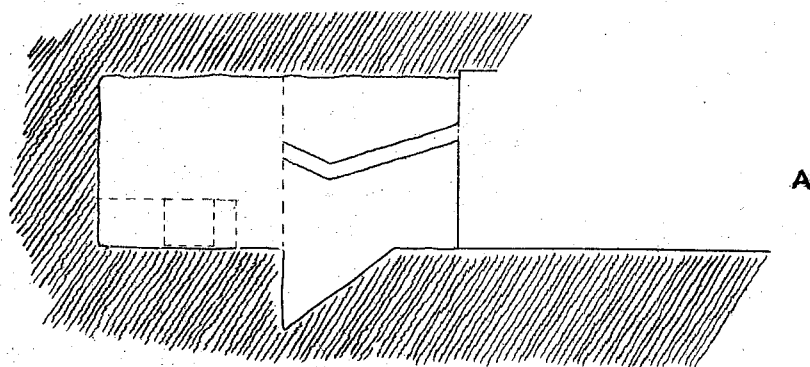


Hieroglyphic text in a single column, likely a list of offerings or a dedication. The text is written in a standard Egyptian script, with various symbols representing different items and concepts.



G.W.

SECTION A

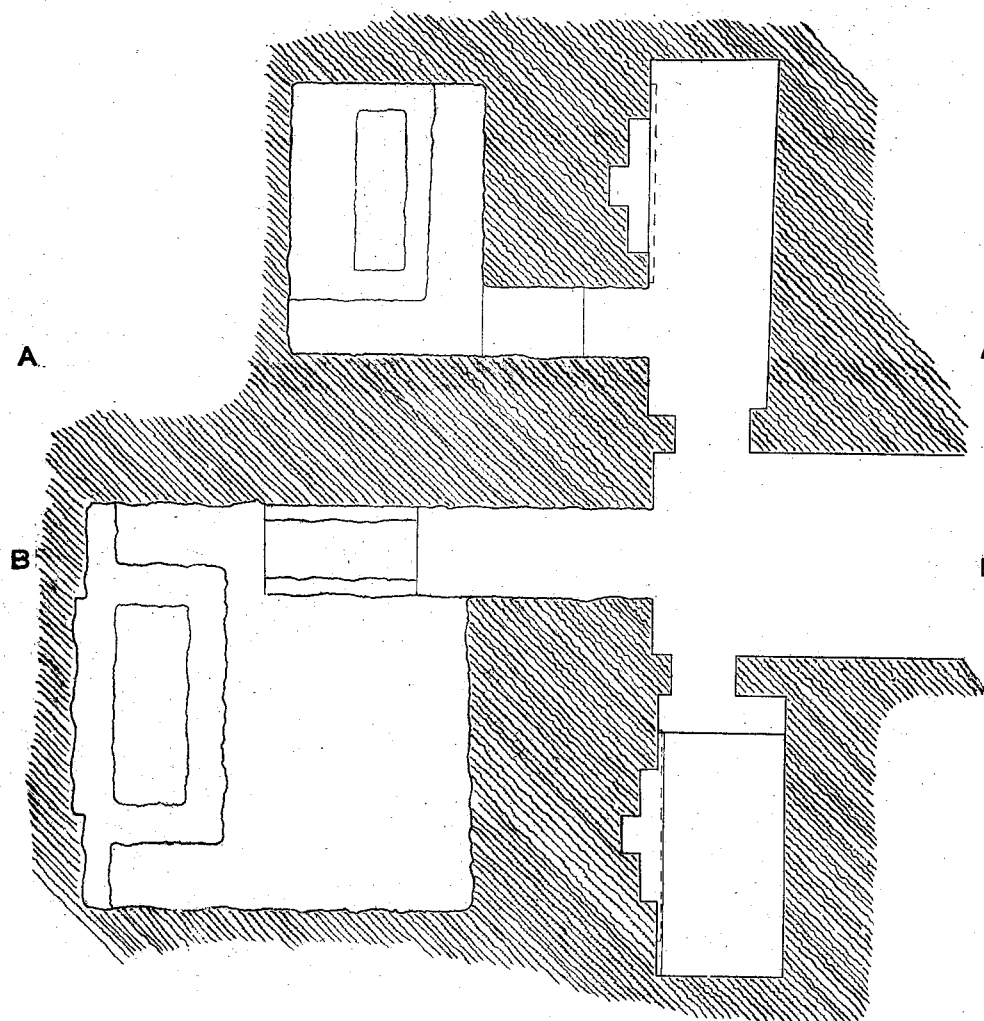


A

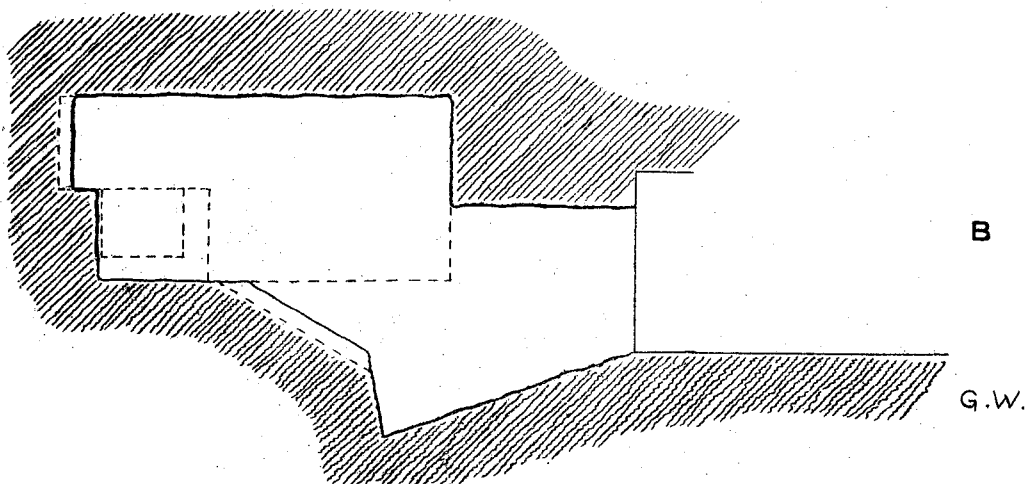
A

B

B



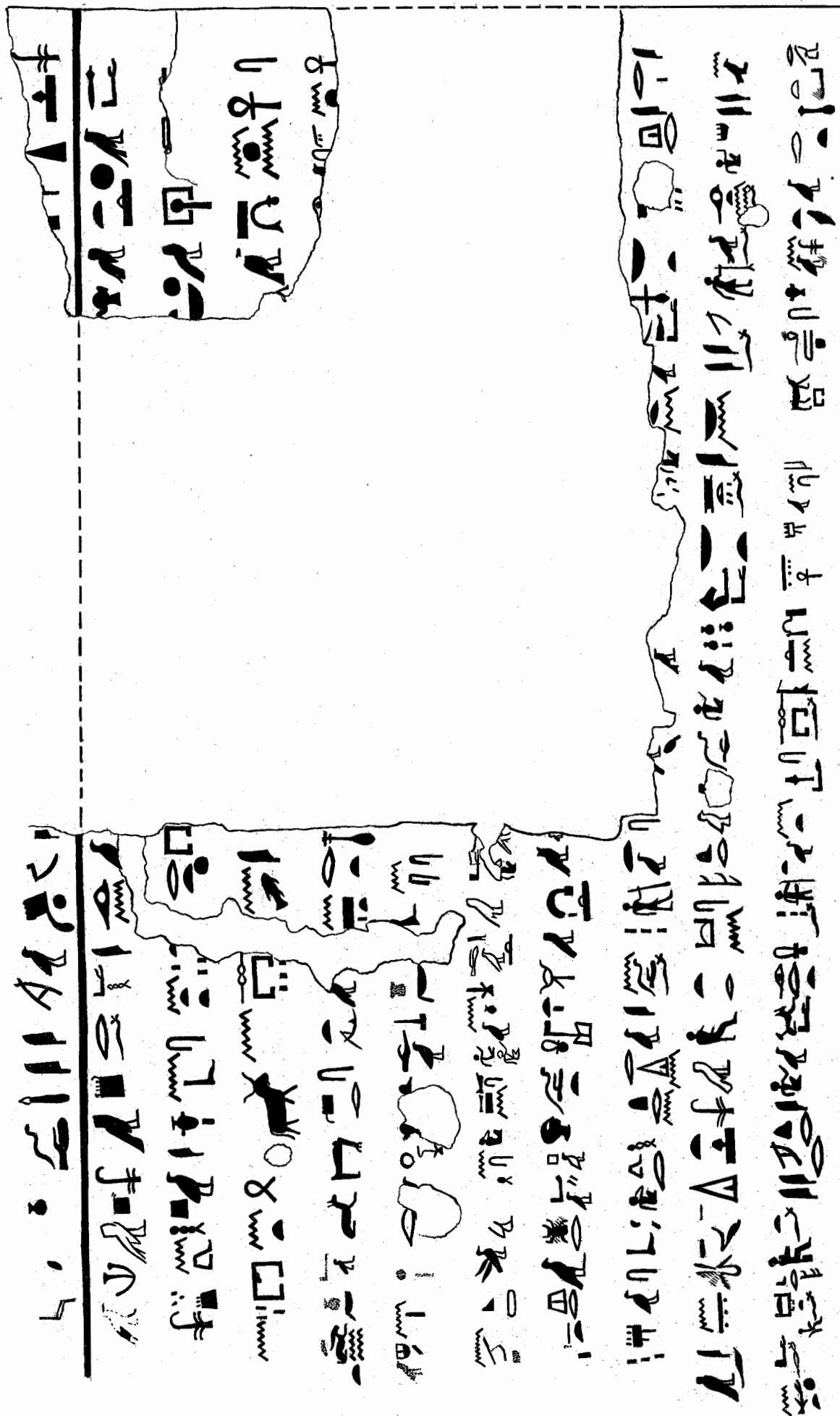
SECTION B

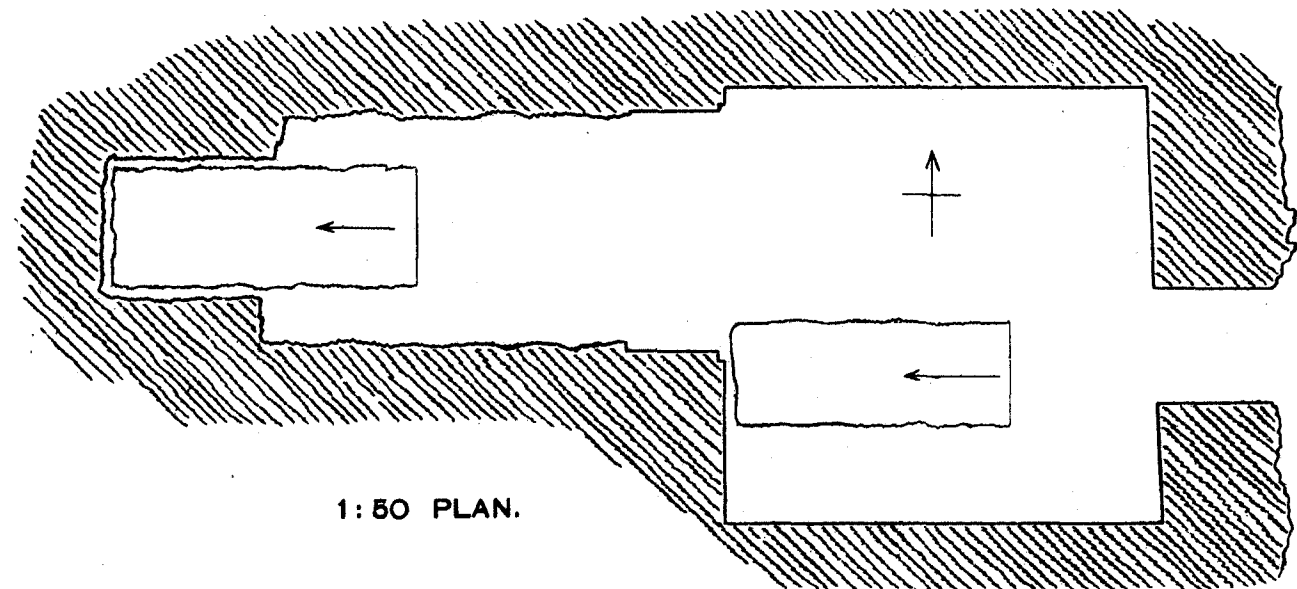


B

G.W.

F.P.

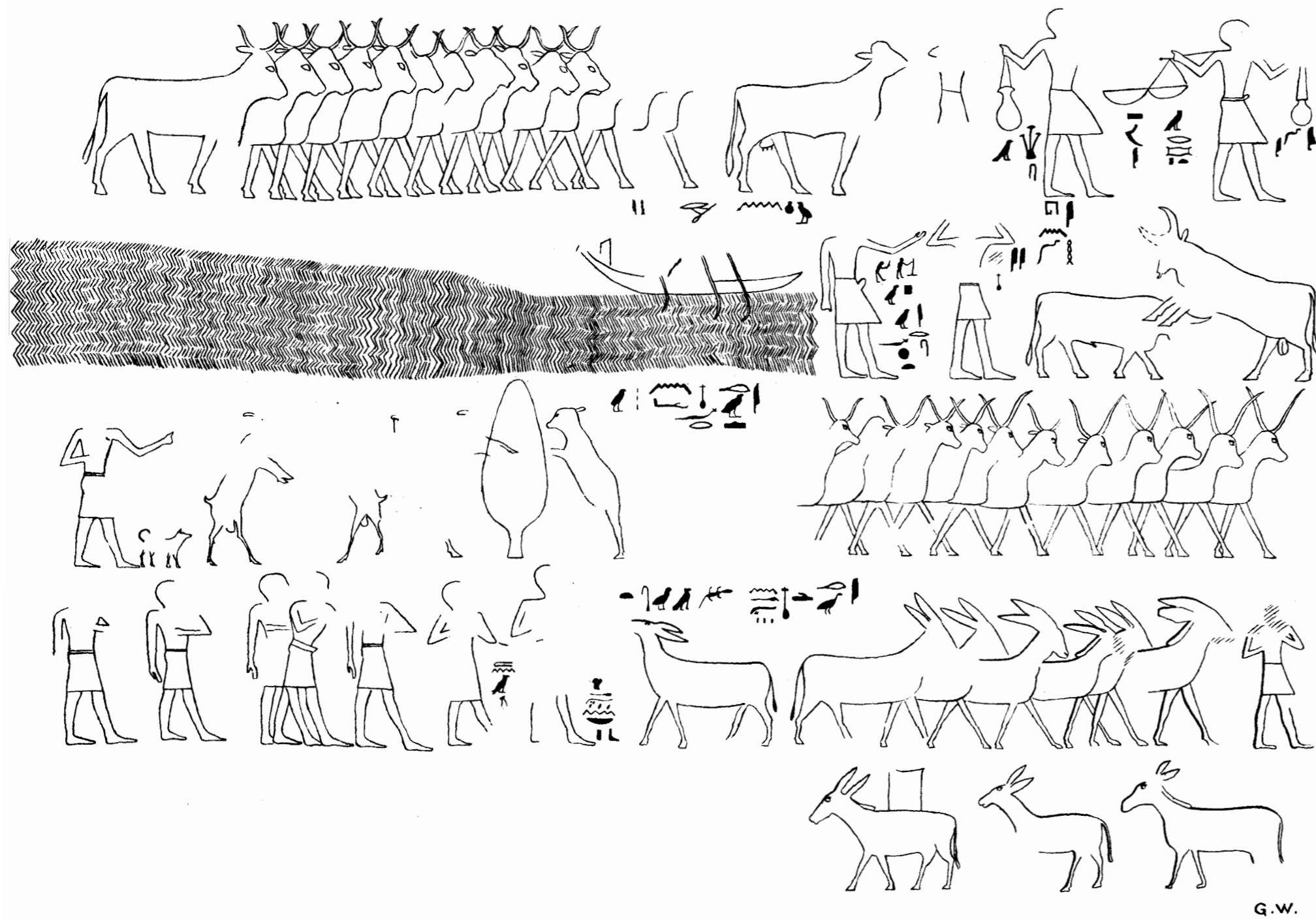
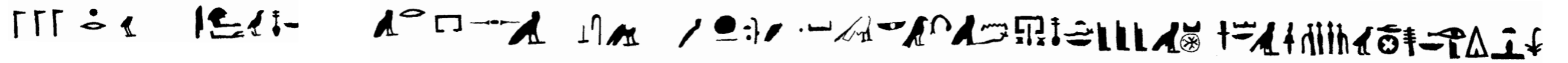


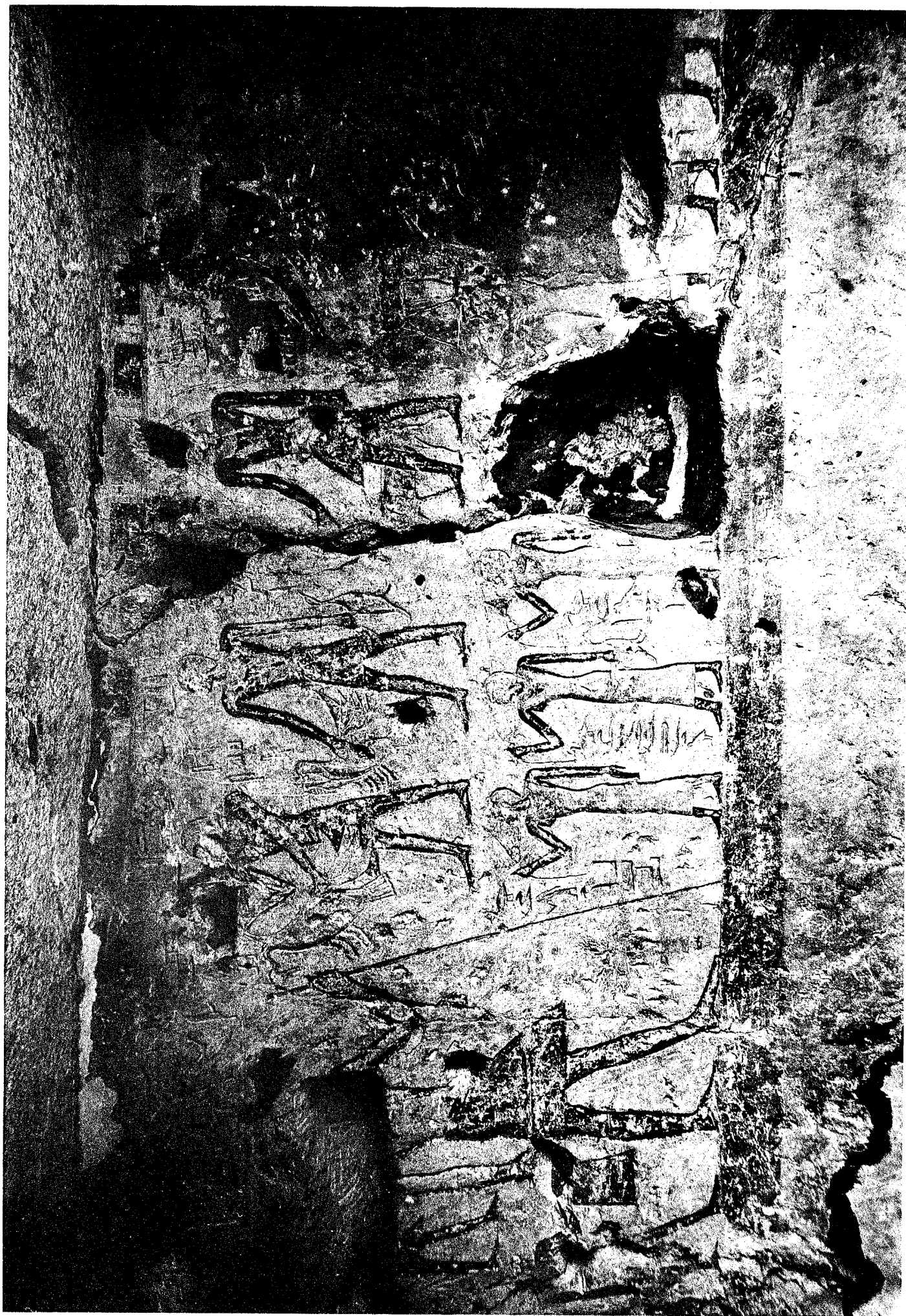


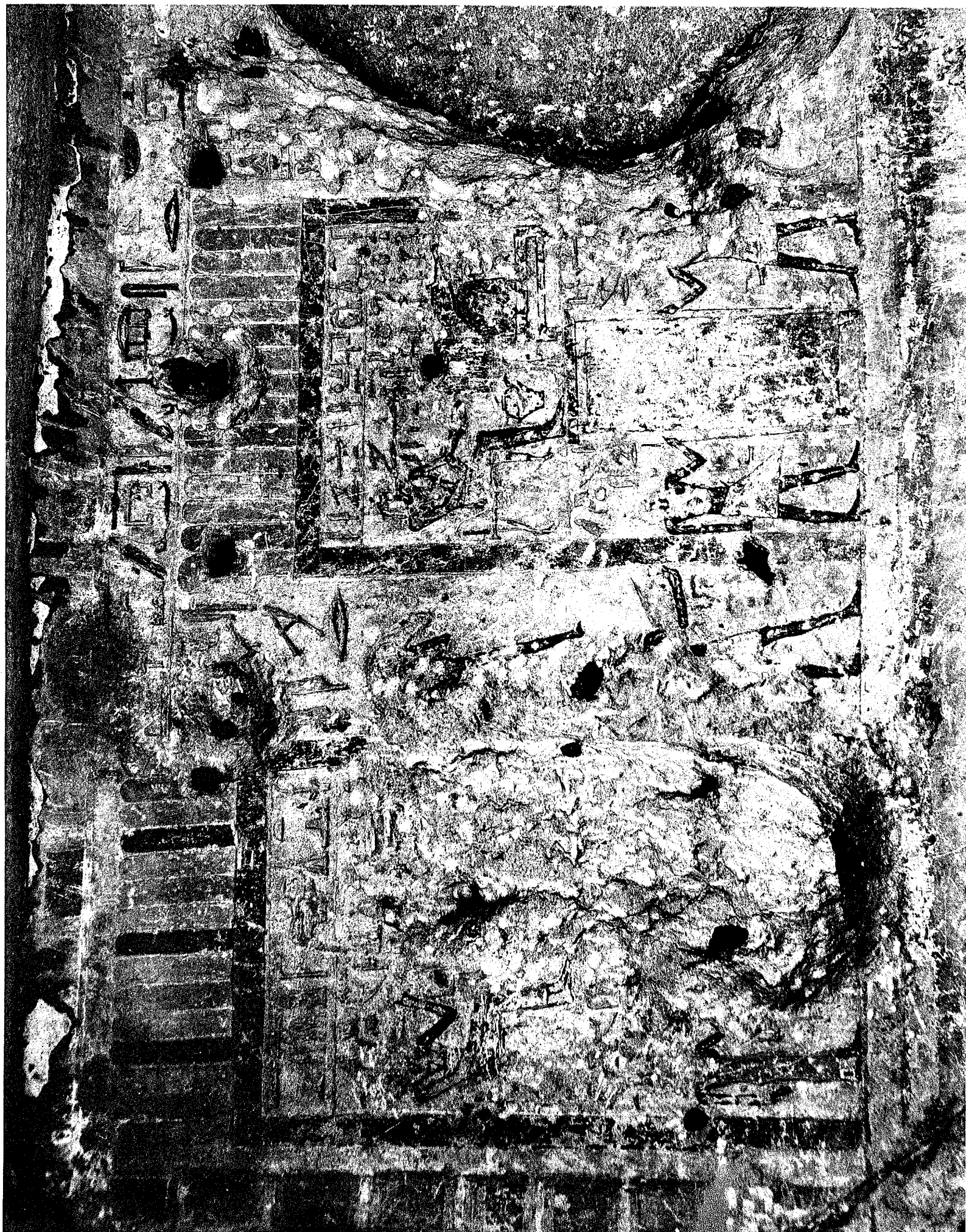
Handwritten hieroglyphs and text, including the name MERY II and other symbols.

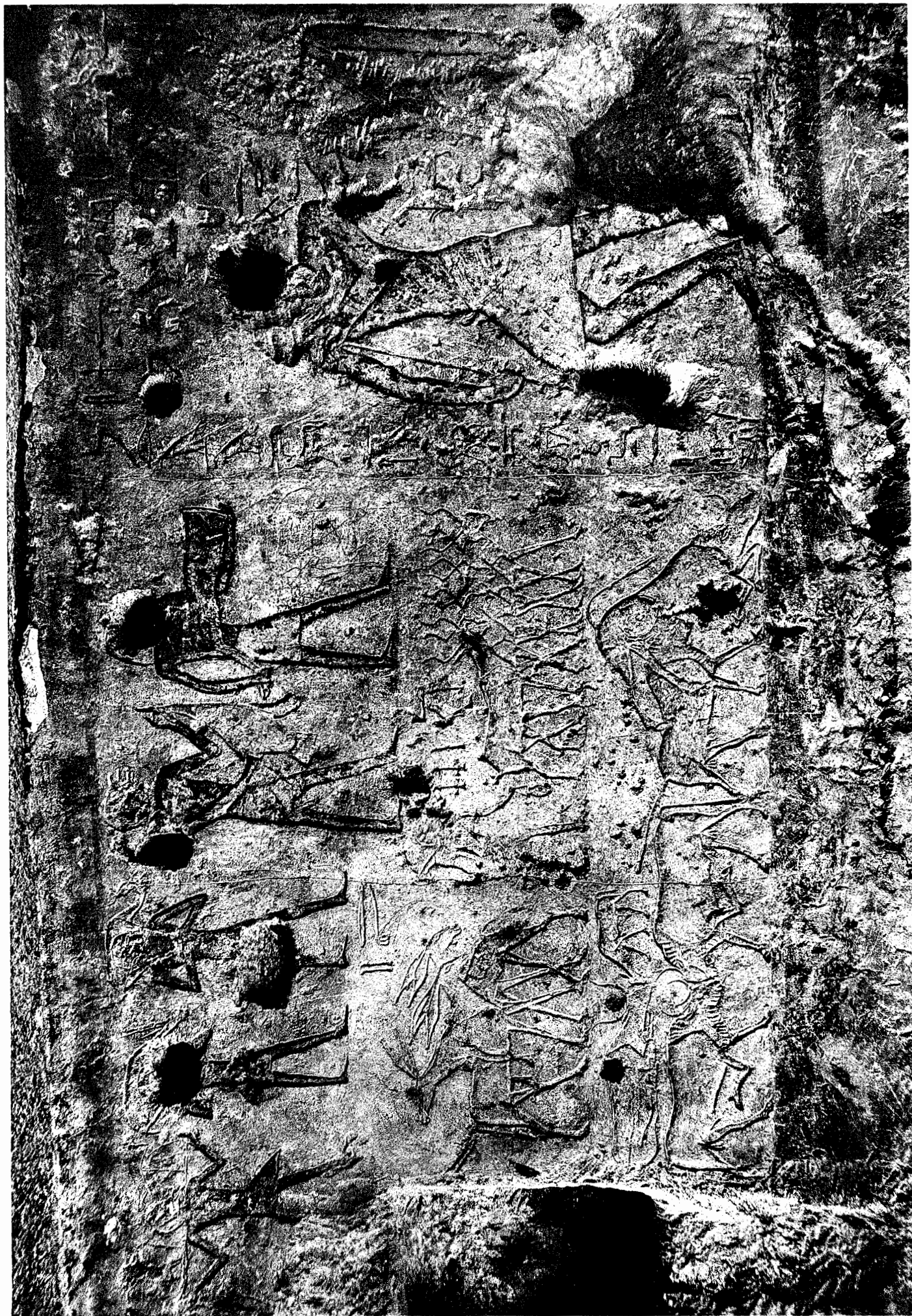
ABOVE  
HIERATIC  
FULL SIZE

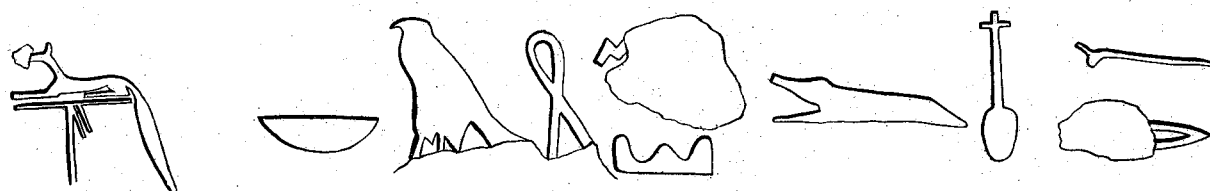
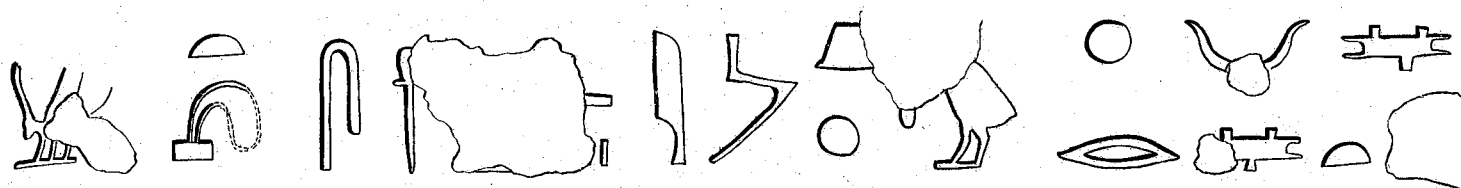




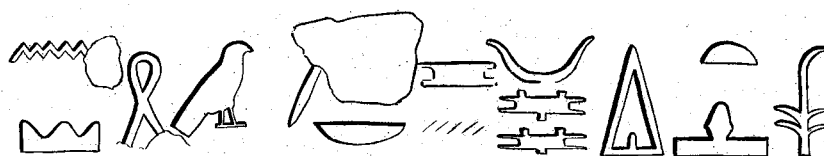








INNER LINTEL.

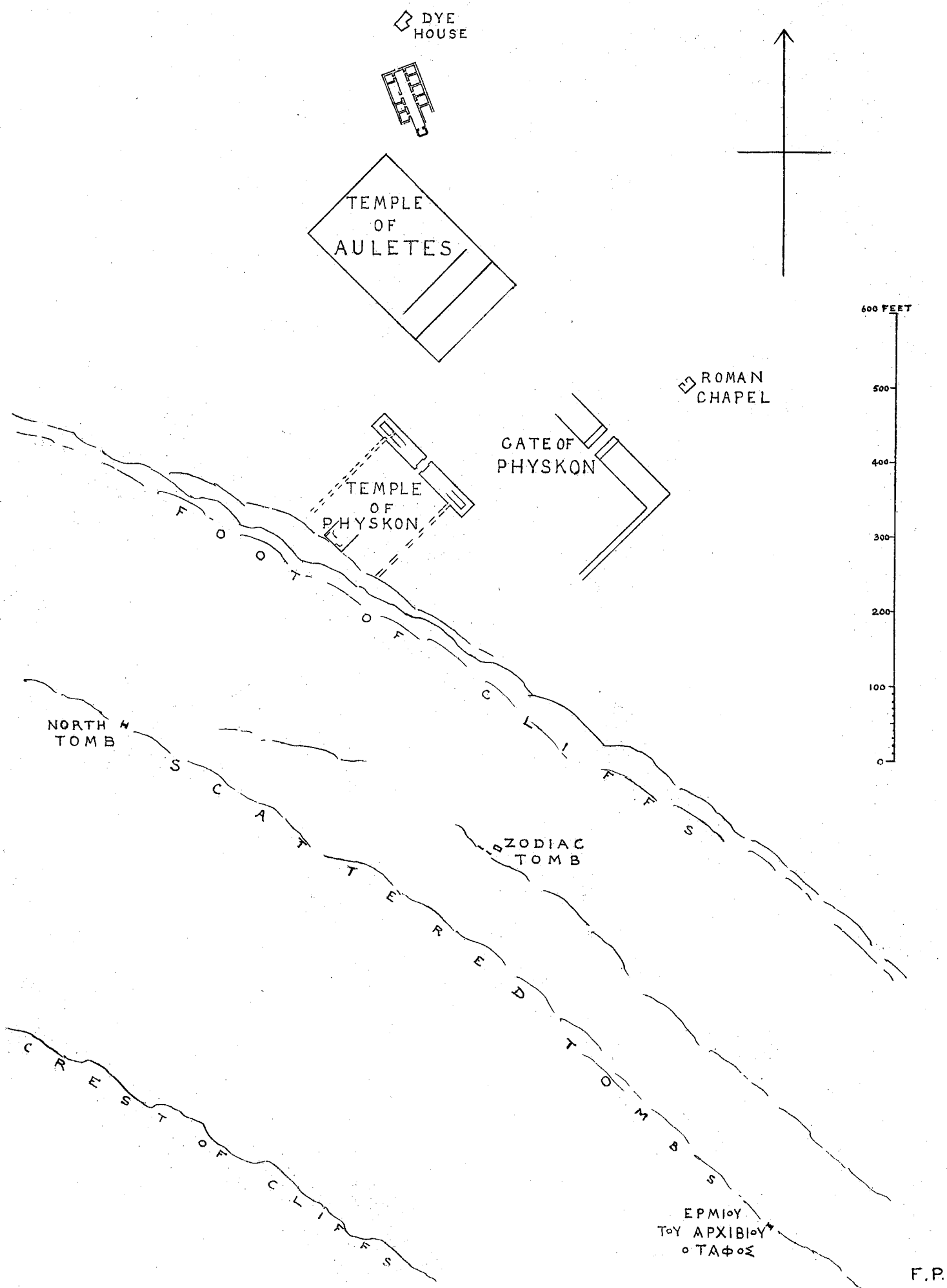


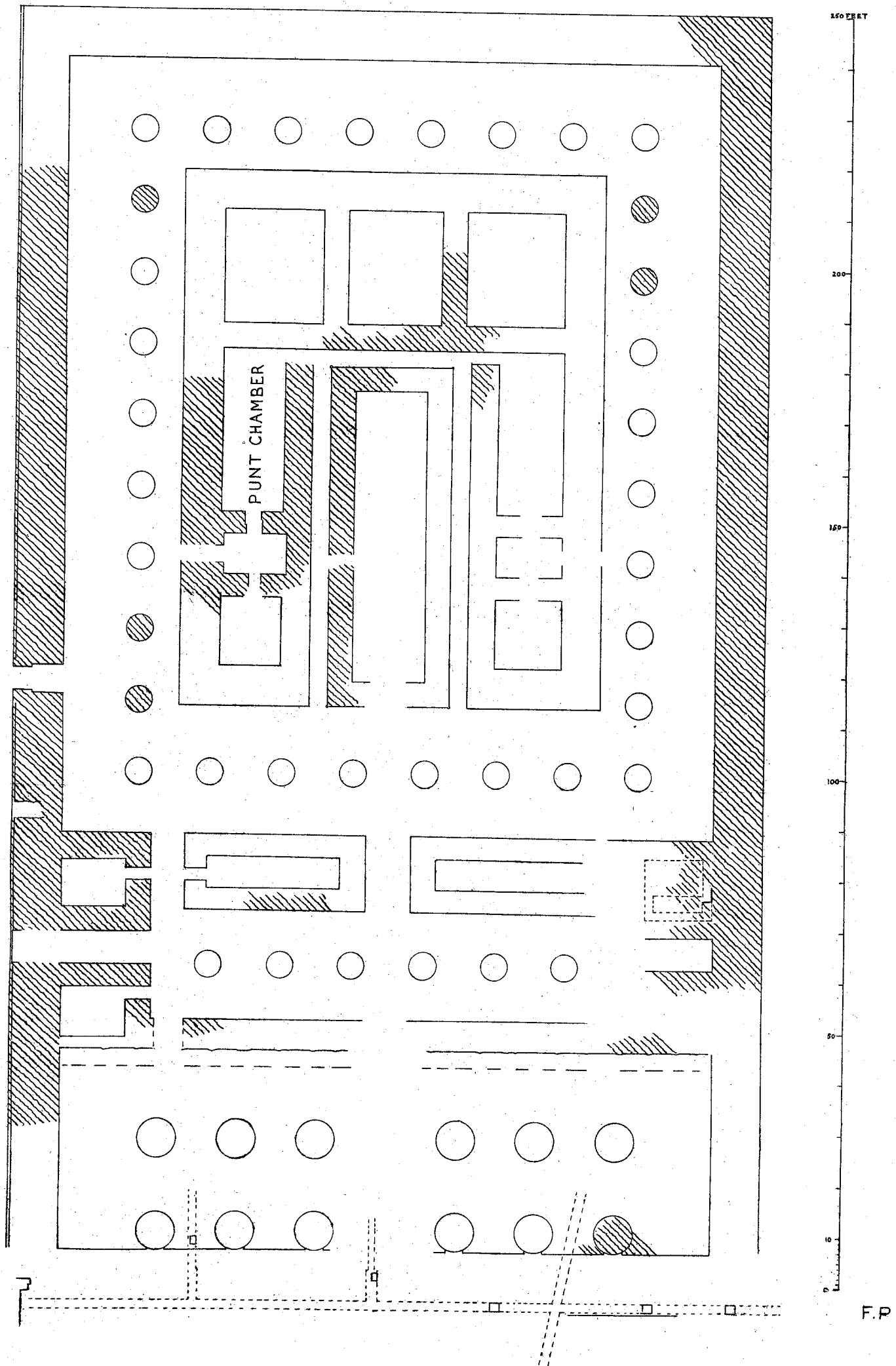
OUTER LINTEL.

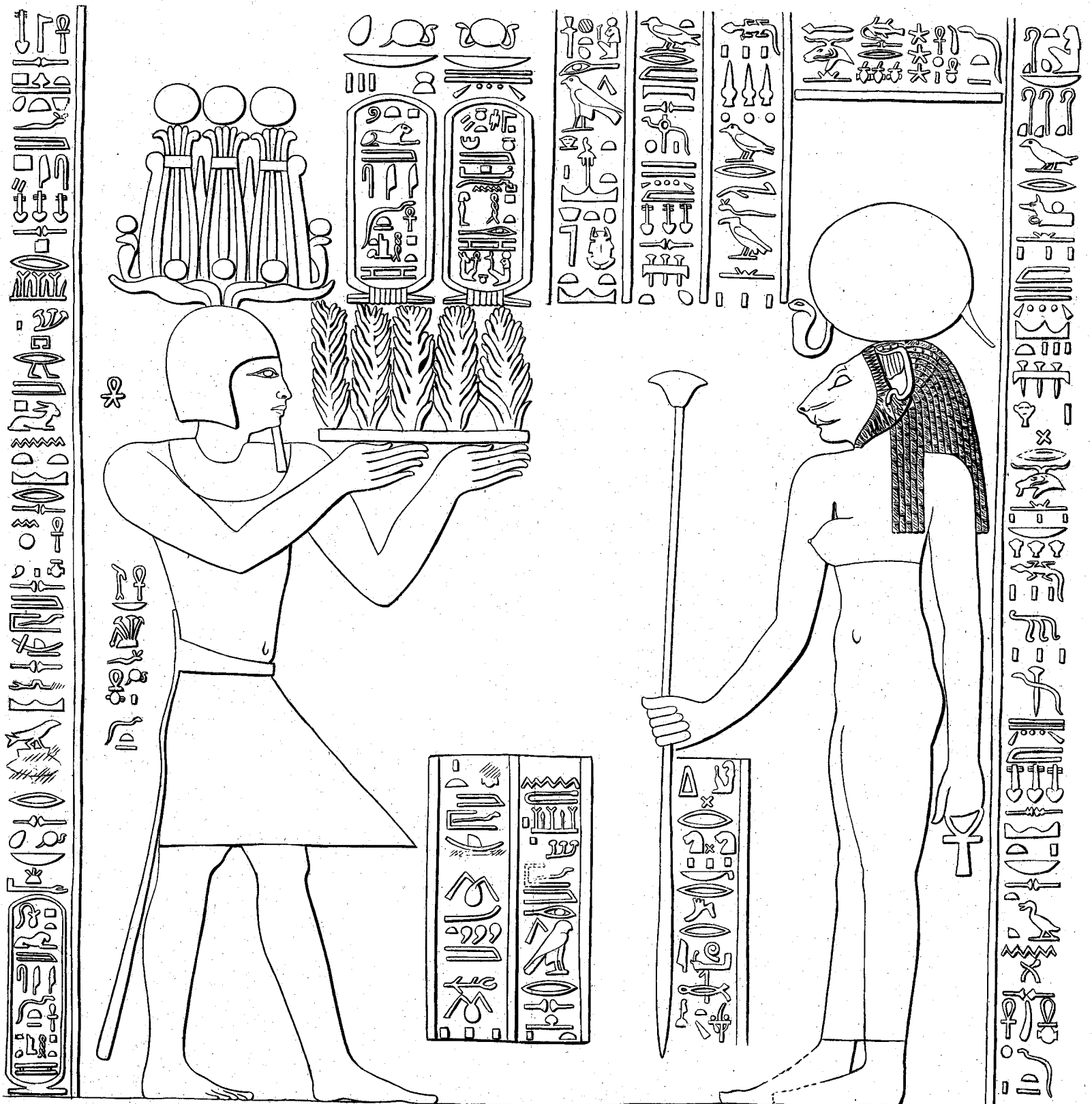


F. P.

EAST WALL.







LOST ABOVE			
			
CODES	CODES	CODES	CODES
			

人  
 山  
 一  
 口  
 一  
 一

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥

SEKHMET STANDING




KING OFFERING  
FIVE TREES

[illegible][illegible]

ROPYT STANDING

[illegible]

KING OFFERING  
UZAT EYE

This block contains two vertical columns of hieroglyphic text. The right column begins with a cartouchette containing the name Amenemhat III, followed by several lines of text including symbols for gold, lapis lazuli, and other precious materials. The left column also starts with a cartouchette and continues with similar text, ending with a large symbol representing a lotus or papyrus plant.

[illegible]

GODDESS STANDING

MIN STANDING




KING OFFERING  
TWO BAGS

NAME BLANK

QUEEN STANDING

A vertical strip of a papyrus scroll with hieroglyphs. The scroll is decorated with a lotus flower at the bottom. The hieroglyphs are arranged in a vertical column, with some symbols appearing to be part of a larger text or list.

## ROPHYT? STANDING

[illegible]

KING OFFERING

KING OFFERING  
TWO VASES

十  
九  
八  
七

十  
八  
四  
四

[illegible]

9

一  
二  
三  
四

[illegible]

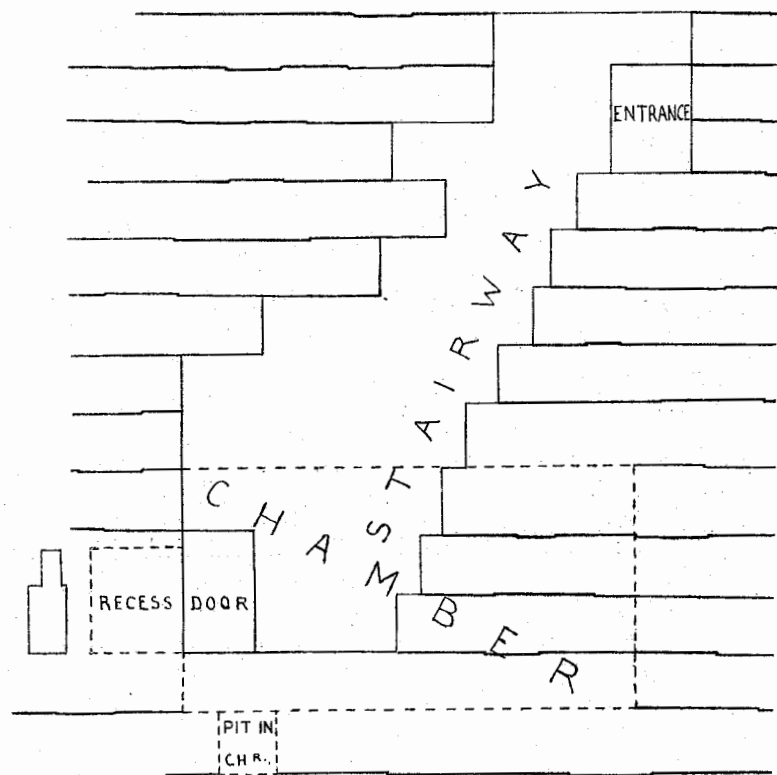
三三三

The sketches show a progression of a person's head and shoulders. The first is a simple outline. The second adds some shading and a small tuft of hair. The third adds more detail, including a nose, mouth, and a full head of hair. The fourth is a more refined drawing with a beard and a hat.

SOUTH WALL

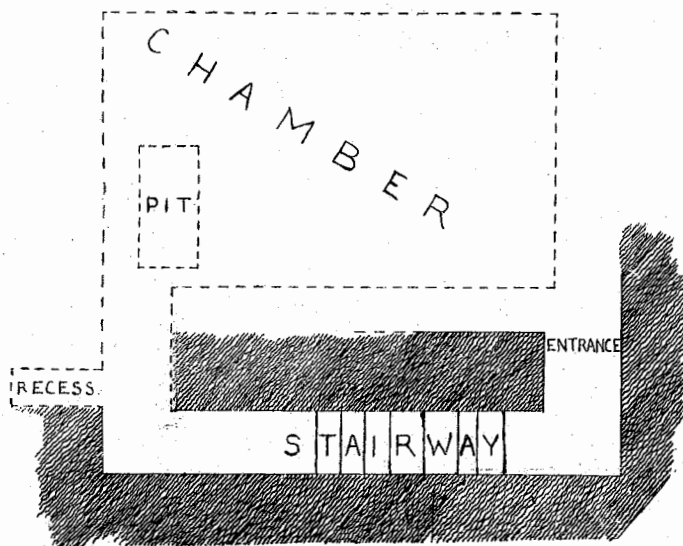






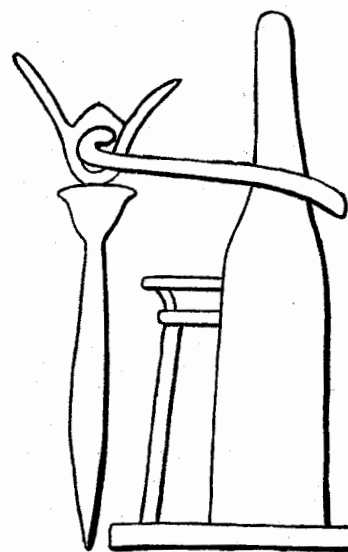
SECTION

1:60 CRYPT BY EAST WALL.

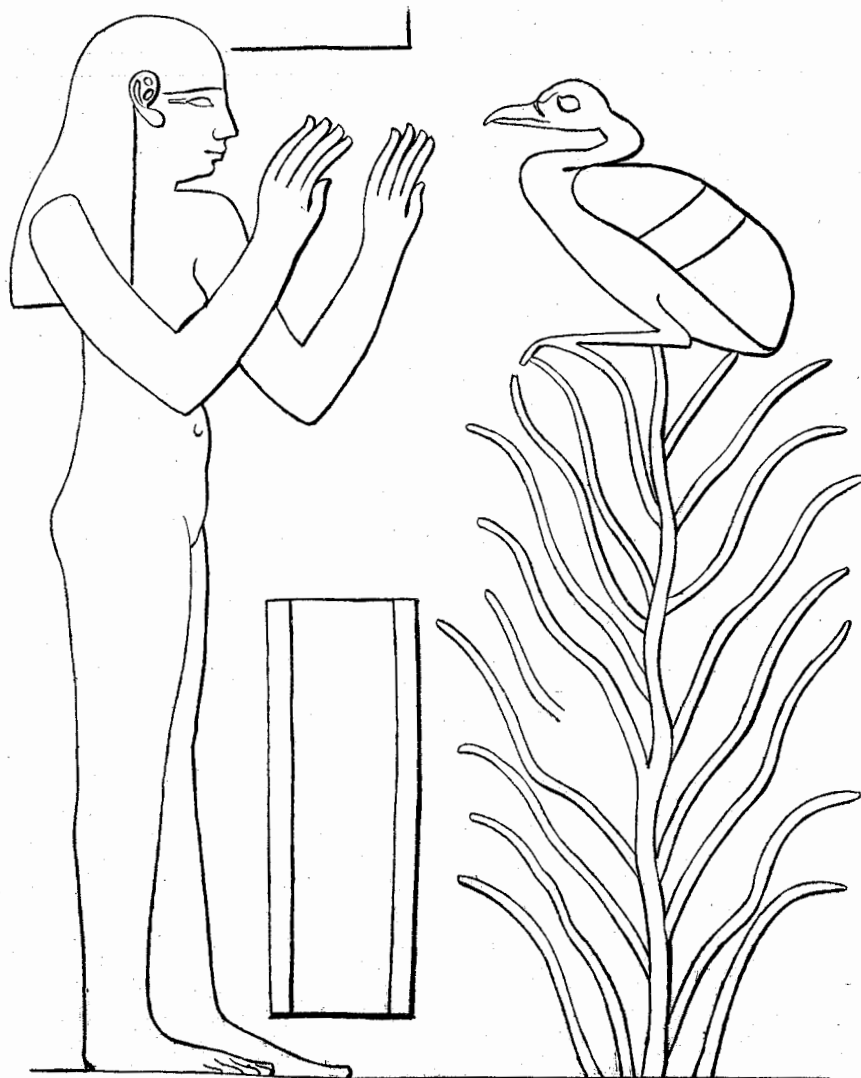


PLAN

E.M.

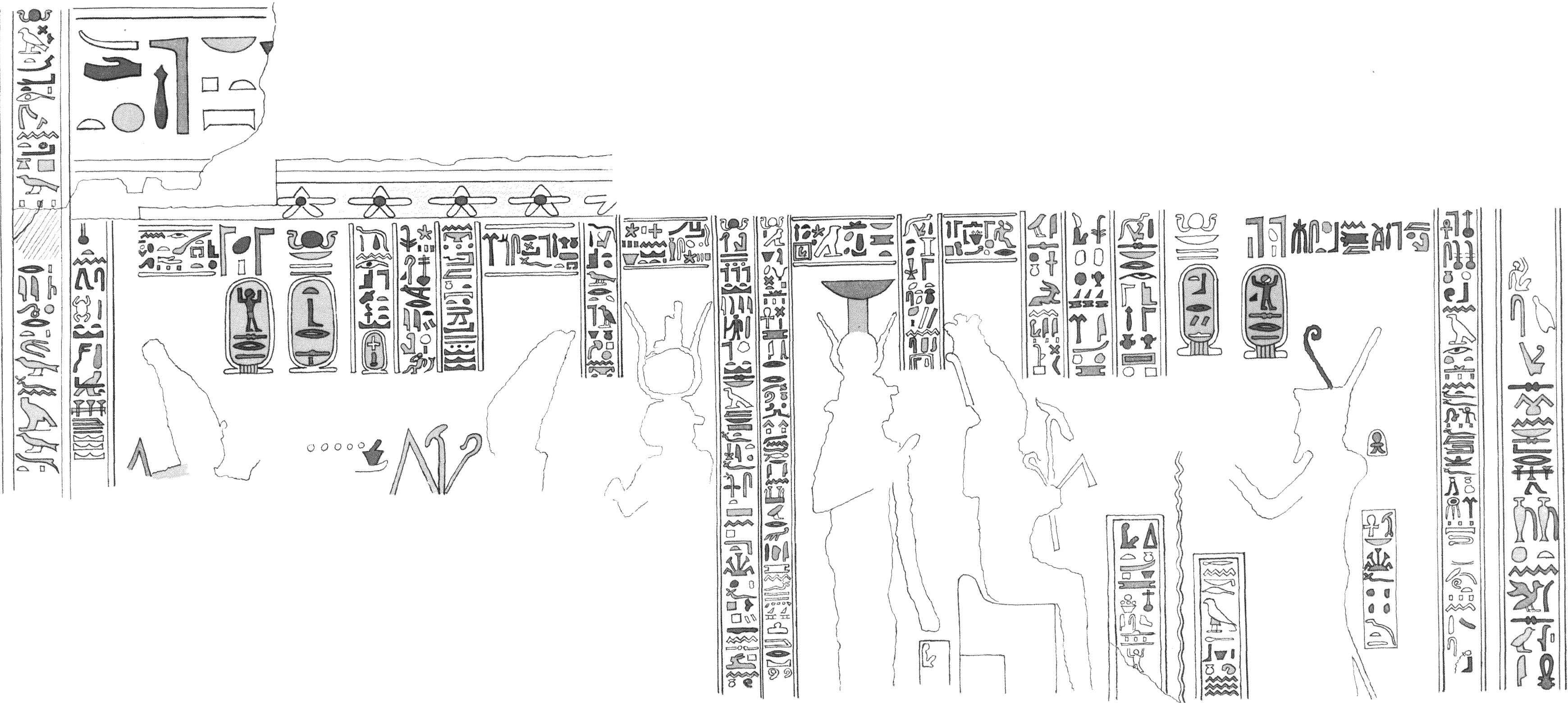


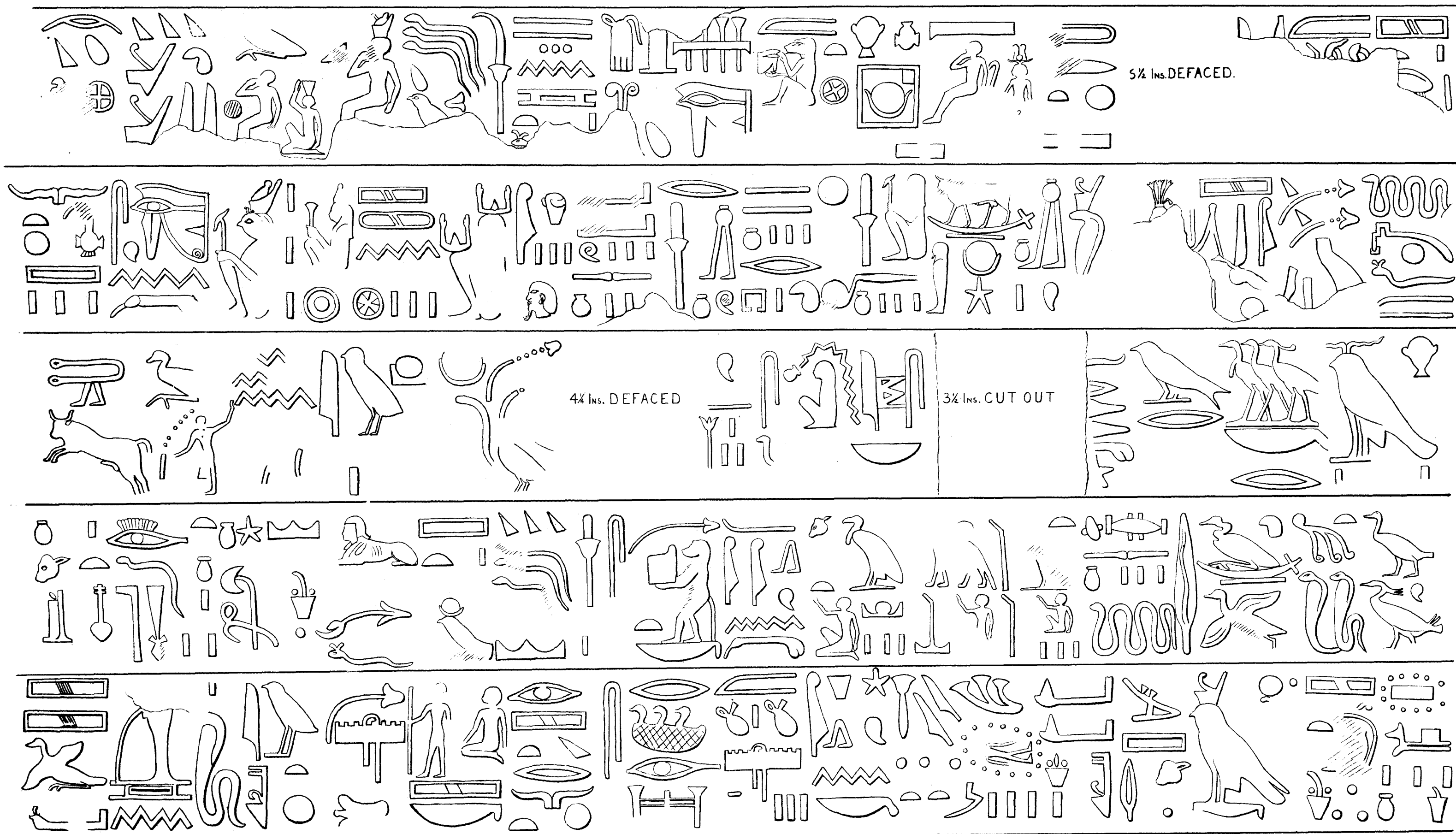
2:5 SHRINE OF MIN IN PUNT.

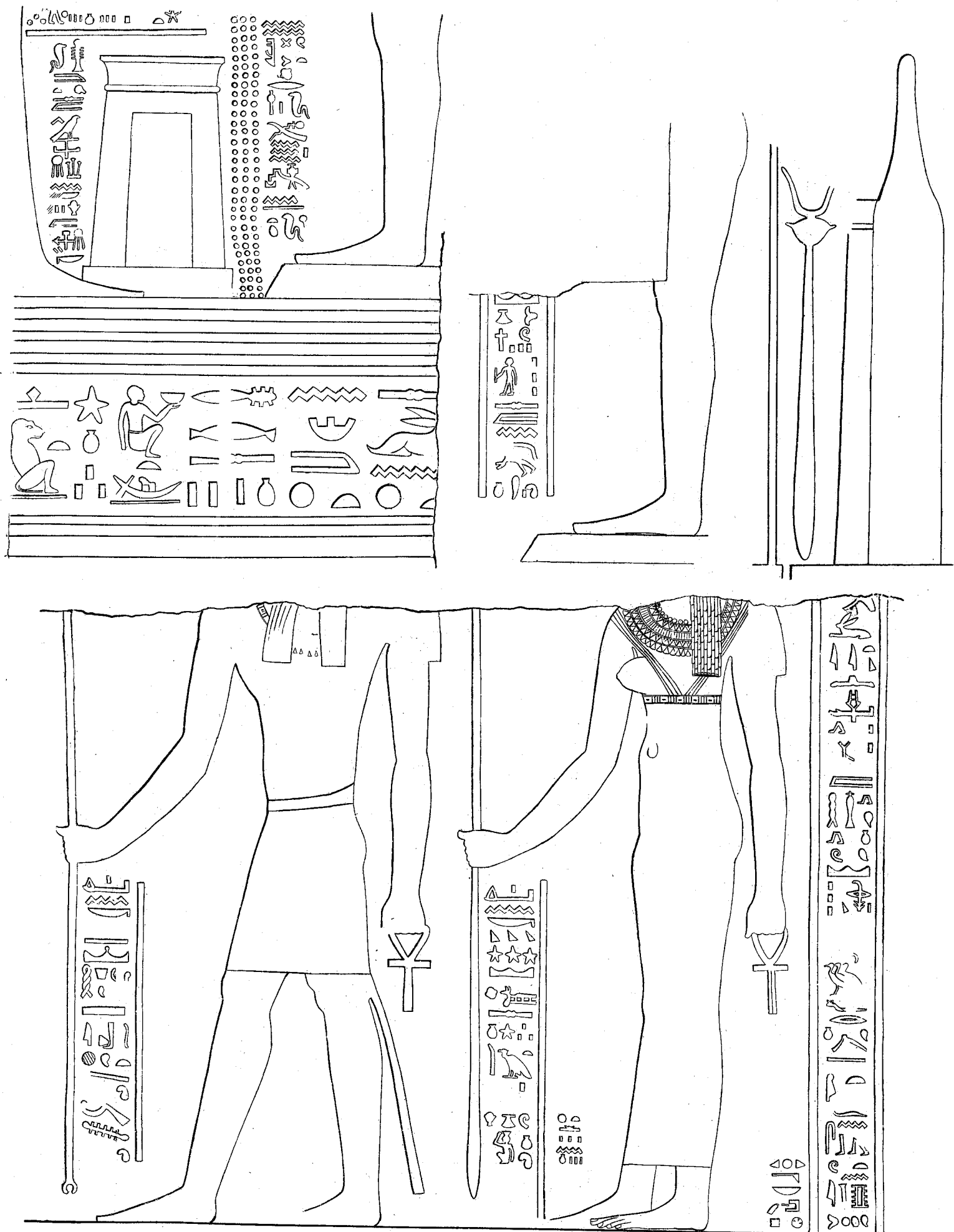


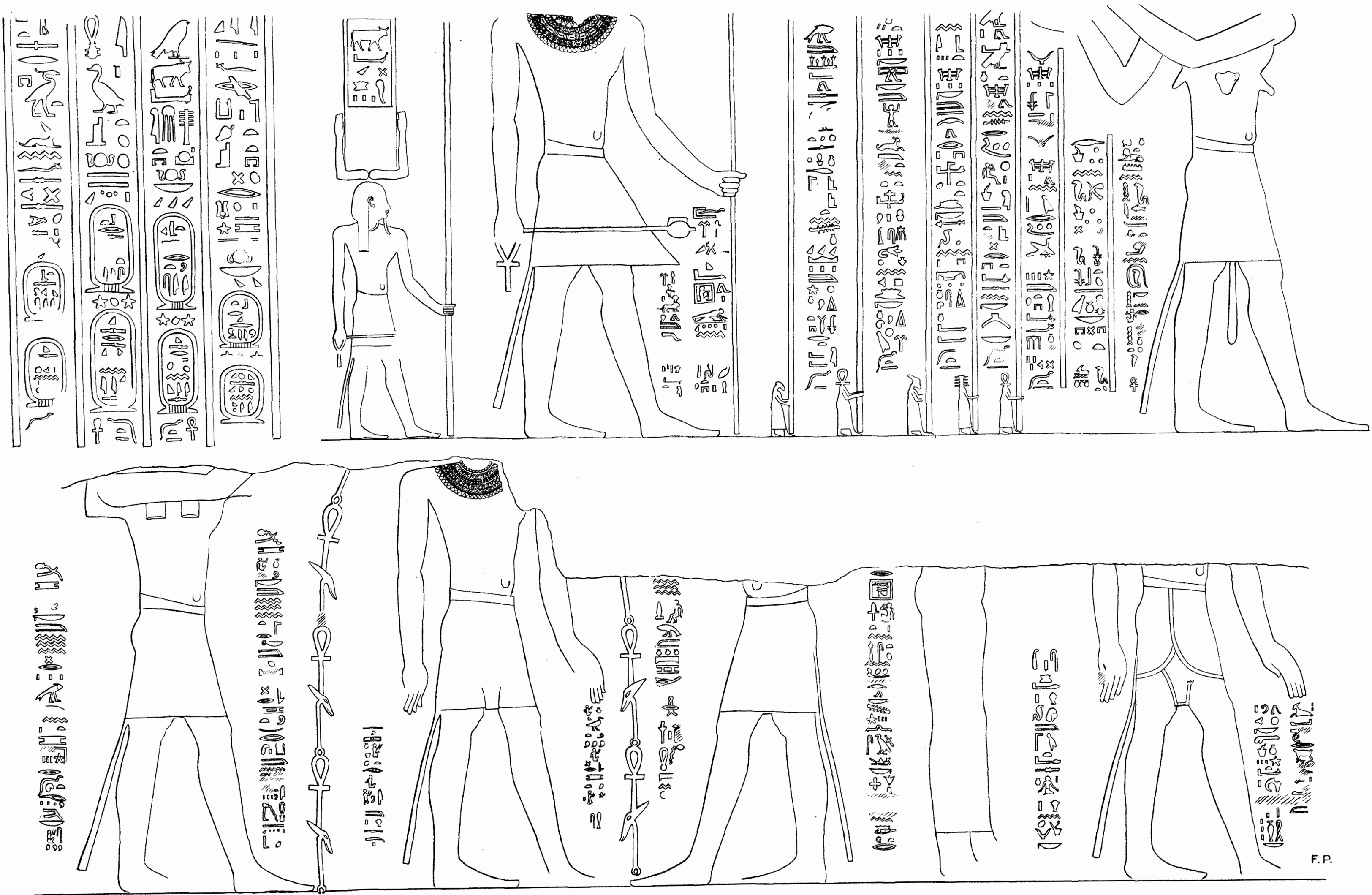
1:6 BENEATH LINTEL OF PL. XIX. NO INSCRIPTIONS.

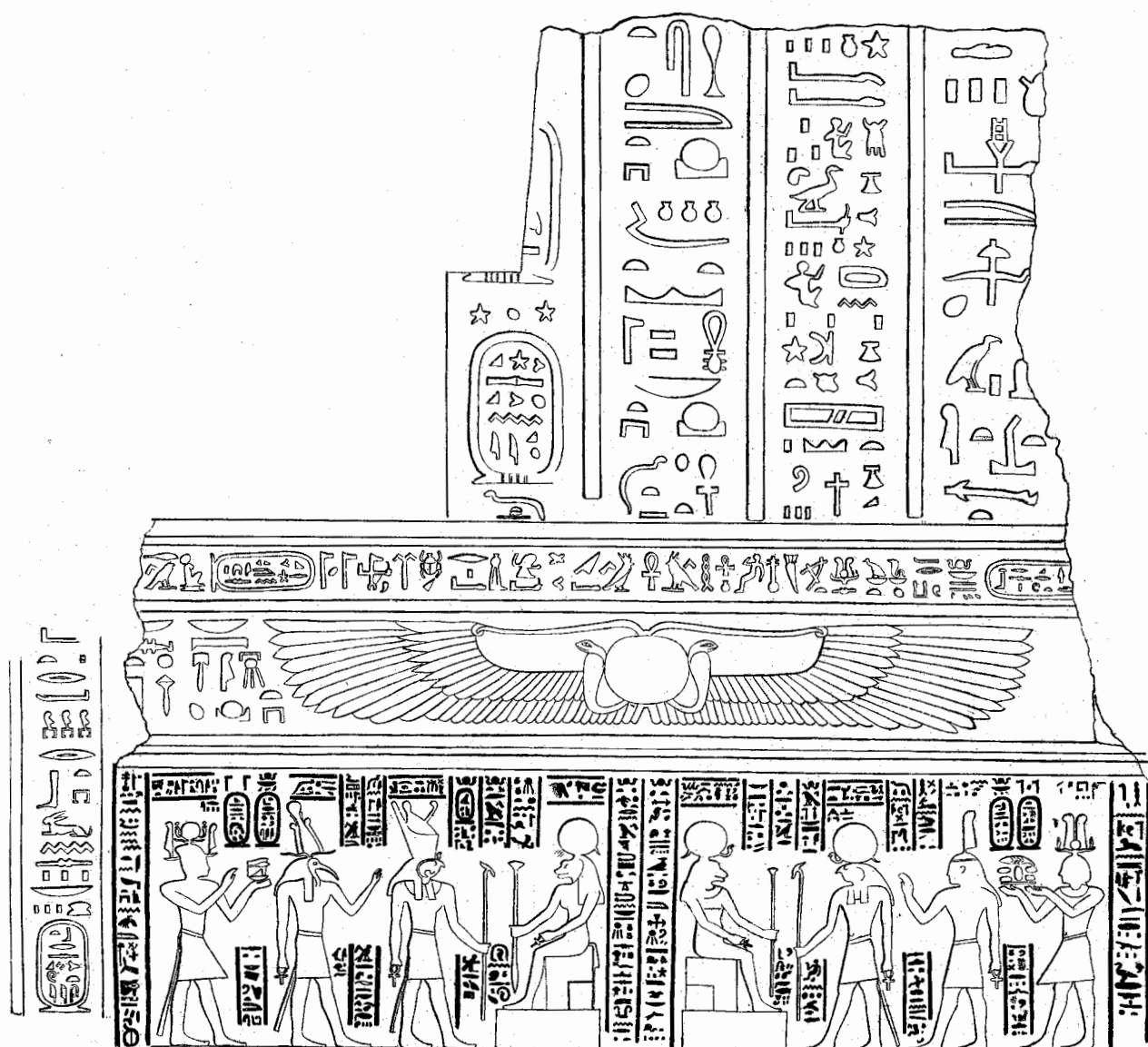
F.P.

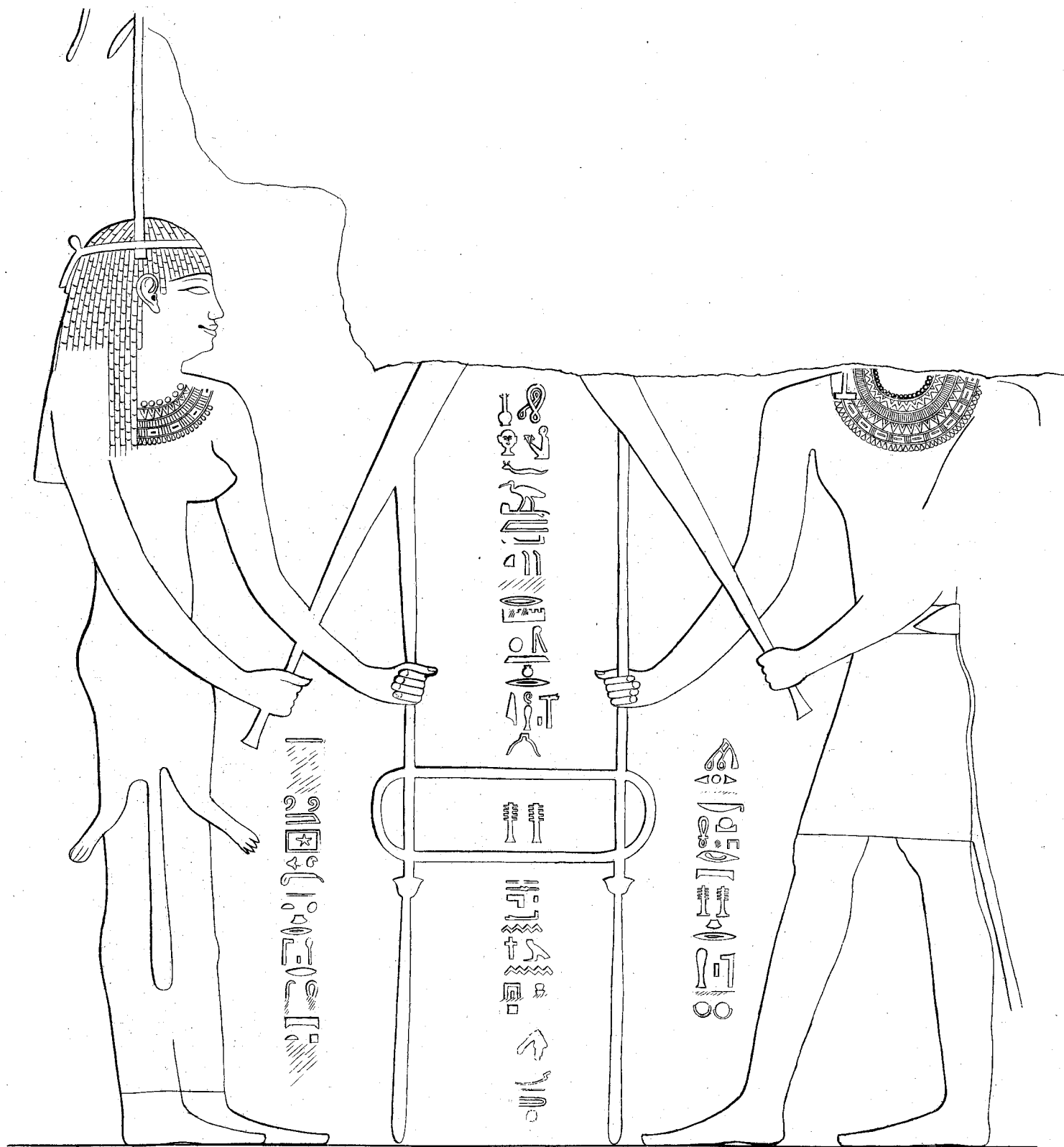


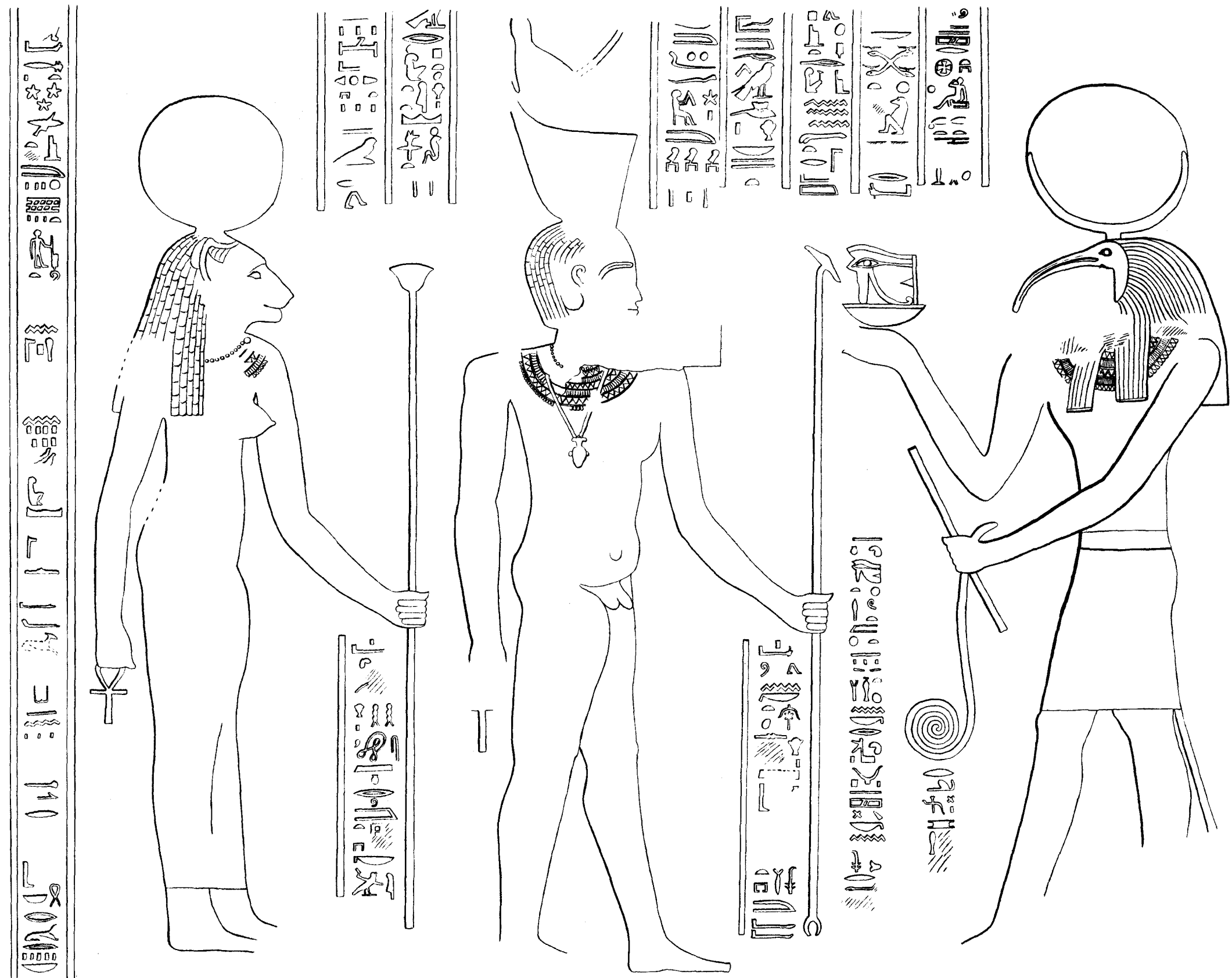


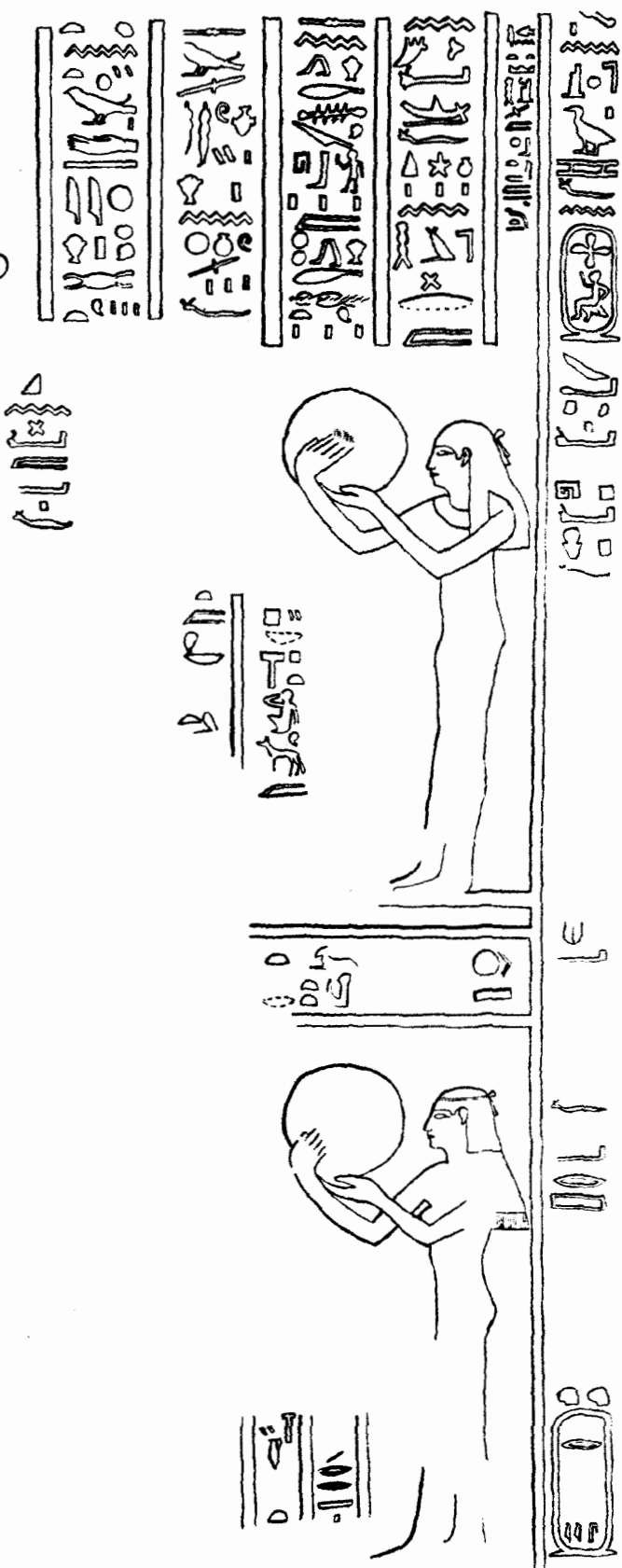




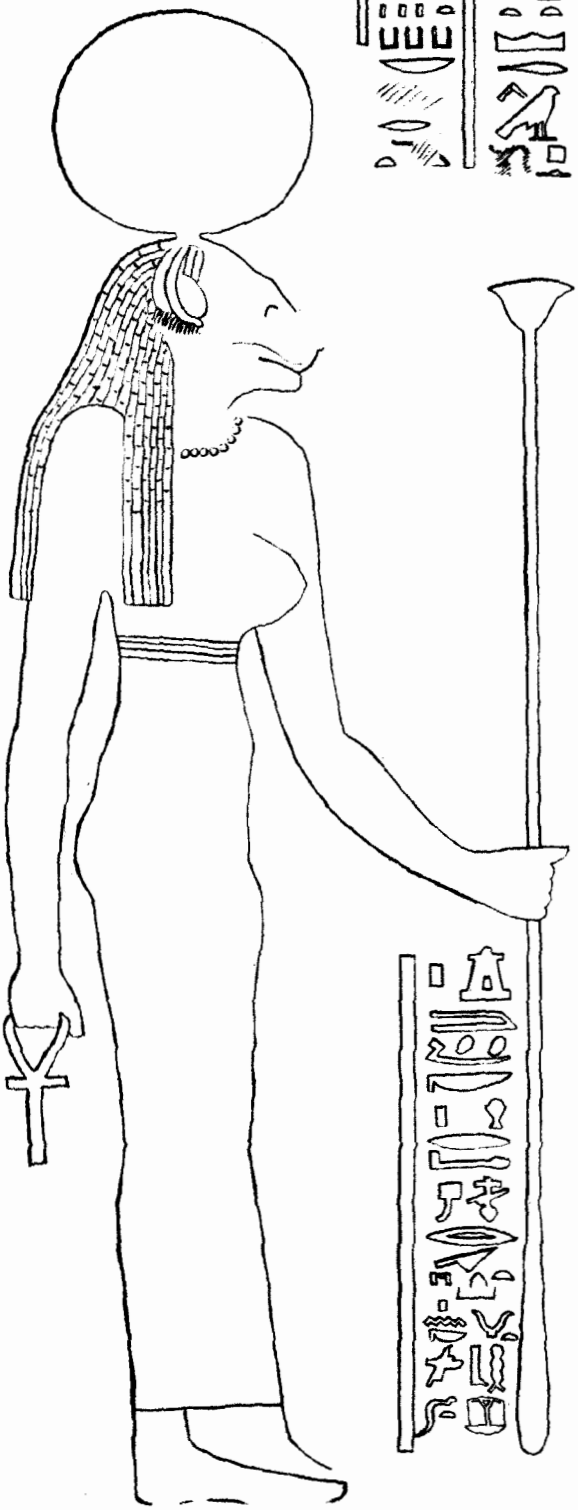
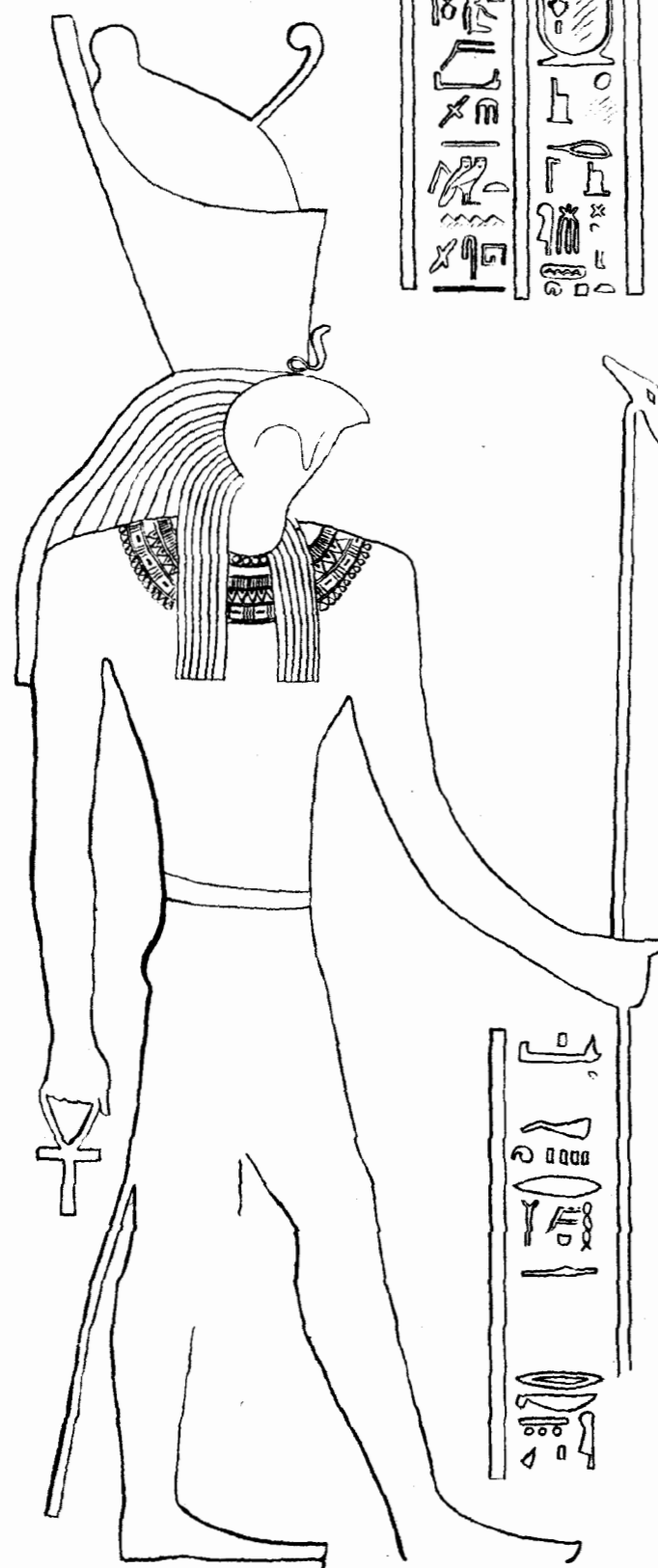
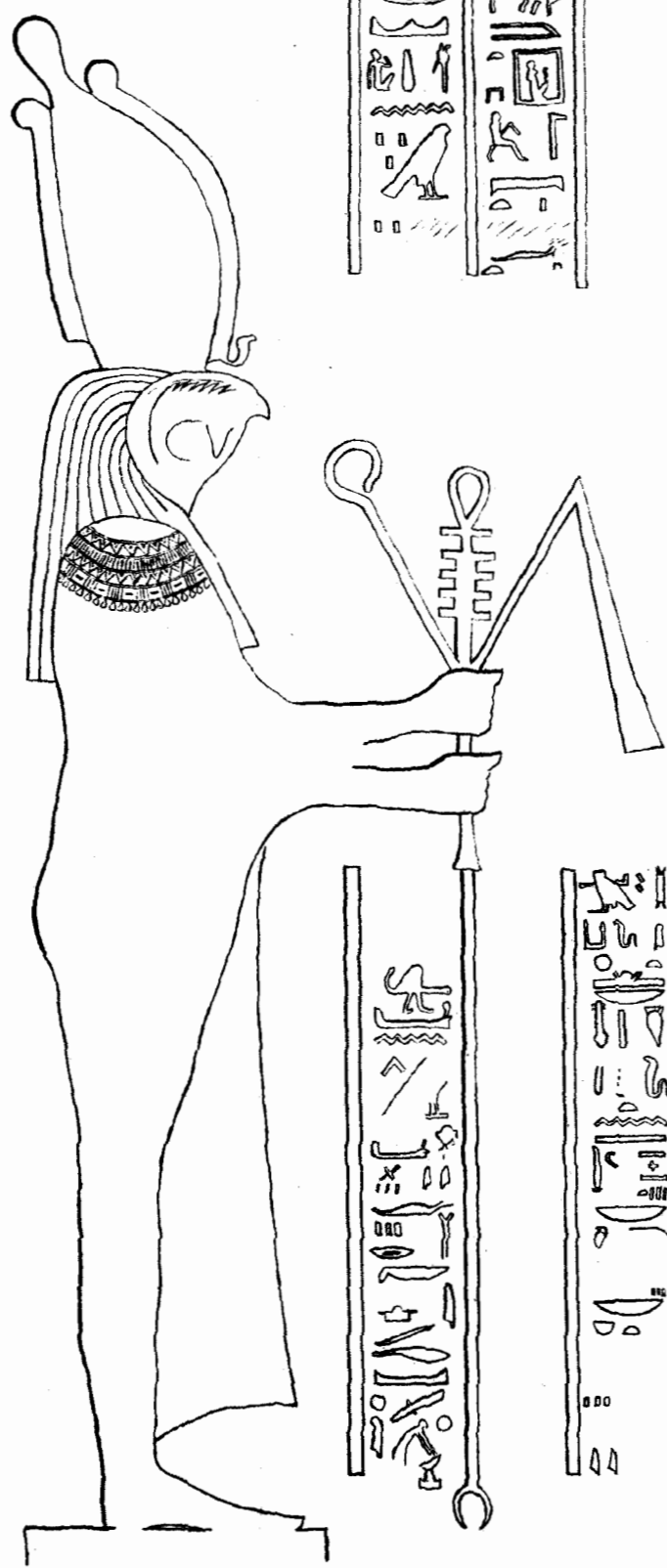
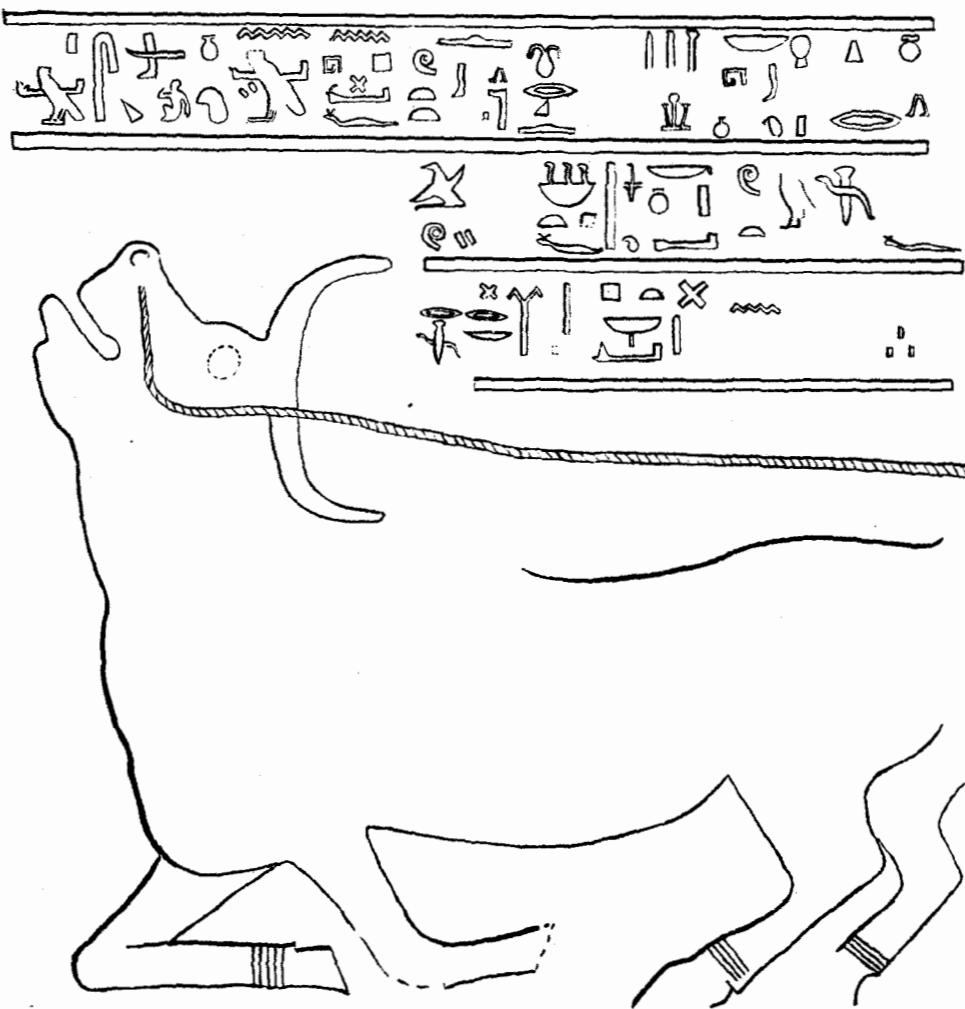
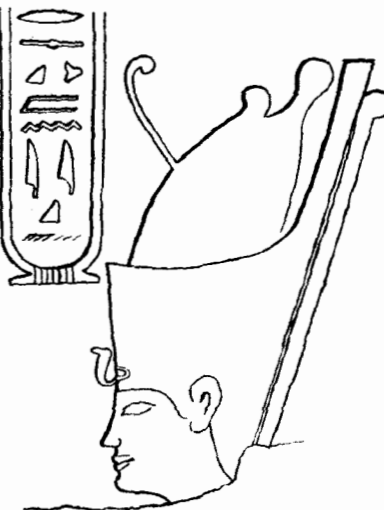


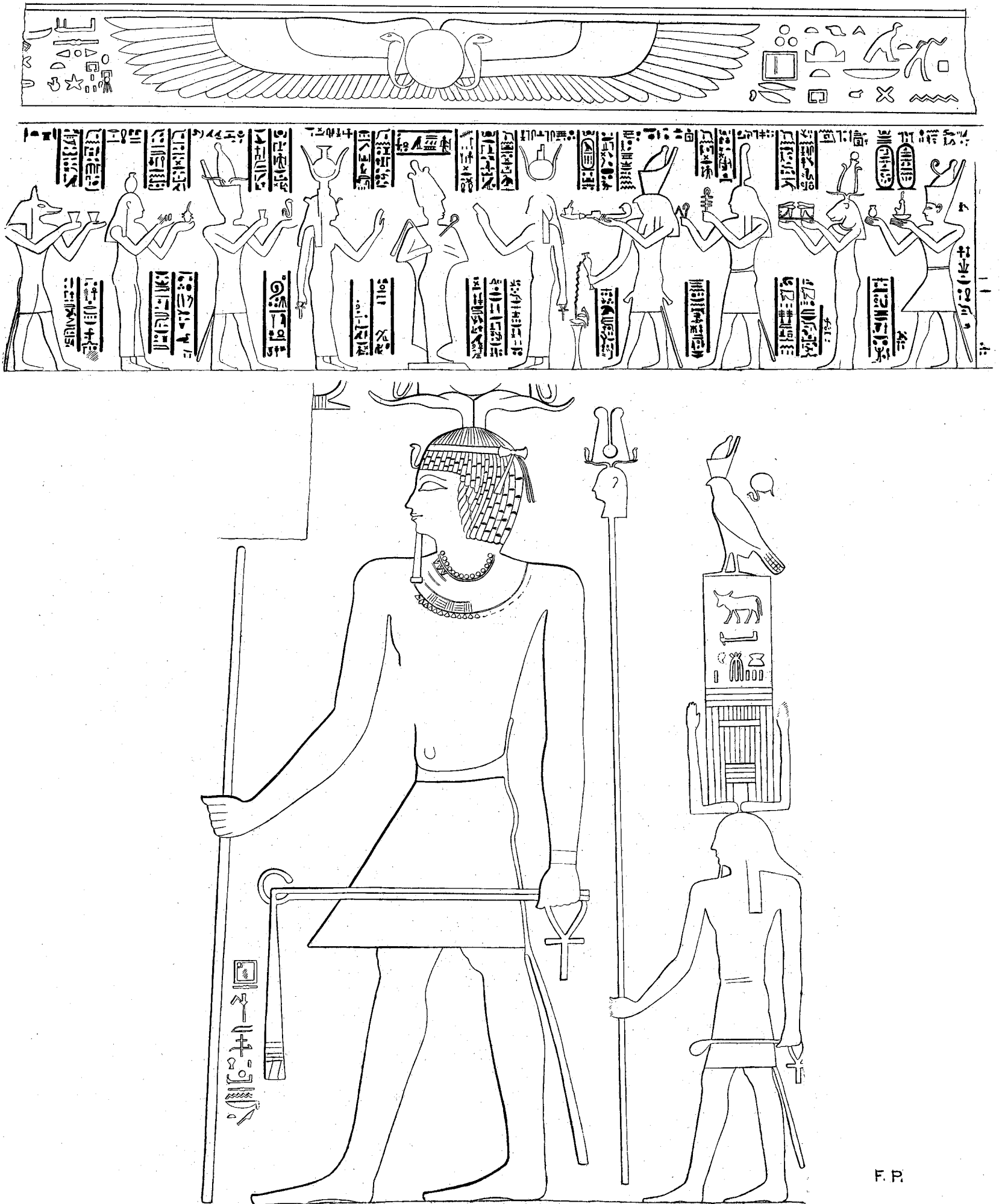


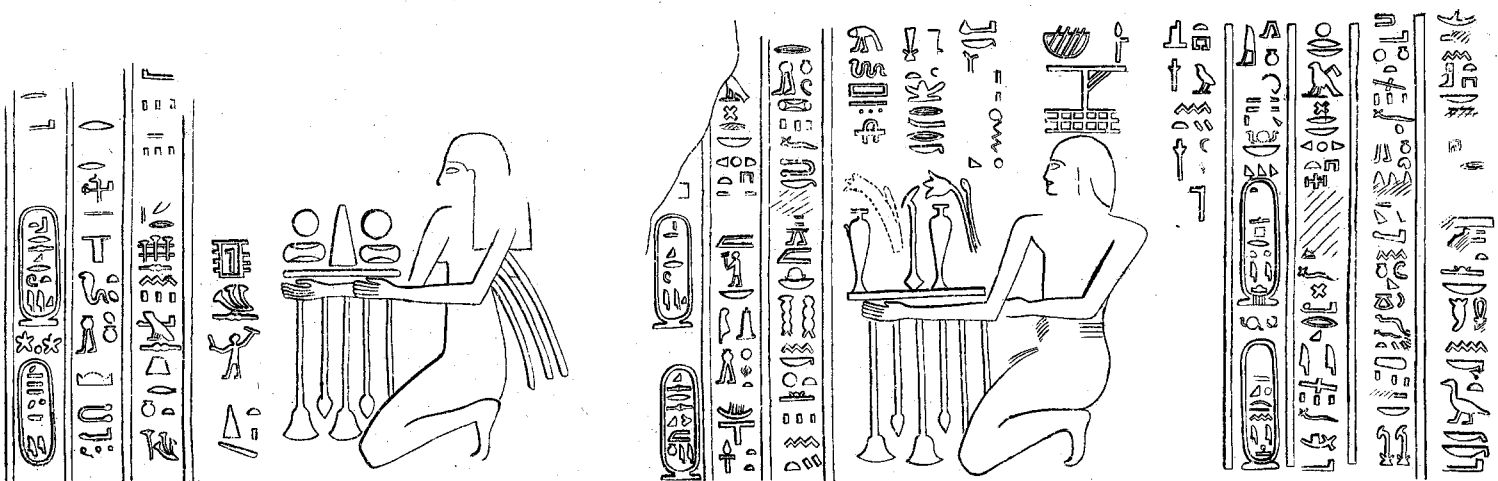
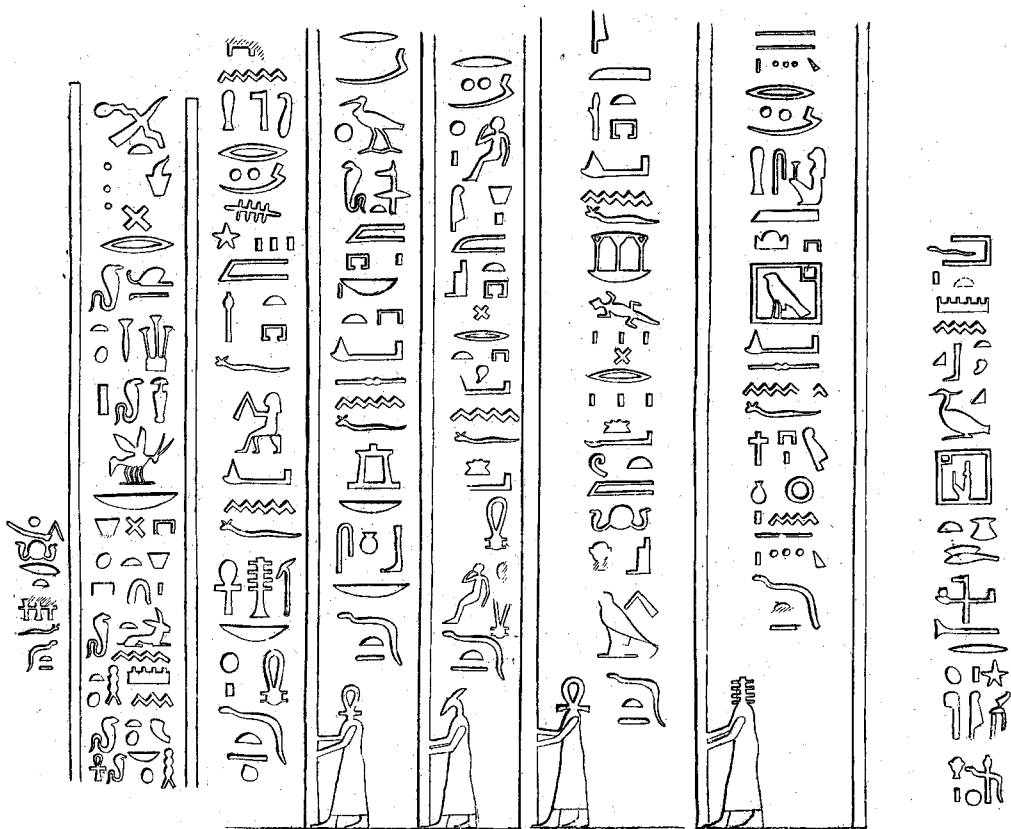
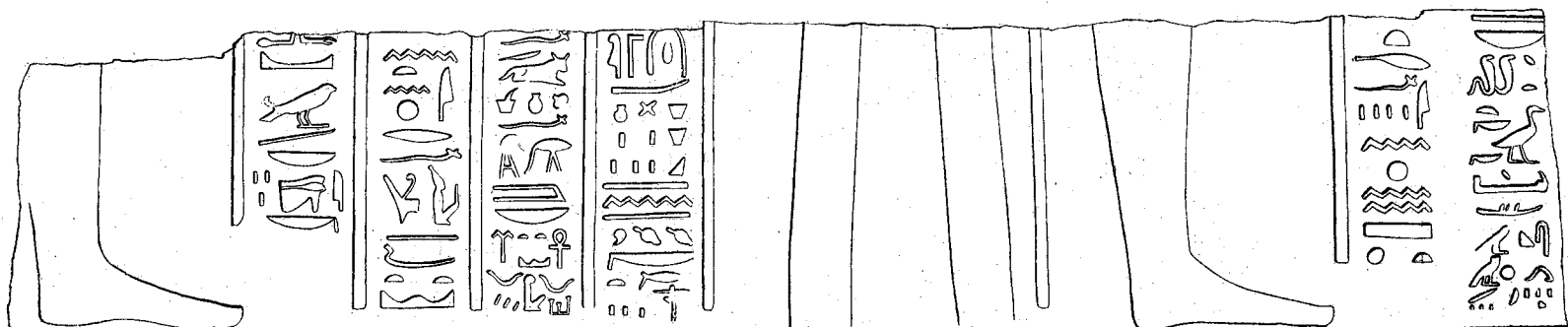




F.P.  
G.W.



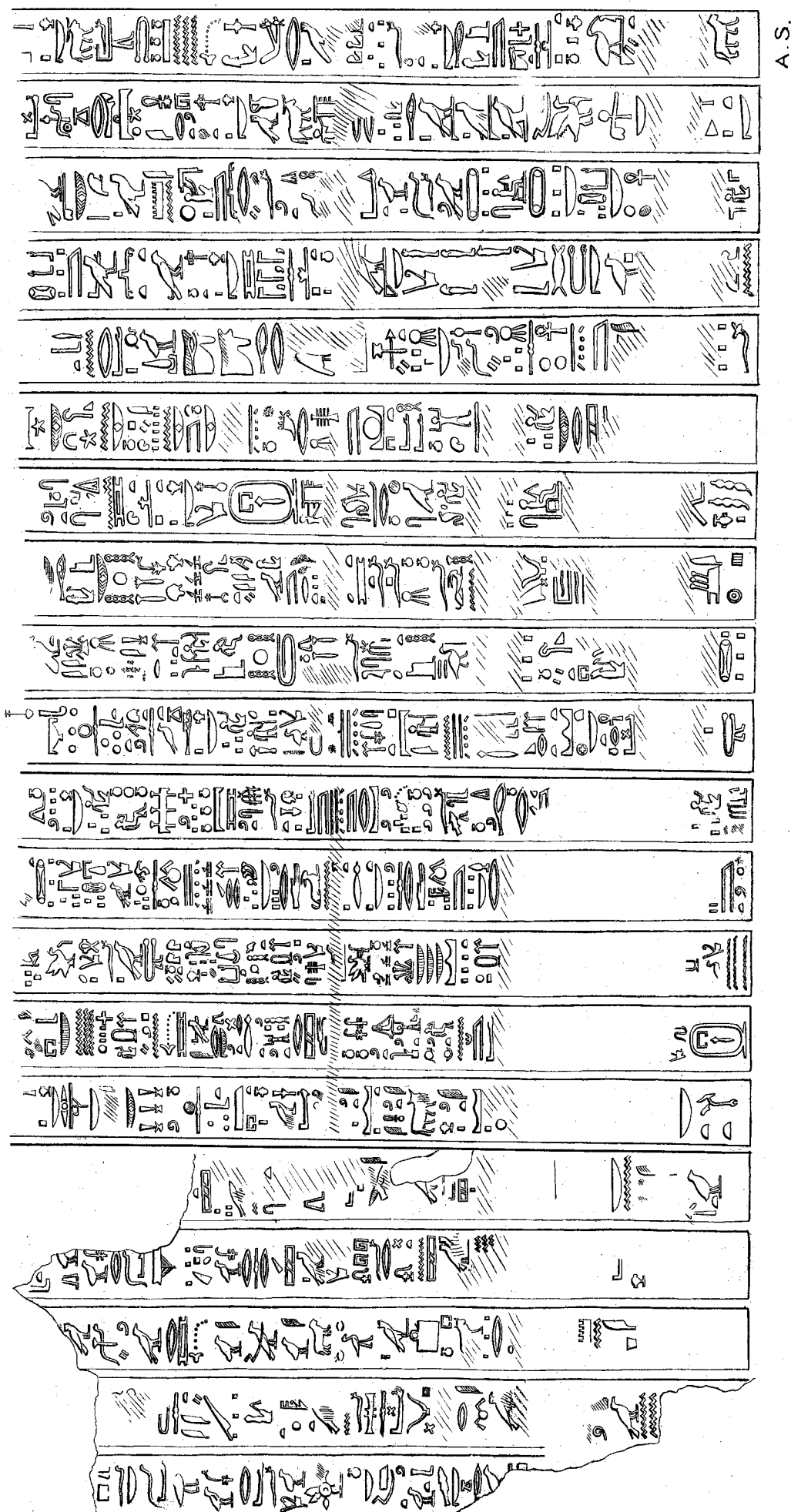


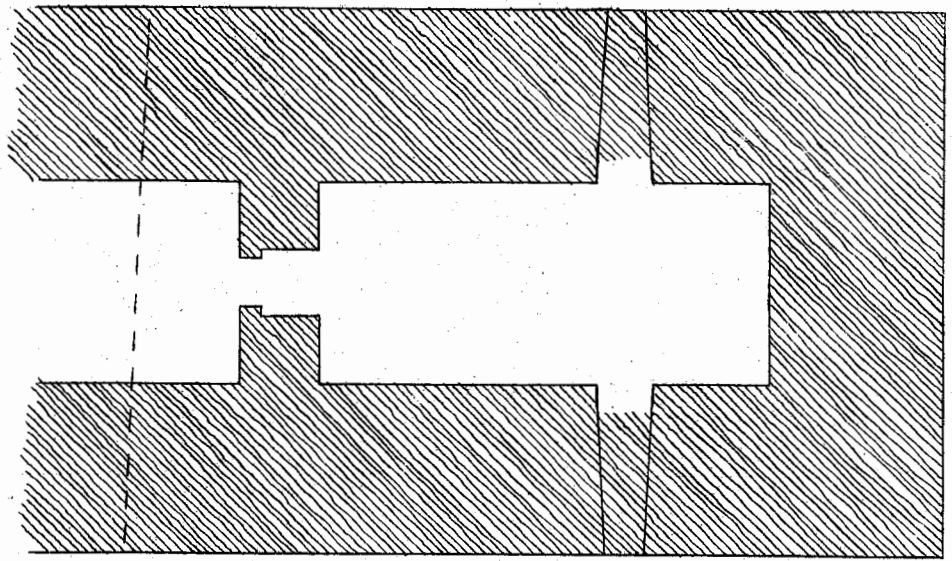
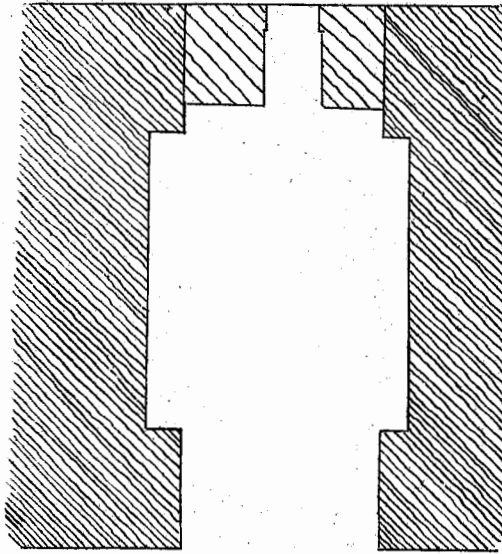






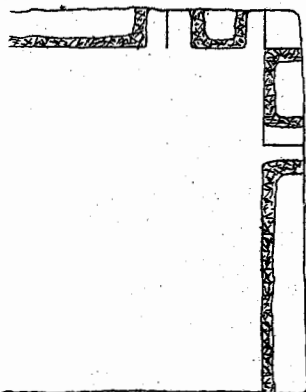
F.P.





GATE AND CHAMBERS IN PYLON OF PHYSKON.

1:20



NE-CORNERSTONE  
TEMPLE OF AULETES

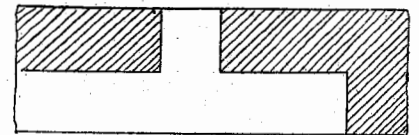
OUTER

PYLON

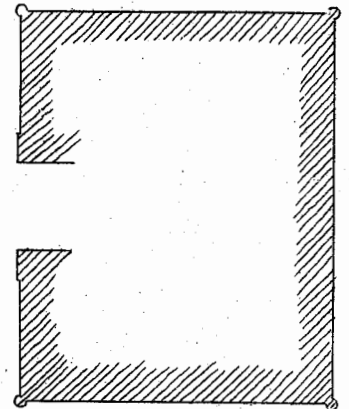
GATEWAY

OF

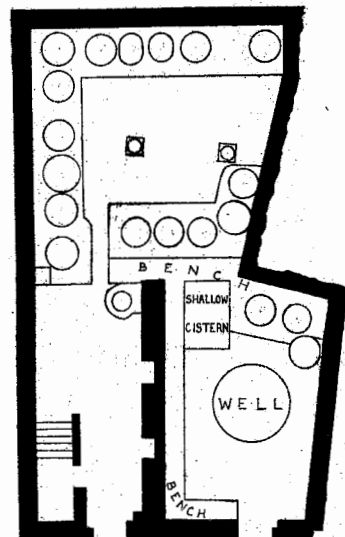
PHYSKON



ROOFING BLOCK AT S-W  
OF TEMPLE OF AULETES

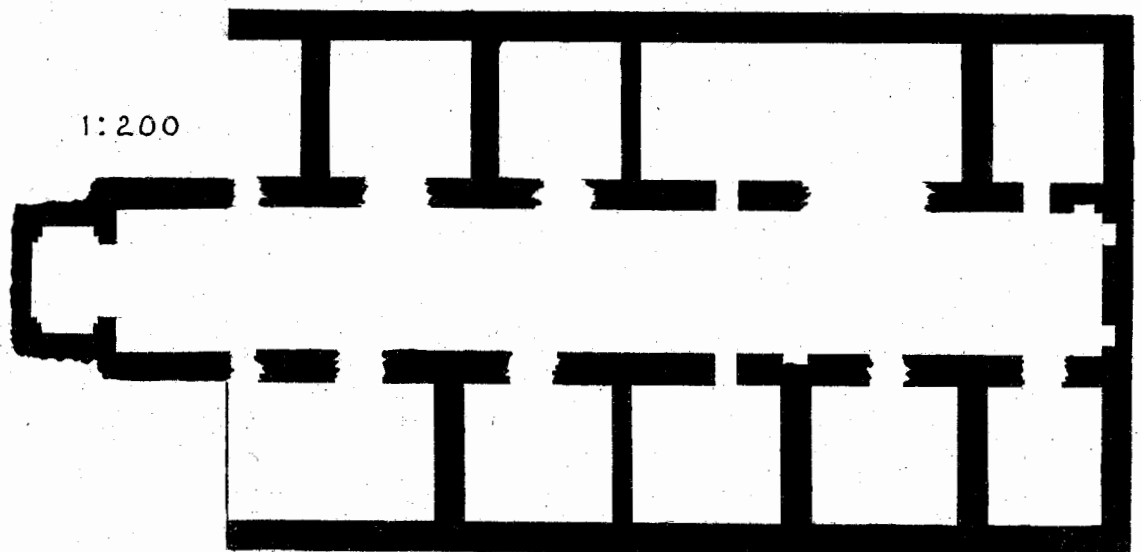


ROMAN CHAPEL

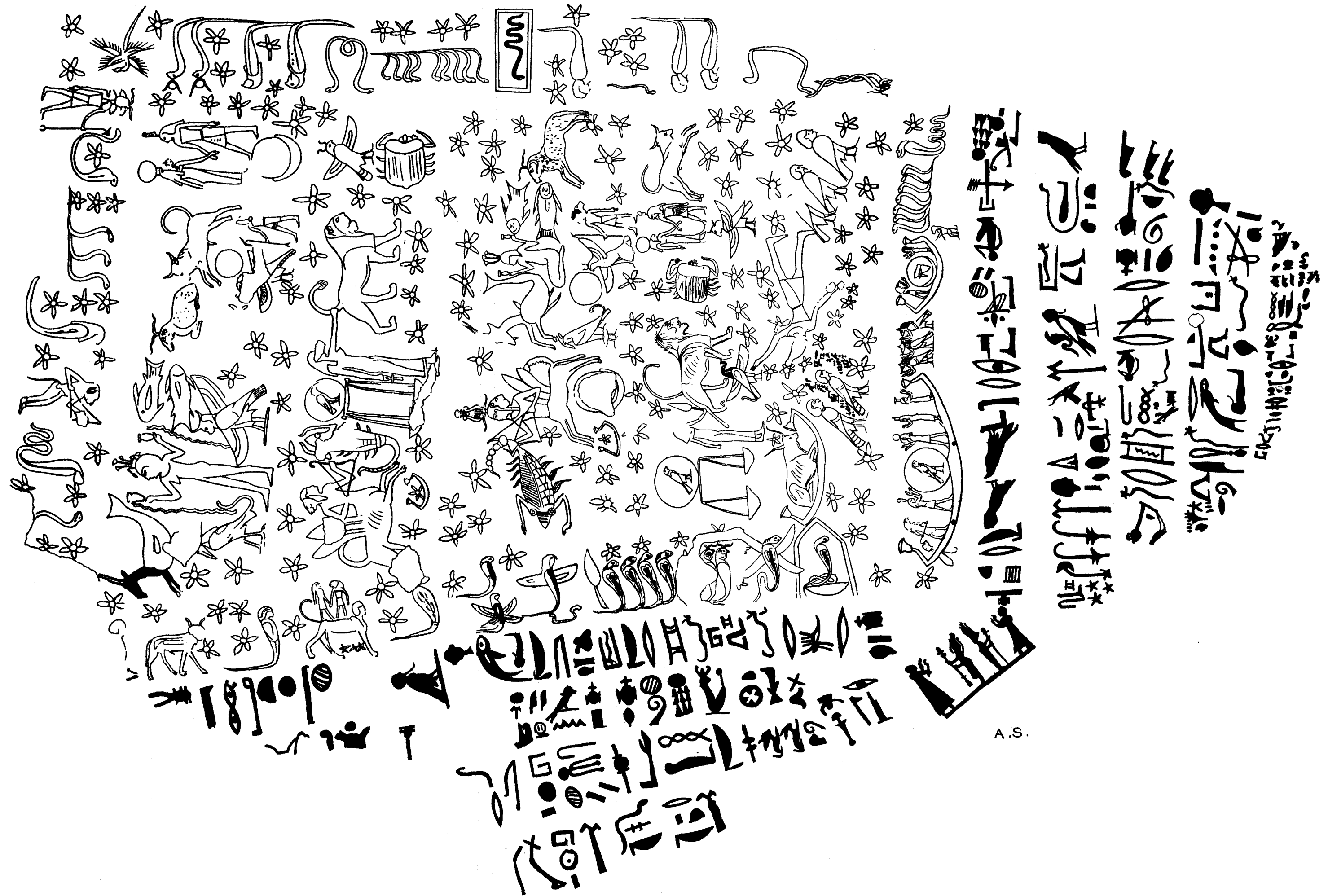


DYERS WORKSHOP

1:200



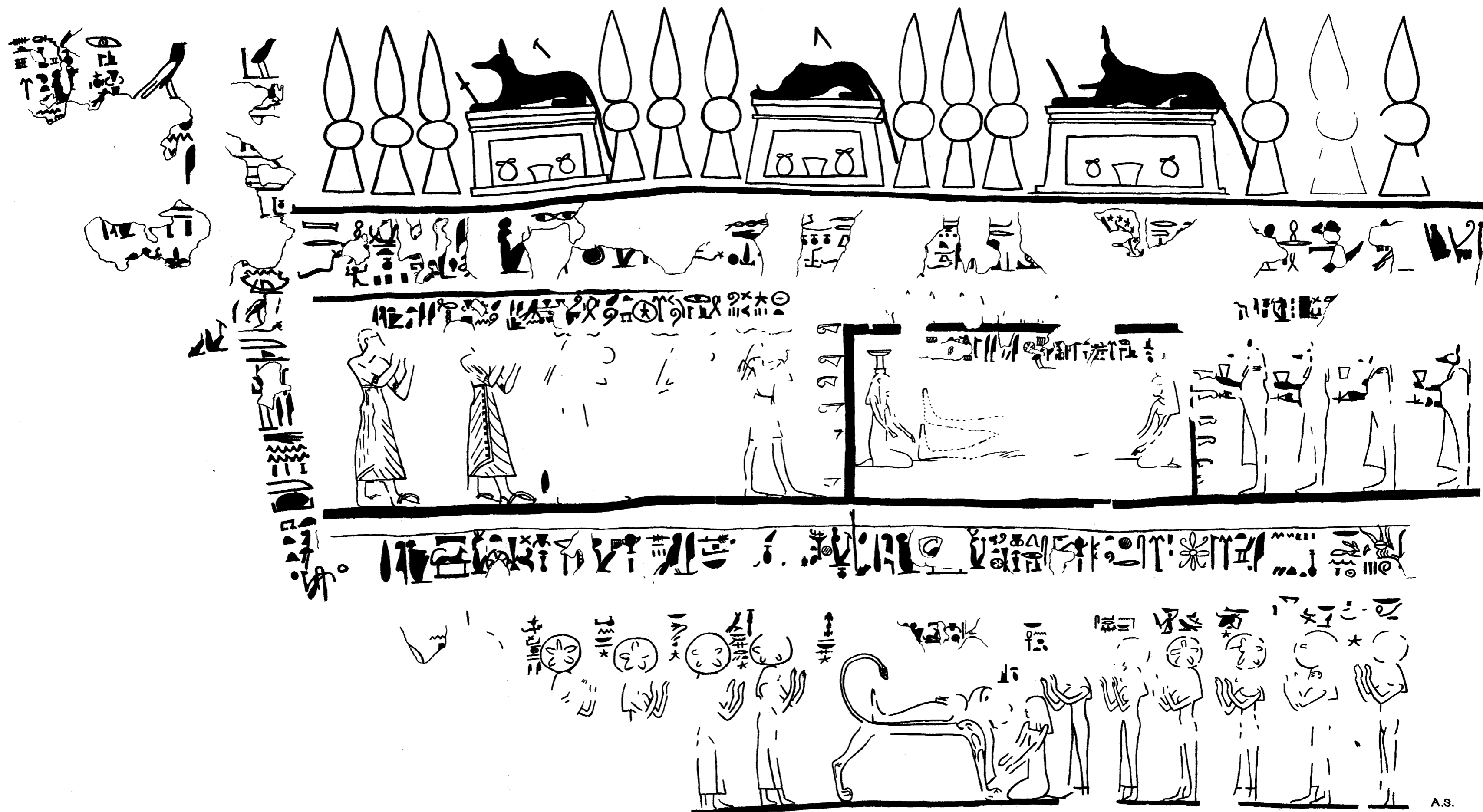
MONASTERY? NE OF TEMPLE OF AULETES. E.M.

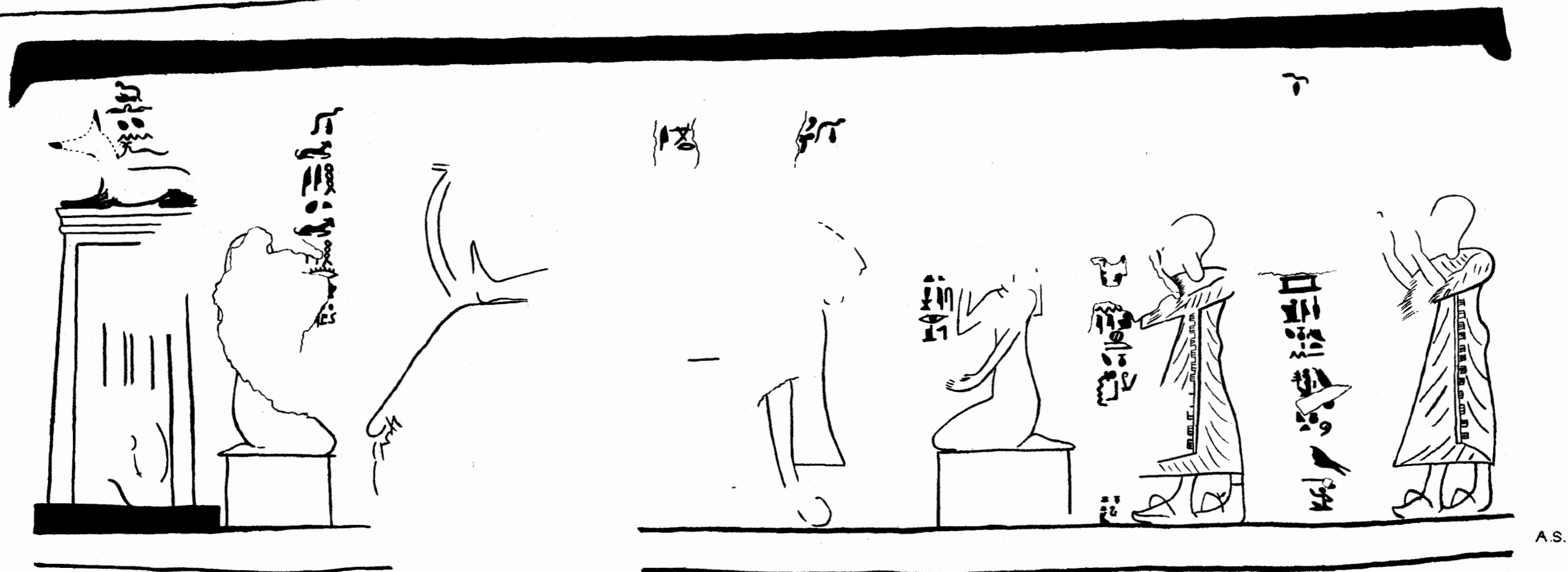
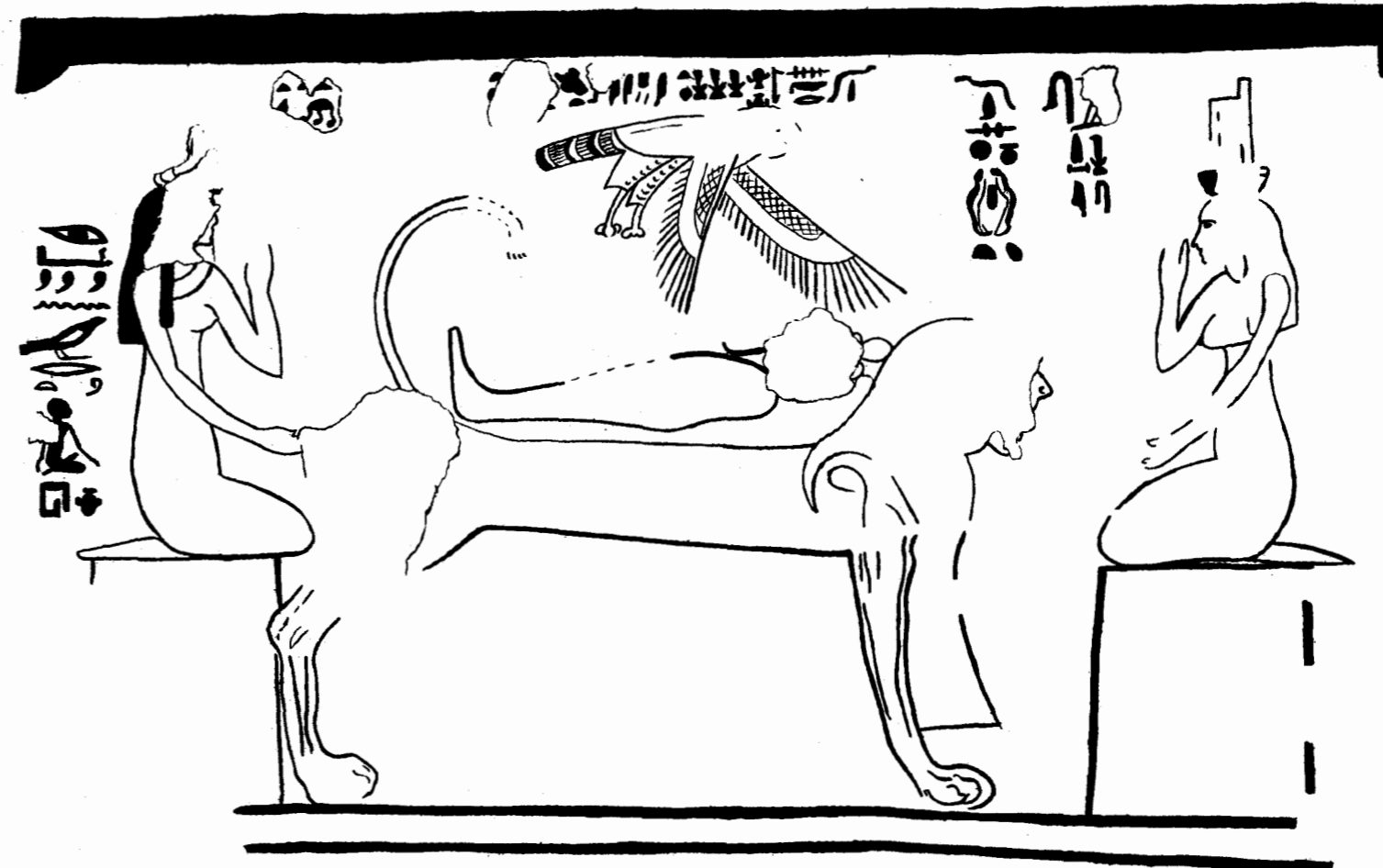
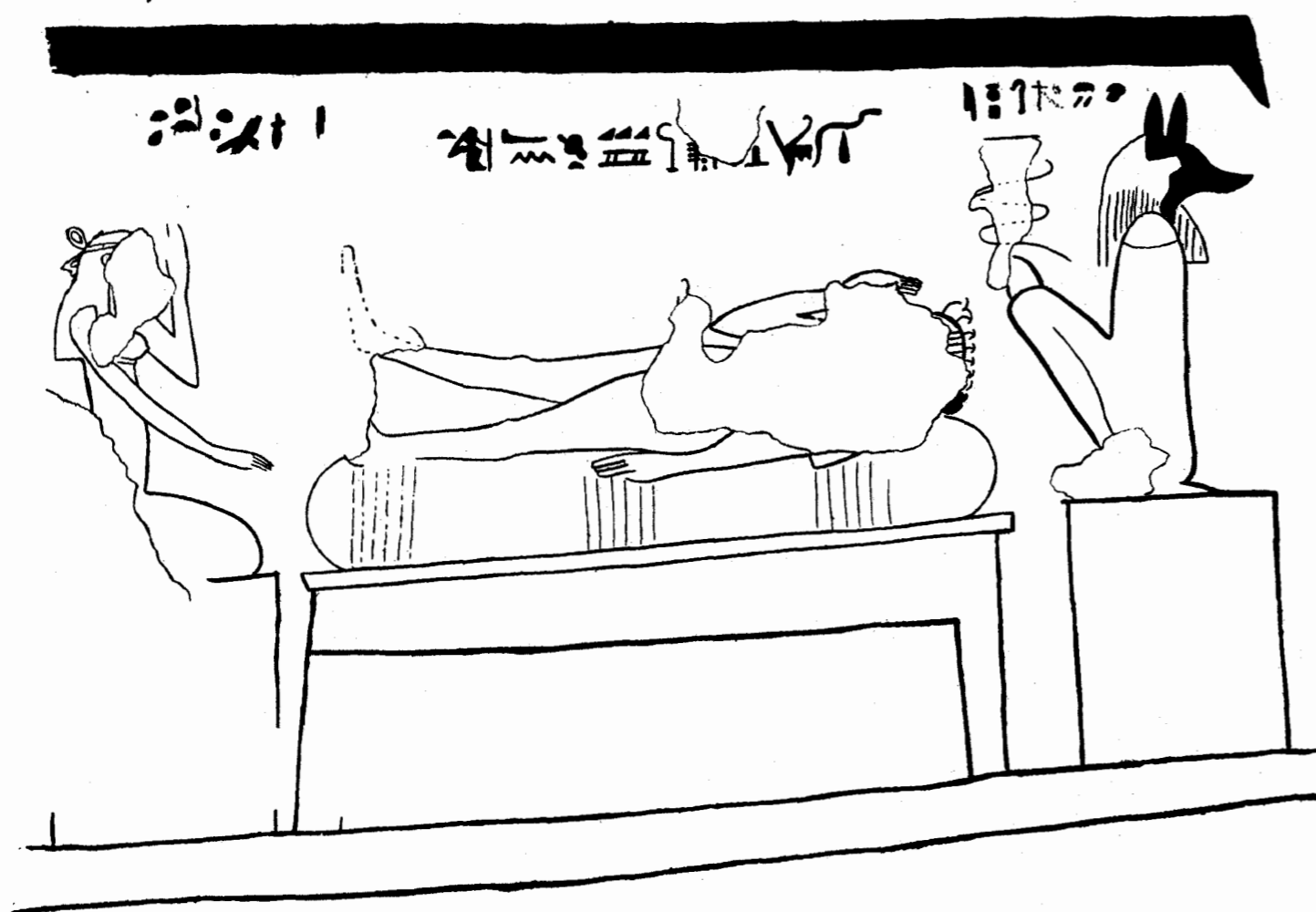


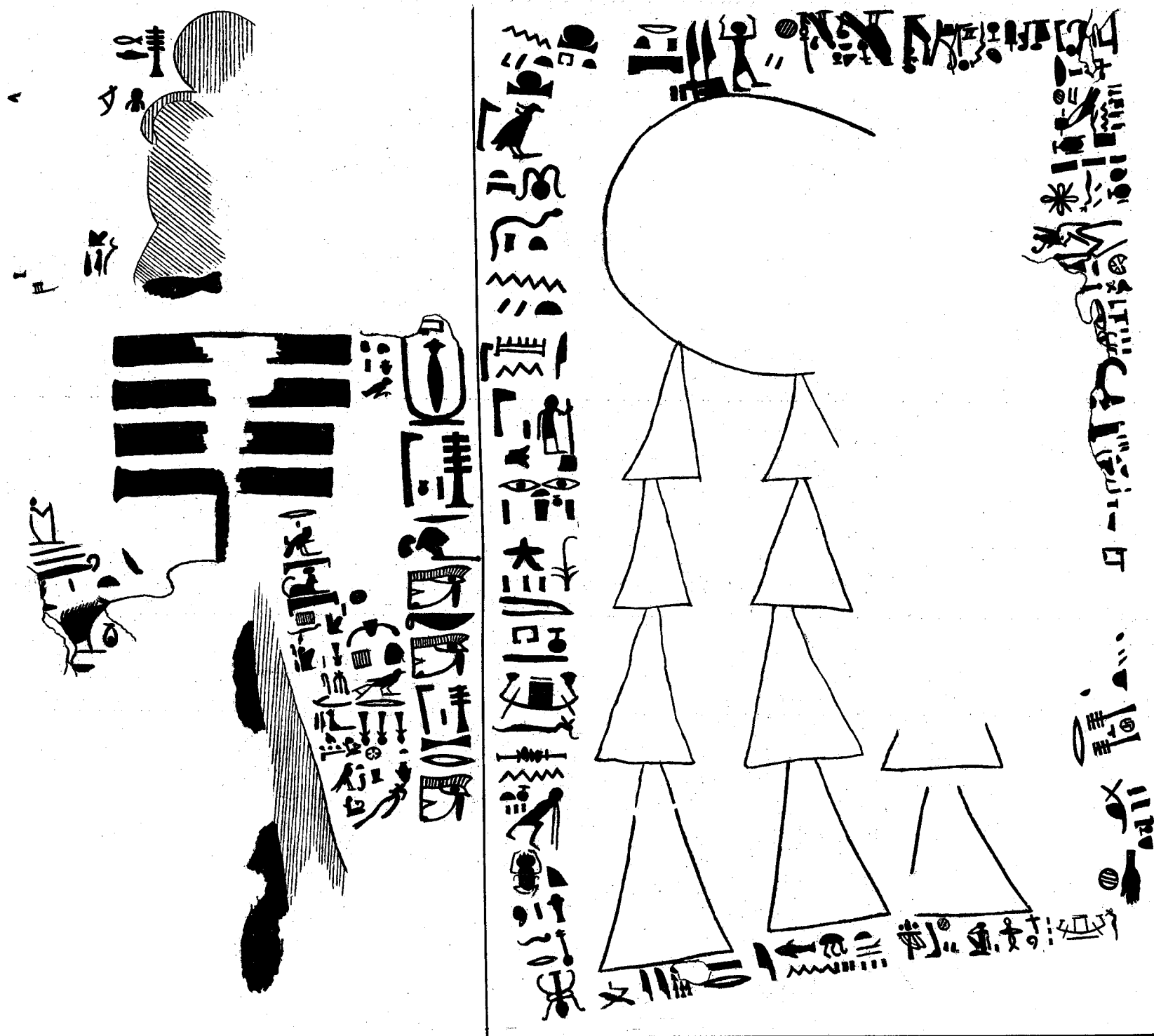




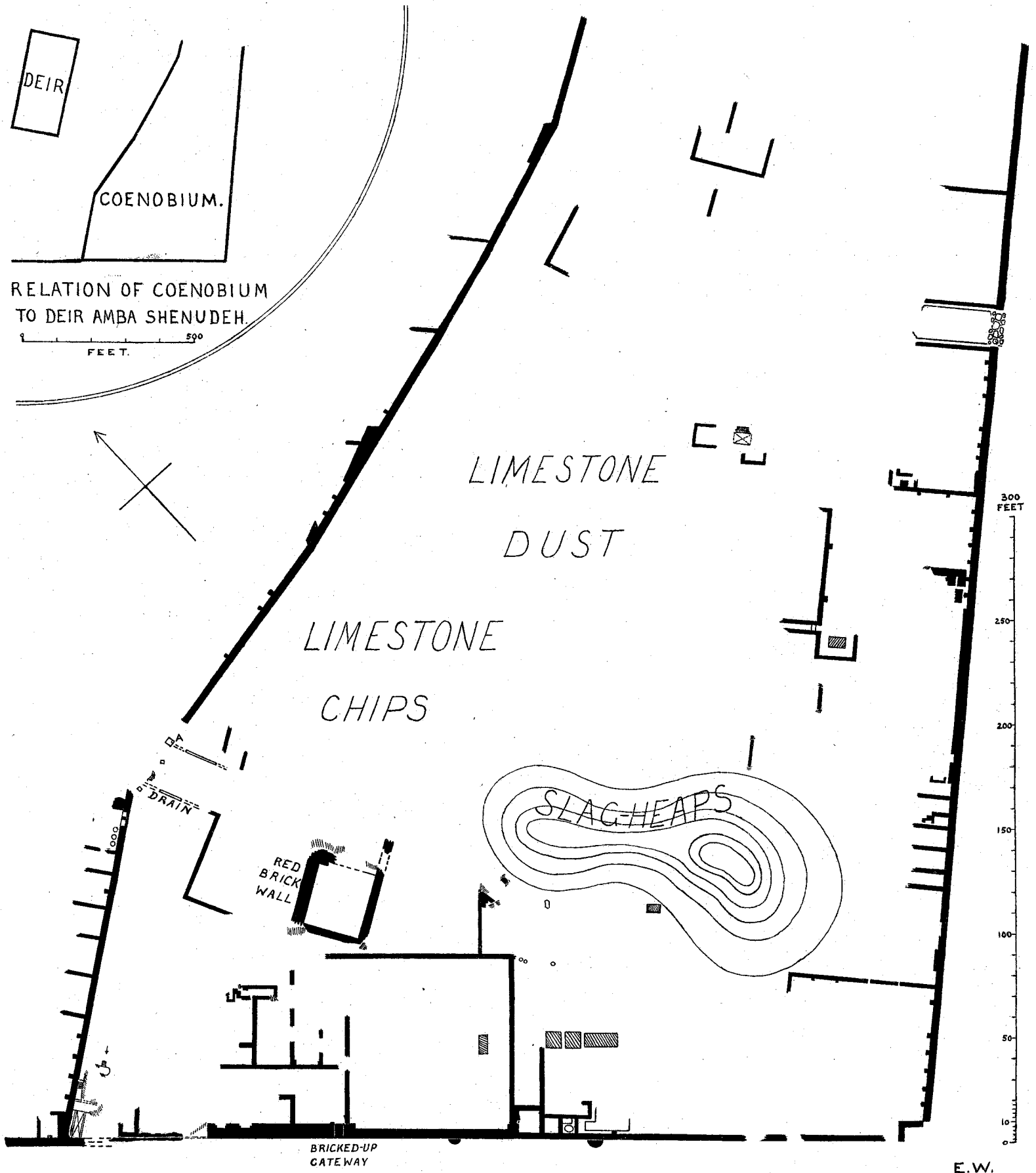








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