



ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF EGYPT

EDITED BY F. LL. GRIFFITH.

NINTH MEMOIR

THE MASTABA OF PTAHHETEP AND AKHETHETEP AT SAQQAREH

PART II.

THE MASTABA. THE SCULPTURES OF AKHETHETEP

BY

N. DE G. DAVIES, M.A., B.D.

WITH NOTES BY THE EDITOR

THIRTY-FOUR PLATES AND FRONTISPIECE

SPECIAL PUBLICATION OF THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

LONDON

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HEAD OF AKHETHETEP

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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.			
THE MASTABA.		SECT.	PAGE
SECT.	PAGE		
1. Introductory	1	20. The corridor	9
2. Extent of excavation	1	21. Blending of religious and secular subjects	9
3. Position of tomb	2	22. Range of the artist	10
4. Previous excavations	2	23. CORRIDOR OF AKHETHETEP. E. wall.	10
5. EXTERIOR. The stonework	2	24. W. wall	11
6. N. side	3	25. CHAPEL OF AKHETHETEP. Arrange-ment of subjects.	14
7. W. side	3	26. E. wall	14
8. S. side	3	27. N. bay, N. wall	16
9. E. side	3	28. N. bay, W. wall	16
10. INTERIOR. Corridor, subsidiary chamber, N. chamber.	4	29. S. bay, W. wall	16
11. Central hall	4	30. S. bay, S. wall	17
12. Vicinity of chapel of Ptahhetep	5	31. N. and S. walls	18
13. Chapel of Akhethetep	5	32. The stela	18
14. Burial shafts. Burials, &c., of later date	6		
CHAPTER II.		CHAPTER III.	
THE SCENES AND INSCRIPTIONS.		DISCUSSIONS AND NOTES.	
15. Origin of mastaba chambers	8	33. THE LISTS OF THE ESTATES	19
16. Their elaboration	8	34. Comparison of the lists	19
17. The present example	8	35. Mode of inheritance.	20
18. DECORATION OF MASTABAS	9	36. The evidence indefinite	20
19. The chapel	9	37. FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS. Tombs of the family at Saqqâreh	21
		38. Ptahhetep I.	21
		39. Akhethetep I.	21
		40. Other members of the house	22

SECT.	PAGE	SECT.	PAGE
41. PROPORTIONS OF THE HUMAN FIGURE.	22	INDICES, &c.	
42. COLOUR NOTES	23	45. List of the officials of Akhethetep .	28
FURTHER NOTES, BY THE EDITOR,		46. Index to hieroglyphs figured in Part I.	31
43. The nomes	24	47. Cross Index to same	32
44. The sparrow hieroglyph	27	48. Notes on the Plates	34

LIST OF PLATES

WITH REFERENCES TO THE PAGES ON WHICH THEY ARE DESCRIBED

(N.B.—Consult also Section 48, NOTES ON THE PLATES, pp. 34-36)

PLATE	PAGE
<i>Frontispiece.</i> Head of Akhethetep	34
I. Plan of Mastaba	1-6, 22
II. Plans, &c.	3-6
III. Photographs:	
(1) Entrance	3
(2) Cattle threshing (Corridor)	13
IV. Corridor—Key-plate	4, 10-14
V. " W. wall—Servants with offerings	11, 12, 23
VI. " " Akhethetep (N. figure)	12
VII. " " Harvest scenes (upper part)	13, 14
VIII. " " " (completion)	13, 14, 22
IX. " " Akhethetep (S. figure).	14
X. " E. wall—Women representing estates	10, 11, 19-21, 24, 25
XI. " " North end (completing Pl. X.)	11, 27
XII. Photographs of the Interior	4, 5
XIII. Chapel of Akhethetep—E. wall (left half)	14-16
XIV. " " (right half)	14-16
XV. " Estates and angler (from E. wall)	19-21, 23-25
XVI. " Estates and fisher (from E. wall)	19-21, 23-25
XVII. " N. bay, N. wall	16, 22, 23
XVIII. " N. bay, W. wall	16
XIX. " " (completion)	16
XX. " S. bay, W. wall	16, 17
XXI. " " (completion)	16, 17
XXII. " S. bay, S. wall (upper half)	17
XXIII. " " (lower half)	6, 17

PLATE		PAGE
XXIV.	Chapel of Akhethetep—N. wall. Key-plate . . .	5, 18, 23
XXV.	" " Upper registers . . .	18, 27
XXVI.	" " Lower registers . . .	18
XXVII.	" " " (continued) . . .	18
XXVIII.	" W. wall (right half) . . .	18
XXIX.	" " (left half) . . .	18
XXX.	" S. wall, Upper registers . . .	18
XXXI.	" " " (continued) . . .	18
XXXII.	" " Lower registers . . .	18
XXXIII.	" " " (continued) . . .	18
XXXIV.	" " Key-plate . . .	5, 18, 23

THE MASTABA OF PTAHHETEP AND AKHETHETEP.

PART II.

THE MASTABA. THE SCULPTURES OF AKHETHETEP.

CHAPTER I.

THE MASTABA.¹

1. In May, 1899, a long winter's work in the mastaba which is the subject of the present memoir having been brought to a close, the tomb was reburied, at a large cost in labour and money, in accordance with the terms of the Government permit. The expenditure might, however, have been spared. A few months later the mastaba was disinterred more completely than ever before by the Department of Antiquities, and its rooms cleared and repaired for the admission of visitors. Really effective measures for lighting and protecting the tomb having been proposed, this forms a happy termination to our enterprise. Unfortunately I did not hear of this clearance undertaken at the expense of the Government until on my way home last winter, and I was therefore unable to take advantage of it in preparing this memoir.

2. Before commencing the description of the mastaba, attention must be called to the necessarily incomplete character of the clearances

on which my observations are based. The accounts of the mastaba given by those who first excavated it, or who saw it at that time, were so strangely misleading,² and their inaccuracies so quickly exposed by the mattocks of the labourers, that a thorough investigation was at once seen to be desirable. But for this we were by no means prepared. It was of course useless to think of a complete recovery of the mastaba from its buried state, restoring it to its original dignity as a massive structure sixteen feet or more in height. Neither funds nor time admitted of it, especially in face of

¹ Throughout the volume Mariette's *Les Mastabas* will be abbreviated to *MAR., Mast.*; *The Tomb of Ptahhetep* in Quibell's *Ramesseum to Row.*; and the *Denkmäler* of Lepsius to *L. D.* The first volume of the present publication will be quoted as *Part I.*

² I must exempt the worthy Sheikh Rabi, who was formerly Mariette's *reis*, and is still in charge of the tombs here. He retained a perfect knowledge of the disposition of the building.

the official regulations at that time in force, which made it advisable to restrict excavation as much as possible. In several places, also, deeper digging would have involved the removal of heavy blocks, or the shoring up of a structure, the ruined state of which was already sufficiently threatening. Bearing this in mind, the reader will pardon the blank spaces and conjectural lines which occur in the plans.¹ Those who have dug in the drifted sand of the desert know how closely its properties approximate to those of a fluid, and will understand why more was not done to lay bare the exterior walls. Beyond the identification and clearance of the corners little was attempted here; it has been assumed on the plan that the walls run straight between the points thus found.

3. As this mastaba is now one of the sights of Saqqāreh, there is no need to define its position further than by stating that it lies close to the W. slope of the eminence on which the Step Pyramid stands. A long depression of clear sand runs N. and S. at the foot of the rising ground on this side, and seems to mark a roadway separating the pyramid enclosure from the city of tombs. Between this and our mastaba there is only room for one tomb of similar size. Mariette places here the tomb of a Princess Rahent, and shows a small erection on his plan (see MAR., *Mast.*, p. 359). No evidence was gained regarding this chamber, but the existence of a larger building a little to the S. of that point became plain. A mastaba of ruder construction intrudes on our tomb at the S.W. corner. On the N. and S. there appear to have been roadways. The mastaba faces 12° E. of Magnetic North.

4. This monument, so long inaccurately known as the Tomb of Pthahhetep, was discovered by

Mariette nearly half a century ago, but no record of it was left by him, except a photograph of a scene in Pthahhetep's chapel and the rough plan given in his *Mastabas* (under D 64). Owing to the value of the sculptures, he had probably determined to publish the tomb completely, but found no leisure for the purpose. Subsequently the chapel of Pthahhetep was opened now and again for the privileged, and gradually it has been made known by publication; but the less attractive chambers of Akhethetep were passed over without mention, and all tradition of their existence was lost. De Rougé had some record of the inscriptions, but apparently knew nothing of the connection of Akhethetep with Pthahhetep (*Six Premières Dynasties*, p. 101). How completely the knowledge of this had been lost as soon as gained may be gathered from quotations, which comprise all that was known to the world of the joint mastaba till 1898:—

"Il n'offre pas d'autre disposition que le tombeau de Ti et on y trouve, comme partout, un massif rectangulaire qui est à proprement parler le mastaba, une chambre qui fait office de chapelle, un serdab, un puits, et enfin le caveau souterrain" (MARIETTE, *Voyage dans la Haute Égypte*, p. 41).

"Das Grab des Pthahhetep besteht, wie dies bei den meisten Gräbern auf dem Pyramiden Felde bei Saqqarah der Fall ist, nur aus einem einzigen Gemache von sehr kleinen Dimensionen" (DÜMICHEN, *Photographische Resultate*, p. 16).

Exterior.

5. The appearance of white limestone above the sand of an Egyptian cemetery is the signal for prompt theft. Consequently the walls of the mastaba nowhere retain their original height, and all trace of the platform surface is gone. In some places destruction has been carried very much lower, making it impossible to restore the

¹ The limits of the clearance are indicated in a general way in Plates I. and II. by dotted or broken lines.

exact height with any certainty. The batter of the exterior walls lies between 1 in 16 and 1 in 20. Three kinds of stone are employed in the building. Conspicuous parts, such as the exterior walls facing the roadways, and the upper part of all the interior walls of the chief rooms, are constructed of the fine white limestone of Turah. The walls on the E. and W., the lower (unsculptured) courses within and without,¹ the framing of the doorways of the pillared hall, and all subsidiary chambers, are built of a coarser stone of a purplish colour. A yellow stone of poor quality is used for roofing-slabs. Both the latter kinds are obtained, I understand, in the neighbourhood.

6. N. SIDE.—The entrance to the mastaba lies towards the E. end of the N. frontage. It is narrow and set back in a recess, the S. wall of which has a much slighter batter than the façade. The masses of *débris* outside the building at this point foiled an attempt to determine if this recess had been pillared and roofed as in some mastabas, and whether there were any remains of an inscribed architrave. A white stone which is left on the south wall of the recess may represent the topmost course, but it is too much shattered to retain any trace of inscription. The square lintel stone which crosses the doorway is blank. The recess offers proof that the builders were not above preferring show to solidity. At first sight it appears to be built of very large blocks, but these are soon found to be no more than comparatively thin facing-stones, backed by a wall of rubble. A large part of this casing has disappeared from the E. side of the recess. At the N.W. corner of the tomb the wall of the next mastaba on the N. can be seen, and shows that the lane between the mastabas

must be less than five feet wide at the ground level. From Section 4, Pl. ii., some idea can be gained how impressive a walk in this necropolis must have been when these great structures were all intact and seen at their full height.

7. W. SIDE.—The W. wall, which is composed of the coarser stone, presently terminates at the entrance to another mastaba, built of the same material, and cutting deeply into the S.W. corner of its neighbour at right angles. Its E. wall is vertical, and this, combined with its general aspect, indicates that it is a later erection.

8. S. SIDE.—The S. wall is built of blocks of fine white stone, but its W. end appears to have been broken down to admit of later constructions. It continues here as a rubble wall of irregular stones and large black bricks, until it meets a plastered wall at right angles (E. wall of the intruding mastaba?). A doorway in this latter (protected on the N. and E. by a second retaining wall at a lower level) admits to a small ruined chamber of rough construction. The junction of the white stone with the rubble is marked by a small brick recess, and from this point the former extends eastward far past the point where the S.E. corner might be looked for, indicating a continuous frontage on this side.

9. E. SIDE.—The mounds of rubbish compelled me to leave both the external and the internal construction of the mastaba at this point in much doubt. The corner of an inner chamber built in coarse stone was laid bare, and also some white stones to the N.E. of this, which appeared to form the eastern entrance of another room. Presumably these belong to an adjoining mastaba, but no clear line of junction could be established. Were it not otherwise improbable, an entrance or extension of the mastaba in this direction might be suspected. Perhaps the last excavation has decided the point.

¹ At any rate in the portico, the only point outside where these courses were reached by the excavations.

Interior.

10. *PLS. I. TO IV.*—The narrow entrance leads into an oblong room, which appears to have served only as a CORRIDOR. In the inside corner of the doorway on the right hand there is a rebate showing traces of mortar (Pl. ii.). A similar feature occurs in this room on the north side of the doorway leading to the central hall (Pl. iv.). It suggests that a block of wood was inserted here, and a door of some kind attached. The N.E. corner of the room is broken down, leaving only brick rubble to view; but it appears that this side was somewhat shorter than the other. About one-third of the ceiling has fallen in. The sculptures of the walls were never completed, and exist in every stage, from almost obliterated ink designs to exquisitely finished reliefs. The room ends in a curious recess, now unroofed, the construction of which can be sufficiently gathered from the plans. The narrower portion of it is built of the coarser stone. In this room there was found a fragment of stone with a tapering hole cut through it (Pl. ii.) to which mortar still adhered. In the tomb of Mera a similar stone is fixed upright in the floor of the central hall; it is suggested that sacrificial animals may have been bound to it.

A doorway in the E. wall of the corridor admits to a SUBSIDIARY CHAMBER, built of the coarser material. This room, now mostly unroofed, I only cleared to the depth of two or three feet. From its S. end a very narrow passage (?) with ascending roof leads off, and after receiving a tiny side-light on the right, has a still narrower exit between blocks of white stone, which seem to mark a chief room or passage. The ascending (?) passage, which is roughly built, runs very close to the line of the E. wall.

There are two exits from the corridor on the W. side. That nearest the entrance leads to a N. CHAMBER by a narrow passage, which for

part of its length has a sudden increase of height (see Pl. ii., Section 3). This chamber is also accessible from the central hall and from the western chapel. Another room, which still retains its roof, opens out of it on the W. Under a broad stone shelf, which extends across its S. end, there was found a later interment in a stone sarcophagus; but this small discovery caused such perturbation among the lesser officials, that I made no closer examination of its contents, a glance inside having already shown me that the burial had no importance. In the passage to the western chapel I was able to determine the level of the pavement.

11. The chief exit from the corridor, however, is by the doorway at the farther end, which enters directly the CENTRAL HALL.

This hall is in great ruin, most of the massive stone architraves which carried the roof having given way, while of the three which still retain their original position one seems to do so only by a violation of the law of gravity (Pl. xii.). The heavy stone roofing was carried on roughly hewn architraves, ten to eleven feet in length, which crossed the room in three spans by the aid of four pillars. These latter, which must be monoliths, still stand erect: it is the architraves and the facing-stones of the walls which have yielded. The hall is built of white stone, except the framing of the S. and W. doorways; but the surface of the walls and pillars is rough, so that its uninscribed state seems intentional. The large dimensions of the room (20 ft. 9 in. by 27 ft. 5 in.) alone give it architectural dignity, for no great care has been spent upon it. The pillars, which are of oblong section with angles chamfered so as to leave a rough capital, have not even been finished.¹ One is left a mere quadrangular monolith, while of two others one

¹ In the pillar hieroglyph, Pl. xxix., col. 4, it may be this chamfering which is shown, as applied to a wooden pillar without capital.

angle remains uncut, though marked for removal (see diagrams, Pl. ii., and photograph, Pl. xii.). The under side of one of the roofing-stones on the E. has been cut away to provide a slanting aperture for the admission of air, as in the chapel of Ptahhetep (Part I., Pl. ii.) The rest of the construction has been lost by the ruin of the wall at this point.

There are several examples of such pillared halls in the mastabas of this necropolis.¹

12. Passing through a narrow doorway in the S.E. corner of the pillared hall, we step down and enter a small room whose roof (now gone) was not higher than the entrance. On the right hand is a shelved recess. In the lowest corner of this a shell was found containing red paint.² The conclusion may well be hazarded that it was left in that dark spot by one of the artists who painted the walls of the chapel within, perhaps the master Ptahenankh himself. The construction of the mastaba to the E. of this antechamber could not be thoroughly determined. After Mariette's discovery of the tomb the aristocracy of Egypt were occasionally admitted to the chapel, and for their convenience a stairway was made at this point, probably at the cost of some destruction. It is only by the removal of this and a critical examination of the foundations here that the original plan could be recovered.

Close to the door of the chapel a narrow way diverges to the left through a low³ and tiny room, built in white limestone, and ends at three chambers (?), now filled with fallen bricks and stones. In the space between this and the end of the corridor only the lowest part of the building remains, and most of it is covered by

the stairway mentioned above. The higher portions of the mastaba are kept up by retaining walls (some of them modern?). In one of these is seen the little opening into the narrow extension of the east chamber.

13. PLS. XIII.-XXXIV.—The chapel of Ptahhetep has been sufficiently described in Part I. of this work. It remains to notice the CHAPEL OF AKHETHETEP, which is reached from the pillared hall by a doorway immediately opposite the entrance from the corridor. It is T-shaped. This rare form was well adapted to meet the difficulty of roofing over a large chamber, but perhaps the upright of the T may be looked upon simply as a great deepening of the niche in which the stela was placed, in order to give room for further sculpture (so also in the tomb of Mera). There is a chamber of this shape in a tomb at Gizeh (No. 53, L. D., i. 25).⁴ All the walls are sculptured, but they have received serious injury. The great stela which formed the west end of the chamber lies on its back, and its upper half has been broken away. Both sides of the stem of the T-chamber also have lost a corresponding part of their sculptures, though a good many of the displaced stones still lie in the room. The original position of most of these could be determined; they have accordingly been replaced in the representation of the walls (Pls. xxiv. and xxxiv.). In this reconstruction it became apparent from some fragments of the southern list of offerings that this part of the chamber was loftier by 10 inches than the bays, whose original height is shown by remains of the roof (Pl. ii., section 2). Signs of this additional register are also noticeable on the topmost stone *in situ* of the N. wall. The loss of the roof, by exposing the sculptures

¹ MAE., *Mast.*, C 6, D 19, 61, 62, 63, and p. 332.

² The artist who is depicted before his easel (?) in the doorway of the tomb of Mera, holds such a shell in his hand. Cf. PETRIE, *Medum*, pl. xxix.

³ The roofing-stone shown in Pl. ii., section 4, seems to be *in situ*.

⁴ Compare the *ku*-chambers at Medum (PETRIE, *Medum*, Pl. vii.), and the underground inscribed chamber of Asu at Denderah (PETRIE, *Denderah*, Pl. v.a.).

to damp, has caused great injury to the upper portions. Nevertheless, much remains in fair preservation, and where the stone is good the reliefs have beautiful delicacy and finish. In places a good deal of colour still remained, though much of it was soon lost with the saline incrustations that held it. On the N. wall of the N. bay this crust completely hid the sculptures, and could only be removed with great difficulty. In the opposite wall a hole, scarcely large enough to admit even a child, has been broken, and discloses the position of the serdab. As the chamber appeared to be empty and in ruin, I made no attempt to enter it. It may be the serdab of which Mariette speaks, but there is very likely another, discovered or undiscovered, connected with the burial of Ptahhetep.

14. The chief well lies to the W. of the chapel of Ptahhetep. As Sheikh Rubi, searching his excellent memory, asserted that the stone sarcophagus in the burial vault bore a short inscription, I made an attempt to reach it

at the close of the season, while engaged in re-burying the tomb. But the well was so spacious that I was obliged to desist, after making considerable progress. Whether by original design or owing to collapse, the real mouth of the well is only to be reached at ground level. Above this the retaining walls of rubble masonry enclose an enormous pit. A much smaller shaft was discovered to the E. of the corridor (Pl. ii., section 3). On reaching the chamber below it was found to be full of the *débris* of pillaged burials of late date, and may possibly be itself a later construction. According to the Sheikh there is a well behind the stela of Akhethetep, where indeed one was to be expected. No signs of it were visible, but the fallen stela may conceal the mouth. The space between the stela and the exterior wall is vacant, either owing to the collapse of the well or to excavations for the purpose of later interments.

In the shaft of the small well there was found the lower part of a gray granite shabti



INSCRIPTION ON LOWER HALF OF GREY GRANITE SHABTI FIGURE FOUND IN DÉBRIS FROM THE N. WELL OF TOMB OF PTAHHETEP, SAQQAREH, 1889.

figure, inscribed for Mentuemhat, son of Ast-en-Kheb, and fourth prophet of Amon, the well-known ruler of Thebes under Taharqa (BENSON and GOURLAY, *Temple of Mut*, pp. 350-368; DARESSY, *Recueil de Cones Funéraires*, No. 201). It is useless to conjecture what chance brought it to this resting-place.

Some later burials were met with beside that one mentioned above. A clumsy wooden sarcophagus interred near the mouth of the great well was left where it was found. Another

wooden sarcophagus of better class lay just outside the W. wall. The mummy within was adorned with the usual gilded mask and cartonnage ornaments, but bore no name. The coffin was accompanied by a small pylon-shaped wooden shrine, painted with figures of deities and religious emblems, and surmounted by a hawk with the double plume. This, with all other chance finds, was handed over to the Museum officials.

CHAPTER II.

THE SCENES AND INSCRIPTIONS.¹

15. Although the internal construction of the mastabas of Saqqâreh may seem endlessly varied, examination soon reveals an underlying principle, in comparison with which the divergences are accidental and subsidiary. A building such as the tomb of Mera, which is merely a rectangular shell holding a complicated series of rooms, and even a second story, is not so far distant in evolution from the early type of mastaba as at first it seems to be. The latter, as is well known, consisted of a solid mass of masonry, having one or two recesses in its eastern façade, in which the stela or "false door" was set up, and offerings laid for the use of the dead. For the protection of the stela the recess was deepened, and when the space was found inconveniently narrow for the ceremonies it was roofed over, thus becoming a small inner room. Since all rites and offerings took place before the stela, the room containing it may be called the Chapel of the mastaba. Next to the burial vault it is the most essential chamber, and in it the inscribed door and its altar are the only essential features. In the earlier and simpler mastabas the chapel is of small dimensions, and is situated just within the mass on the E. side. The false door was always set in the W. wall, that it might afford communication to the dead who live in the happy West.

16. As piety took more lavish forms a more roomy interior was needed for its display. The chapel was set more deeply back, so that a long corridor was frequently needed as an approach. In some cases a hall of such size that its roof

required the support of several pillars was added as a convenience to those who gathered for the cult of the dead; where present, it was usually the first room to be entered. Subsidiary chambers for storage were also found a necessity. But the chapel containing the stela is still the real justification for all else. The suite of rooms terminates here, and its walls receive the most important scenes and inscriptions. If the proposed subjects exceeded the limits of the chapel, the walls of the corridor might also be occupied; but the secondary importance of this position is shown, not only by the scenes portrayed, but also by the unfinished state in which they are often found.

17. It will easily be seen from this presentation of the typical mastaba that the plan of the tomb of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep has not deviated essentially from the simpler form. The somewhat intricate arrangement of the chambers and the strange shape of the western chapel may be largely due to accidental causes, to the double burial, and to the less usual and probably compulsory choice of the north side for entrance. In the case of each burial the chapel is still the all-important room above ground, as the abandoned sculptures in the

¹ Any scientific value which this chapter may prove to have is largely due to suggestions or information gained in frequent discussions with Mr. Griffith, who has also kindly read over my manuscript and added several interesting references. To make particular acknowledgments would be tedious, and leave many omissions. I can only say that the reader will not easily overestimate my indebtedness.

corridor prove; and we are far from the series of fully-sculptured chambers which we find a little later in the tombs of Mera and Kagemna.

18. A brief analysis of the motive of the tomb decoration employed here may also be attempted. A desire would naturally arise that the spirits of the dead should take pleasure in their chapels on other occasions beside those when the piety of the living had placed fresh viands there. This problem presented no great difficulty to a people who had such a love for sign, symbol and script, and attributed to them such real potency as did the ancient Egyptians. At least the designs which they executed on the walls of the chapel and of the entrance, and sometimes on the façade near the doorway, seem to have this for their object. On the one hand, the volatile spirit of the deceased might gain a needed fixity and mundaneness from his sculptured figure and titles; on the other hand, thanks to the liberal depictions of the labour by which subsistence is gained and of its fruits, he could experience in this dark and narrow chamber much of the real joy of life and work that was still animating others in the green plains of the river valley.

19. The representations of most importance to the dead, and to which therefore the chapel walls are in the first instance devoted, are:—

- (1) The stela, fashioned to represent a plank door set in an elaborate framing. The deceased is generally represented on it in the act of passing in or out; in a few cases his statue occupies the niche. It is ordinarily inscribed with such prayers to divine powers as would procure for the dead the conditions of blessedness.
- (2) The figure, name, and titles of the deceased.
- (3) A tabulated list of articles of food, consisting when fullest of about 100 entries.
- (4) The deceased sitting before a lavishly spread table.
- (5) The bringing of varied provisions and the slaughter of animals by the "servants of the *ka*."
- (6) The religious ritual by which the viands were fitted to afford nourishment to a glorified spirit.
- (7) The depiction of wife and family, favourite servants or domestic pets, in order to assure the dead man of their renewed companionship.

20. One can imagine the funeral procession passing through the corridor on the day of burial. The wooden shrines containing the statues of the dead are dragged in by the celebrants with professional lamentation and dancing, and much priestly recitation and ritual, and there follows a long line of servitors leading sacrificial animals or bearing offerings of smaller sort. Prominent among these is the file of serfs, each of whom represents one of the estates of the deceased and carries appropriate gifts. These scenes, therefore, form the natural subject for corridor decoration, and the frequent depiction of shipping will be found perfectly concordant when it is remembered that then, as now, the waterways of Egypt formed its only high roads. Other representations less obviously connected with the provisioning of the tomb, such as scenes of agriculture and craftsmanship, also find a place in the corridor (notably in the tomb of Thy).

21. Theoretically the whole of the decoration is designed for the one end of sustaining the life of the dead in blessedness, whether by the magic influence of the representations themselves, or by the direction which they gave to the piety of the living, who by correct ritual, gifts, and prayers could contribute so much to the welfare of the dead. It is true that much often meets our eyes in these chapels that seems purely biographical or pictorial, or in which the artist appears to have given rein to his own often humorous delight in living form and action, in total oblivion of the religious

motive. We must allow that what in itself is so natural did indeed frequently occur. The entirely secular and often jocular superscriptions to the scenes of daily life make such an admission imperative. And yet, when the artist seems to have taken us farthest from any thought of the grave, and we are in the busy fields in harvest time, sailing on the river in ships, watching the tussle of the boatmen in the marshes, and are convinced that he is only exercising his loving skill in depicting the animal life of the desert, the bird life with which the papyrus thickets were alive, or the crowded yards of the prosperous farms, we are suddenly brought back by a word in the superscription to the cardinal aim of it all. The whole life of the country estate, whether merry or busy, is before us, and it appears to be of the world worldly. But this estate we find is one set apart to supply the "house of eternity." The reapers, herdsmen, and fishermen are servants of the same, and all the busy movement—basting, workshops, account books and all—is supposed to have as its sole end the assurance to the deceased of a lavish provision for his home in the necropolis. The motive held good though the end was not always kept closely in mind. If the dead man is here seen busily superintending the management of the farm, or energetically engaging in the sport which the marshes afforded, it is an admission that his happiness could not be considered to be satisfied by the "thousands of oxen, of geese and of beer" for which he prayed. The vital and even legal interest which the dead still possessed in the culture of the land gave full occasion for the most secular scenes, and whenever the connection became strained it was easy to restore it by an allusion in the superscription.

22. The artist was by no means a free man. As is always the case, a violation of the prescribed canon could only be pardoned where merit disarmed criticism. The realistic

genius of some artist had consecrated many a scene or touch, and had gained for it admission to the limited number of possible subjects for tomb sculpture. What genius had done genius could do again. But for the most part the Egyptian draughtsmen, who were admirable copyists, followed closely the traditions of their craft. The grouping or selection of subjects to occupy the walls of a chamber had often no higher reason than the fancy of the patron, or their suitability to fill the space neatly with pictures. Even the homely badinage, with which the peasants are represented as lightening their labours, had generally become well-worn jesting, however obvious it may be that it once was racy of the soil.

Corridor of Akhethetep.

23. PLS. IV., X., XI. EAST WALL.—The above notes on tomb decoration may enable the reader who is not familiar with other tombs of the period to appreciate the significance of the scenes described below, and to estimate the influence of conventional rules on their treatment. For the sake of convenience, the order of entrance will be followed, the corridor receiving our first attention.

The scenes still visible on the E. (left hand) wall are those commonly found on corridor walls. The main space was occupied by three ships, with their prows to the right hand. They are manned by eight or twelve rowers each, the steersmen in the stern guiding the vessels in the usual way by double steering oars. The first two boats at least carry masts. The varying slant of the oars seems to indicate that the first has reached anchorage, the second is slackening speed, while the third is still in full course. The figure of Akhethetep(?) in the first vessel can be restored. The figures of two men running (with oars, &c.?) can just be seen above it; but the inscriptions are too much injured for translation. Above the doorway is a row of

servants, who may have been approaching a sitting figure of Akhethetep, and at the side is "the servant of the *ka* and Keeper of the Wardrobe (?), Kaemthentet."¹ This one figure is sculptured; otherwise all the above scenes have been left uncut, and remain as designs merely, the figures in black, the ships in red and yellow inks. The greater part, however, is now quite erased. Below the ships a long procession of female figures defiles, headed by a leader, a scribe and a servant. The former presents a tablet of accounts to Akhethetep's son, Ptahhetep (cf. Pls. xv., xvi.). Seventeen women follow, carrying produce in baskets on their heads, and bringing birds and animals as the tribute of the estates. The scene is headed—

"Review of the presentation by the superintendent of the estate attached to the pyramid 'Beautiful' of King Assa, First after the King, Ptahhetep."

Since the son receives this tribute, we may infer that it is presented after the death of Akhethetep. The sign of an enclosure which follows the name written in front of each woman makes it clear that she represents one of the many estates belonging to Akhethetep. Such a list is not uncommon, but here it gains a very rare value from the mention of the district in which each farm was situated. This mastaba is singularly valuable in affording us no less than three such lists of property. Separate treatment of the questions which they raise will be found on pp. 19-21 and 24-27.

Behind the scenes above mentioned there follow others which seem to have been taken haphazard from the decorator's book of patterns. Below we have the familiar group in which tethered calves try in vain to reach their mothers, or are held fast by herd boys. Above

this men are emptying wine into large open-mouthed jars, probably for eventual storage in the two long-necked vessels which stand near. Above their shoulders is a hieroglyph which seems to denote the office of cellarer. One of them is being addressed by a comrade—

" . . . May your desire greatly prosper."

The explanatory note is—

"Storing the wine which is for *per-kheru* offerings."

The latter half of these two scenes has only been executed in ink. Nothing on this wall is in a finished state. Even in the lower register the figures are merely cut out roughly round the drawn outlines; the inside lines, where preserved, are only in ink.

24. PLS. IV.-IX. W. WALL.—The W. wall, though likewise unfinished, is in much better condition. It is occupied by two scenes, each contained in five registers and witnessed by Akhethetep and his son, whose titles are recorded overhead. The movement is, as usual, from the door inwards towards the presence of the dead. The first scene is entitled—

"Viewing the works of the field, that which is brought by the fishermen of the estates belonging to the tomb."

Of the two upper registers only so much of the design remains as to show that the second register began like those below. There would probably be a fishing scene at the end. In the three remaining rows servants advance carrying birds and bunches of papyrus and lotus, the produce of the marsh-lands. The fowling scene above the doorway (Pl. viii.) carries our thoughts back to the labour by which the gifts were gained.²

¹ A list of the servants and officials named in the tomb will be found on pp. 28-30.

² From the bushes which conceal the fowling the scene is in ink. The next figure, by outstretched arms, is giving the signal to close the net.

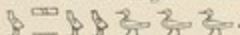
The superscriptions in the top register seem to contain three separate and confused spellings of the word *uṣṣur*, meaning "birds of the table."¹ They must read "Bringing table-birds"; "Putting table-birds in the box"; and "Taking table-birds."

From the fourth and third figures respectively in the two lowest registers the sculptures are merely blocked out more or less carefully: all inside detail is marked only by the draughtsman's design. Where the sculptures are finished the work is extremely good, so that the uncompleted state of the walls must be due to an unexpected order to cease, rather than to lack of time.

PL. VI.—Over the head of Akhethetep are six columns of titles. It will be convenient to tabulate here all the offices assigned to him in the tomb, beginning with those in this list.

1. Supreme Judge and Vizier. Pls. vi., xiii., xiv., xviii., xx., xxiv., xxviii., xxix.
2. Superintendent of the Great Court. Pl. vi.
3. First after the King. Pls. vi., xiv., xviii., xx., xxviii., xxix.
4. Staff of the People. Pls. vi., xiii., xviii., xx., xxviii., xxix.
5. *An ka mut*.² Pls. vi., xxix.
6. *Sab ad mer*.³ Pls. vi., xviii., xx.
7. Priest of Maat. Pls. vi., xxviii., xxix.
8. Chief Priest of the Pyramid "Beautiful" of King Dad-kara.⁴ Pls. vi., xiv.
9. Superintendent of the Property attached to the same. Pls. vi., xiii., xviii., xx., xxiv.(?), xxviii., xxix.

¹ V. *Beni Hasan*, III., p. 14; *Sint*, Pl. v., l. 239. In the tomb of Kagemna there is still another spelling:



² A priestly title which is still unexplained.

³ An office which seems to be connected with irrigation.

⁴ This name is always used by Akhethetep in his own titles. In the same title as borne by his son and in all farm names the king is called Assa, and Ptahhetep always uses this form.

- 10, 11. The same two offices for the Pyramid "Divine of Situation" of King Men-kau-hor. Pl. vi.
- 12, 13. The same for the Pyramid "Firm of Situation" of King Ne-user-ra. Pl. vi.
14. Superintendent of the two White Houses. Pls. ix., xiii., xiv., xviii., xx., xxix.
15. Superintendent of the two Granaries. Pls. ix., xiv., xviii., xx., xxix.
16. Superintendent of the Scribes of the Royal Accounts. Pls. xviii., xx., xxviii., xxix.
17. (See Title 2.) Director of the Great Court. Pls. ix.(?), xiii., xiv., xviii., xx., xxviii., xxix.
18. Superintendent of all Judicial Decisions. Pls. xxviii., xxix.
19. Confidential Companion. Pl. ix.
20. Superintendent of all the Royal Works(?). Pl. ix.(?).
21. Superintendent of the South. Pls. xiii.(?), xiv., xviii., xxiv.
22. Superintendent of the *ges-per*. Pls. xiii., xiv., xviii., xxiv.
23. Great One of the Southern Tens. Pls. xiv.(?), xx.
24. Director of all Scribes. Pl. xiv.
25. *Sab ad mer* of the Southern Throne. Pls. xiii., xiv.

Ink traces of a seventh column seem to show that there were other titles which it was afterwards decided not to include. That one which is visible is given to Ptahhetep, but nowhere to Akhethetep. The latter here wears the customary blue and green necklace, and carries a handkerchief(?) in his left hand. The son wears the lock of youth (here only), the necklace, and the amulet so frequently figured in the chapel of Ptahhetep. Like his namesake there he holds a pet hoopoe in his hand. He is entitled—

"His eldest son, beloved by him, his trusty one, Superintendent of the estate

attached to the pyramid 'Beautiful' of King Assa, First after the King, Staff of the People, the *Sab ad mer* (Pls. xv., xvi.), Superintendent of Writing (Pl. xxxiii.), Ptahhetep."

PLS. VII., VIII.—The subject chosen for the further half of the wall is the favourite one of the harvest field. It is described as—

"Viewing the works of the field, the reaping (?) and carrying, a sight fair beyond all things."

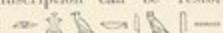
The execution of the work is curiously uneven. The two upper registers are sculptured in a somewhat coarse and careless manner; the third and the fifth remain at their first stage as mere designs. These latter are now so soiled and faint that I discovered them almost by accident. Nevertheless, the draughtsman, whose easy brush traced these temporary outlines for the guidance of the sculptor, had unwittingly raised a most secure monument to his skill. Where the stone was uninjured a little careful cleaning called out again as if by magic the bold lines which it had received ages ago; for Egyptian ink was almost a mordant, and nothing but the roughest usage can affect it.

The fourth register again exhibits all stages from preparation to finish. On the left the figure is passably well executed. The animals and figures which follow are merely blocked out, and within the rough outline the true lines of the designer appear. Finally, the cattle on the threshing-floor and their herdsman are moulded in the most delicate relief possible. The swell of the creatures' muscular necks as they bend their heads is so beautifully indicated that to pass the finger over it is like stroking the living animal.

In the top register the reaping is depicted in no very admirable way. The field of grain is not shown; the action of the arms is awkward or impossible. Seven men advance in file, and each, seizing with the left hand as many

stalks as he can grasp, cuts them through well below the ears with the sickle which he holds in his right. The awkward action which is represented seems to indicate that the bunch is then thrown to one side, to be gathered into bundles by others. Two foremen by gesture and speech encourage the reapers in their task, which, with no better implement than a sickle set with flints, must have been extremely laborious. All engaged in the work are clothed in the lightest possible way. The second register depicts the carriage of the sheaves. They are placed in panniers or piled up in bundles on the backs of donkeys; who exhibit their hereditary reluctance to do anything reasonable, and make double assistance and frequent blows necessary. A woman and a lad take an easy part in the work by gleaning the stray ears. The scenes are not in sequence, so that to follow the operations we must now proceed from the bottom of the wall upwards. Here (Pl. viii.) the asses, having brought their load and dropped it near a stack, are being driven back for more by their attendants. Above the drove is written: "Driving back 2500 (!) asses. Gee up!" Three men meanwhile lift the sheaves from the ground and throw them upon the pile. The stack from its regular outline might be mistaken for a granary, but other examples show the piled-up ears. Above is "A pile of 330,000. Stacking the grain."

Next we are shown the two threshing-floors, on which animals are kept in movement to tread out the grain, both oxen and asses being used for the purpose. Men stand round the floor on all sides to keep the beasts upon it. Their uplifted sticks give point to the words "Keeping back the cattle," and to the exhortation of the herd behind them, "Look after them!"¹ The "servant of the *ka*" Akharna

¹ The inscription can be restored from numerous examples:  —.

is shouting across the floor to his comrade: "O! lay on upon his hindquarters"; no doubt in reference to an ass who is taking advantage of the situation by snatching a mouthful of wheat.

PL. VII.—The final process is shown in the middle register, where girls are employed in sifting and winnowing the grain as it comes from the threshing-floor mixed with chaff and other refuse. The surface of the stone has suffered here, leaving little more than the figure of a girl who is passing the grain through a sieve to remove the larger impurities. The falling and heaped-up grain are conveniently represented by a hard outline. Above we read: "Sifting grain by the five,"¹ and "Winnowing(?) by the five." Analogous scenes show us other women winnowing by letting the grain fall from uplifted scoops, while men keep them supplied from the stack by means of a fork. The former figure seems to have been depicted here; over her head is written: "Hurry! (?)" The scene in which the harvest was registered and stored in granaries is not shown, but the stubborn donkey makes a final appearance, as if to suggest the transport. He is being urged and pulled on in a way which is repeated daily at every ferry on the Nile. Above is the cry of the driver²: "Hurry on to thy work. See!"³

The second figure of Akhethetep with his son only differs in irrelevant detail from the former, but the titles of the father seem a continuation rather than a repetition. Over the doorway to the central hall a part of the ink

design can still be traced (Pl. viii.). A row of servants bring articles of personal and toilet use (?) to their master. The foremost, who carries the sandals and a form of sack, which gave the name to a common office in the household,⁴ is the seal-bearer Seshemnefer.

Chapel of Akhethetep.

25. Passing through this doorway and across the centre of the great hall, we enter the T-shaped chapel of Akhethetep by a doorway in the middle of its E. wall. The arrangement of the scenes has a considerable resemblance to that in Ptahhetep's chapel, despite the curious shape which has been given to this room. In the chapel of Ptahhetep the E. wall is devoted to outdoor scenes, the connection of which with funerary offerings is comparatively remote. But the subjects of the N. and S. walls (notwithstanding a slight invasion of the former by a more secular scene, which also has some parallel in Akhethetep's chapel) converge upon the W. wall, that wall being reserved for the false doors, the list of offerings, and the scene in which a banquet is provided and consecrated for the deceased.

In the chapel of Akhethetep the same general disposition is made. The whole extension of the chamber to the W. corresponds to the W. wall of Ptahhetep's chapel, and is occupied by the single stela at the end, and on the two sides by a representation in duplicate of servitors bearing gifts, of massed offerings, with the prescribed list of the same, and of the deceased sitting at table. The two W. walls of the bays contain the presentation of oxen and of wild animals respectively.

26. PLS. XIII.-XVI. E. WALL. — The disposition of the subjects on the long E. wall is very artistically managed. The rectangular

¹ Mr. Griffith reminds me that five is the unit of a workmen's gang (*Beai Hasan*, I, Pl. viii.; *Kah. Pap.*, p. 41).

² Restore  cf. I. D., ii. 80.

³ For an animated description of harvest scenes and their by-play consult MASTERO, *Études Égyptiennes*, vol. ii., p. 67. It will be seen that some use has been made of it in the above sketch.

⁴ Part I., p. 32.

doorway is set in the midst of a clump of papyrus, the tall stiff stems of which harmonize well with the lines of the opening, while they are deftly connected with the scenes on either side. These form two symmetrical designs representing the life and products of the marsh lands. However hackneyed this picture of the bird-haunted thicket may be, its wealth of incident never fails to make it attractive. The lithe animals who seek their prey among the reeds are climbing the bending stems in pursuit of it, causing terrible consternation among the fledglings in the crowded nests and the parent birds, who bravely hover over their little tragedy. Overhead the air is full of flying fowl and winged insects of all sorts. Unhappily the scene is nearly weathered away.

Below, in the water, two fishermen ply their craft in frail skiffs, one by means of a dip-net, the other with more ease and success by line and bait (Pls. xv. and xvi.). The artist seems to have considered that in these two odd corners he might be allowed a little deviation from the more ordinary representations; they are the most original touches in the sculptures here.

PLS. XIV. AND XVI.—The scene proper on the right hand is divided into four registers, and is thus described:—

“Viewing all the works of the fields in the marsh lands, whatever is goodly.”

Akhethetep sits to watch the scene, clothed in a loose tunic and wearing a long wig.

In the topmost register the men carry large bundles of the long papyrus stems, which they have pulled on the farther edge of the pools. Below is seen the return of the boats laden with waterfowl and lotus flowers. The merry boatmen have bound the flowers in chaplets round their heads, and hung them on their necks, and are poling their canoes over the shallow pools, where lotus plants of both the blue and white species grow luxuriantly. A

good-humoured fray seems to have been the invariable accompaniment of these trips. This, therefore, the artist depicts, and gives us to understand that if these contests were in sport they did not lack vigour. Below (i.e. in the foreground) we see the cattle brought home across the marshes. A herdsman carries a young calf on his back through the water, and the cows docilely follow. The inscription above is very difficult to interpret satisfactorily.¹

Below the whole scene a procession of female figures, representing the southern estates, is received by Ptahhetep. The five properties which were situated in Upper Egypt have their names attached.

“The counting of the contributions of the estates belonging to the tomb, which the South brings for *per-kheru* offerings, by his beloved elder son, the *sub-ad-mer*, Ptahhetep.”

A similar scene and inscription on the N. side of the doorway represents the contributions of the North. Together they comprise the seventeen family estates. They are considered in detail in Ch. III.

PLS. XIII. AND XV.—The corresponding space on the N. of the doorway is devoted to similar subjects, which depict the labour in the uncultivated lands of the northern estates. The description runs—

“Viewing the works of the field, everything that is goodly, done in the papyrus beds (?)”

In the highest register are cattle. A labourer assists at the birth of a calf, while the overseer as usual superintends. Next to this is shown the familiar process of making papyrus skiffs by binding the reeds tightly together. One workman is engaged in what may be the

¹ The reading  is doubtful, the first sign extremely so.

caulking or daubing of the boat within. Above are coils of rope, and the words [*s*] *pt smh m mht*, "Building a boat in the papyrus beds (?)." Underneath, men are bringing bundles of papyrus and marsh fowl. "Bringing all kinds of good things made in the papyrus beds by the papyrus gatherers (*mhtiw*),¹ and all kinds of fowl." Similarly below, where the inscription is: "Going forth from the marsh land,² and bringing the work of the fields from the papyrus beds, fair to see above all things." Over one who is plucking up a stem of the plant we read: "Tearing out (?) a papyrus stem."

27. PL. XVII. N. BAY, N. WALL.—The two upper registers here are occupied by outdoor scenes. Above, a herdsman watches tethered animals, and a comrade puts captured birds into a cage. On the right an old and privileged servant sits comfortably in a herdsman's shelter. He is enjoying the viands plentifully spread before him, and the anticipation of the pot of beer which a boy is bringing. Below, on the left, a cow suckles her calf, but in the next group natural rights are being disregarded, in spite of protestations, and the milk drawn into a jar. "Milking" A companion, bent with age or by some burden, watches over another large vessel of milk, which, as is customary, is closed by a stopper. The marking and green colour of the latter seem to indicate that it is a leaf or a bunch of grass, such as a modern Arab would use for the purpose (*c.* Part I., Pl. xvi.). The little son of the overseer looks on with interest, but his remark, ". . . my father (?)," is lost. Above and to the right of the doorway are pictured the gifts of food for the dead, whether

piled up on tables or in the hands of approaching servants. "Bringing forward the *per-kheru* offerings as daily dues of every day." The scenes on the right have been left in the brush design, which was executed in red, blue, and green inks. The red ink lines which gave the proportions of the figure are here well preserved (see pp. 22, 23).

28. PLS. XVIII., XIX. N. BAY, W. WALL.—The subject of the W. wall of the N. bay of the room is sufficiently designated by the inscription:—

"Seeing the presentation of animals of the desert."

Akhethetep and "his beloved son"³ Ptahhetep are followed by five officials and a second figure of his son. This entourage consists of a steward, a chief physician who is named Unnefer, and three *sab* scribes. There are led forward for Akhethetep's approval, in the two upper rows an oryx, a bubale, a gazelle, and an ibex⁴; in the two lower a male ibex and an addax, and another oryx, gazelle and bubale. The middle registers are occupied by men who present birds and flowers. The sculptor, discouraged by a bad stone, has left the last figure in both rows uncut. The lower hieroglyphs in the columns of titles preserve much of their colour and beauty of outline. Several will be found in Part I., Pl. xviii. (coloured).

29. PLS. XX., XXI. S. BAY, W. WALL.—In design the decoration of this wall is the counterpart of that last described, fatted oxen being substituted for the antelopes. Other officials are represented, three of whom

¹ For the point of grammar *v.* SETHE, *Verbum*, ii., p. 358.

² The animal, which appears to be a female, is called *ym't*, while the male below is given the ordinary name *ay't*. The other name occurs again in the tomb of Thy, but I have no means of identifying the species and sex of the antelope. An ibex is also termed there *yb*, "the dancer" (BRUGSCH, *Die Ägyptische Gräberwelt*, Pl. i.).

³ For the two strongly contrasted hieroglyphs *tic* and *aleph*, see Part I., Pl. vii., figs. 88, 89.

⁴ This new occurrence of the word upholds L. D., ii. 77 and 105b, and makes the correction by Maspero to unnecessary.

are *sub* scribes of high rank. The description is:—

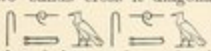
“Viewing the cattle of the Thoth festival, brought from the properties of the *ka* and the estates belonging to the tomb in the North and South country.”

The long-horned cattle, decked out with elaborate green collars, are driven up in six groups by their herdsmen, who carry wisps of green grass for their charges. The animals in the top register are termed *gn*, instead of *gn*¹, and are unadorned. The lower part of the wall retained the greater part of its colouring, so that the smaller figure of Ptahhetep and his titles could be almost completely restored to the original painted brilliancy. In this figure the hair or wig is worn in curious waves.

30. PLS. XXII., XXIII. S. BAY, S. WALL. —The uppermost register of the S. wall is occupied by a scene in which shrines (?), shaped like narrow pylons and crowned with four feathers, are dragged three at a time by as many men.¹ The superscriptions read:—

“Bringing up the sledges by the servants of the *ka*.”

The structures scarcely look like the shrines which contain statues, but present considerable analogy, on a far larger scale, to a class of small wooden shrines of much later date, which also are shaped like oblong pylons. One of these latter (described on p. 7) was chanced upon in the course of the excavations.

¹ The scene recurs in the tomb of Kagemna at Saqqârah, where the shrine is adorned above by two feathers and pendant tassels (?). Two bands cross it diagonally. As the inscription there is  followed by three facsimiles of the shrine as determinatives, *stt* must be the reading of the indefinite hieroglyph here also, but the shrine is sometimes called *wrt* (Bz., *Wörterb.*, p. 675).

In the two middle rows varied gifts are brought by servants, the title being:—

“Bringing forward the provisions belonging to the daily service.”²

The second register is manifestly preliminary to the fifth and sixth. Here oxen are being caught and bound for slaughter. “Tying up an ox tightly.” A lasso is about to be thrown round the horns of the second. “Noosing an ox securely.” The scenes in which the slaughtered animals are cut up for consumption are repeated in almost every tomb, and the sentences of address and response or of explanation show little variation. One man, after cutting through the hide, disjoints the animal with a large flint knife, while a comrade pulls at the limb to make the severance more easy. Then we have: “Tug!” “Tug properly!” “Do it well, comrade!” “Take good hold, comrade!” and the response, “I am doing as you say,” and the like. The butcher plunges his hand into the carcass; as the hieroglyphs say, he is “extracting the heart.” In another case the operation is too slow for his comrade, who says, with outstretched hand, “Cut quickly.” As might be expected, the knives speedily grow blunt. They are then passed to a companion, and he, holding the knife edge downward in his left hand, restores the edge by means of an implement which is attached to his girdle, like the steel of his modern representative. Though the action is clear, the explanation, “Sharpening the knife,” is usually added. The knives are painted a buff colour, which very closely resembles that of the chert flint knives which are found in early graves. They are set in hafts (red). The sharpener is blue, the handle perhaps being of another colour.

² Read  c

31. PLS. XXIV.-XXVII.; XXX.-XXXIV. THE N. AND S. WALLS.—In the extension of the room which forms the upright of the T all the sculpture is strictly concerned with the maintenance and well-being of the *ka*. The side walls being similar in decoration and about equally destroyed, one description will serve for both.

At the far end of the room the deceased sits before the table. Above his head were his names and titles,¹ and over the table is the list of offerings in five rows of sixteen columns, thus containing eighty items, as against ninety-six in Ptahhetep's chapel. Beneath the table, the curious form of which is never much varied, is a pile of massed offerings, and the words:—"Offerings: thousands of bread, of beer, of oxen, of geese, of yarn, and of cloth." These are being brought by some fifty officials and unnamed servitors. Ptahhetep and the "very numerous lectors" appointed to perform with him the necessary rites, are celebrating them at the head of the procession. Behind follow the well-laden friends and servants of the deceased. Four registers of varied offerings above complete the decoration of the wall.

All the work is beautifully finished and is in excellent preservation, considering the ruin of the chamber and loss of the roof. A little colour remains here and there; the offerings beneath the table have retained most.

32. PLS. XXVIII., XXIX. THE STELA.—The false door which forms the end wall of the chamber was, from the point of view of the *ka*, the entrance to this, the reception

room of his house. It has been a magnificent monument, and a great deal of impious energy must have been expended on its mutilation. Two stones which were recovered near (Pl. xxviii.) show that probably it differed from that in the S. chapel only in having an additional jamb. The inscription on the jambs, ending with the name and standing figure of the dead, is identical on both sides. It gives the usual formula:—

"May the king and Anubis grant *perkheru* offerings to him in the necropolis as daily rations every day."

"(May Anubis, lord of the) sacred land grant his burial in the necropolis, and a very happy old age as to one who is deserving."

"(May Osiris, lord of) Busiris grant his burial in the necropolis city in the western desert."

For the titles see p. 12. Akhethetep is here described as "deserving before the great god (Osiris)."

The traces of colour which remained on the stela were numerous and often vivid, but deteriorated with exposure. For notes and examples of colour, see Part I., chap. iii. (*passim*), and *ib.*, Pl. xviii.

On the figure of Ptahhetep a black line edging the eye above and below was visible, and in one case the traces of a black moustache on the upper lip (cf. *Medum*, p. 24). Beard and hair are black as usual. The deep recess indicating the doorway was grained to represent wood, as in the chapel of Ptahhetep (Part I., Pl. xx.), but without division into planks.

The hieroglyphs are very finely formed; a good number will be found in the plates of the first volume. (For reference index see p. 31.)

¹ A fragment inscribed with part of the cartouche of Dadkara must come from here.

CHAPTER III.

DISCUSSIONS AND NOTES.

The Lists of the Estates.

33. This tomb, which contains a burial of father and son, and a record, in some respects unique, of family estates under two generations, might be expected to afford very valuable information on many points of tenure and inheritance. Upon examination, however, it yields little but disappointment in this respect. Growing knowledge may make its data more fruitful, but present conclusions from them are rather of a negative character. Even the relationship of the two occupants of the tomb remains a matter of opinion.

34. Three estate-lists are given in the tomb: one in the chapel of Ptahhetep (*Ram.*, Pls. xxxiv., xxxv.¹), another in the chapel of Akhetetep (Pls. xv., xvi.), and a third in the corridor (Pls. iv., x. and xi.).² The two latter give the estates of Akhetetep with slight variation. In the chapel they are set in regular order. On the south half of the E. wall the five estates of the south, or Upper Egypt, are recorded; on the N. of the doorway are the twelve estates of Lower Egypt.³ The estates range from above the Faiyûm to the coast, following the western branch of the Nile, and are in such evident order that the apparent deviations from strict sequence must be due

to our imperfect knowledge of the limits of the nomes and the position of the estates in them. The scribe, too, would be more likely to follow in thought a convenient itinerary than to keep strictly to the order of the political divisions. Starting at the border between Upper and Lower Egypt, he proceeds to the most southern estate, and then returns, nome by nome, to the extreme north.

The corridor list differs from that of the chapel both in order and contents. Following roughly the order of Ptahhetep's list, the southern estates are first mentioned, but those of Lower Egypt are commenced from the extreme north, and the list works southward in an irregular way. Three southern estates, which for some reason were omitted at the commencement, are inserted at the end, and the list closes in the borderland between Upper and Lower Egypt, as it began. There are four discrepancies in the two lists. The last name but one in the corridor (C 16) appears to be a mistake for S 5, but the substitution of the cartouche of Horakau (C 15) for that of Menkauhor (S 2) seems correct (cf. *MAR., Mast.*, p. 353). C 3 and 5 (nome VI.), which replace N 4 and 5 (nome III.), seem to have belonged to Ptahhetep (P 11 and 15 ?) and to be genuine names. Perhaps there was some reason for restricting the list of family estates to seventeen or eighteen. (Ptahhetep has eighteen engraved names; another Ptahhetep⁴ two lists of seventeen each.)

¹ See also notes on these plates, Part I., pp. 40-42.

² Quoted as P, N, S, and C; N and S being the lists of North and South estates in the chapel of Akhetetep.

³ A thirteenth figure has the nome-sign attached, but no name.

⁴ *MAR., Mast.*, D 62; called henceforward Ptahhetep I.

Of these nineteen names five can be identified with certainty in Ptahhetep's list, both by their names and nome signs (P 1, 3, 4, 8, 17), and three others with more or less probability (P 11 = C 3? P 15 = C 5? P 16 = C 17?). These eight estates, which are common to father and son, are widely separated.

Two lists, comprising thirty (extant) estate names, are given in the tomb of Ptahhetep I., whose connection with Akhethetep is discussed below. They represent, perhaps, estates in the north and in the south country respectively. Of these only one (the 5th on the south wall) can with confidence be identified with any of Akhethetep's, but the 1st on the south, and the 2nd, 9th, and 12th on the north wall, may represent N 7, 12, 3 and S 3. The main part of the estates of Ptahhetep I. have a more important connection with the list in the tomb of Thy, no less than ten or eleven having counterparts there. This number seems too great to be explained by chance similarities of name. At the same time it should be noticed that the designations of these estates, which also recur in the property lists of several other families during the Vth Dynasty,¹ are almost all simple names of products such as might naturally be given to farms. It is suspicious that among the many hundreds of estate names very few which are complex enough to be identified with certainty are ever met with again. In the case of Tepemankh—Pehenuka—Thy—Ptahhetep I. we may accept the transmission of property, since it is supported by other evidence of family connection. The last three, at least, probably inherited in direct succession.²

¹ Of these 10, Pehenuka (Neferankara's reign?) has 5, Tepemankh (Sahura's?) has 4, and Khennu 5 (*Mar., Mast.*, D 6 and 11; *L. D.*, ii. 46).

² For further details consult papers by Miss M. A. Murray, *P.S.B.A.*, xvii., p. 240, and Maspero, *ib.*, xii., p. 236 ff.

35. The number of established relationships between families buried at Saqqâreh is so meagre that the evidence drawn from similarity of names can rarely be supported by known relationship of descent or marriage. It is unfortunate that, following what appears to have been a family custom, the walls of this mastaba altogether ignore the female members of the house. Interesting facts regarding inheritance in the female line might have been gained did we know the families into which these high officials married and gave in marriage. The silence is perhaps not in favour of such inheritance, and we see at any rate that a considerable share of the family property passed to the eldest son. But Akhethetep may have had no daughters. On the other hand, it is surprising how scattered the estates are, and so inconvenient a disposition of properties might receive some explanation if there were a custom of seeking alliances by marriage with the great families of other provinces, and of giving and receiving landed property in dowry. Ptahhetep's estates are even more widely distributed than those of Akhethetep. Sabu also (*Mar., Mast.*, p. 383) had estates in at least six widely separated nomes of the Delta. It is still more surprising that half the family lands are in the extreme north of the Delta, and that the province of Memphis only contains one of the estates. Can it be that, while the royal residence and burial-place were near Memphis, there was a great centre of government in the north, where these officials resided?

36. This mastaba then does not encourage the hope of learning much from estate-lists. The names are so rarely met with elsewhere as to suggest that the properties were continually being re-named, either at inheritance or by reverting to the king and being re-distributed with his name attached to them. No less than ten estates of Akhethetep are named after King Assa. They cannot well have been inherited

under this title. The names N 6, 10, 11, 13, are written without $\frac{\text{O}}{\text{T}}$ in the corridor and in Ptahhetep's chapel; there are two estates (S 4 and N 5) named alike in different nomes, and two in the same nome (N 11 and 13). So that even when two instances of the name occur, identity cannot be guaranteed. It may be indeed that this tomb offers the only sure instance of transference of property from father to son.

Family Relationships.

37. The name Ptahhetep is fairly common during the Vth Dynasty, though the presumption is that all officials bearing it belonged to the same family connection. Akhethetep is a much rarer name. The following is a list of those buried at Saqqâreh who bear either of these names. Close relationship can hardly be claimed for more than the last four.

MAR., Mast., D 51	Ptahhetep (son Ptahhetep-ur)	late Userkaf (?).
" C 7 ¹	{ Ptahhetep-desher Ptahhetep (son Ptahhetep) }	(?)
" D 62	Ptahhetep I. (son Akhethetep)	Neferarkara (?) and early Assa.
" D 64	{ Akhethetep I. (son Ptahhetep) Ptahhetep II. (sons Ptahhetep) Akhethetep) }	Assa.
" E 17	Akhethetep II.	Unas.

It will be seen that the suggestion (Part I., p. 2) that the Ptahhetep of this mastaba is the father of its other occupant has been reversed. The reasons for this decision follow.

38. It is fairly certain from the titles and property of Ptahhetep I. (MAR., Mast., D 62) that he is closely connected with the family to which our mastaba belongs. Ptahhetep I. and II. and Akhethetep I. apparently fall within Assa's lifetime, but as the two latter are both priests of his pyramid they must be put as late in the reign as possible. Ptahhetep I. is *crpa ha, ta sab tha*, titles which he seems to inherit from a still earlier Ptahhetep (MAR., Mast., C 7). Akhethetep loses the first, but preserves the second; Ptahhetep II. has neither. As we have seen, Ptahhetep I. seems to inherit by direct succession from Thy estates which were afterwards scattered. For these reasons he may be placed first.

39. This point being granted, the evidence suggests that Akhethetep, son of Ptahhetep I., is identical with the official buried in our mastaba. While Ptahhetep II. has only one estate which he could have inherited from his namesake, Akhethetep I. presents somewhat larger claims to be his heir; but the succession to property is small in either case. The titles also to which Akhethetep I. succeeds comprise many more of his predecessor's than do those of Ptahhetep II.; and while the chief physician Unnefer appears in the tombs both of Ptahhetep I. and Akhethetep, his name does not occur in the S. chapel. Since the inscriptions contain nothing decisive, evidence of priority will naturally be sought in the construction of the mastaba. If either of the chapels was built as an afterthought it must rather be that of Ptahhetep, since the chambers on the north would only be constructed to serve the western chapel. But in the absence of any sufficient evidence we must assume that both chapels belong to the original plan. The three mastabas, MAR., Mast., D 62, 63 and 64, which

¹ Also L. D., ii. 101-104 (?).

are perhaps in close family as well as local connection, have much similarity of construction. All are furnished with that pillared hall which only the wealthiest could afford.¹ A comparison of the plan of our mastaba with that of D 62 appears to establish the primary importance of the south chapel. When, however, it is remembered that the entrance to our mastaba is on the north, the situation is reversed. The pillared hall is not entered from the outside, as is usual, but is approached by a corridor, so as to give it what it lacked, an eastern entrance. The chapel of Akhethetep thus corresponds in situation with the inscribed chamber of D 62. In any case the principal chamber is likely to be in a direct line from the entrance (so D 63). By the blocking of the corridor, and the formation of an eastern doorway to the hall, the western chapel becomes the natural terminus. Had the passage to the S. chapel been direct, as in the tomb of Thy, the case would have been different. This evidence is very strongly supported by the decoration of the corridor in honour of Akhethetep. It is somewhat curious that Ptahhetep, who seems less high in position than his father, should have the decorated false door which Borchhardt considers to be a mark of rank. But it is not clear what evidence can be drawn from the differences which mark the two burials.

40. As the name Akhethetep is rare, it is very probable that the official of that name under Unas, who is buried in another part of the necropolis, is the son of Ptahhetep II. He has eleven titles which his predecessor bore, thus strengthening the cumulative evidence for the order given above. Interesting also is the double burial recorded by Mariette under C 6

and 7 (also in a mastaba with pillared hall). Here a Ptahhetep is interred with his father (?) Ptahhetep-desher. He also has a son Ptahhetep, but as the date of the family is not known a connection can only be hazarded. It is worth mentioning that the deformed cowherd who is pictured in the chapel of Ptahhetep (*Ram.*, Pl. xxxi.) appears also in this tomb and in that of Tepemankh.² Neither can we identify the famous moralist Ptahhetep with any of that name whose tomb has been discovered, since the connection with the royal house to which he lays claim is nowhere mentioned. More cannot be said than that Ptahhetep I. approximately coincides in date, and that his tomb, by Mariette's account, would do honour to the highest in the land. At any rate, the author of the proverbs probably belonged to the family, so that we may claim in Akhethetep and Ptahhetep two members of one of the most exalted houses of the period, which out of its wealth, piety, and wisdom has made very important additions to our knowledge of the attainments of the Old Kingdom in art and the philosophy of life.

Proportions of the Human Figure.

41. We see in several parts of the tomb the parallel red lines which the artist drew at proportionate distances in order that he might more easily and accurately sketch in a succession of figures in the same attitude (cf. Pls. iv. and viii.). They are best preserved in the chapel of Akhethetep (c. Pl. xvii.). The proportions in this instance do not differ by much more than one per cent. from those observed in the grave of Manefer at Gizeh,³

¹ Pillared halls occur in the tombs of Thy, who is probably a connection; Kay (D 19); Ptahhetep (C 7); and Mera (DARESSY, *Le Mastaba de Mera*).

² *L. D.*, ii. 103. *MAB., Mast.*, p. 197.

³ *L. D.*, Text, i., p. 233, where the measurements quoted are given.

viz. (the length of the foot being taken as the unit):—

Sole to knee,	2 lengths	
Knee to buttock,	1 length	
Buttock to elbow,	1 "	
Elbow to armpit,	$\frac{5}{6}$ "	} = 2 lengths
Armpit to shoulder,	$\frac{1}{2}$ "	
Shoulder to forehead,	$\frac{2}{3}$ "	
Forehead to crown,	$\frac{1}{4}$ "	

This gives 6 feet (i.e. foot-lengths) as the height to the place where hair commences on the brow. A vertical guiding line is also customarily drawn through the figure. This has not been reproduced in the plates.

Colour Notes.

42. All the most valuable notes of colour have been embodied in Mr. Griffith's chapter on the hieroglyphs in Part I. A few additions may be made.

The dresses of the women bear traces of green colouring in one or two instances in Pls. xv. and xvi. The baskets of the first two

figures in Pl. xv. are painted in a minute wicker-work pattern of green and yellow. The pin-tailed ducks in the pile of offerings (Pls. xxiv. and xxxiv.) have red head and throat, the fore-part of the body blue, the hind-part yellow, blue wings with red transverse stripes, blue bill, legs and tail feathers. The other species of bird depicted there has brown neck, body and wings, and red legs, while wing feathers, bands on tail and markings on the body are blue.

It may be noticed that the designs for sculpture were not invariably drawn in uniform red or black ink outline. Blue, green and yellow were also employed, each object receiving the colour most appropriate to it. A wash of colour was also sometimes laid over the whole object, thus foreshadowing the final scheme of painting. This was the case in the corridor (birds in lower registers of Pl. v.; ships, Pl. x.; offerings, Pl. xvii.). The scenes are framed below by a painted border of two colours terminated by black (Pl. xvii.), and at the sides (and top?) by the usual border of coloured rectangles within green bands. Traces of this border remain here and there, but I have not indicated it.

NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

The Nomes.

43. The series of nome-signs occurring in the estate-lists of Akhethetep on Pls. iv., xiii. and xiv. are of great interest as displaying well the essential parts of the badges and throwing light on their pictorial significance. In regard to this, the late Ptolemaic lists, on which our knowledge of the symbols has hitherto been principally based, are very unsatisfactory. In some cases the differences between the early and late forms of the nome-signs are so great as to render identification difficult. For the Old Kingdom we can supplement the Akhethetep series by others from the Memphite necropolis, viz. by that of Ptahhetep (*Ram.*, Pls. xxxiv., xxxv.; see also the corrections to these plates in Part I., p. 40, of the present work); that of the VIth Dynasty tomb of Sabu (*Mar.*, *Mast.*, p. 383, for which Mr. Davies has given me his notes of the original sculpture in the Gizeh Museum); and the early IVth Dynasty tomb of Methen (*L. D.*, ii. 3-7). The lists of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep contain a few nome-signs from Upper Egypt, but naturally the data which they furnish principally concern Lower Egypt; the nomes mentioned in the tomb of Sabu are exclusively within the limits of the northern country. With regard to the southern badges, a good deal of material might

also be gleaned from the tombs of Upper Egypt¹; this will not be discussed here, but it may be noted that in the celebrated inscription of Una from Abydos (l. 14) a curious and unexplained group, obscurely written, seems to represent the name of the Aphroditopolite nome, the northernmost of Upper Egypt (see *WORLD'S BEST LITERATURE, Egyptian Literature*, p. 5297). We now have the same group drawn clearly in Pls. iv., xiv., and the bronze halberd head, harpoon head, or blade, evidently corresponds to the "knife" of the Aphroditopolite nome in the Ptolemaic lists (see Part I., p. 33, Pl. xviii., No. 407). The peculiar form of the group, written as it is without the usual hawk-perch, is paralleled by that of the

¹ Subjoined are badges of the southern nomes XX. (or XXI.) and XXII., from the tomb of Khenu-ka at Tehneh. They are copied from drawings kindly furnished by Mr. George Fraser. The appendage to the tree appears here plainly as a flower.—N. DE G. D.



neighbouring Memphite nome, the first nome of Lower Egypt, also in Pls. iv., xiii.

The estates of Akhetetep noted in the sculptures are as follows:—

	NOME.	PL. IV.	PL. XIII.	PL. XIV.
Upper Egypt	XX. "Southern <i>Am(?)</i> -tree"	2	=	2
	XXI. "Northern <i>Am(?)</i> -tree"	2	=	2
	XXII. "Blade"	1	=	1
Lower Egypt	I. "White Wall"	1	=	1
	II. "Haunch"	2	=	2
	III. "West"			2
	VI. "Wild Bull"	5		4
	VII. "Harpoon of the Western Side"	4	=	4

On comparing the first and the fifteenth of the estate names on Pl. iv. with the first two on Pl. xiv., it will be seen that in Pl. xiv. the *Am(?)*-tree, without further distinction, stands as the nome-badge for two estates which belong respectively to the northern and southern divisions of that nome. Unless, therefore, the ancient artist omitted some groups by accident, the division of the nome into north and south was not always preserved. We find parallels to this amalgamation in the case of other nomes.

There is still much uncertainty as to the situation of the nomes of Lower Egypt; where the capitals have been identified fixed points are gained, but the boundaries remain undetermined.¹ The accompanying sketch-map, kindly drawn for me by Mr. Davies, will give some idea of the relative situations of the nomes. It is fairly certain that the VIth and VIIth lay to the west of the Rosetta branch of the Nile. The Vth was the Saite nome, and lay on the east of that branch; while the IVth, apparently, was immediately to the south of the Vth. Hence it is evident that Akhetetep's recorded possessions lay entirely to the west of the Canopic branch, from the

sea to the head of the Delta, continuing also southward through the Memphite nome ("White Wall") into Upper Egypt beyond the Faiyum, reaching the nome of Heracleopolis (the "southern *Am*-tree").



If we turn to the list of the Ptahhetep estates, we find that his property was more scattered; unfortunately some of the signs are lost or too much injured for identification.


¹ On this question see especially J. DE ROUGÉ, *Géographie Ancienne de la Basse Égypte*.


NOME.	
Upper Eg.	XVI. "Oryx" 1
	XX. "Southern <i>Am-tree</i> " 3
	XXI. "Northern ditto" 1
	XXII. "Blade" 1
	or
Lower Eg.	I. "White Wall" 1
	II. "Haunch" 1
	III. "West" 1
	VI. "Wild Bull" 1, 2, or 3
	VII. "Harpoon" 3
	IX. "Reigning King" 1 or 2
	X. "Black Bull" 1 or 2
	XII. "Cow and Calf" 1 or 2

Here we seem to trace two large properties in Lower Egypt as belonging to Ptahhetep, one in the western nomes II., III., VI., VII.—which will be seen by a glance at the accompanying map to form a continuous chain—the other in the centre of the Delta in nomes IX.–XII. The estate in the Oryx nome in Upper Egypt was widely separated from all the rest.

The estates of Sabu were much scattered through Lower Egypt; they lay in the following nomes:—

- II. "Haunch."
- III. "West."
- VI. "Wild Bull" (or XI., Ox?).
- XIII. "Crook and Shuttle² of the East" (Heliopolitan).
- XV. "Ibis."
- (?) "East."

¹ It is noteworthy that the symbols of these two nomes, situated on each side of the division line between Upper and Lower Egypt, are figured in Akhetetep, not on the usual hawk-perch, but on a sign resembling  (Part I., figs. 206, 215). In the present instance the distinctive badge is lost, and only the supporting sign remains.

²  in this name should perhaps be read *hḳꜣ wꜣ nꜣ t*, "the ruler of the evening sun-boat," referring to Atum, the god of Heliopolis.

The first three nomes were continuous. The "East" nome—in name corresponding to the IIIrd—probably lay beyond the Heliopolitan (XIII.) on the eastern border.

Methen (L. D., ii. 3-7) mentions estates or offices held by him in all parts of Lower Egypt:—






- II. "Haunch."
- III. "West."
- IV. } "Target."
- V. }
- VI. "Wild Bull."
- VII. "Harpoon."
- XI. (?) "Ox" (perhaps on Pl. v.).
- XVI. "Dolphin."
- (?) "Crocodile."
- (?) "East."

Most of these nomes again, namely II.–VII., are on the west, where they form a solid block on the map of Lower Egypt, the "Target" nome lying on the E. side of the Rosetta branch. The "Dolphin" nome is much further to the E., and separate. The situation of the "Ox" nome is very uncertain. As to the last two nomes in the above list, viz. the "Crocodile" and "East" nomes, they must have been contiguous, for they are associated in one title of Methen, just as is the case with the "Target" and "West" nomes, and the "Target," "Wild Bull" and "Haunch" nomes in other titles of his. Probably, therefore, the "Crocodile" as well as the "East" nome itself represents a nome in the east of Lower Egypt, i.e. VIII. or one of those numbered XVII.–XX. in the lists.


Turning to Upper Egypt, in Lepsius' publication of the tomb of Methen (L. D., ii. 6), the nome of the "Jackal" (XVII.) and "The Nome" are mentioned. We have learned from Professor Petrie's excavations that the latter was the Old Kingdom name of the Tentyrite nome (VI.); possibly it denotes the same thing here.



Altogether, as the following table shows, | nome-signs of Lower Egypt as figured in the
we now know a very large proportion of the | sculptures of the Old Kingdom:—


		METH.	AKH.	PTH.	SAB.
I.	"White Wall."		x	x	
II.	"Haunch."	x	x	x	x
III.	"West."	x	x	x	x
IV.	"Southern" } Target (?)	x			
V.	"Northern" } { Prosopite } { Saite }				
VI.	"Wild Bull."	x	x	x	x
VII.	"Harpoon (of the Western Side)."	x	x	x	
VIII.	"Harpoon of the East."				
IX.	"Reigning King."			x	
X.	"Black Bull."			x	
XI.	"Domestic Bull."	(?)			
XII.	"Cow and Calf."			x	
XIII.	"Crook and Shuttle (of the East)."				x
XIV.	"Beginning of the East."				
XV.	"Ibis."				x
XVI.	"Dolphin."	x			
XVII.	"Joining of the Throne(?)."				
XVIII.	"Northern" } Child.				
XIX.	"Southern" } { Bubastite } { Tanite }				
XX.	"Triangle."				
(?)	"Crocodile."	x			
(?)	"East."	x			x

The distinctive symbols observable on monuments of various ages in the badges of the VIth and the XIth nomes seem to refer to the wild and the domesticated animal respectively, the  or  of the VIth nome indicating the desert and so what is wild, while the  in the badge of the XIth nome refers to the counting of the domestic herds.  and  also play on the names of the capitals, Khasut and Heseb.

An Additional Hieroglyph.

44. Mr. Davies calls my attention to an interesting hieroglyph which escaped the notice of both of us in preparing the text and plates of Part I. It is the sparrow  on Pl. xxv., where,

behind the first figure, we have the legend: "His great () name is Seshem-nefer, his little () name is Maui." The sign is rarely found in inscriptions of the Old Kingdom. It probably represents a sparrow, a despicable, small, worthless and mischievous bird. Its employment in long texts and papyri as determinative of words of evil, smallness, want, &c., is very common. In formal inscriptions there is little occasion for it, hence its rarity. Here, as generally in inscriptions, it is word-sign for the adj. *sr*, "little." To fix the word-sign value see *Pap. D'Orbiney*, ii. 5.

In Pl. xi. the title of the men pouring out wine contains a peculiar and doubtful sign that resembles some forms of .

45. LIST OF THE OFFICIALS OF AKHETHETEP.¹

	Seshemnefer *	v., xiv., xix., xxxii.
"	Akhethenem	v., xxv.,† P. xxxv. <i>b</i> .
"	Kaemthenent *	x.
"	Rekeh *	x.
"	Aau *	xxvi., P. xxxii., xxxvi.
"	(?)	xxii.
"	Seshemnefer	v.
"	Apa *	v.
"	Seshemnefer	v., xix.
"	Akhethetep-methetha	xviii.
"	Akhethetep	xviii., xxvi.
"	Upemnefert	xix., xxvi.,† P. xxxiv.†
"	Ptahsheps	xxvi.
"	Akhethenem	xxvii.
"	Thefu	xxvii.
"	Imhetep	xviii., xxvi.†
"	Ptahhetep	xx., xxxiii.†
"	Ptahneferkhau	xxvii., P. xxxiii. <i>b</i> .
"	Ptahhetep-adu	xxxii.
"	Nefershemem	xx.
"	Ptahhetep (son)	xxxi., xxvi., xxxiii.†
"	Ptahkekher	xx.

¹ An asterisk implies the additional title ; † that there is a slight variation. P. refers to the plates in *Rassensieu*, Egyptian Research Account.

	Hershepses	xxxiii.
..	Seshemnefer	xxvii.
	Kathesu	xxxiii.
	Senb (?)	iv. a.
..	Akhethetep (?)	xxxi., P. xxxvi.
.. +	Rekeh *	v.
	Herunefer *	v., xxv.
..	Anpuhetep	xxx.
..	Akhetarna (?)	x.
	Ptahhetep (son)	vi., ix., xviii., xx., xiii., xiv., xxxiii.†
..	Senezemab	xxvi., xxxi.
..	Anpuneruan	xxvi.
	Ptahankhar	xxvi.
	Akhetur (?)	v., cf. P. xxxv. b.
..	Akhetes	xxv.
	Kanefer	xxxii.
	Seshemnefer *	ix.
..	Kaemrehu *	xix., xxvii.†
	Hershepses	xviii.
	Unennefer	xviii.
	Thefu	xx.
..	Ateta	xxxiii.
..	Anba	xxvi.
	Unennefer	xix.
	Heba *	xxxii.
	Adu *	xxxii.
	Sebekhetep	xi.
..	Ptahsabu	xi.
	Seshemnefer	xxxiii.



"

"

"

"

"

"

"

(No title)

"

"

"

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"

"

"

"

"

"

Ahauk xxxiii.

Ptahhetep v.

Bunefer v.

Akhetarna viii.,† xxvii.

Khnemenankh (?) viii.

Akhethetep xxv.

Akhethen xxii., P. xxxvi.

Kaemthenent v.

Thefu (?) xxvii.

Akhethkhuna (?) v.

Mehu

Akhethetep xxvii., xxxii. (?)

Seshemnefer xxiv., xiv.

Bakhuna xxiv.

Rekeh (?) xxv.

Shesthef xxiv.

Kednes xxv.

Seshemnefer-Maui xxv.

Ptahhetep-Thefu xxvi.

Thefu xxvii.

With the great change in the properties held by Ptahhetep there would naturally be a corresponding change of serfs and officials. Of the fifty names in Ptahhetep's chapel, twenty-one are common to both records, but of these only six have the same titles. The official Seshemnefer-Thefu (*Ramesseum*, Pl. xxxii.) may be either the Seshemnefer of Akhethetep or his son Thefu (Pl. xxiv.).

46. INDEX TO HIEROGLYPHS IN THIS VOLUME WHICH ARE FIGURED IN PART I.

Plate, Part II.	No. of Hieroglyph, Part I.	Plate, Part II.	No. of Hieroglyph, Part I.
v.	323.	xxii.	289.
vi.	6, 32, 84, 189, 225, 226, 230, 331, 370.	xxiii.	124, 338.
vii.	105, 384.	xxiv.	33, 159, 256, 263, 269, 319, 345.
viii.	19, 40, 67, 298.	xxv.	271, 320.
x.	102, 192, 240, 397.	xxvi.	24, 181.
xi.	186, 187, 215.	xxvii.	342, 354.
xiii.	5, 88, 89, 162, 372.	xxviii.	164, 221, 232, 387, 402, 403, 406, 411.
xvi.	152, 178, 206, 213, 248, 260, 304, 337, 407.	xxix.	11, 116, 229, 241, 300, 339, 369, 395, 398.
xvii.	Milk vessel, Pl. xvi.	xxxii.	16, 392.
xviii.	68, 238, 281, 326, 400, 401, 404, 408, 409, 410.	xxxiii.	46, 196, 272, 280.
xix.	168.	xxxiv.	126, 130, 346.
xx.	78, 112, 283.		

47. CROSS INDEX TO SAME FOR USE WITH PART I.

No. of Fig. Part I.	Plate, Part II.	Position.	No. of Fig. Part I.	Plate, Part II.	Position.
5	xiii.	reg. 4.	196	xxxiii.	reg. 2.
6	vi.	col. 1, 2nd fig.	206	xvi.	2nd nome-sign.
11	xxix.	last col.	213	xvi.	5th name.
16	xxxii.	reg. 2, last fig.	215	xi.	lower row.
19	viii.	reg. 1.	221	xxxviii.	col. 1.
24	xxvi.	reg. 2.	225	vi.	col. 2.
32	vi.	col. 1.	226	vi.	son's titles.
33	xxiv.	list of offerings.	229	xxix.	col. 4.
40	viii.	reg. 2, fig. 1.	230	vi.	col. 2.
46	xxxiii.	reg. 1.	232	xxviii.	col. 2.
67	viii.	reg. 2.	238	xviii.	col. 3.
68	xviii.	col. 1.	240	x.	lower row.
78	xx.	col. 1.	241	xxix.	col. 5.
84	vi.	son's title.	248	xvi.	1st name.
88) xiii.	reg. 3.	256	xxiv.	reg. 6.
89			260	xvi.	2nd name.
102	x.	lower row.	263	xxiv.	list of offerings.
105	vii.	reg. 3.	269	xxiv.	list of offerings.
112	xx.	col. 1.	271	xxv.	reg. 1.
116	xxix.	col. 4.	272	xxxiii.	reg. 2.
124	xxiii.	reg. 3.	280	xxxiii.	reg. 2.
126	xxxiv.	under table.	281	xviii.	col. 1.
130	xxxiv.	under table.	283	xx.	son's titles.
134		<i>Ramesseum</i> , xxxiv.	289	xxii.	reg. 2.
152	xvi.	upper row.	298	viii.	reg. 1.
159	xxiv.	list of offerings.	300	xxix.	col. 6.
162	xiii.	reg. 4.	304	xvi.	upper row.
164	xxviii.	col. 3.	319	xxiv.	list of offerings.
168	xix.	reg. 5.	320	xxv.	reg. 1.
178	xvi.	3rd nome-sign.	323	v.	reg. 1.
181	xxvi.	reg. 1.	326	xviii.	reg. 2.
186	xi.	reg. 2.	331	vi.	col. 1.
187	xi.	reg. 1.	337	xvi.	2nd nome-sign.
189	vi.	col. 1.	338	xxiii.	reg. 2.
192	x.	2nd nome-sign.	339	xxix.	col. 3.

No. of Fig. Part I.	Plate, Part II.	Position.	No. of Fig. Part I.	Plate, Part II.	Position.
342	xxvii.	reg. 2.	400	xviii.	col. 4.
345	xxiv.	list of offerings.	401	xviii.	col. 5.
346	xxxiv.	list of offerings.	402	xxviii.	col. 1.
354	xxvii.	reg. 1.	403	xxviii.	col. 1.
369	xxix.	col. 6.	404	xviii.	col. 4.
370	vi.	son's title.	406	xxviii.	col. 2.
372	xiii.	reg. 3.	407	xvi.	upper row.
381	xx.	col. 3.	408	xviii.	col. 2.
384	vii.	reg. 3.	409	xviii.	col. 4.
387	xxviii.	col. 4.	410	xviii.	col. 3.
392	xxxii.	reg. 2.	411	xxviii.	col. 3.
395	xxix.	col. 4.	vessel,)		
397	x.	lower row.	Pl. xvi.)	xvii.	reg. 2.
398	xxix.	col. 4.			

48. NOTES ON THE PLATES.¹

FRONTISPIECE. I am indebted for this photograph to the kindness of Chas. Lord, Esq., of Manchester. It is not from the original, but from a cast taken from a tin-foil squeeze. The head is that drawn on Pl. vi.

PLATE I. *Plan.* For the sake of appearance the outline of the mastaba is given in unbroken lines, although the outer walls were laid bare only at the entrance and corners, and in such other places as suggested irregularity or were specially easy of access. The outer (base) line is of course calculated from the batter of the walls. The fallen stela, which formed the end wall of the T-chamber, has been restored (so in Pl. ii.). The coarser hatching represents rough walls. The remaining architraves of the pillared hall have been added for convenience. At the N.W. corner the S. wall of the next mastaba is indicated.

PLATE II. *Sections, &c.* The mastaba was probably somewhat higher, possibly much higher, than the minimum given here. The dotted line shows the depth of the excavation on the section. The pavement level was reached in the S. chapel and its antechamber, in the passage from the W. chapel to the N. chamber, and in the corridor.

PLATE III. (1) *The entrance to the mastaba.* (2) *Cattle on the threshing-floor*, from the W. wall of the corridor; the finest work in the tomb. See Pl. viii.

PLATE IV. *Key-plate to the corridor walls*, comprising Pls. v. to ix. on the W., and Pls. x. and xi. on the E. wall.

PLATE V. *The "servants of the ka" bring the produce of the marsh lands.* The last six figures in the two lower registers are not moulded, but only roughly cut out round the ink design.

PLATE VI. *The Vizier Akhethetep and his son receiving offerings.* The first four lines of Ptahhetep's titles are roughly cut.

PLATE VII. *Harvest scenes: reaping, carrying and winnowing.* The vertical column and the third register are in ink only. Coarser work.

PLATE VIII. (1) *Harvest scenes: threshing and stacking.* The vertical column and lower register are in ink only. Above the figures at either end only the first ass's head and the drove of cows are finished work, but the latter is about as perfect a piece of delicate sculpture in low relief as Egyptian art affords.

(2) *The fowler's net. Servants.* Two ink designs. For their places see Pl. iv.

¹ I have myself prepared the whole of the drawings for the lithographer, in the hope of securing the greatest possible accuracy for the reproductions.

PLATE IX. *Akhethetep and his son watching the harvest labour.* Only the two figures are finished. The rest is in ink.

PLATE X. *Women representing the estates of the deceased in seven provinces of Egypt* (continued on Pl. xi.). The figures are roughly cut and unmodelled. The ships above are the relics of a design in red ink. For the remainder see Pl. iv.

PLATE XI. *Boys and tethered calves. Storage of wine.* Roughly blocked out; the extreme left in ink only.

PLATE XII. (1) *The chapel of Akhethetep.* The photograph, taken from near point D on the plan (Pl. i.), shows the present ruin of the tomb, and the extent to which the stones, which are here seen encumbering the chamber, have been restored to their places in Pls. xxiv. and xxxiv.

(2) *The N.W. corner of the pillared hall,* seen from the S.E. The doorway to the chapel (seen from the other side in the photograph above), the uncut pillar, and two of the three architrave stones which still remain undisturbed, are comprised. The photograph scarcely does justice to the marvel by which the broken stone remains in place, and even supports the weight of passers by above.

PLATES XIII. AND XIV. *The labours of the marsh lands.* The East wall, being now protected by a roof only at its extreme ends, has suffered greatly in its upper parts. The scene above the doorway has been roughly restored by means of dotted lines. The work appears rough and the stone bad; but as both rapidly improve towards the bottom and in protected parts, the inferior appearance is probably due mostly to weathering.

PLATES XV. AND XVI. *Plakhhetep receives the tribute of the family estates, &c.* (enlargement of scenes from the last plates). The ends of the lower register, being protected by the roof, retained a good deal of colour. The work in Pl. xvi. is excellent; that in Pl. xv. much inferior.

PLATE XVII. *Farm-yard scenes: presentation of offerings.* The wall has suffered greatly from incrustation and damp. The figures to the right of the doorway are only preparatory designs in coloured inks. The dotted lines represent red lines laid down by the draughtsman to give him the prescribed proportions of the figures.

PLATES XVIII. AND XIX. *Akhethetep, attended by his son and officials, inspects the tribute of antelopes.* Some figures in the third and fourth registers have been left untouched by the sculptor. For the colouring of several hieroglyphs in the titles see Part I., Pl. xviii. The departure from the convention as to shading in these and Pls. xxii., xxiii. has no significance.

PLATES XX. AND XXI. *Similar inspection of sacrificial cattle.*

PLATES XXII. AND XXIII. *Funeral ceremonies. Dragging shrines, and cutting up victims.* A small hole reveals the position of the *serdab*.

PLATE XXIV. *Key-plate of the N. Wall* (including Pls. xxv.-xxvii.). The upper part of this wall is broken down in almost precisely the same manner as the opposite wall (c. Pl. xii.). The inscriptions on four fallen stones are here replaced approximately in their original position, showing that the missing space contained offerings in four registers, the list of the same, and the titles of the deceased.

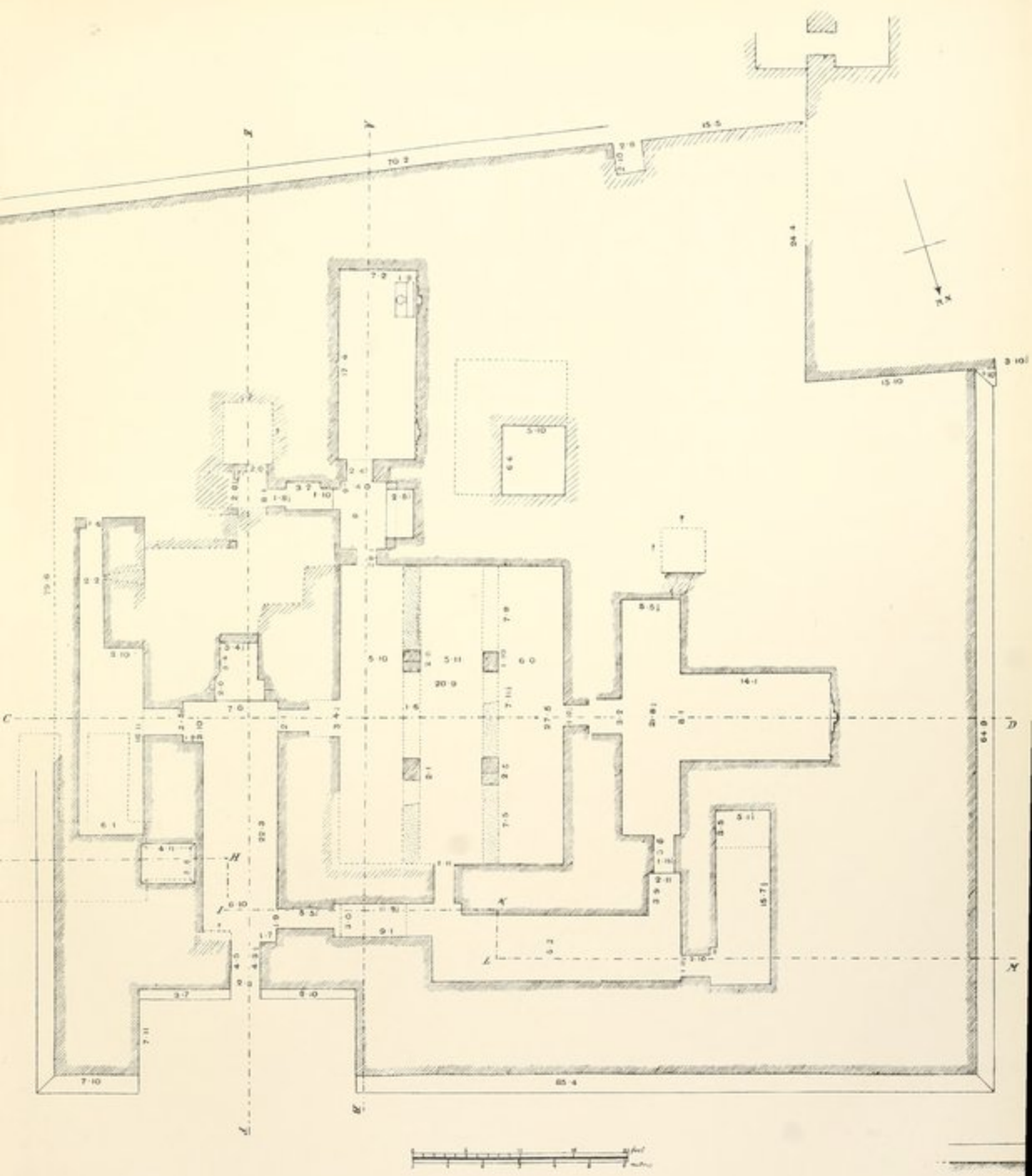
PLATES XXV. TO XXVII. *Officials presenting gifts* (repetition on a larger scale from Pl. xxiv.). Here and there the name of the official has not been cut, but remains in ink on a tablet of unsunk stone. The sculpture is very finely executed.

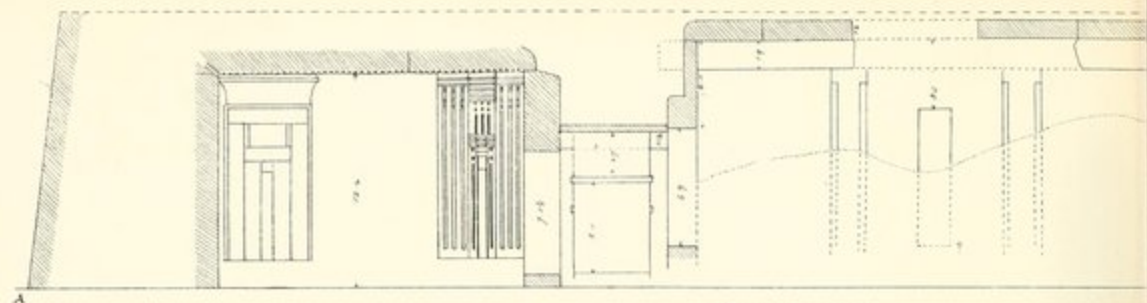
PLATES XXVIII. AND XXIX. *Remains of great monolithic stela* (representing the doorway by which the spirit of the dead entered the room). It formed the end of the chamber (now overthrown). The upper half has been broken away, but the two fragments of it here shown were found in the *débris*. The mark of interrogation over the inscription on the lintel in Pl. xxix. applies only to the last three signs

of the word *maat*, which are now effaced. I owe this rectification to the kindness of Dr. Schäfer, who visited the tomb in order to set my doubts at rest.

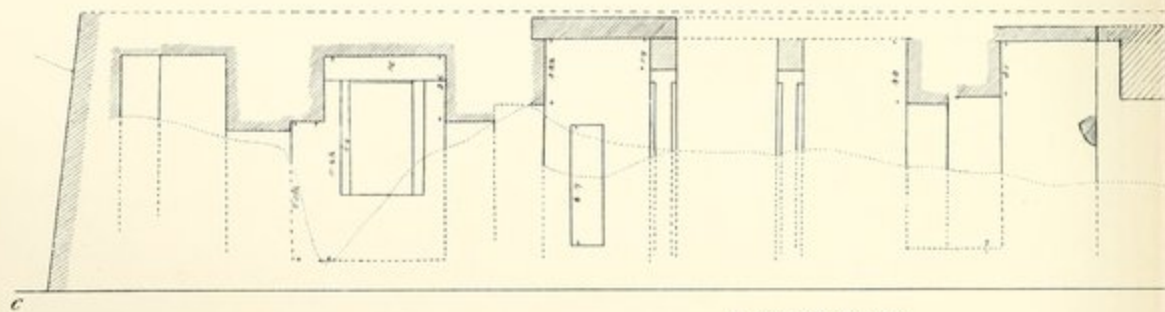
PLATES XXX. TO XXXIII. *Officials presenting gifts*. (For relative position see Pl. xxxiv.) Here and there a name is only inscribed in red ink on the sunk background.

PLATE XXXIV. *Key-plate of the S. Wall* (including the last four plates). The inscriptions on seven fallen stones are incorporated. The hieroglyphs are represented in solid black only for the sake of clearness.

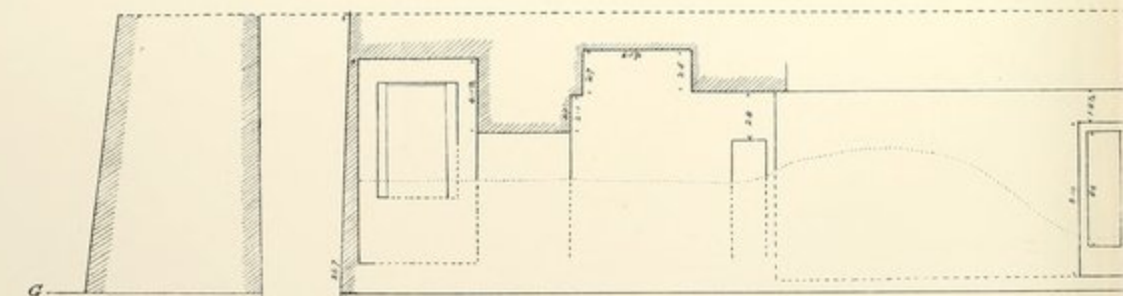




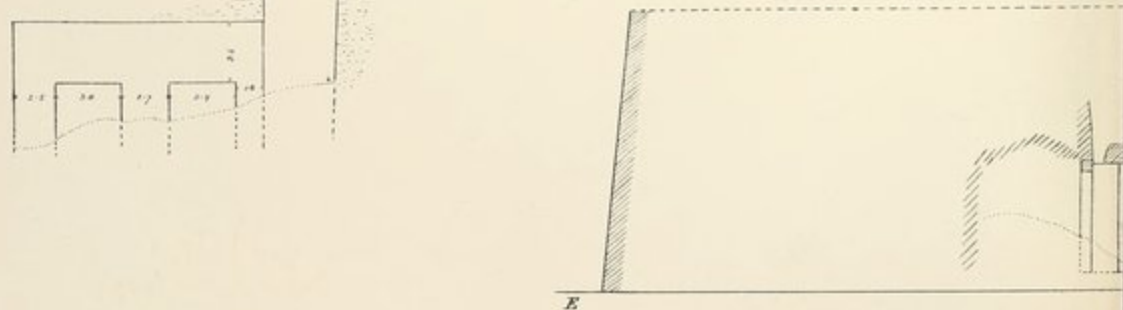
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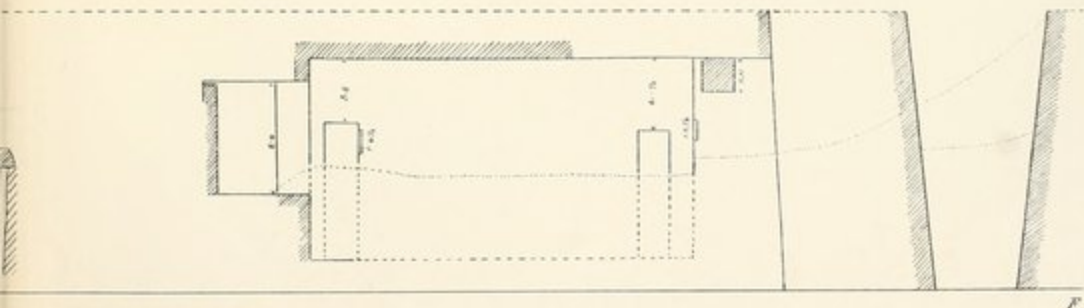
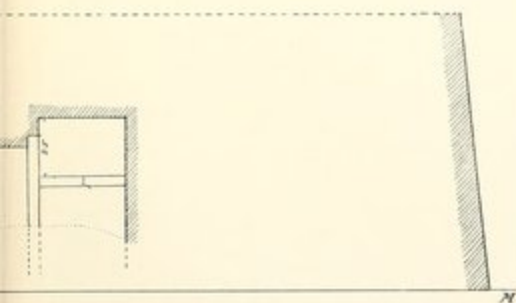
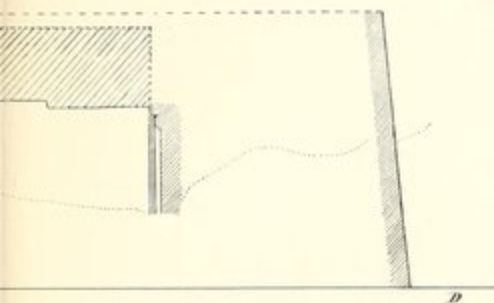
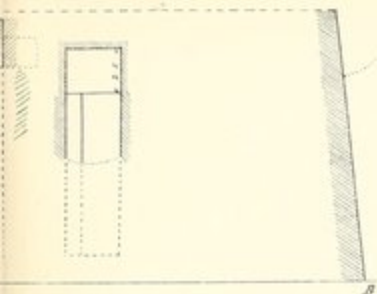
2. SECTION ON C.D.



3. SECTION ON G.H.I.K.L.M.



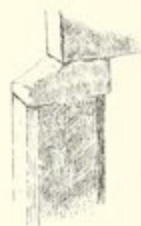
4. SECTION ON N.O.P.Q.R.S.



ENTRANCE TO THE MASTABA.

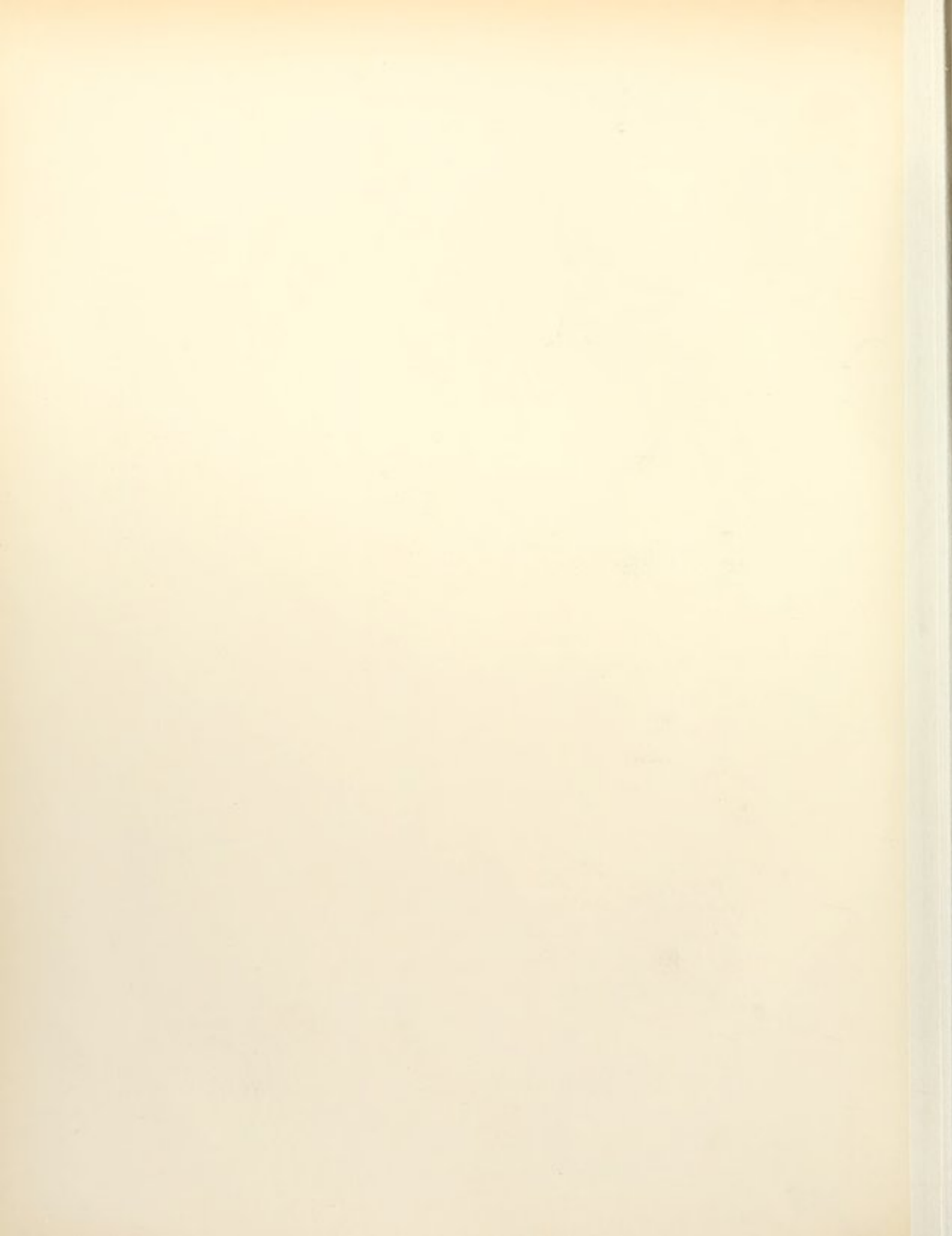
NE. PILLAR
(from the S. Wall)

SECTION

SE. PILLAR
(from the N. Wall)

SECTION

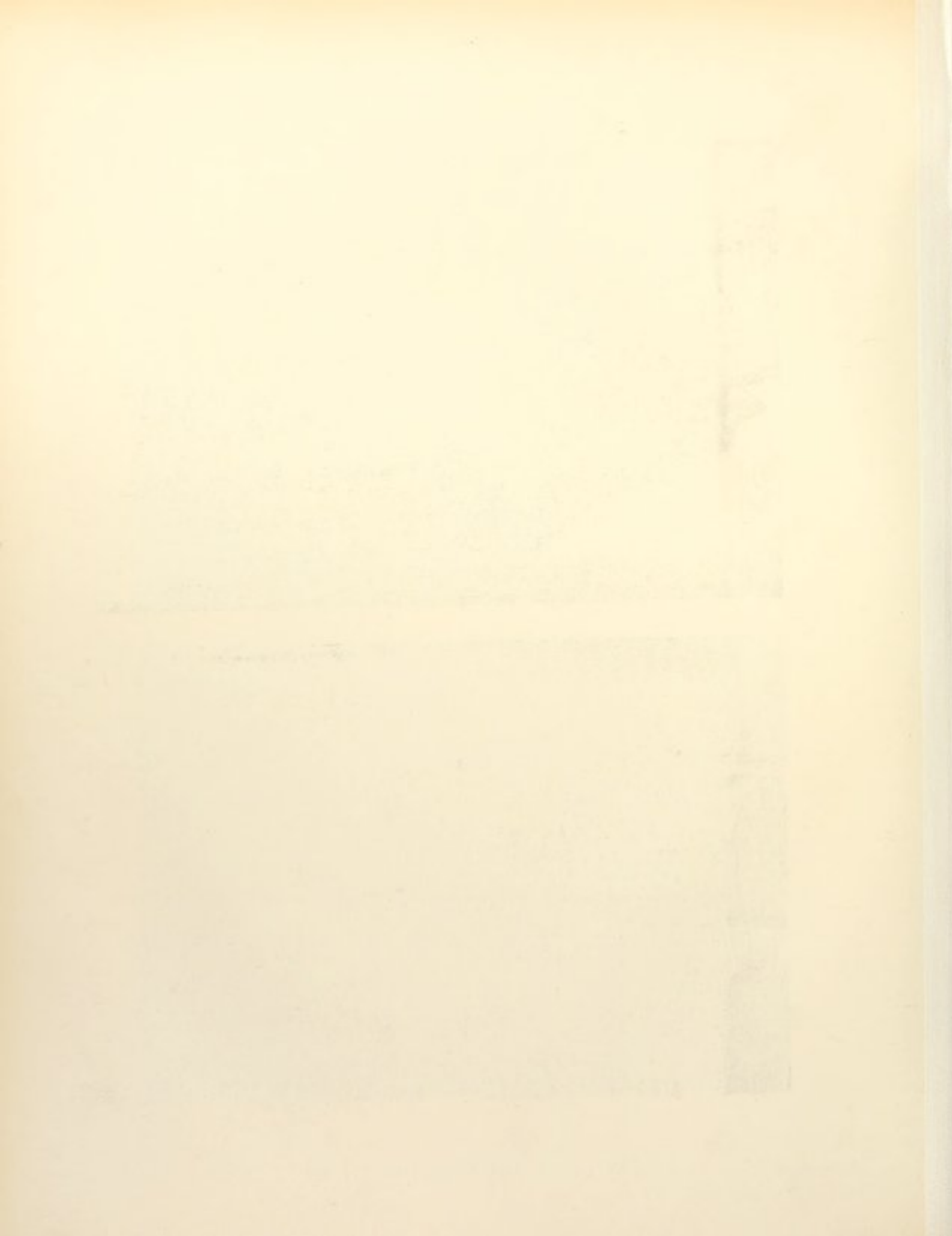
PEDATE IN ANGLE OF
DOORWAY - CORRIDOR.PIERCED STONE
(from the Corridor)

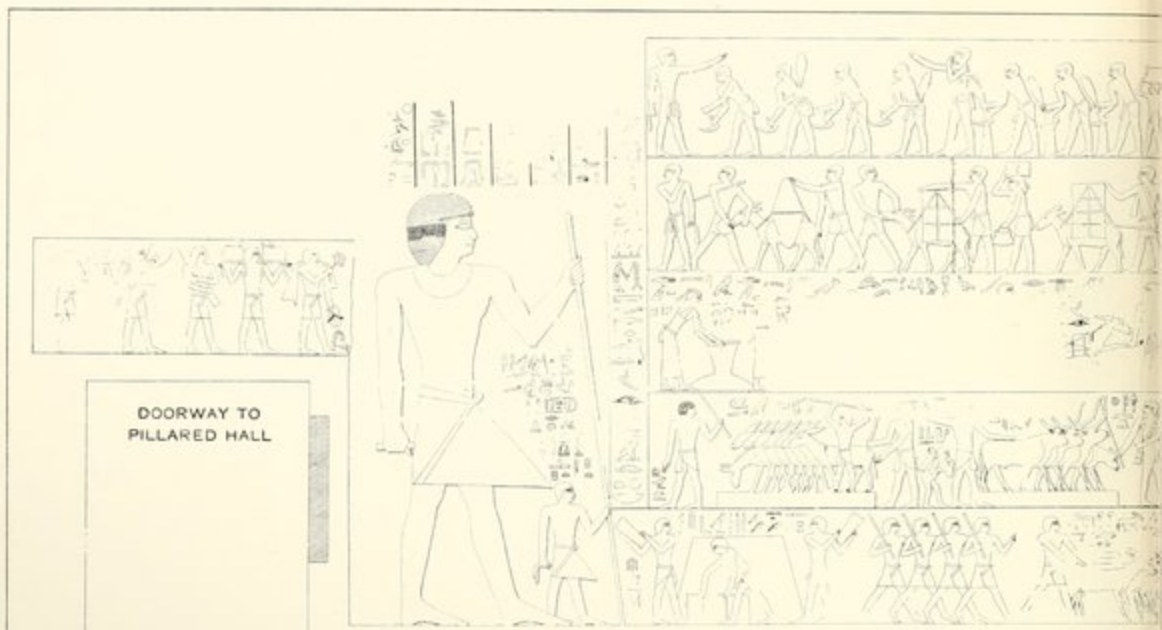




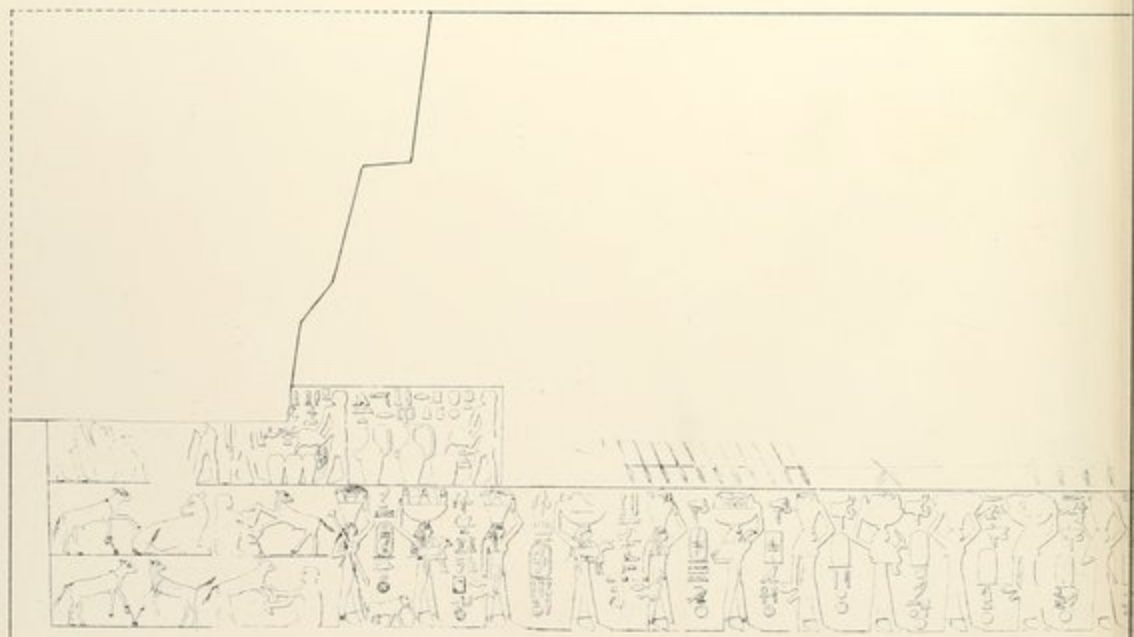
Phototype Sadag, Genere.

CATTLE ON THE THRESHING-FLOOR

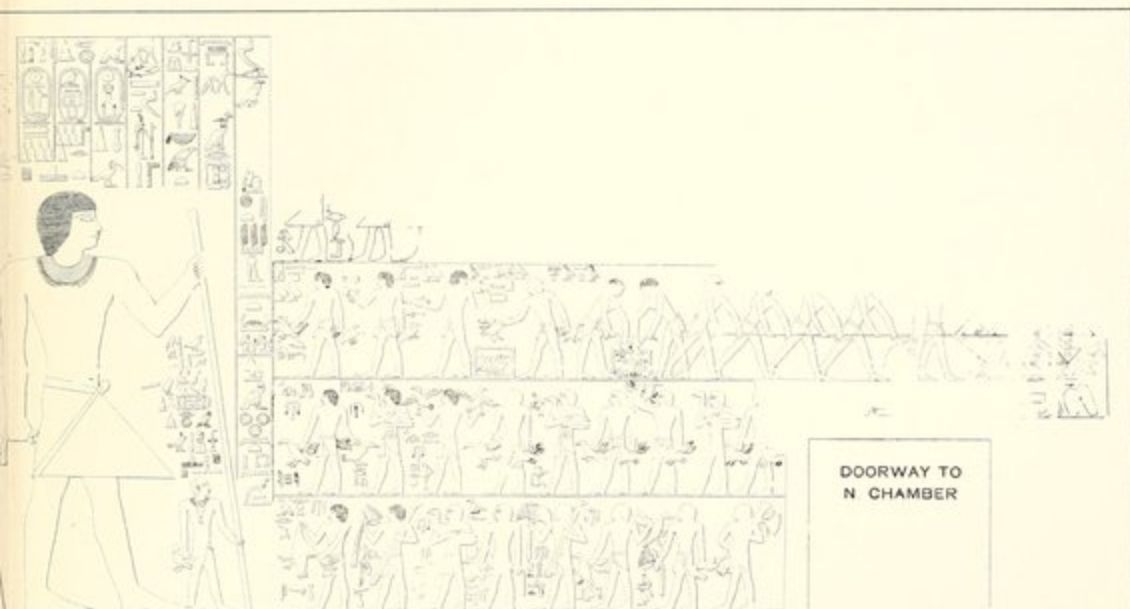




WEST



EAST

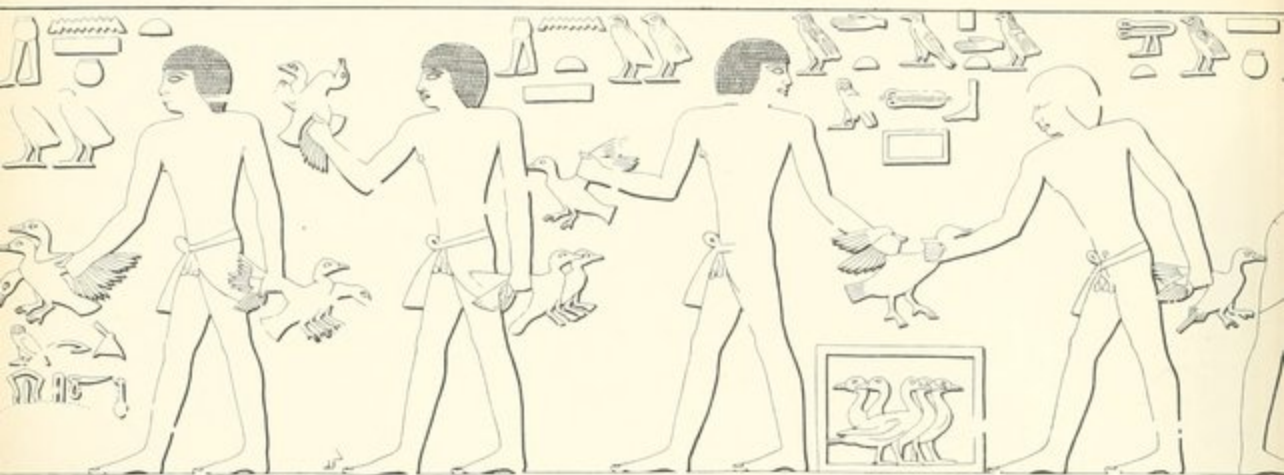


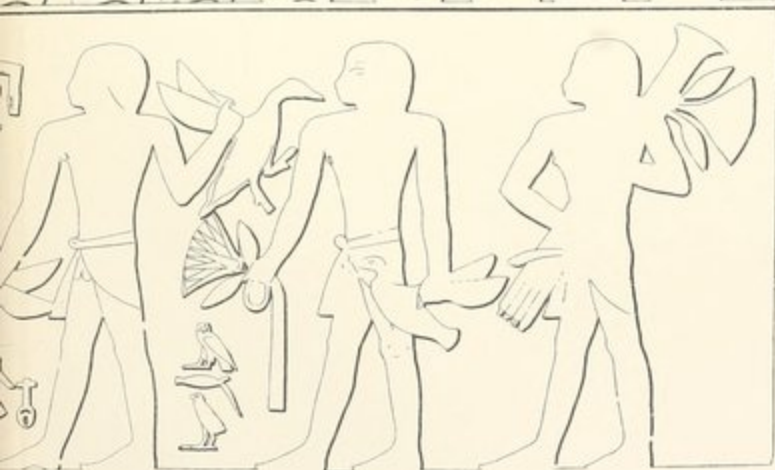
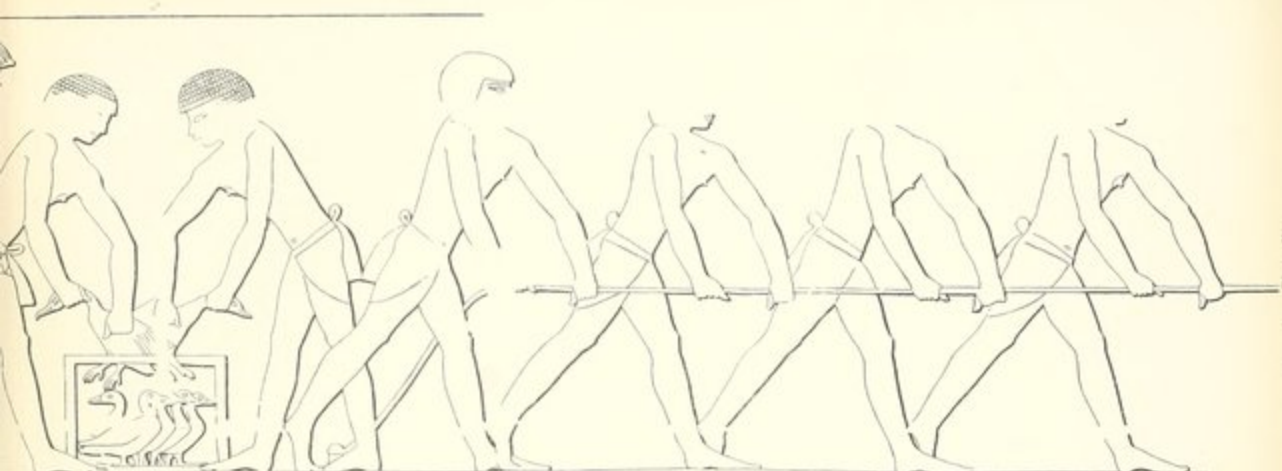
ALL.



ALL.

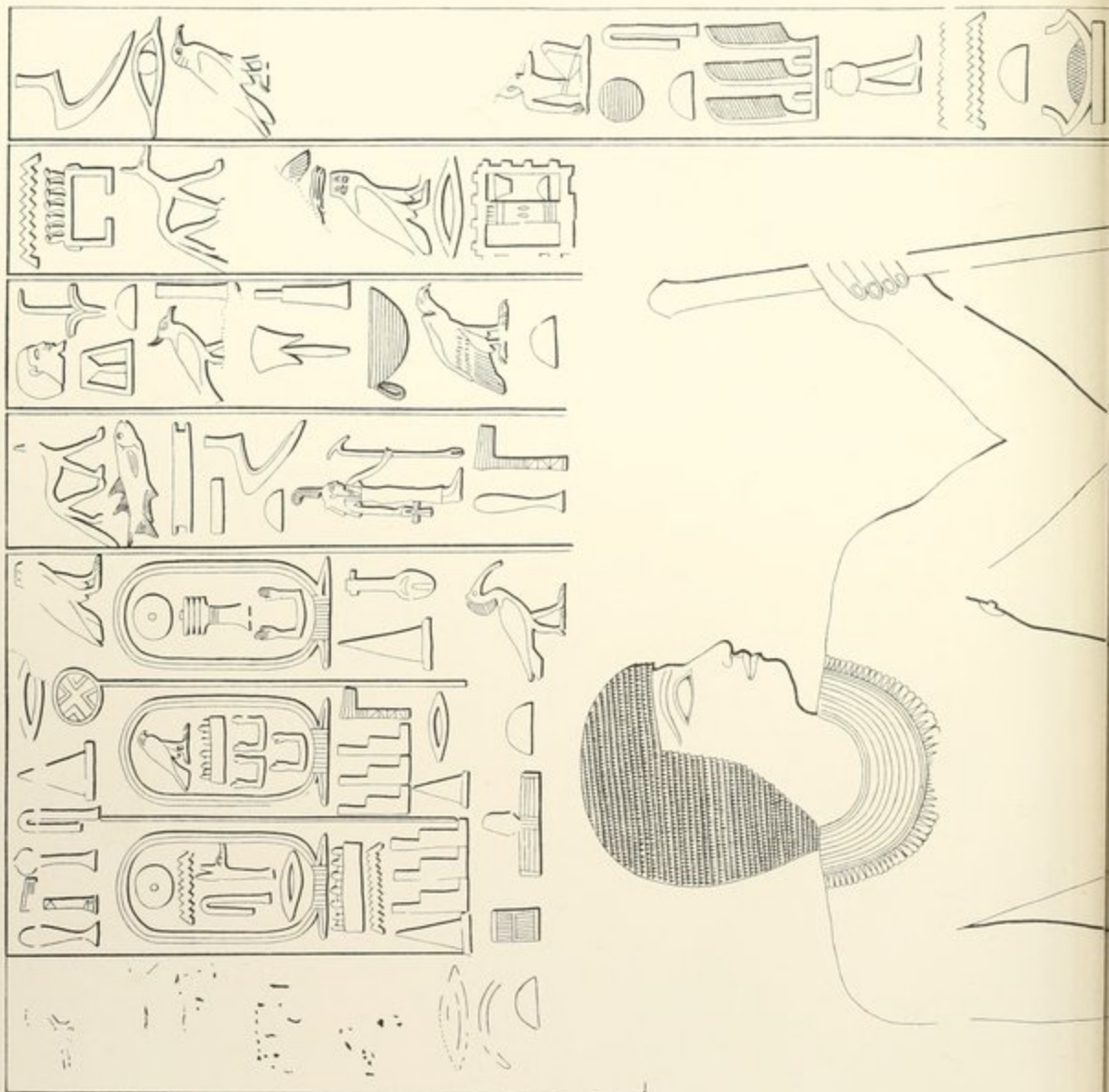


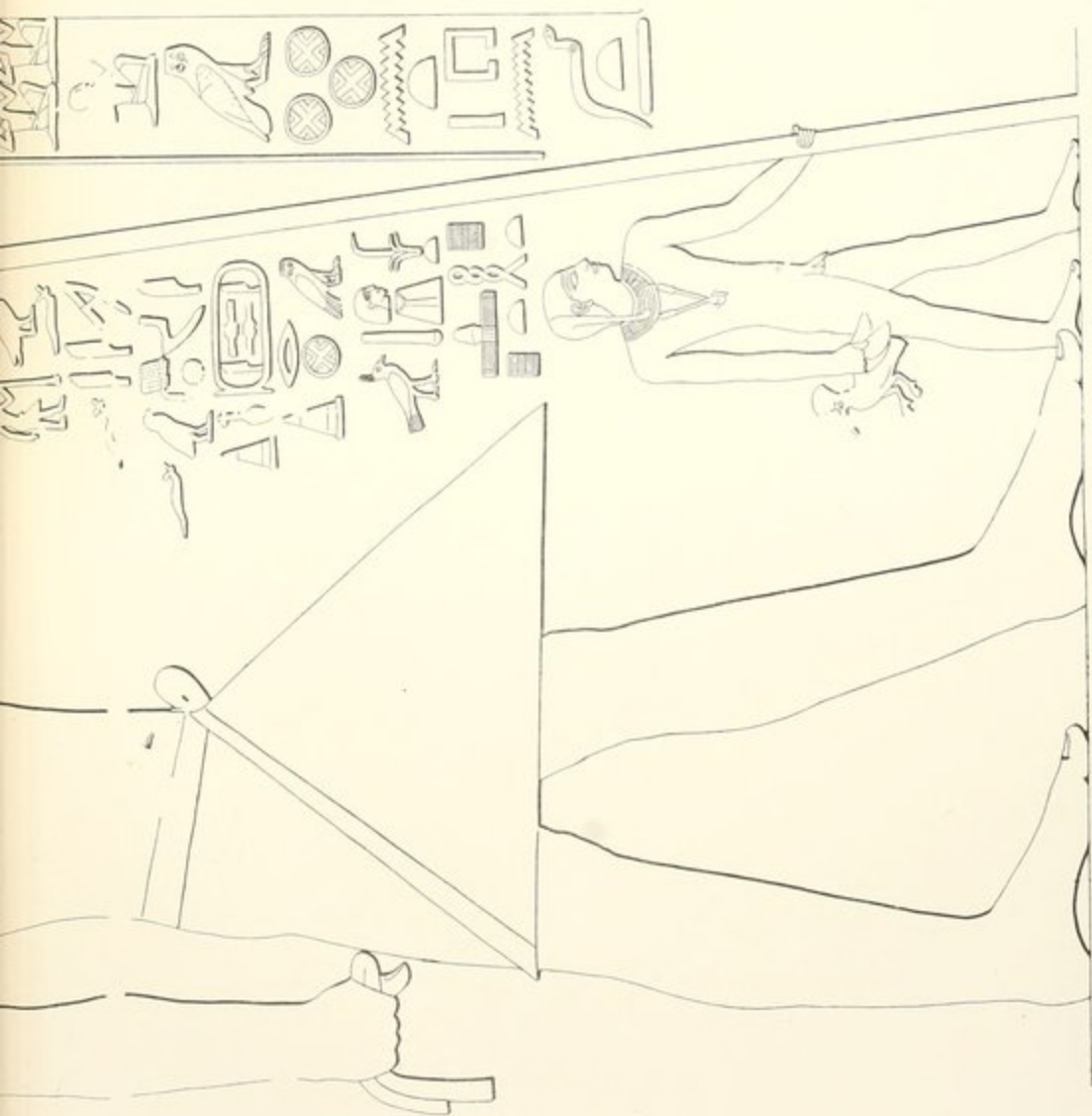




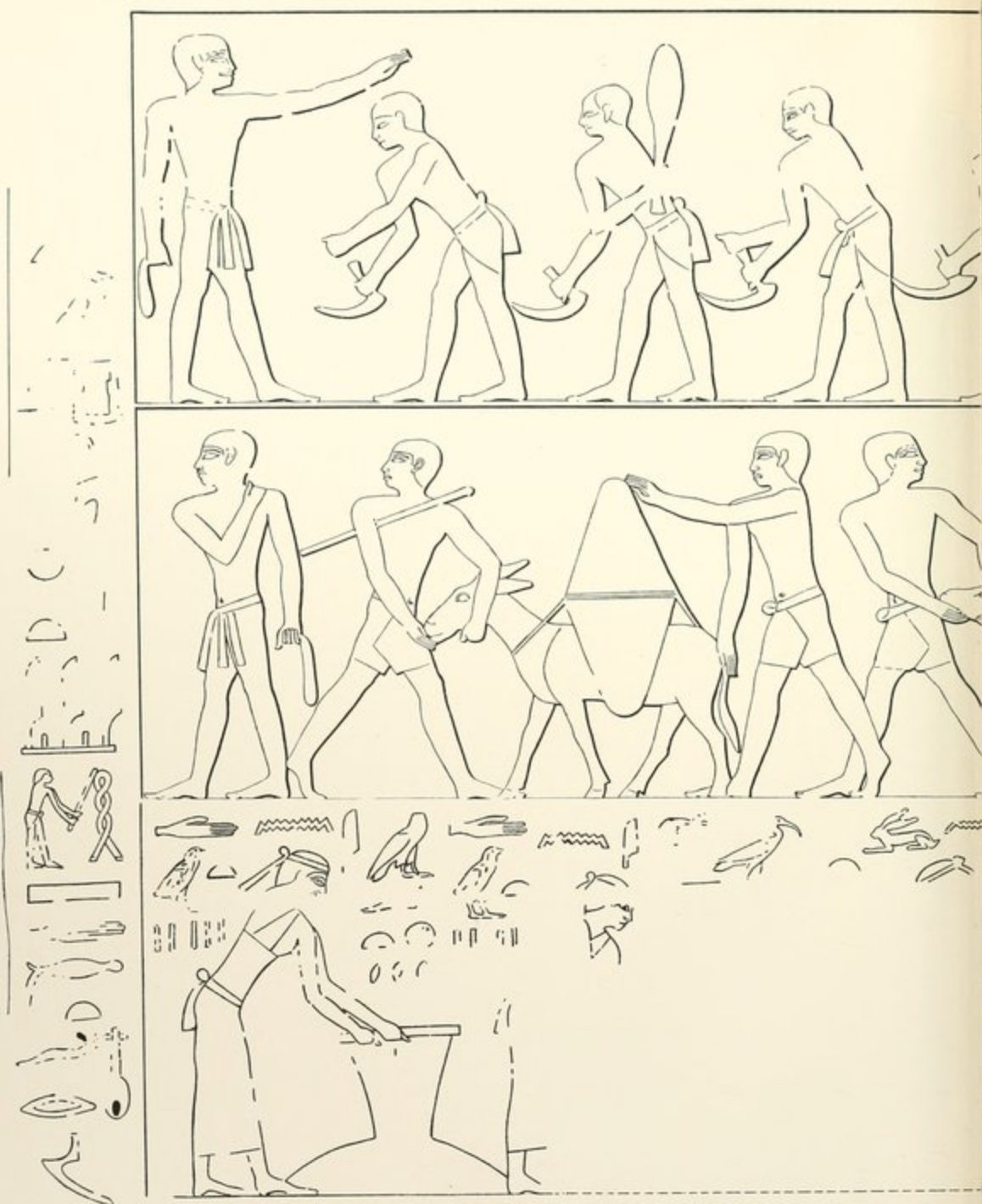
N. DOORWAY

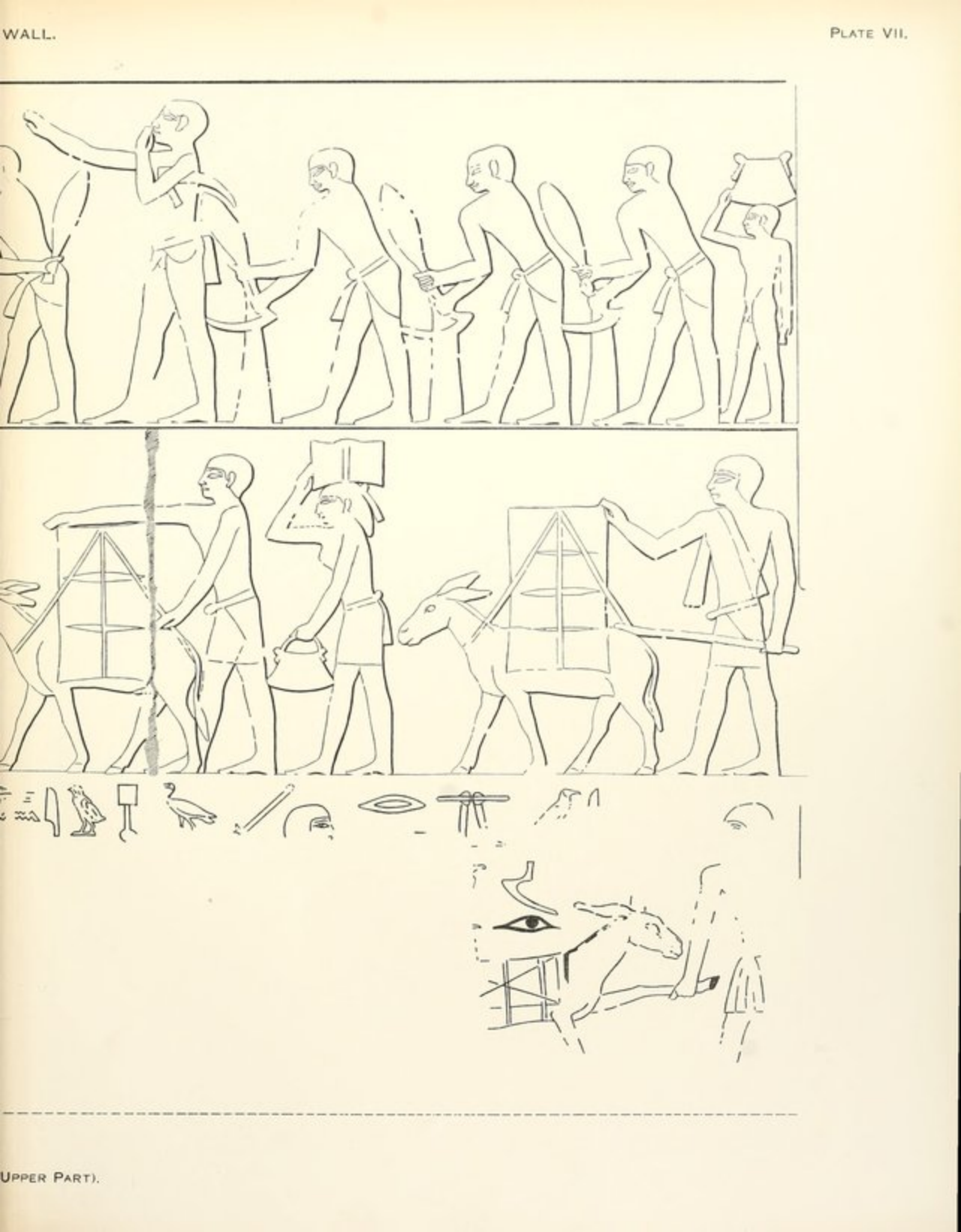
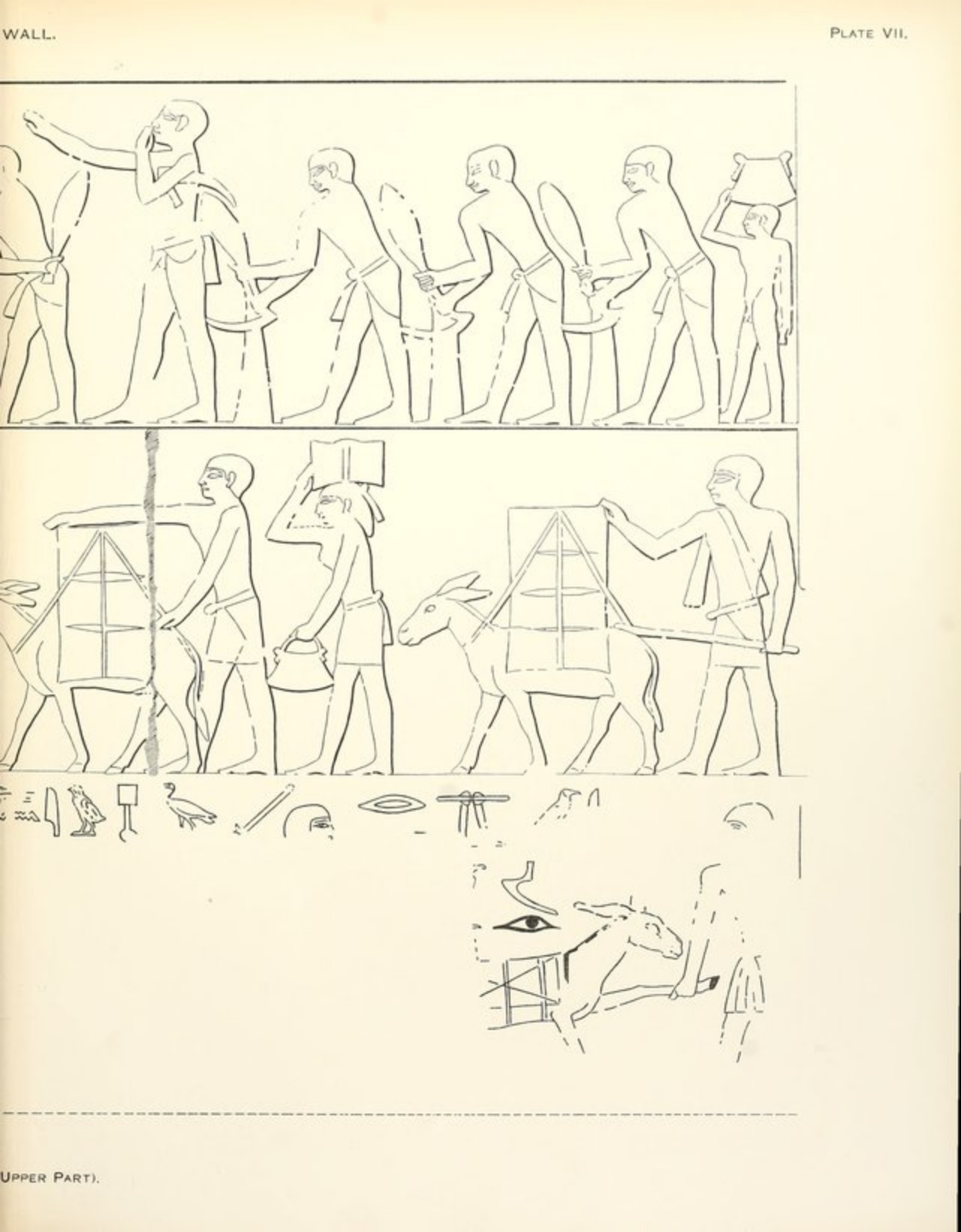
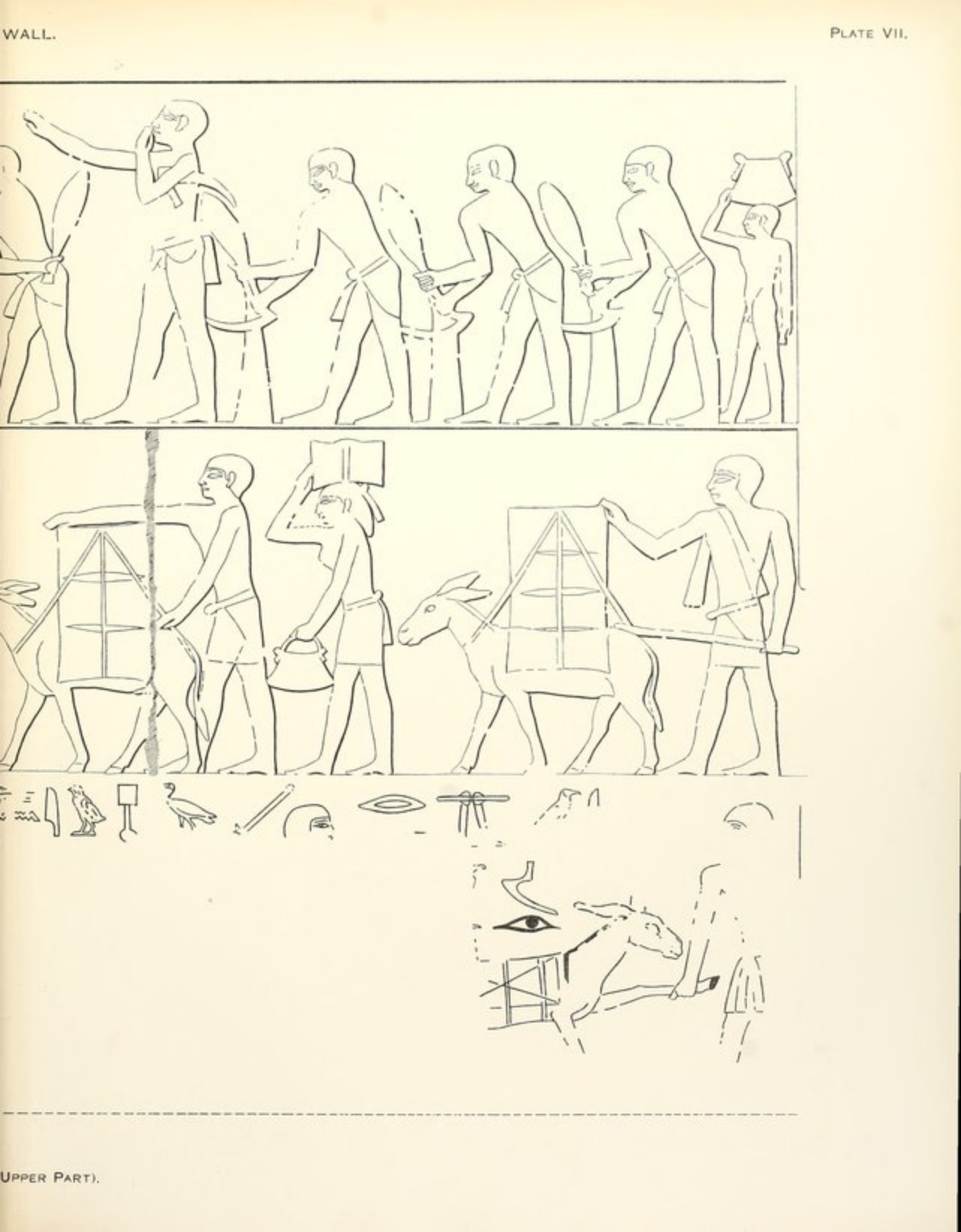


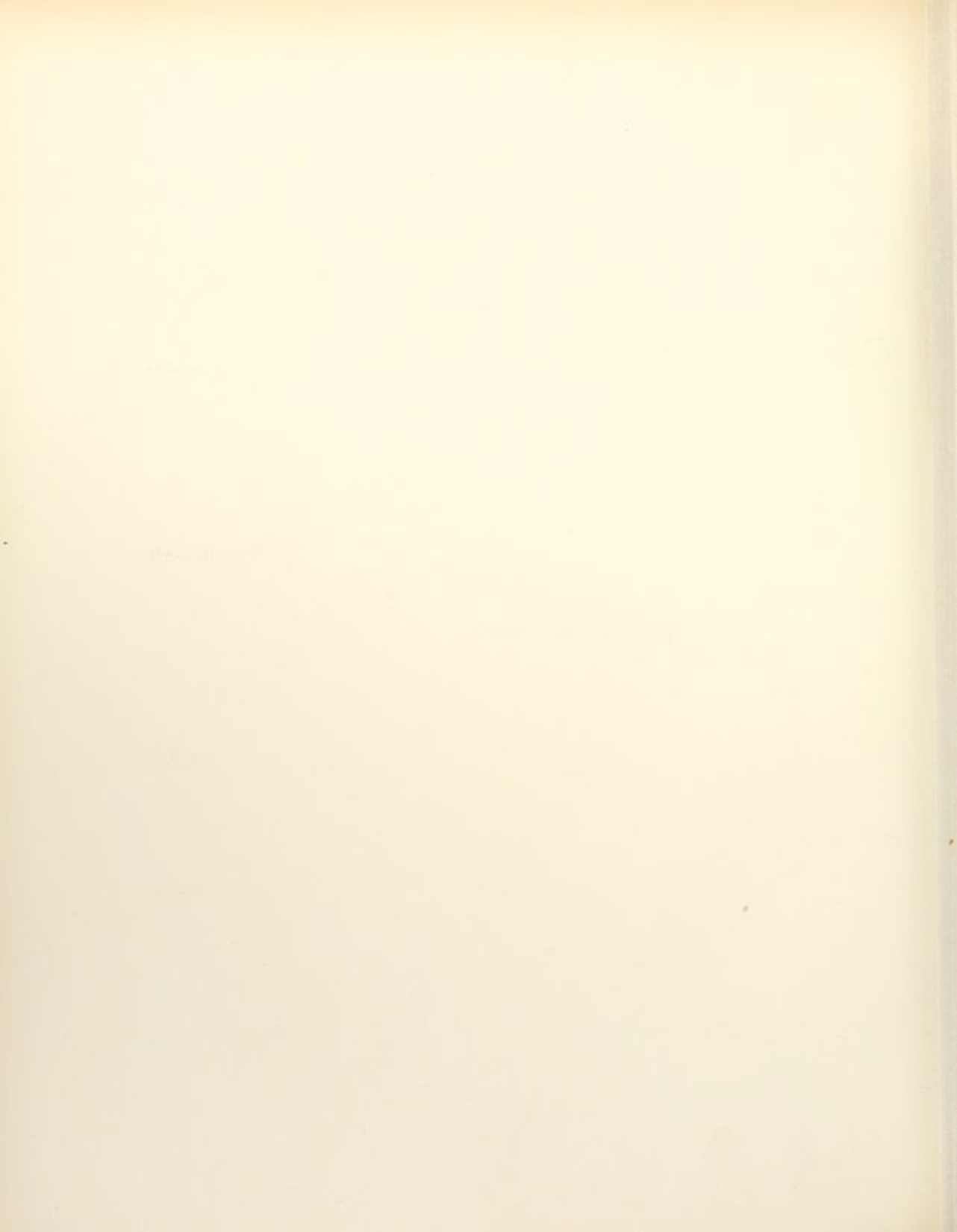


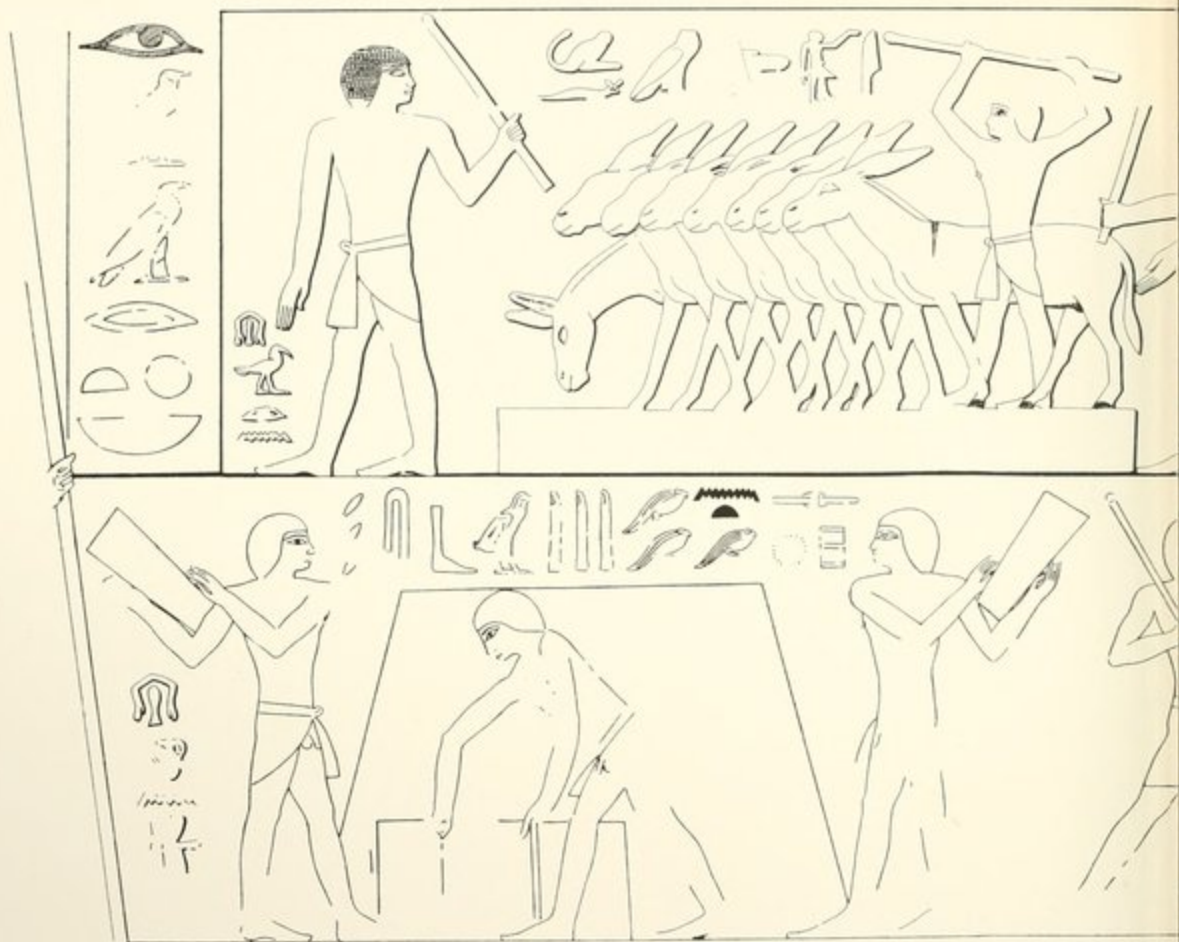


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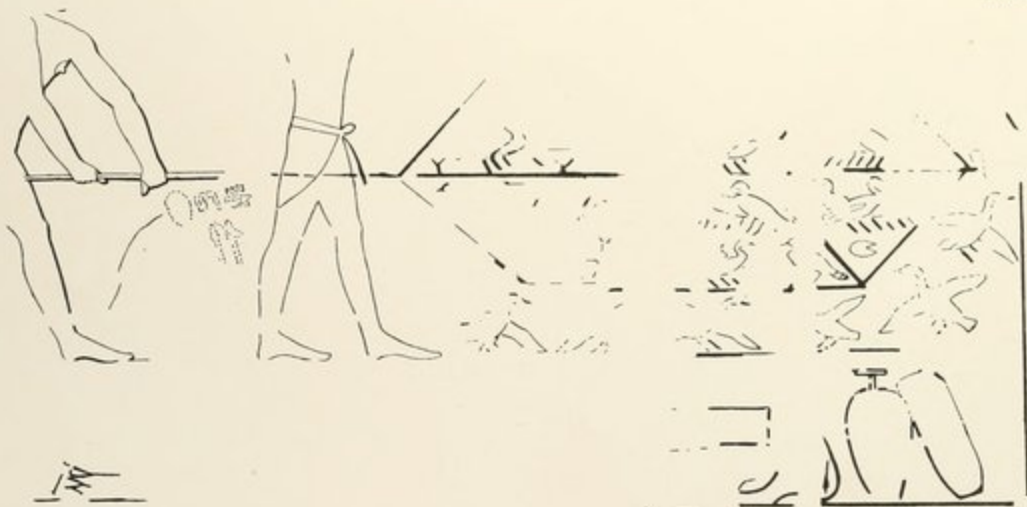


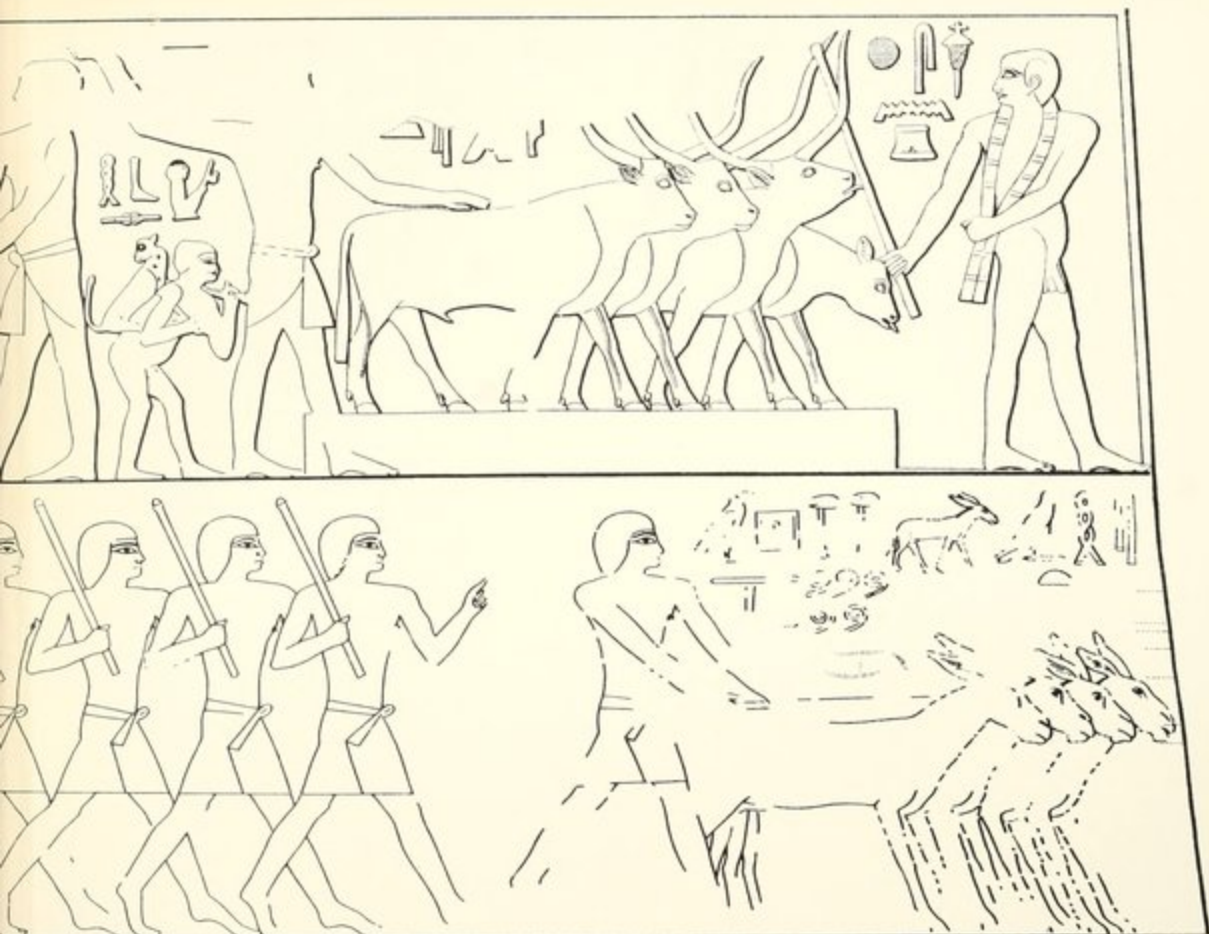




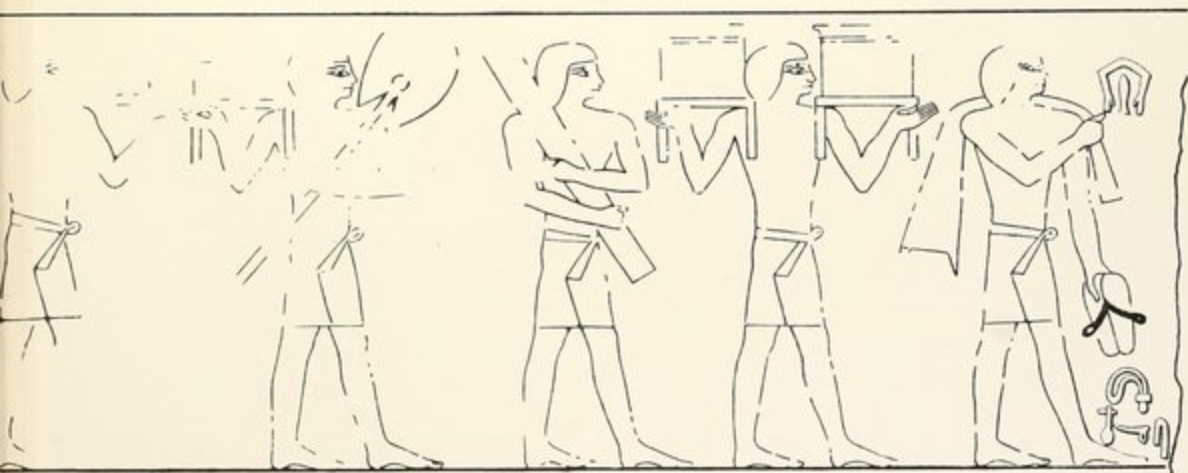


HARVEST SCENE



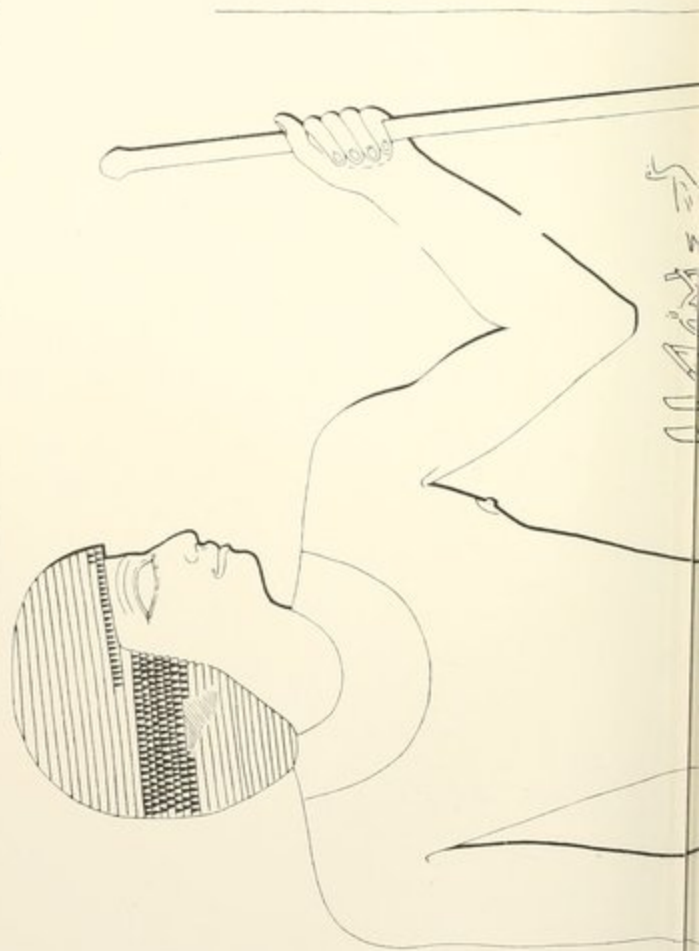
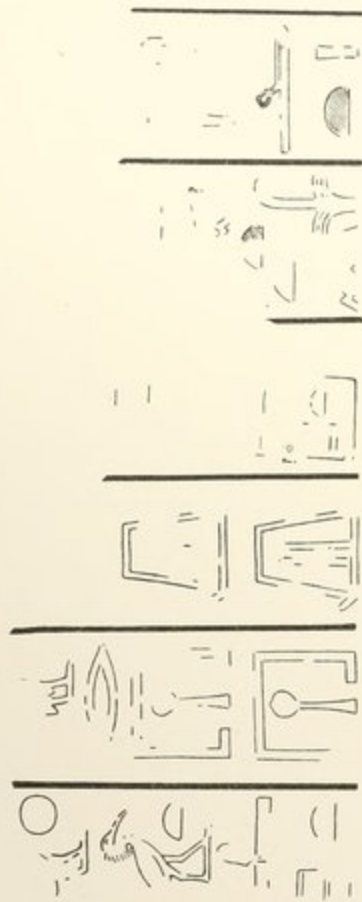


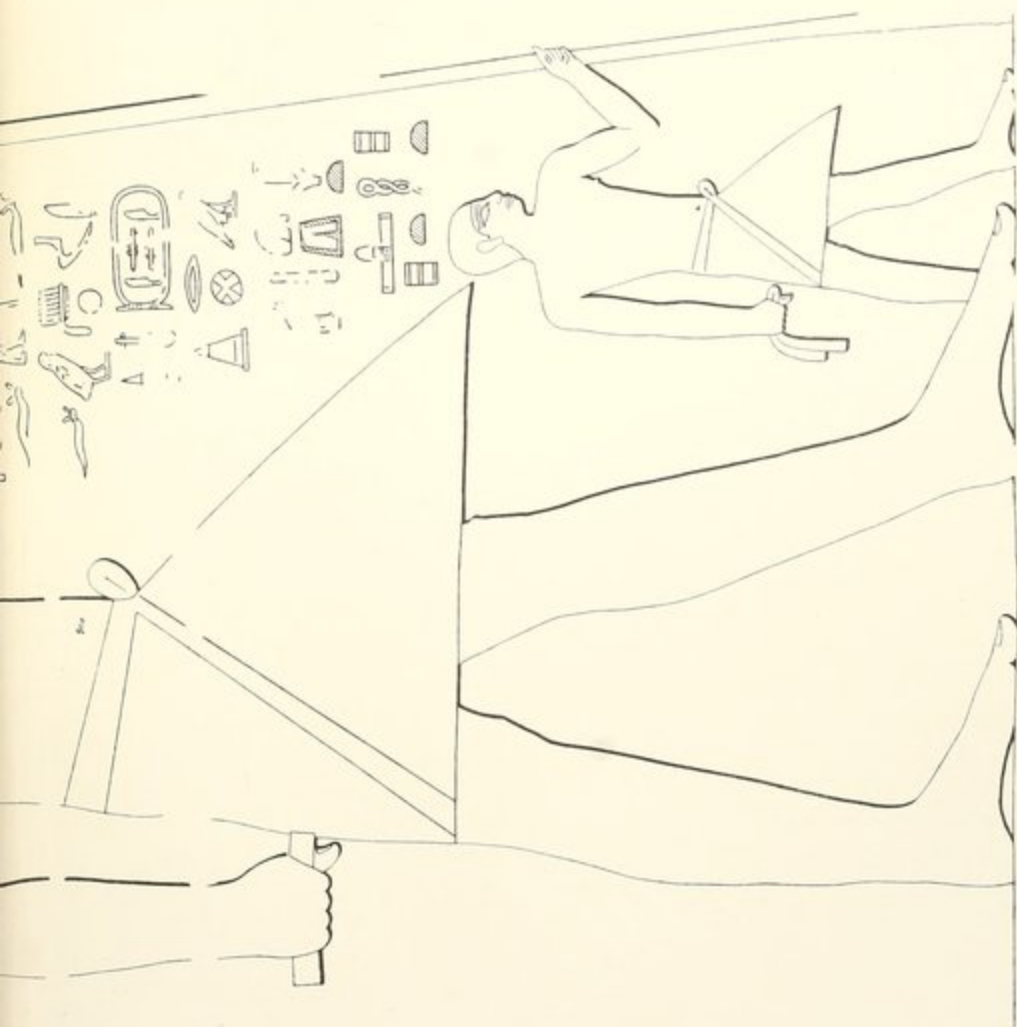
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DESIGNS.

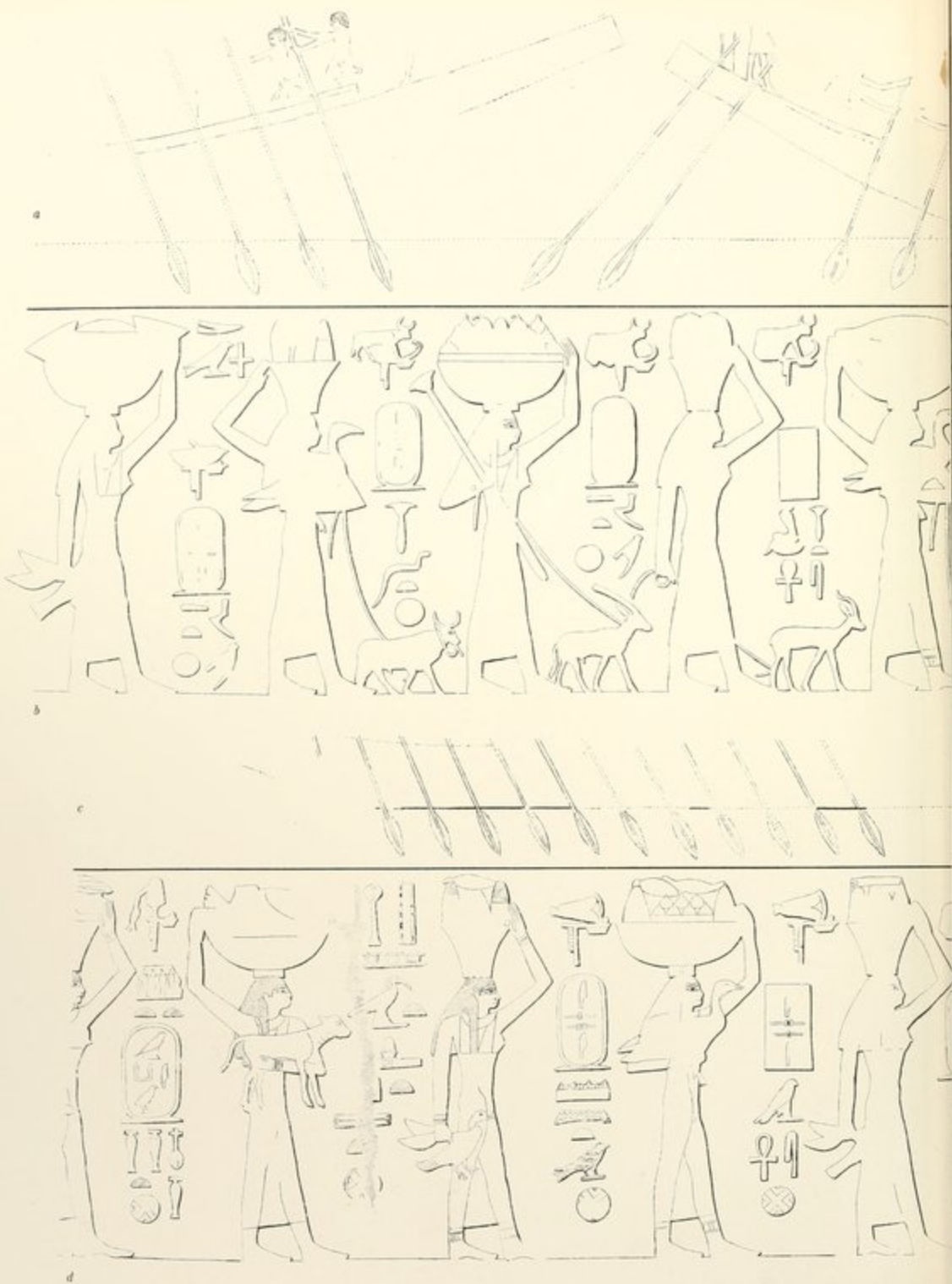


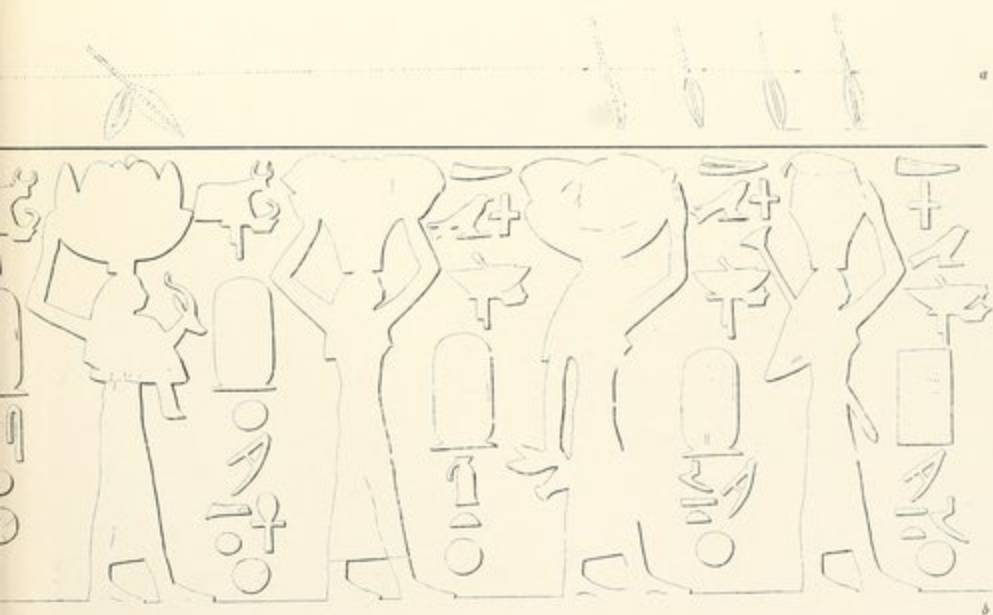
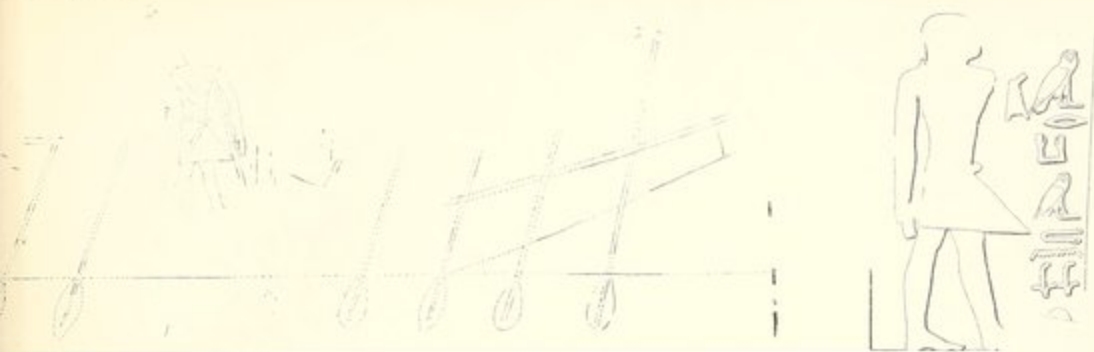




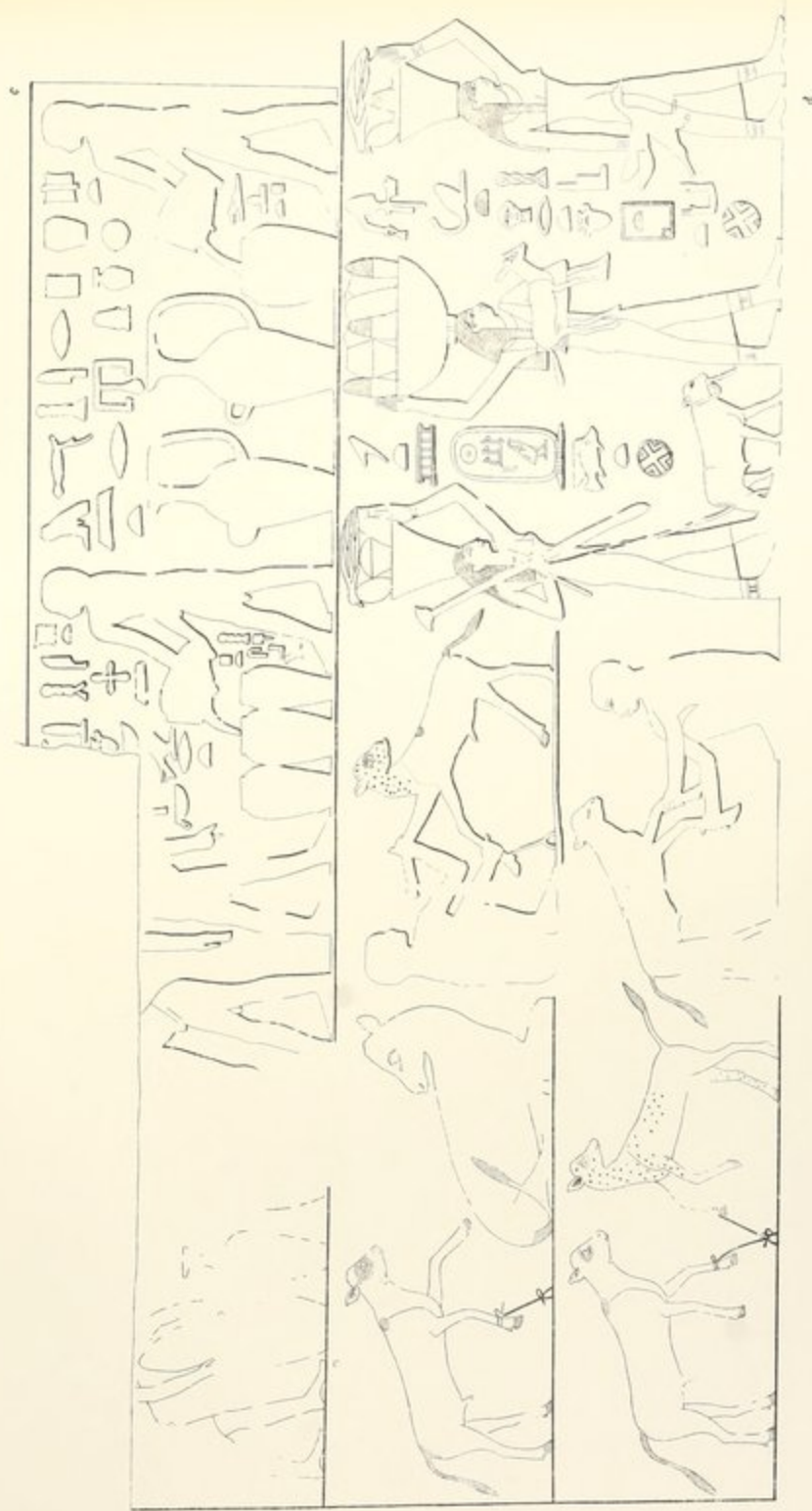
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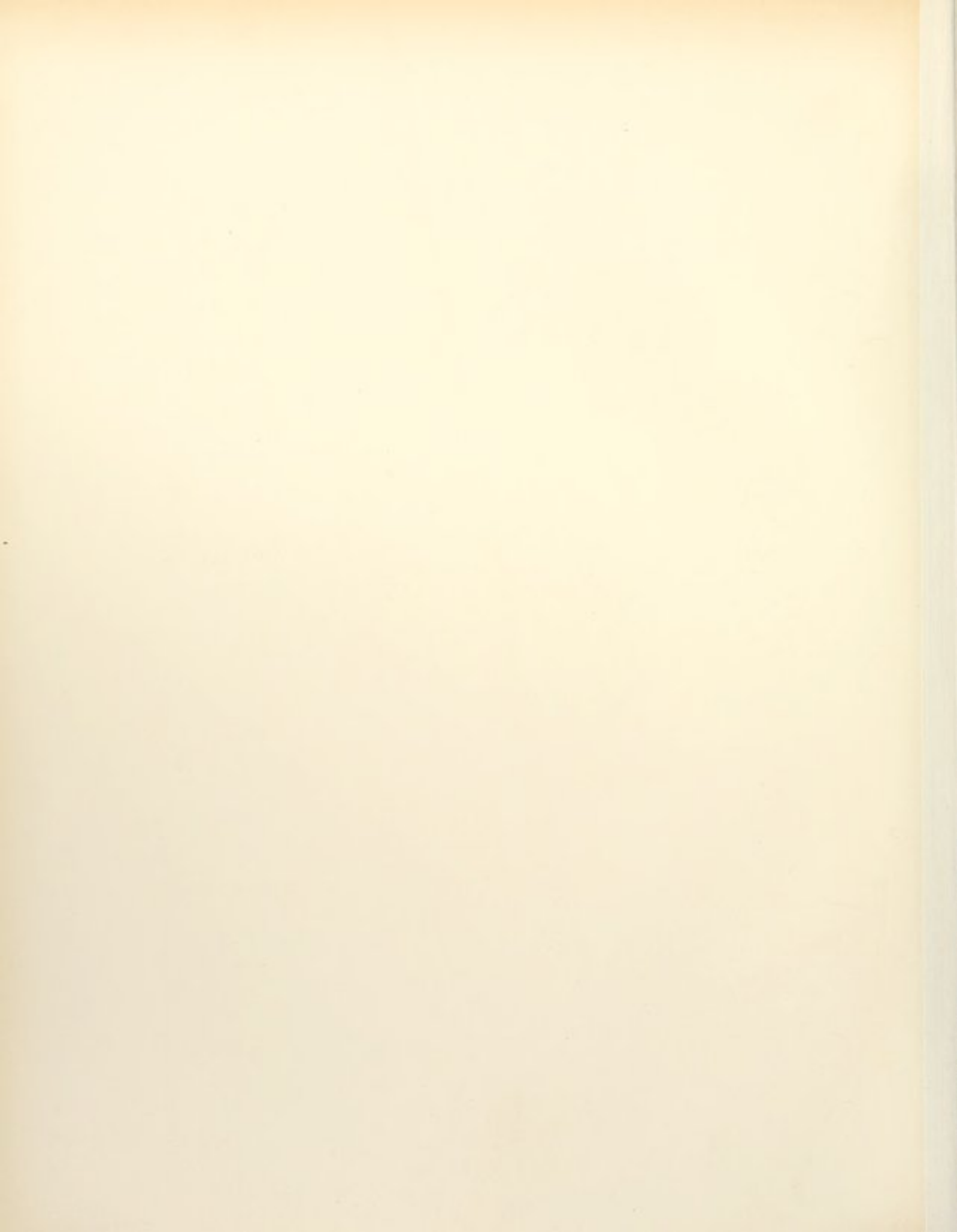








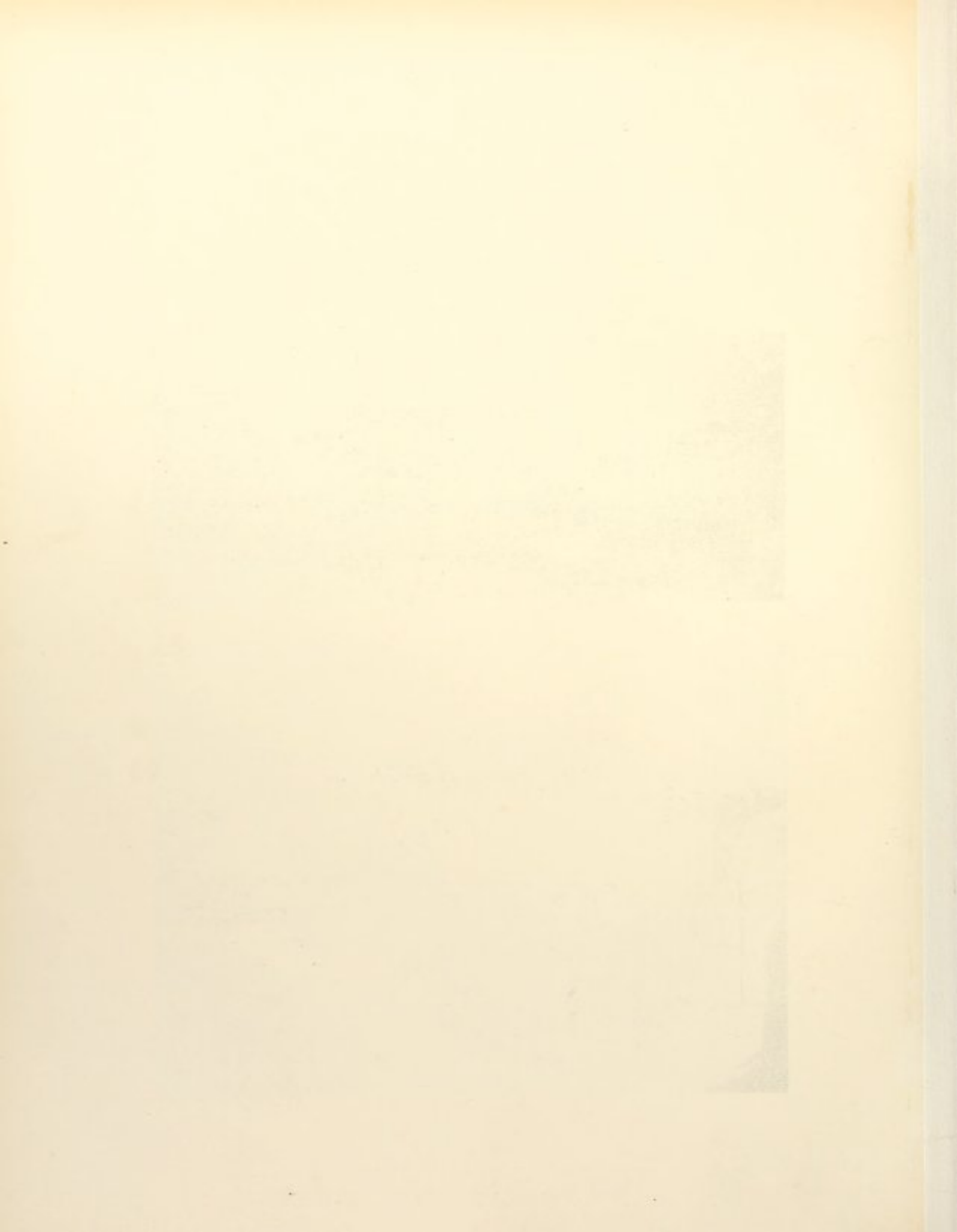


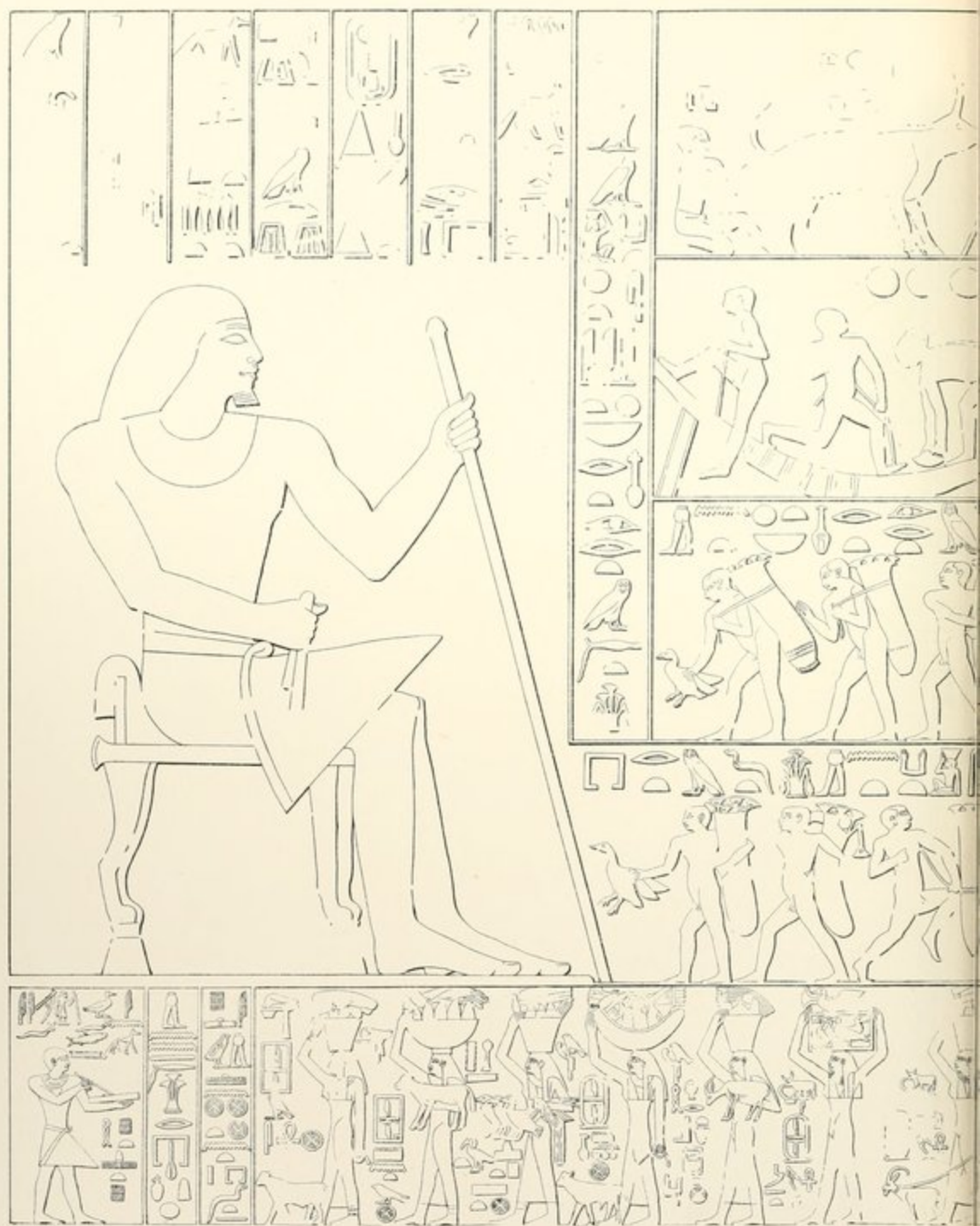


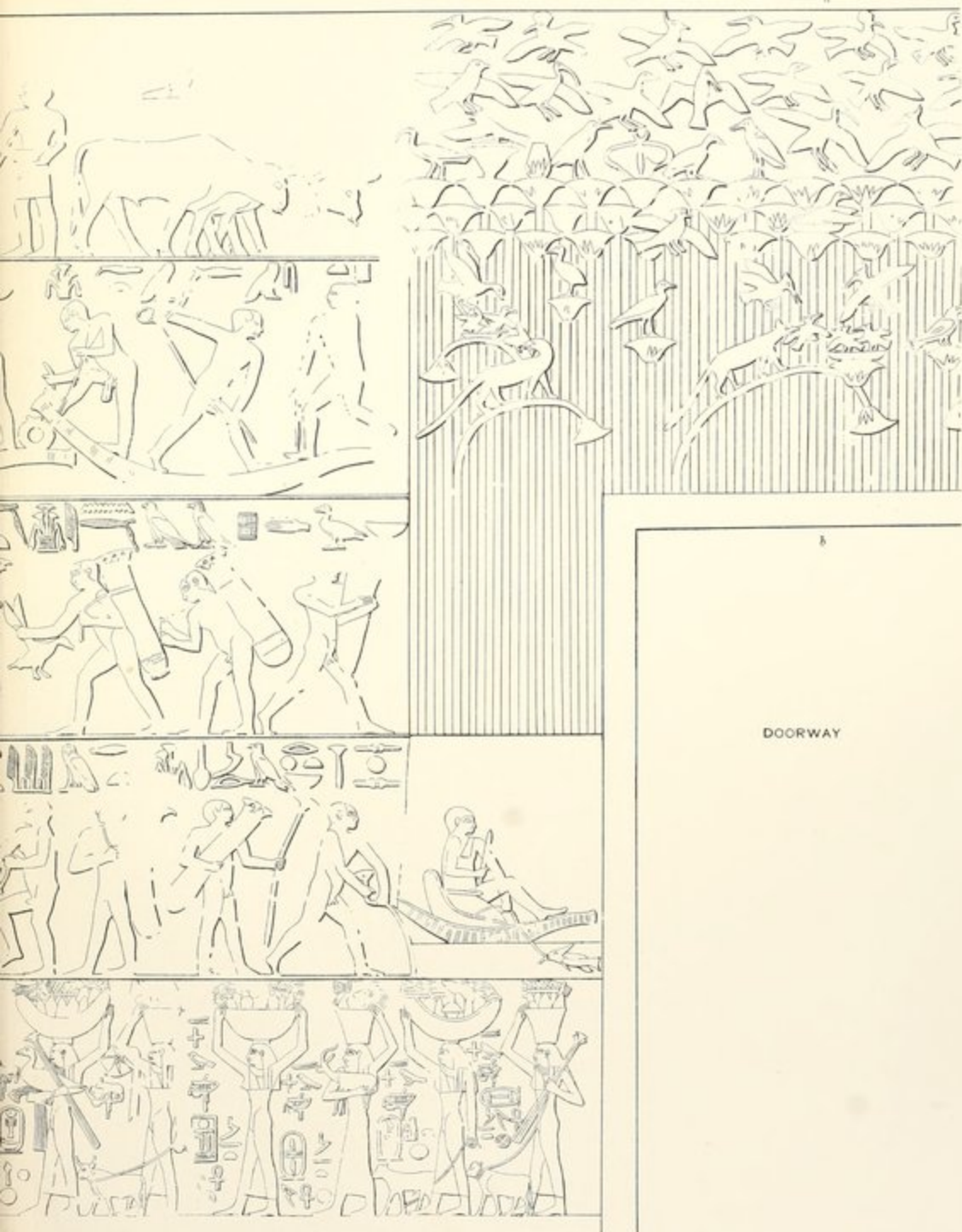


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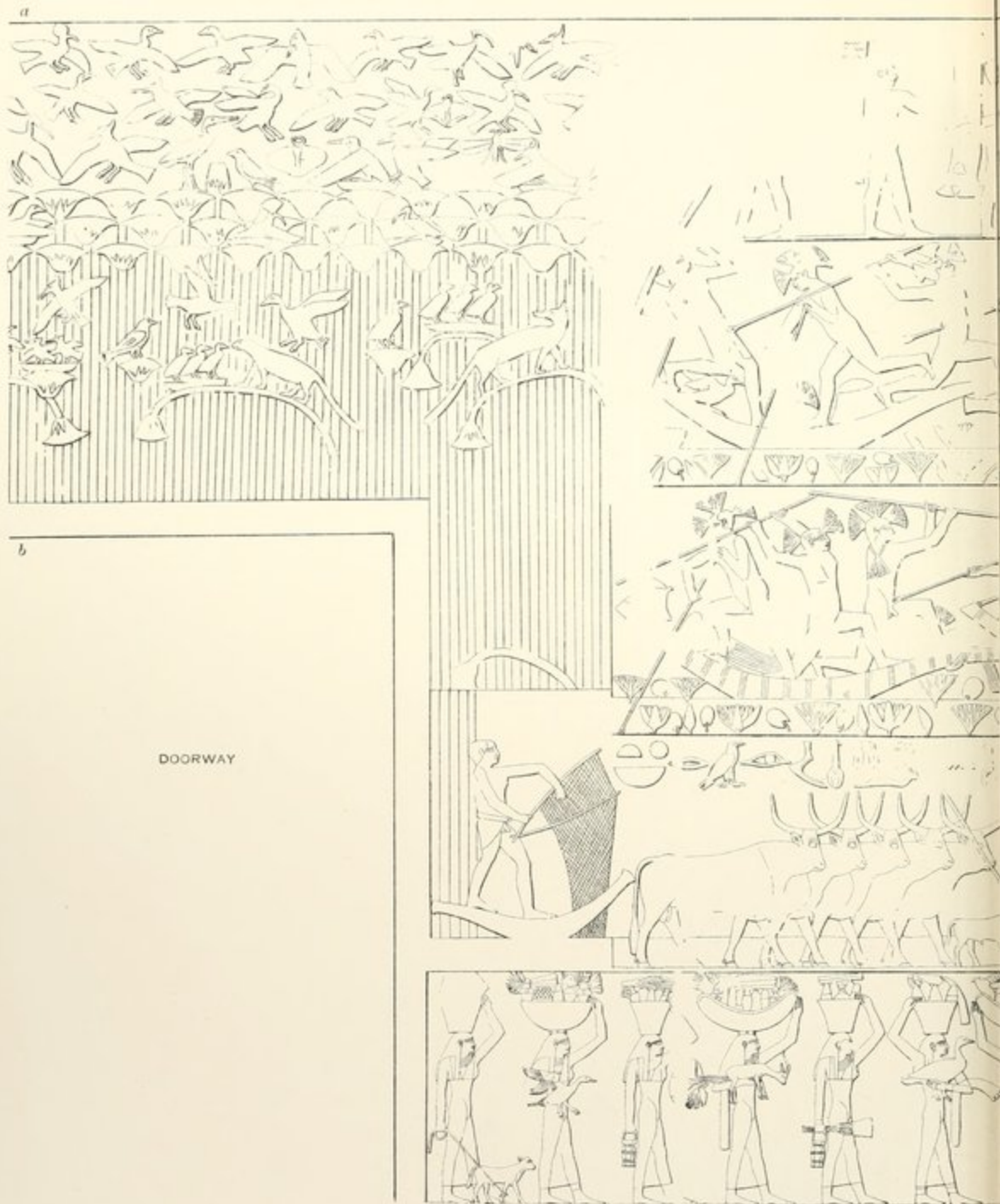
THE PILLARED HALL

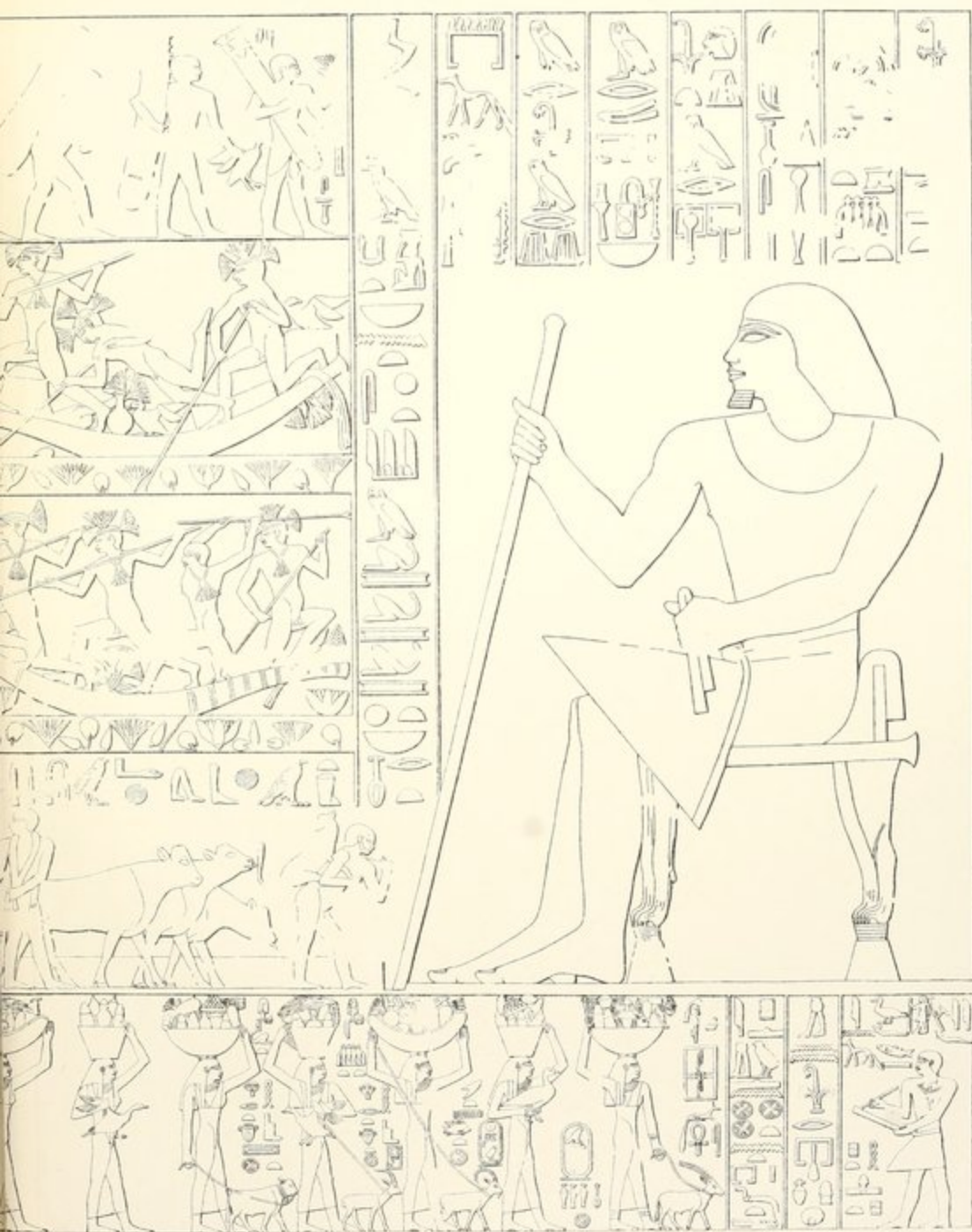




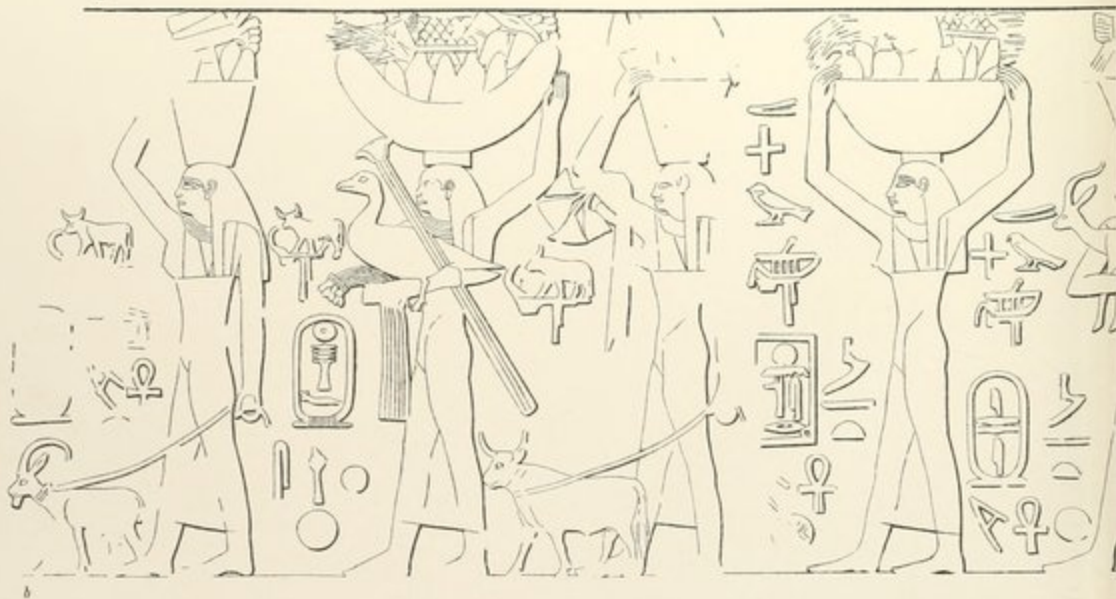
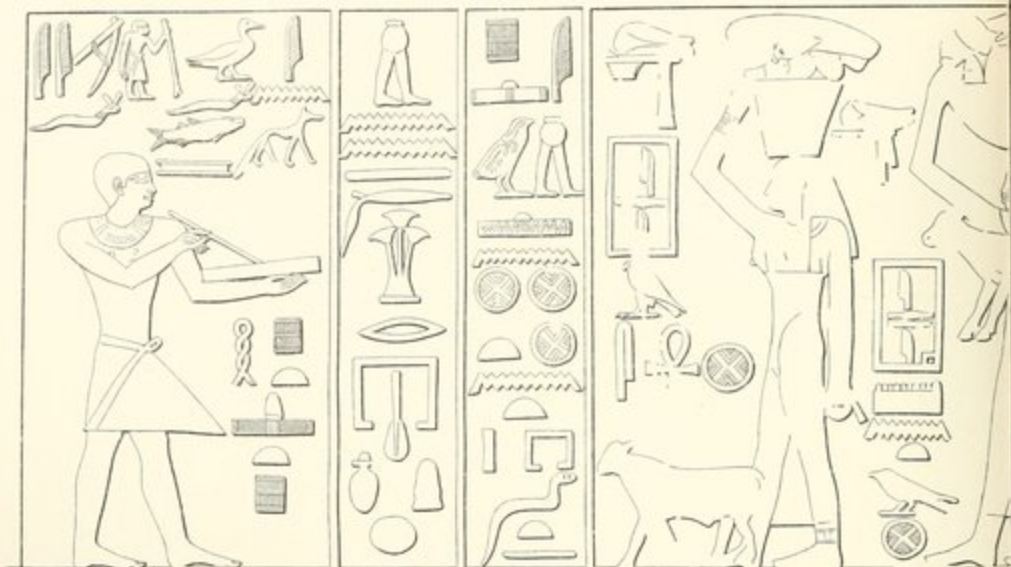


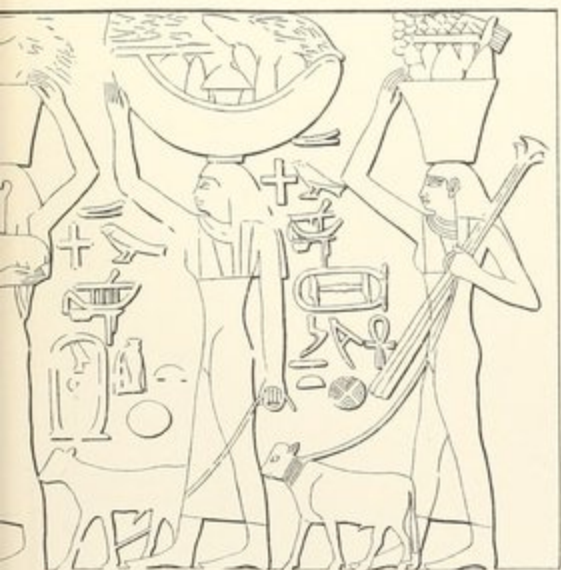




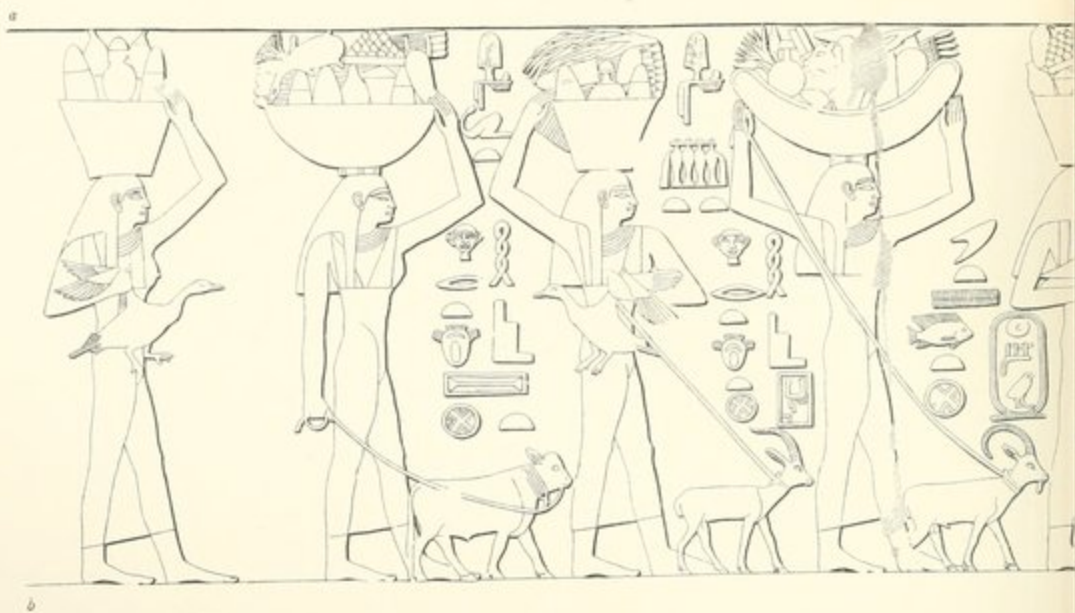


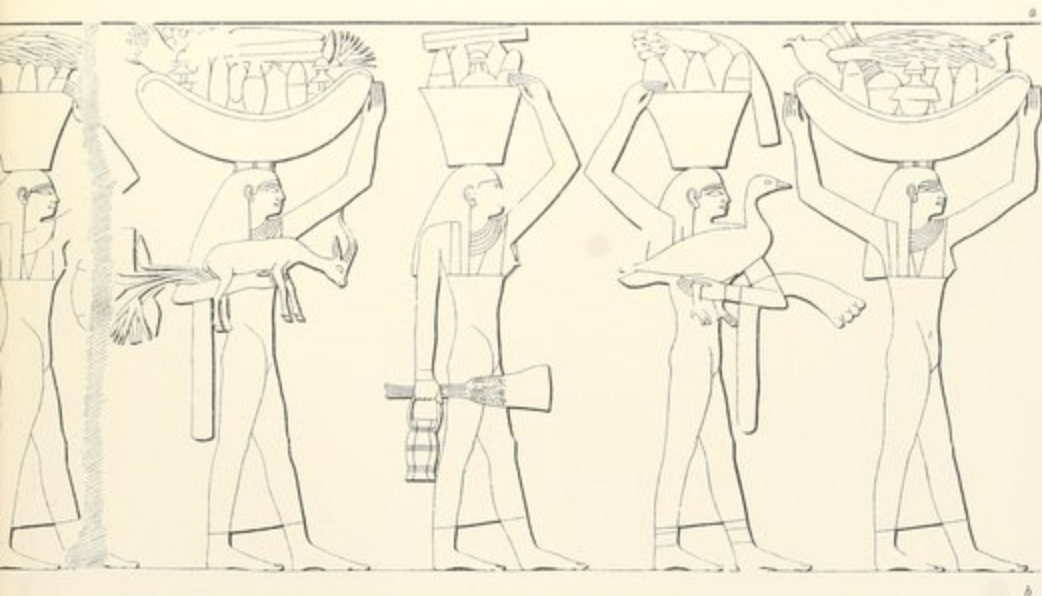




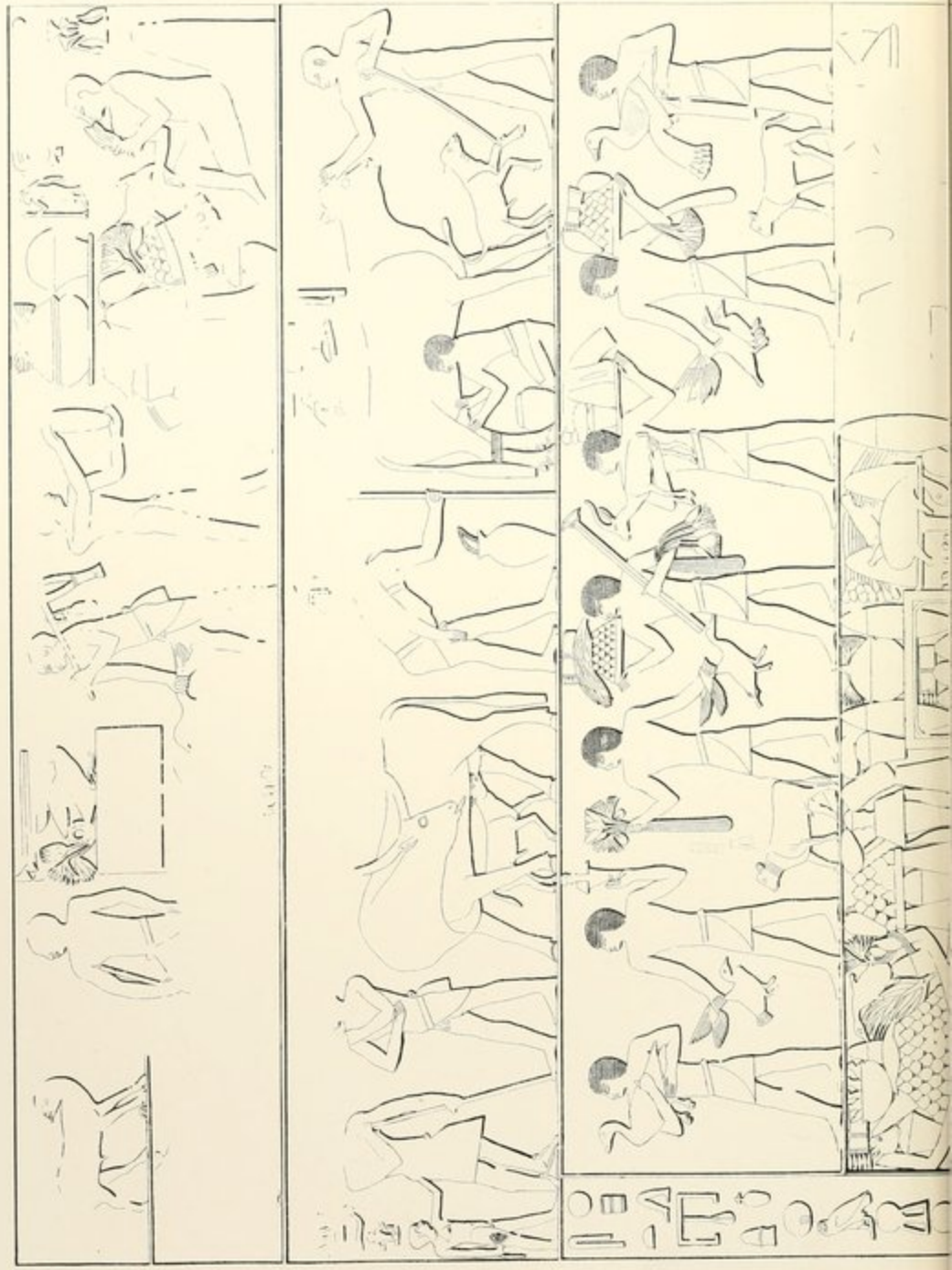












PASSAGE TO N. CHAMBER

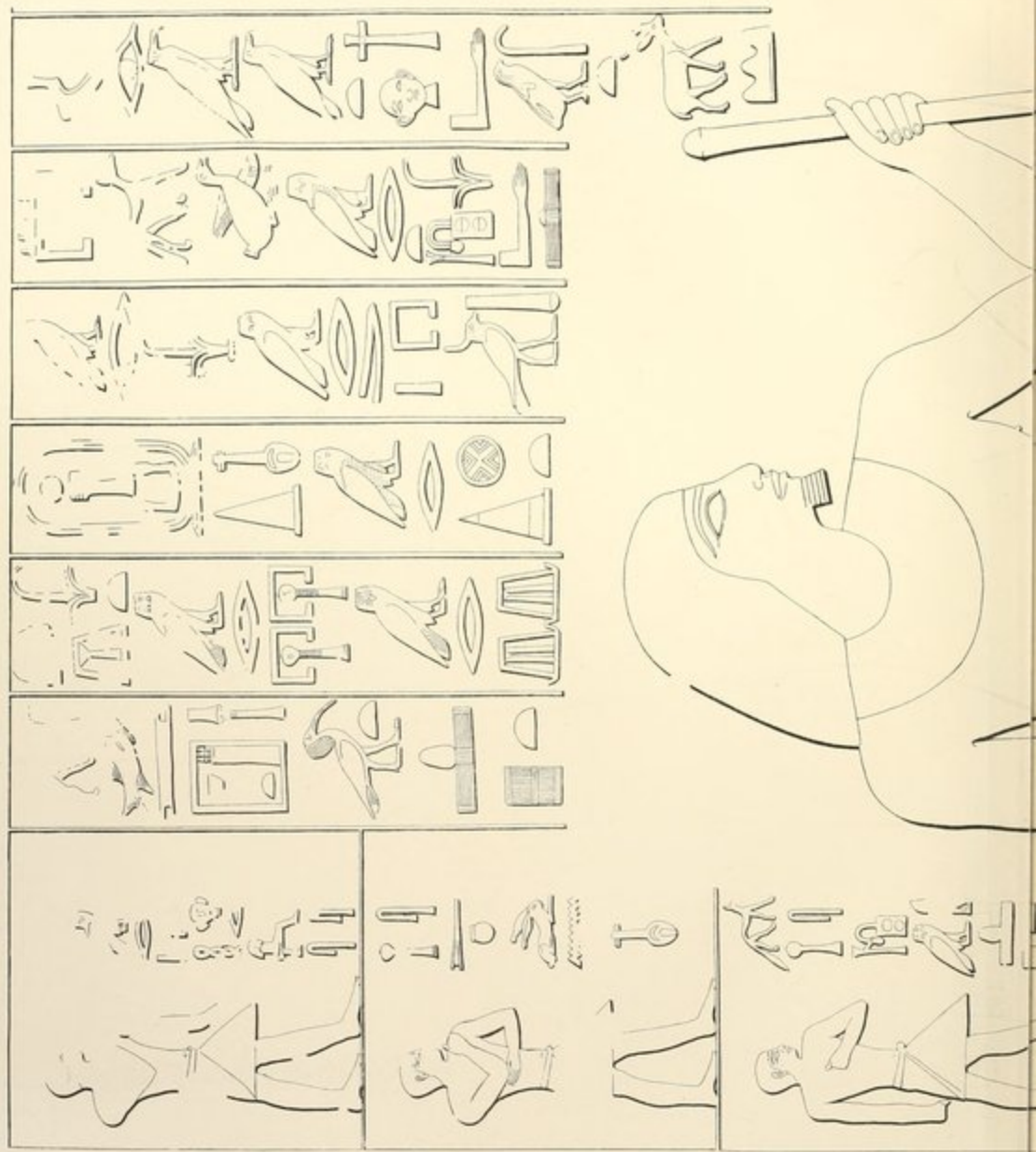
*The jambs and lintel are
coloured red*

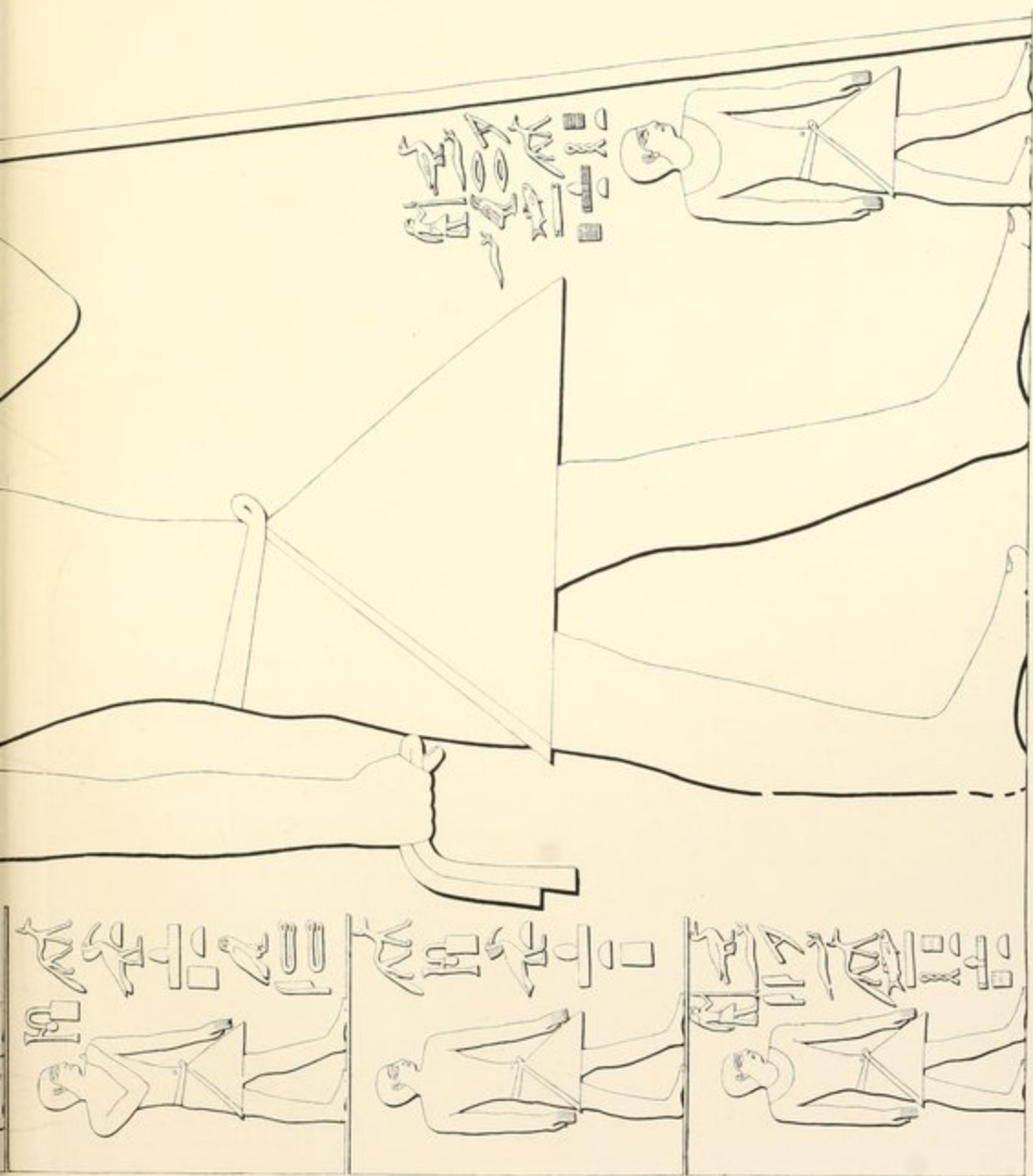
red

yellow

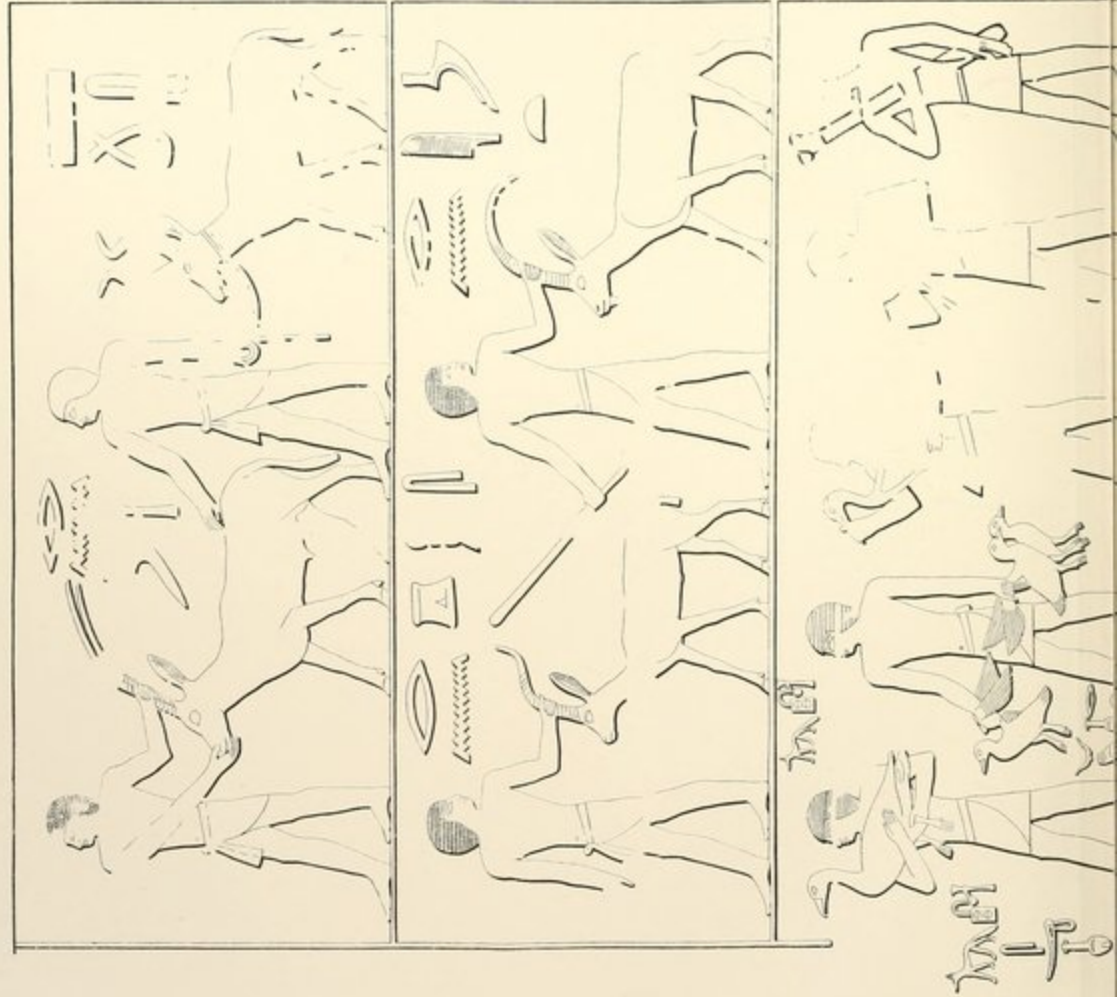
NORTH BAY, N. WALL.

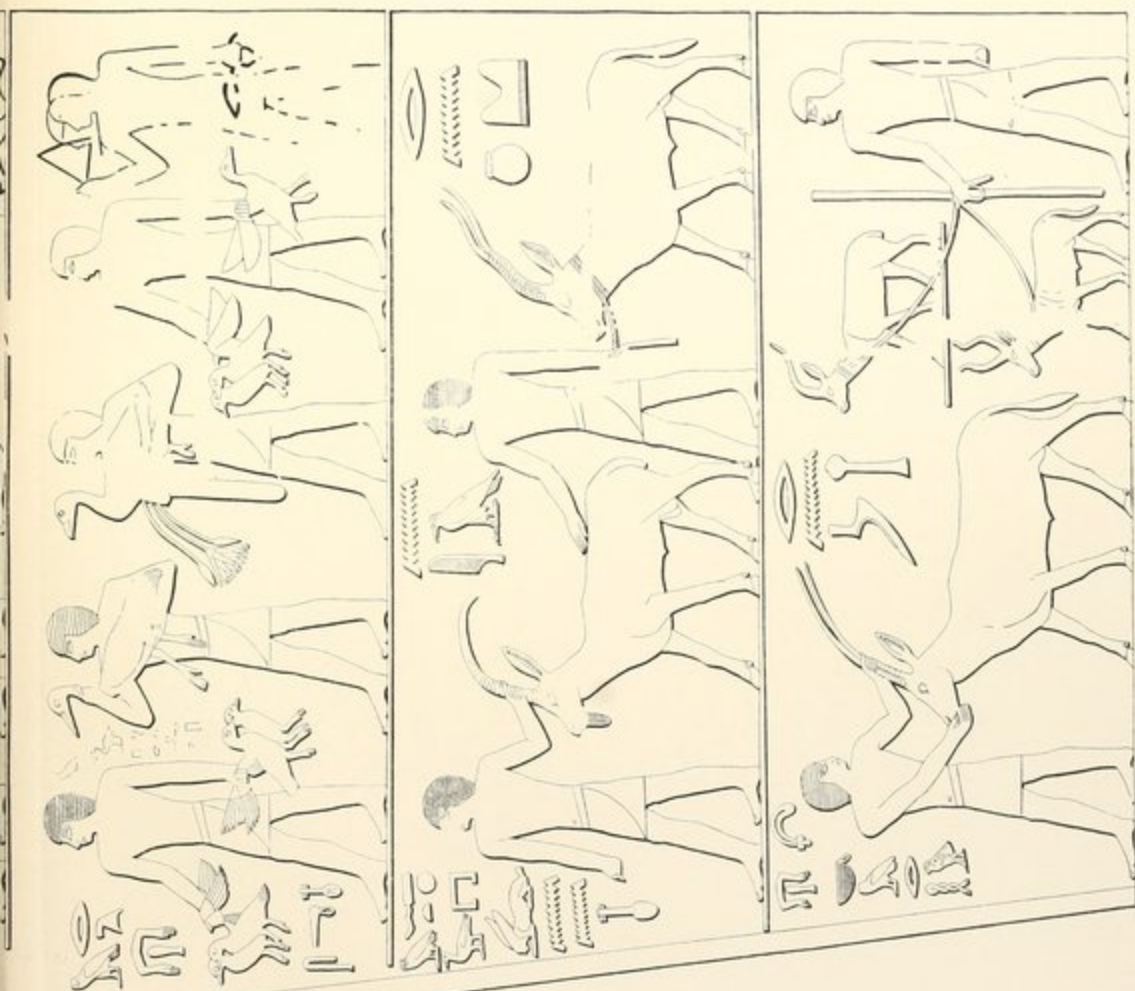






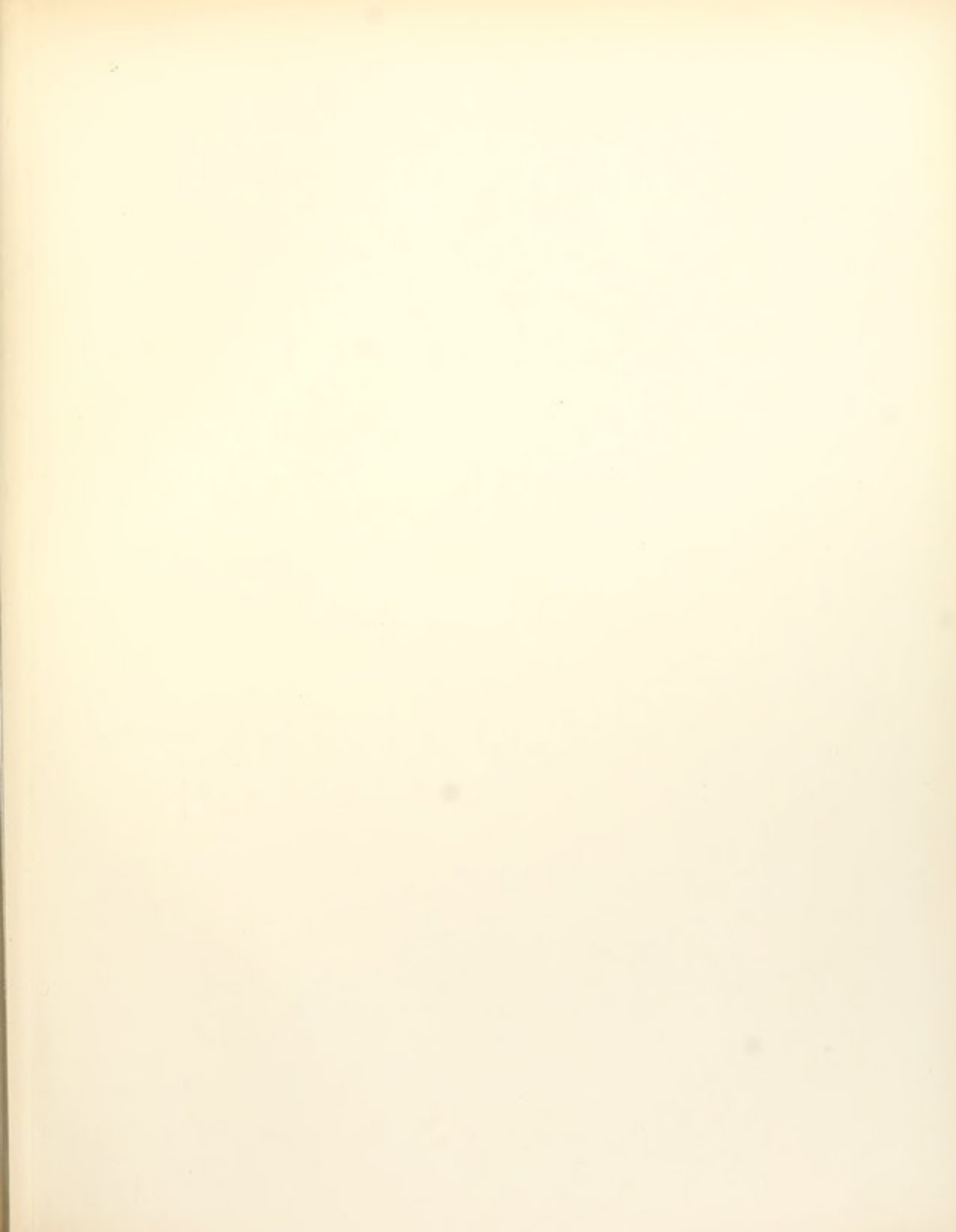


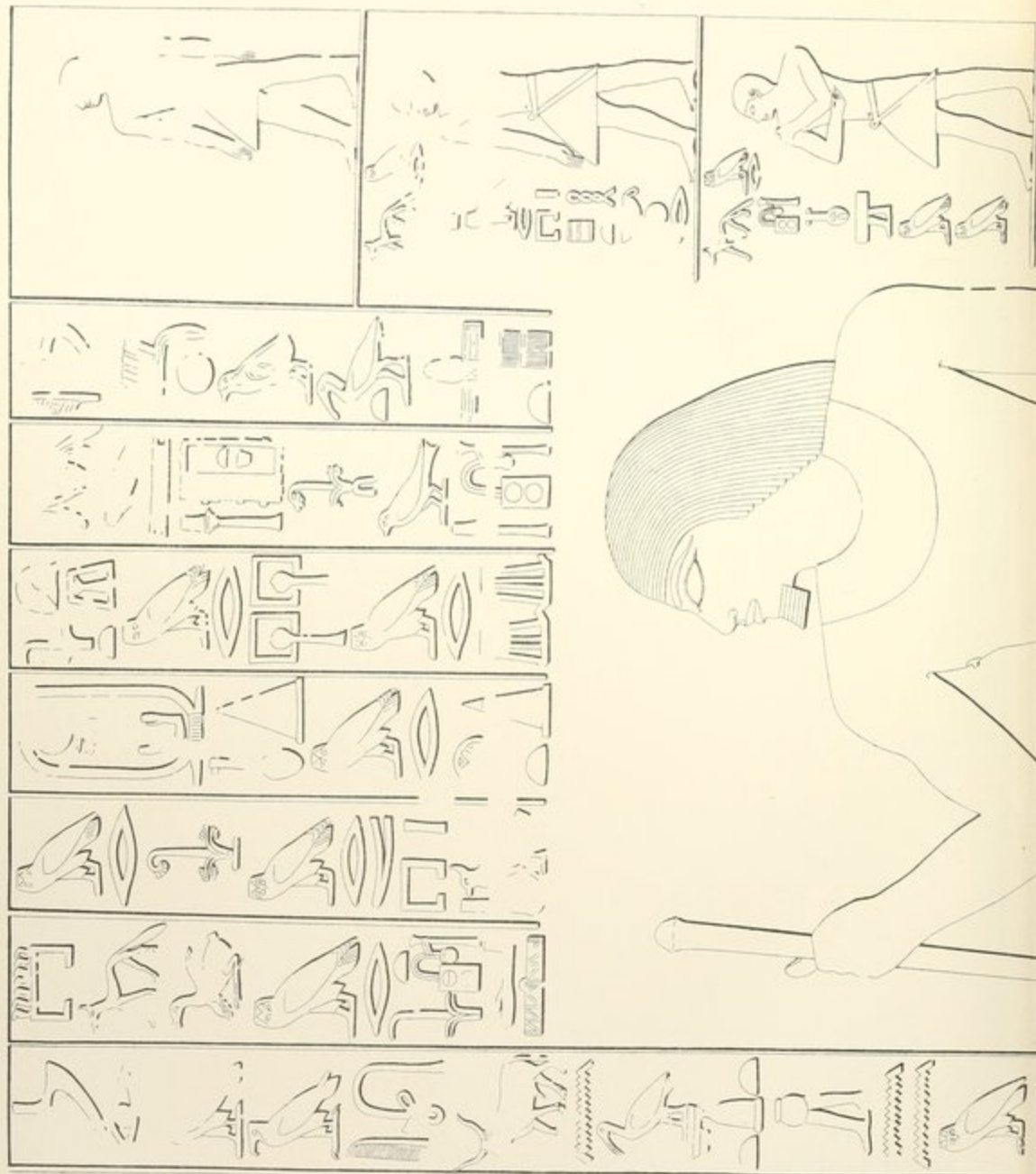


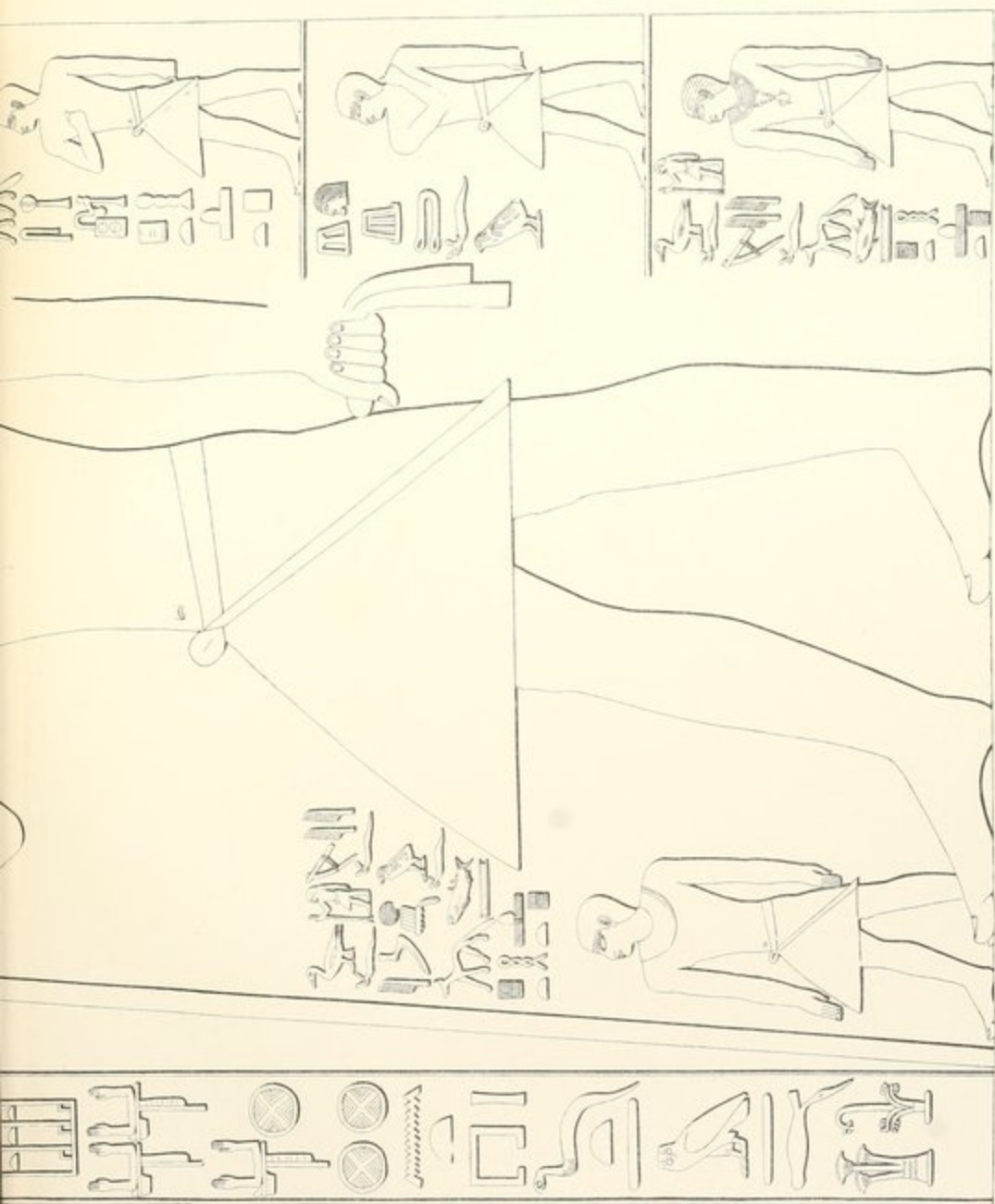


joina Plate XVIII.



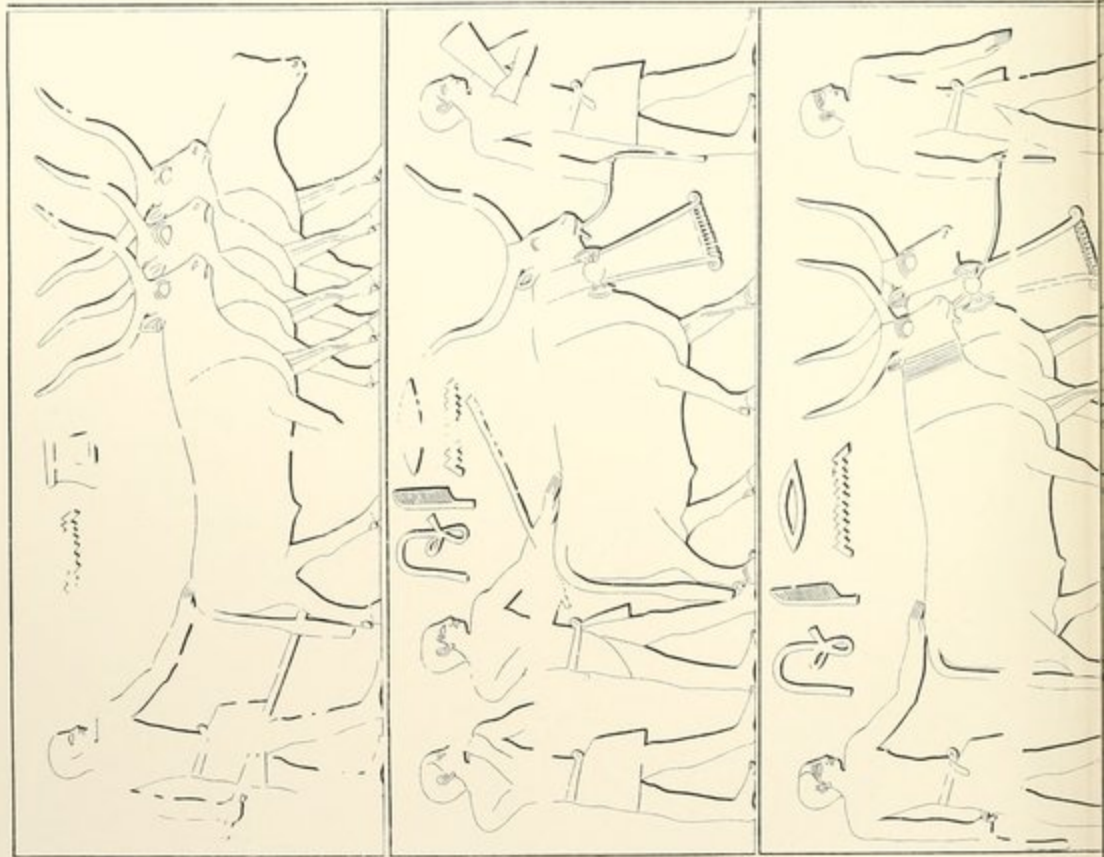


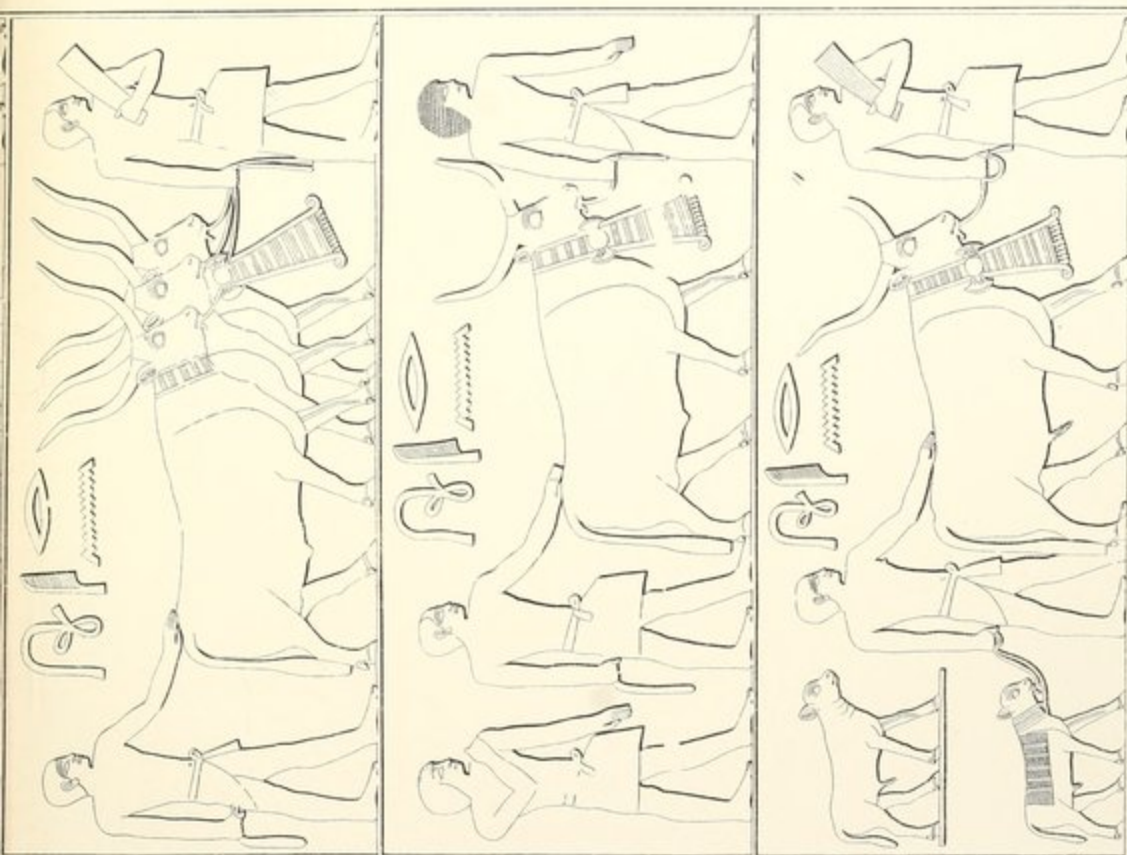




SOUTH BAY, WEST WALL.

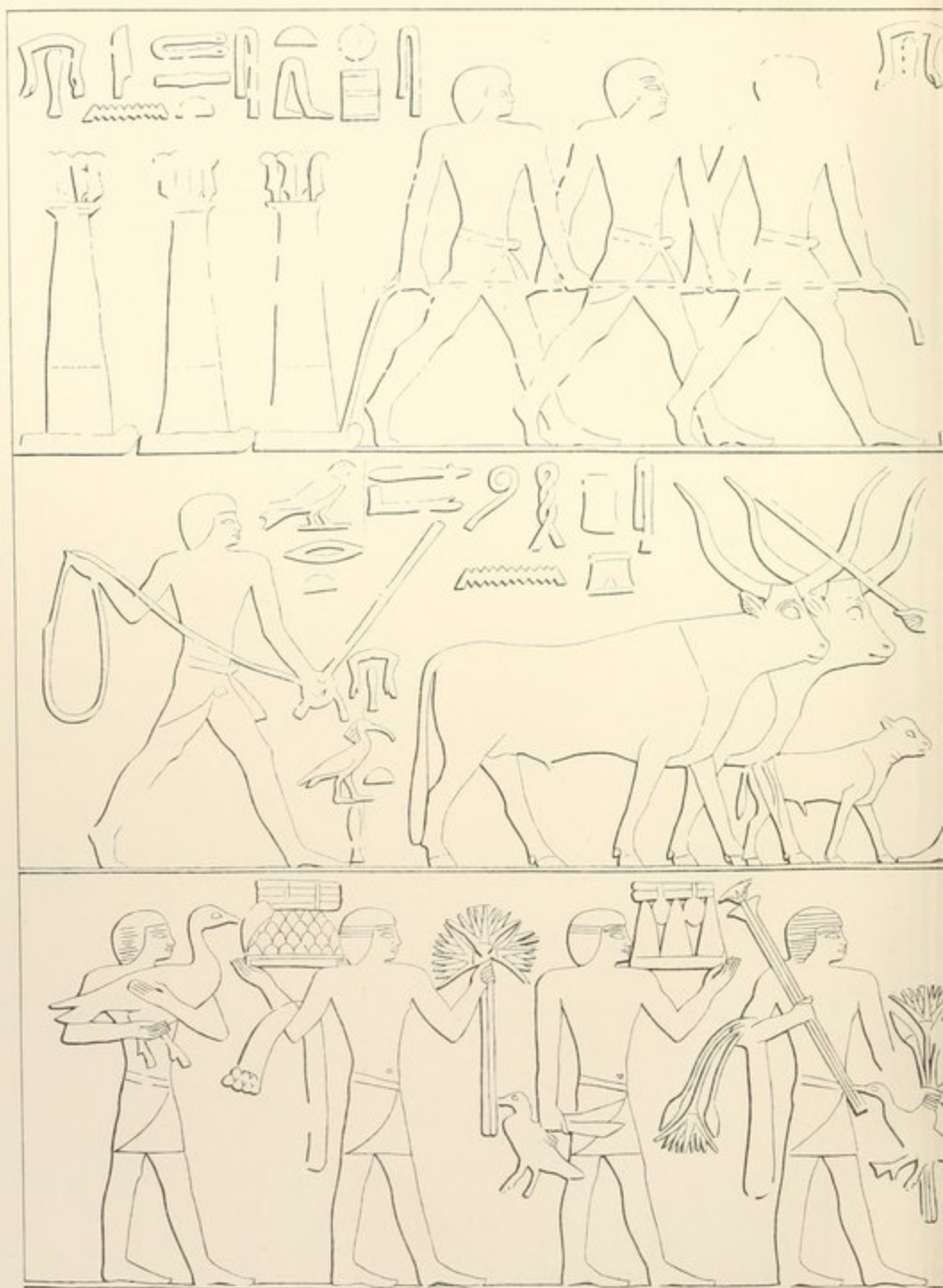


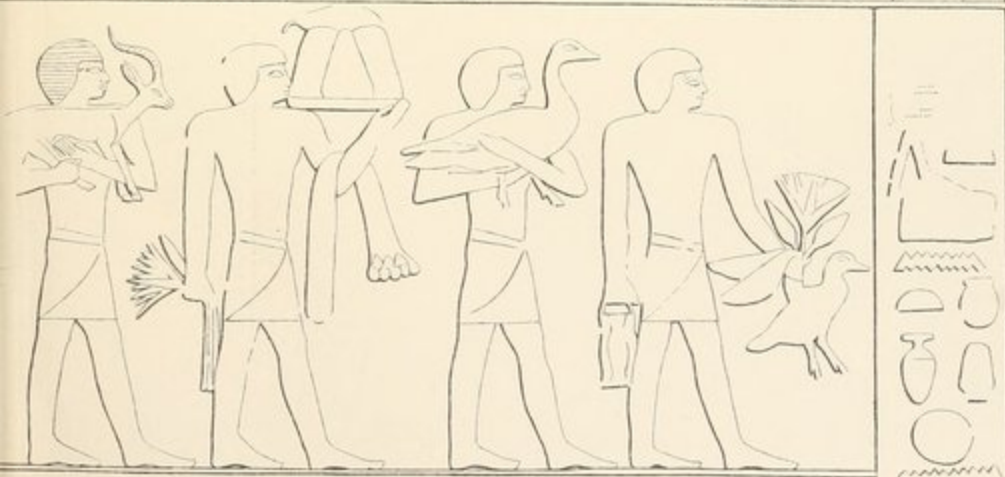
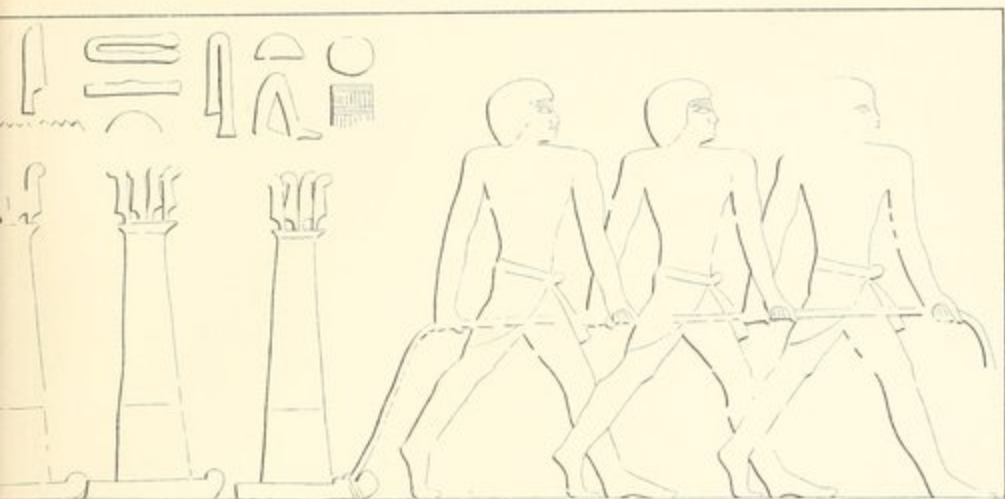




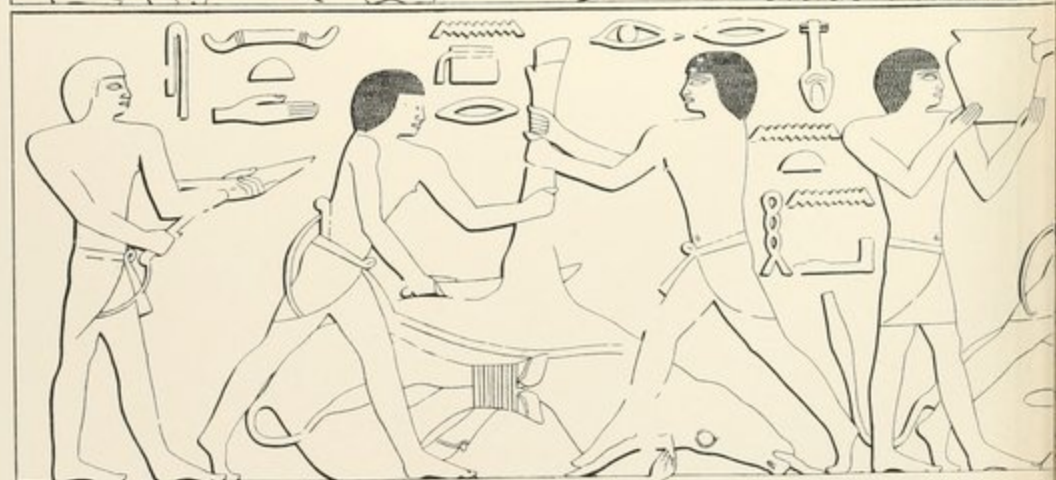
SOUTH BAY, WEST WALL (COMPLETION).



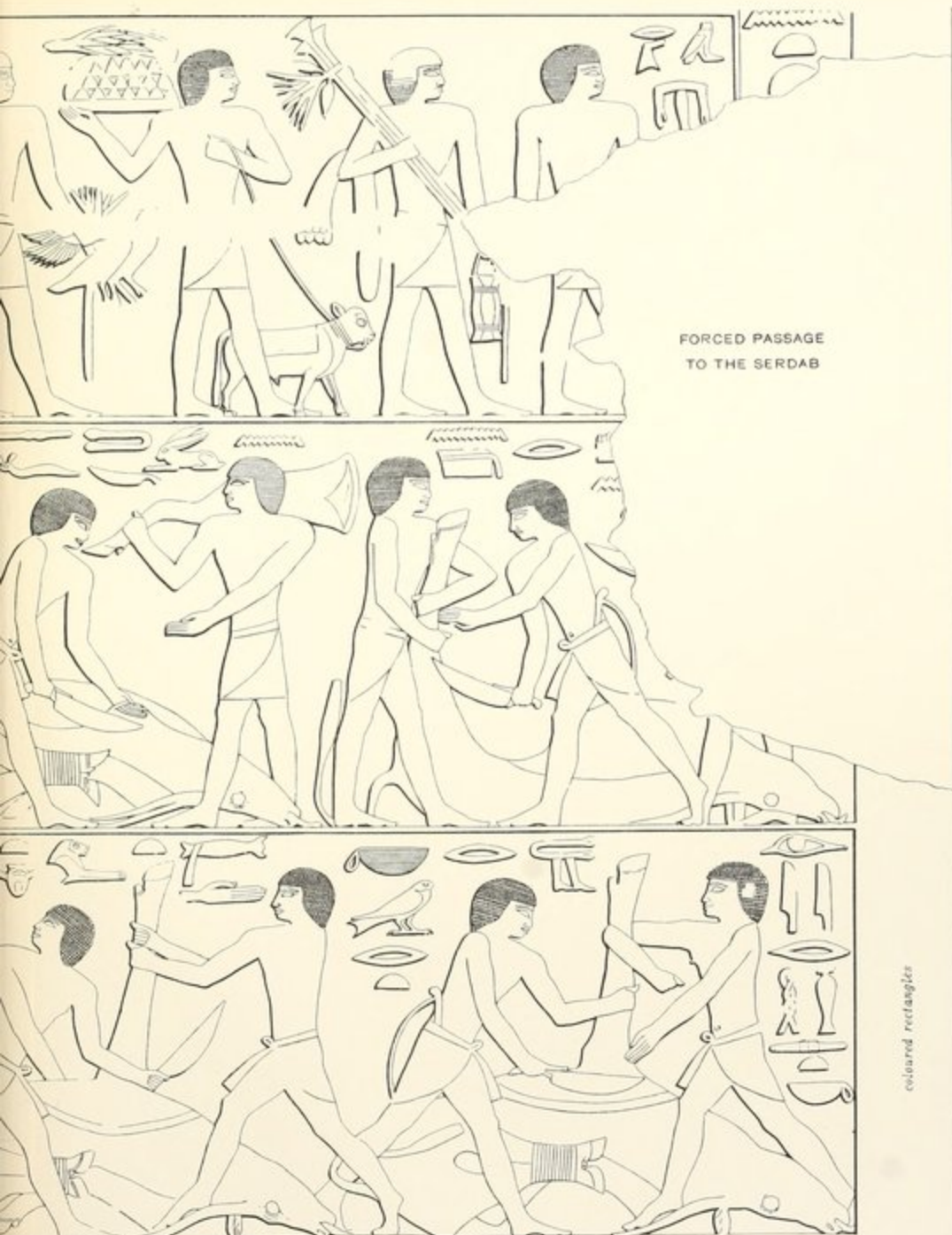




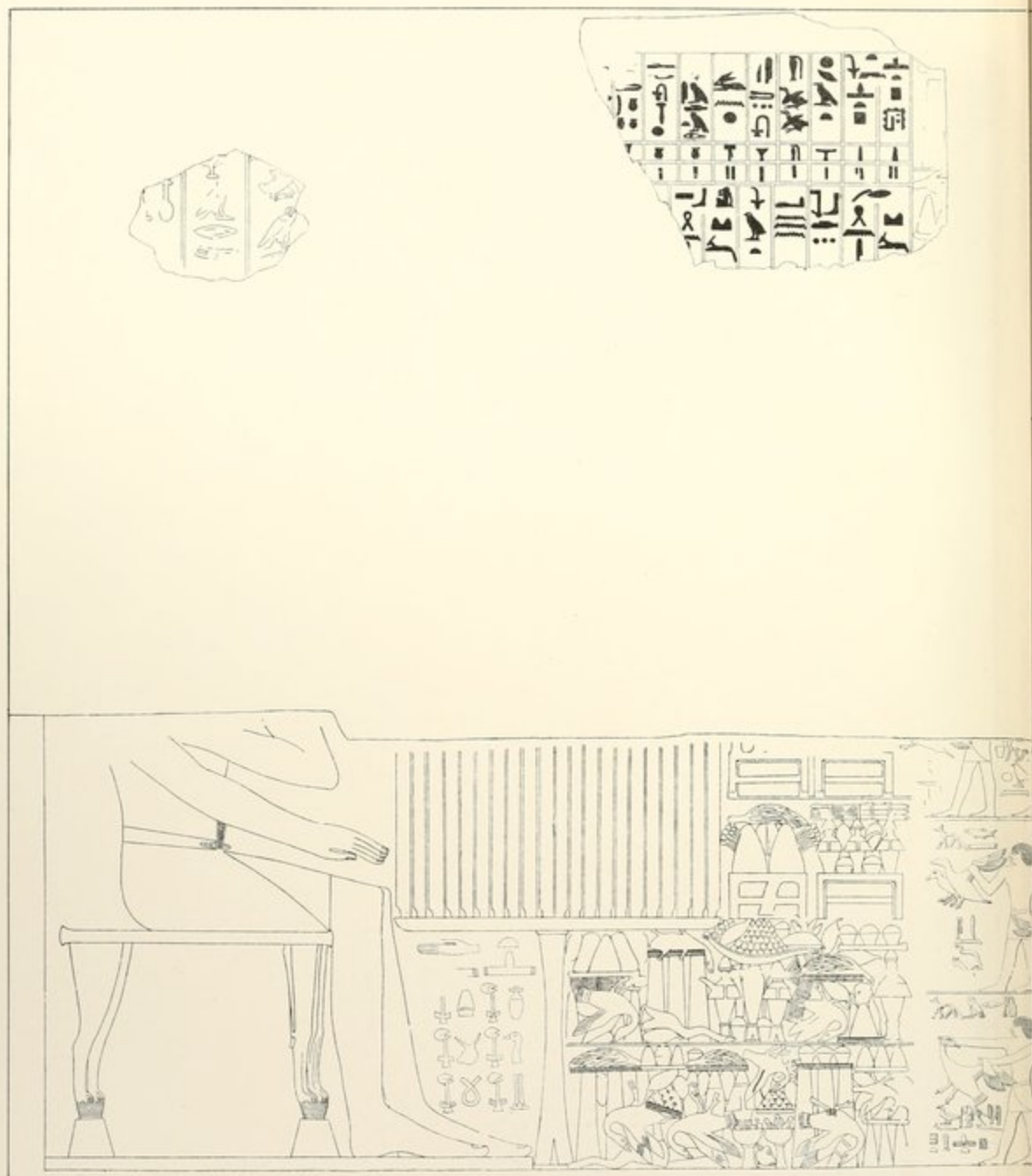


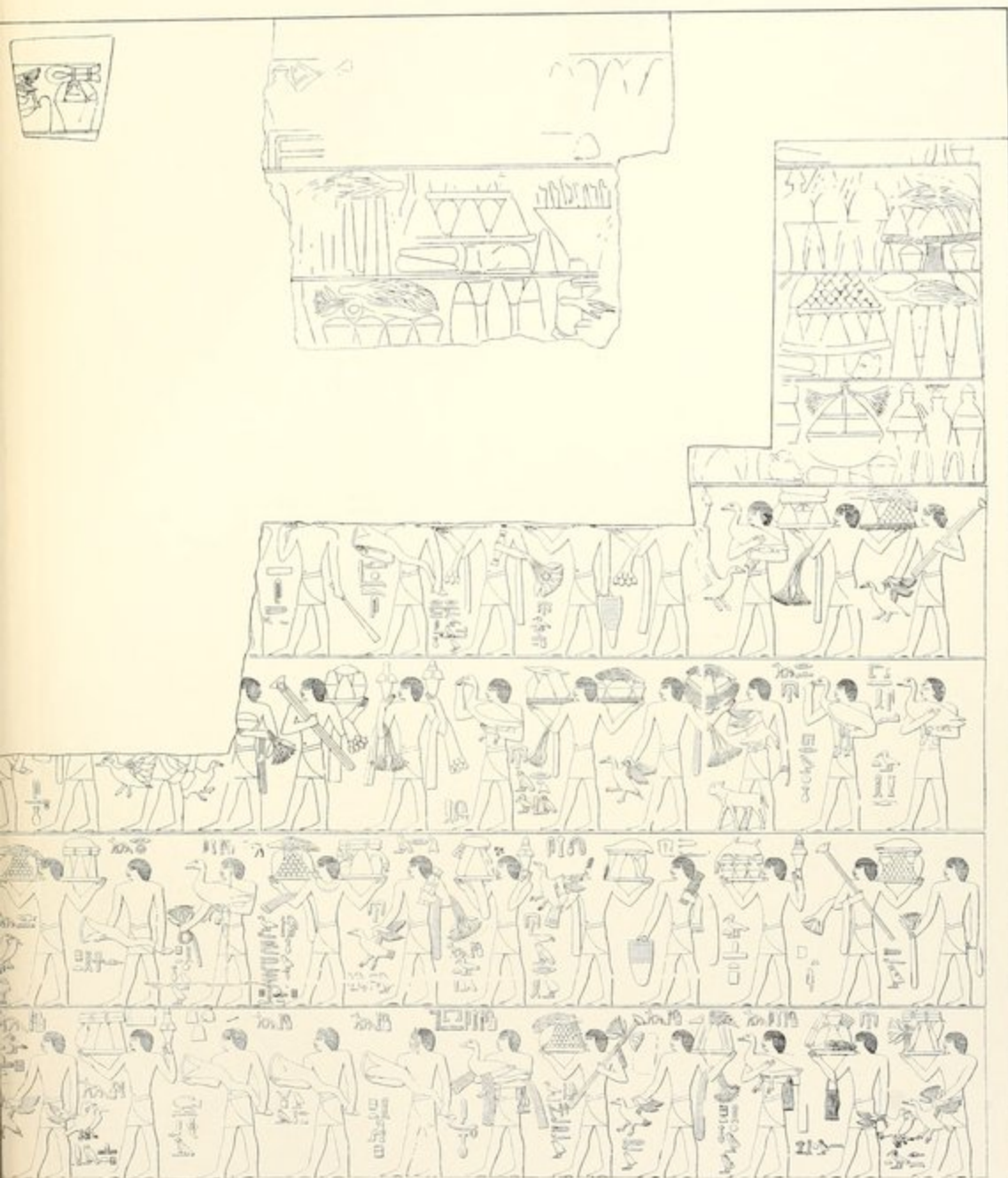


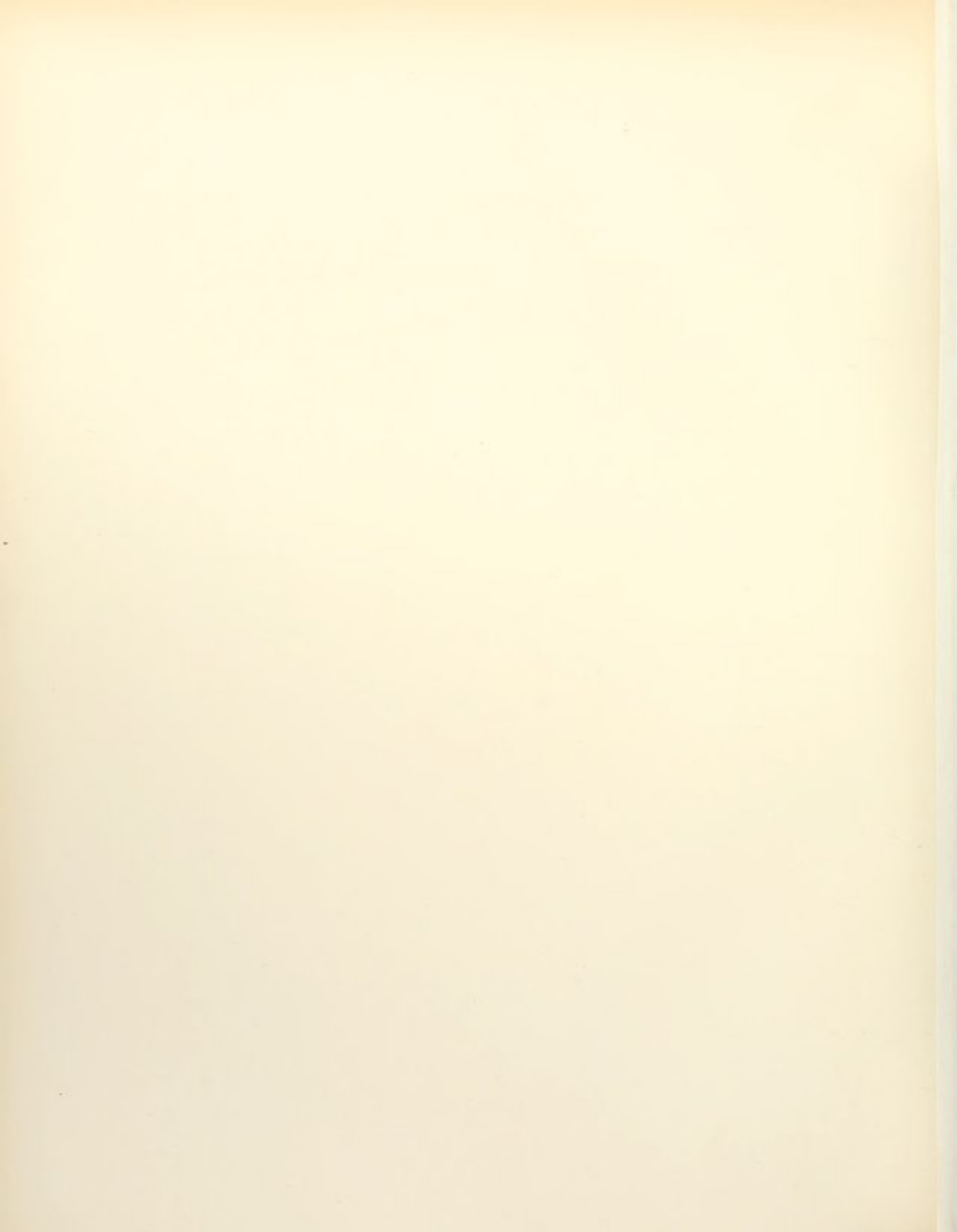
coloured rectangles



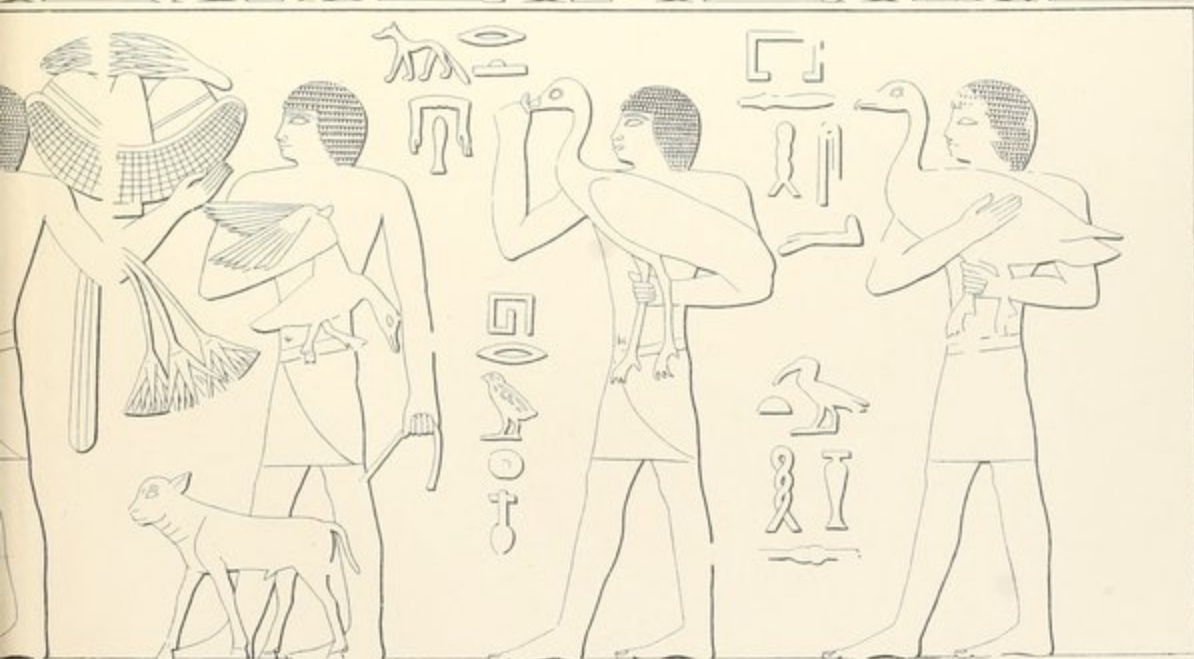
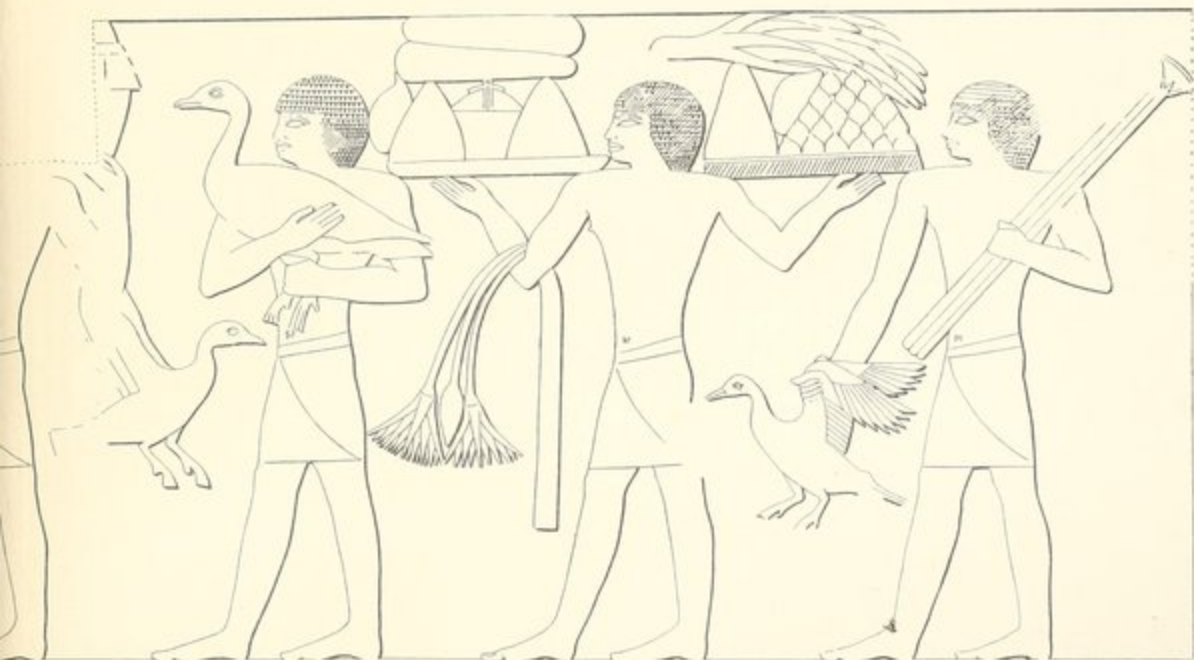




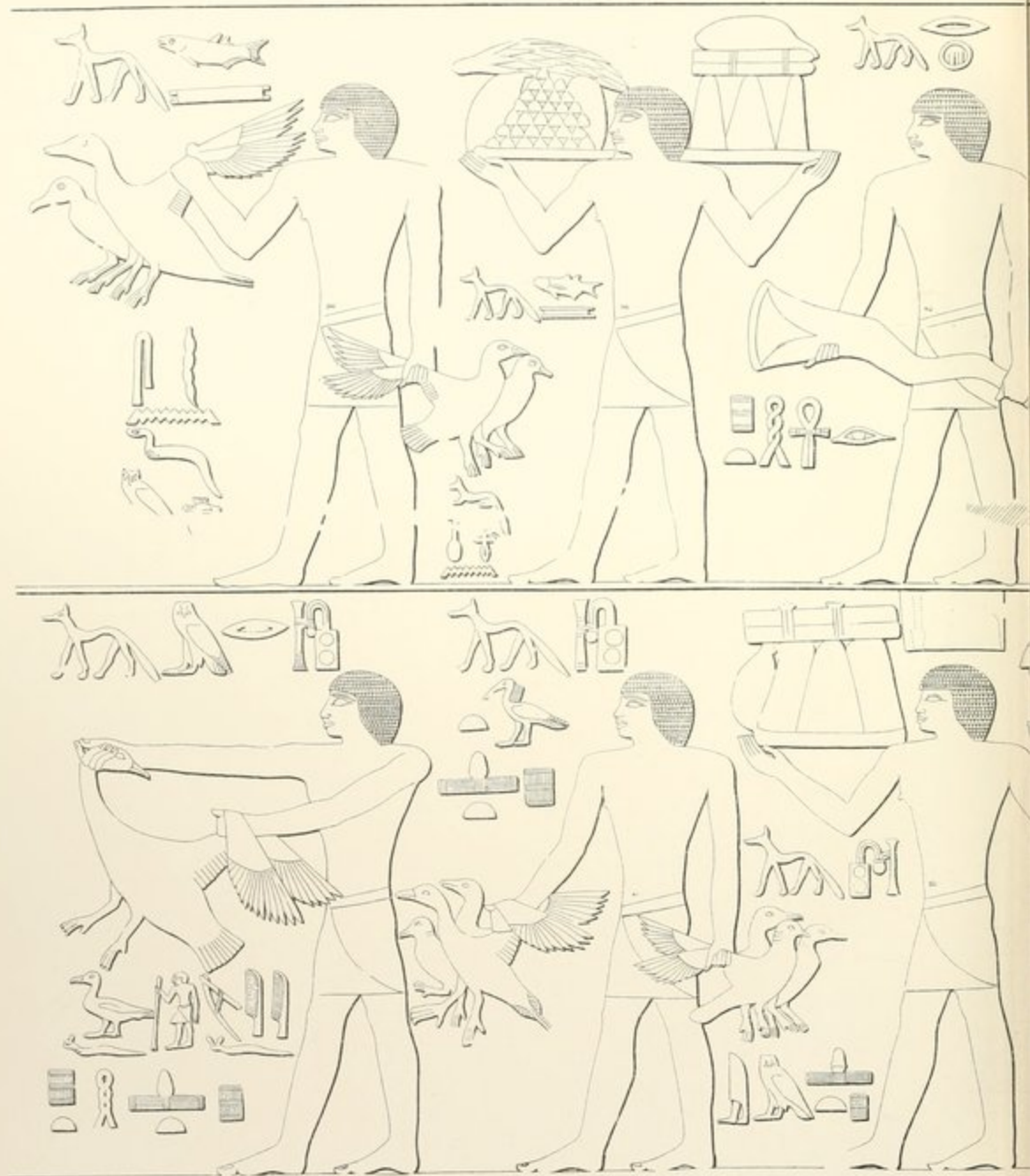


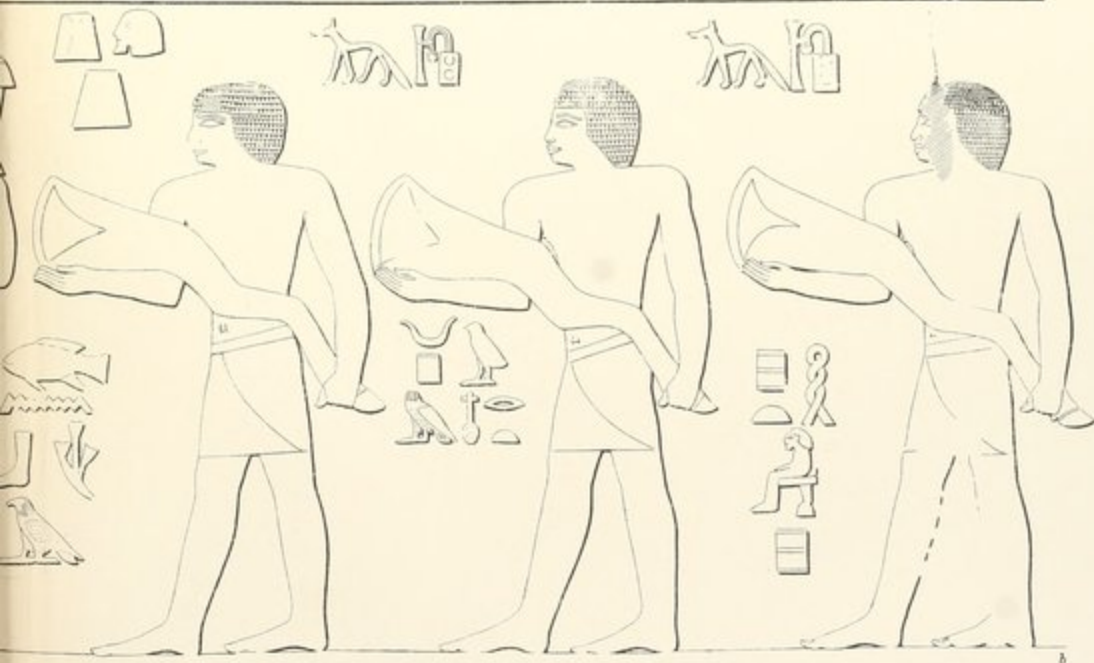
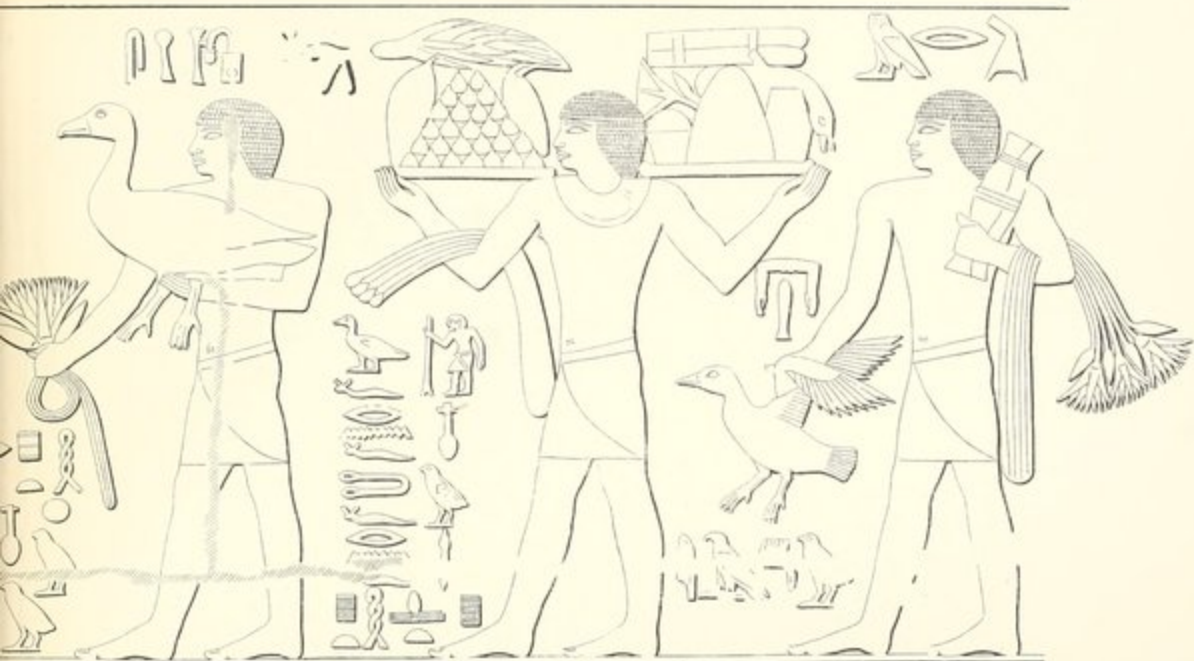




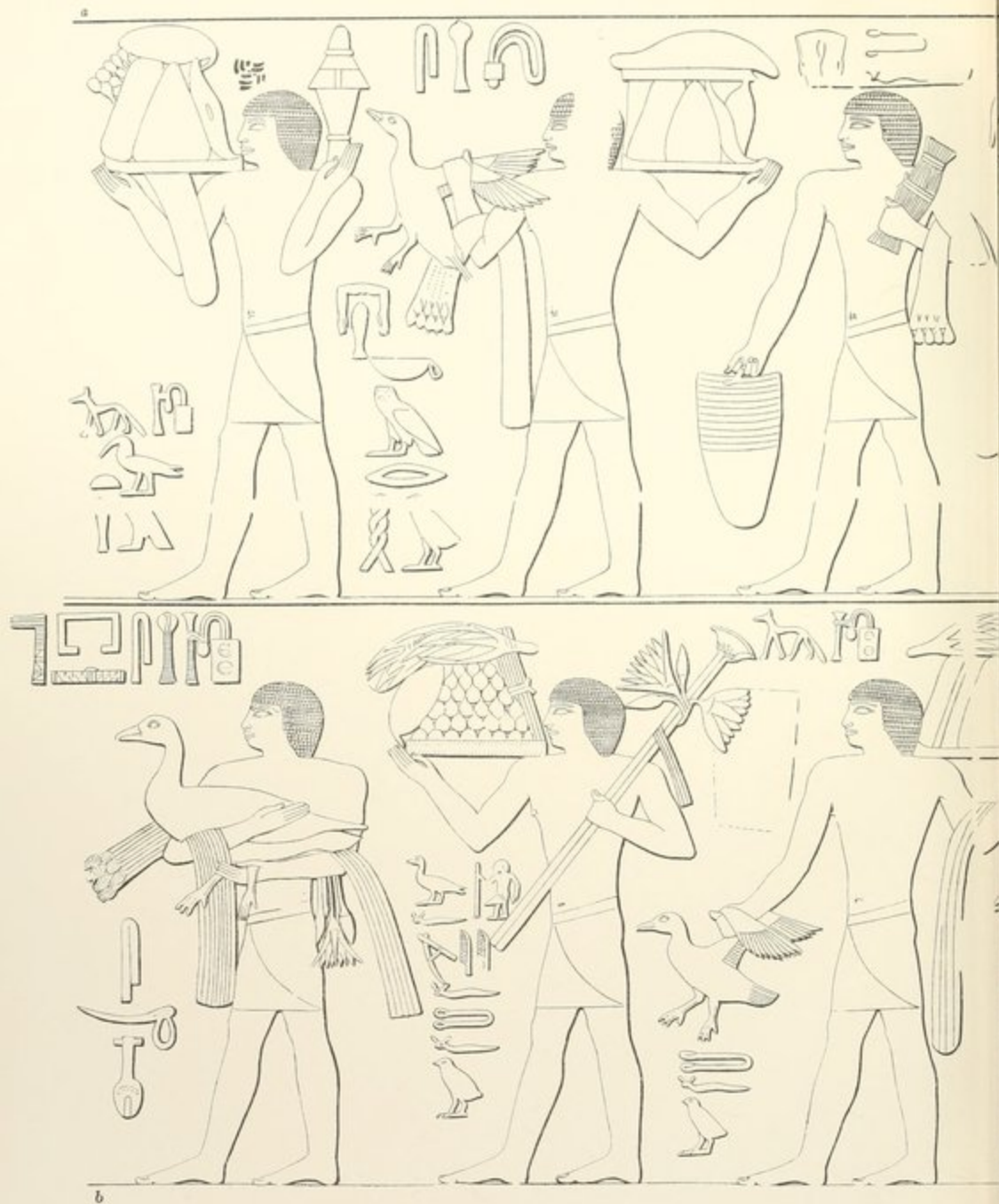






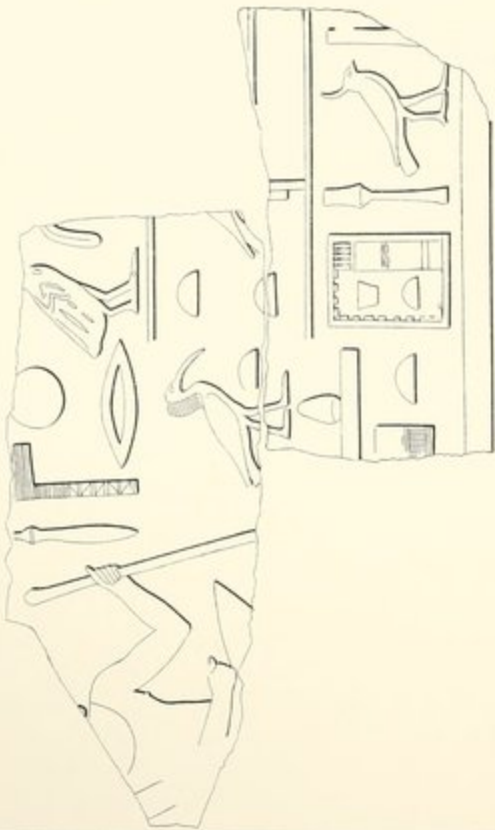
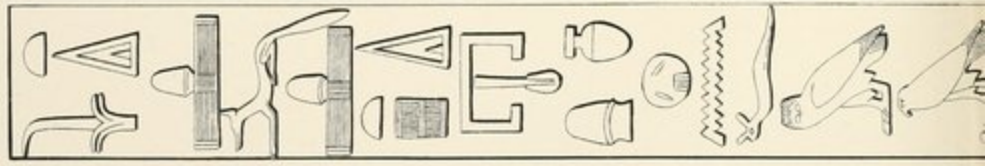






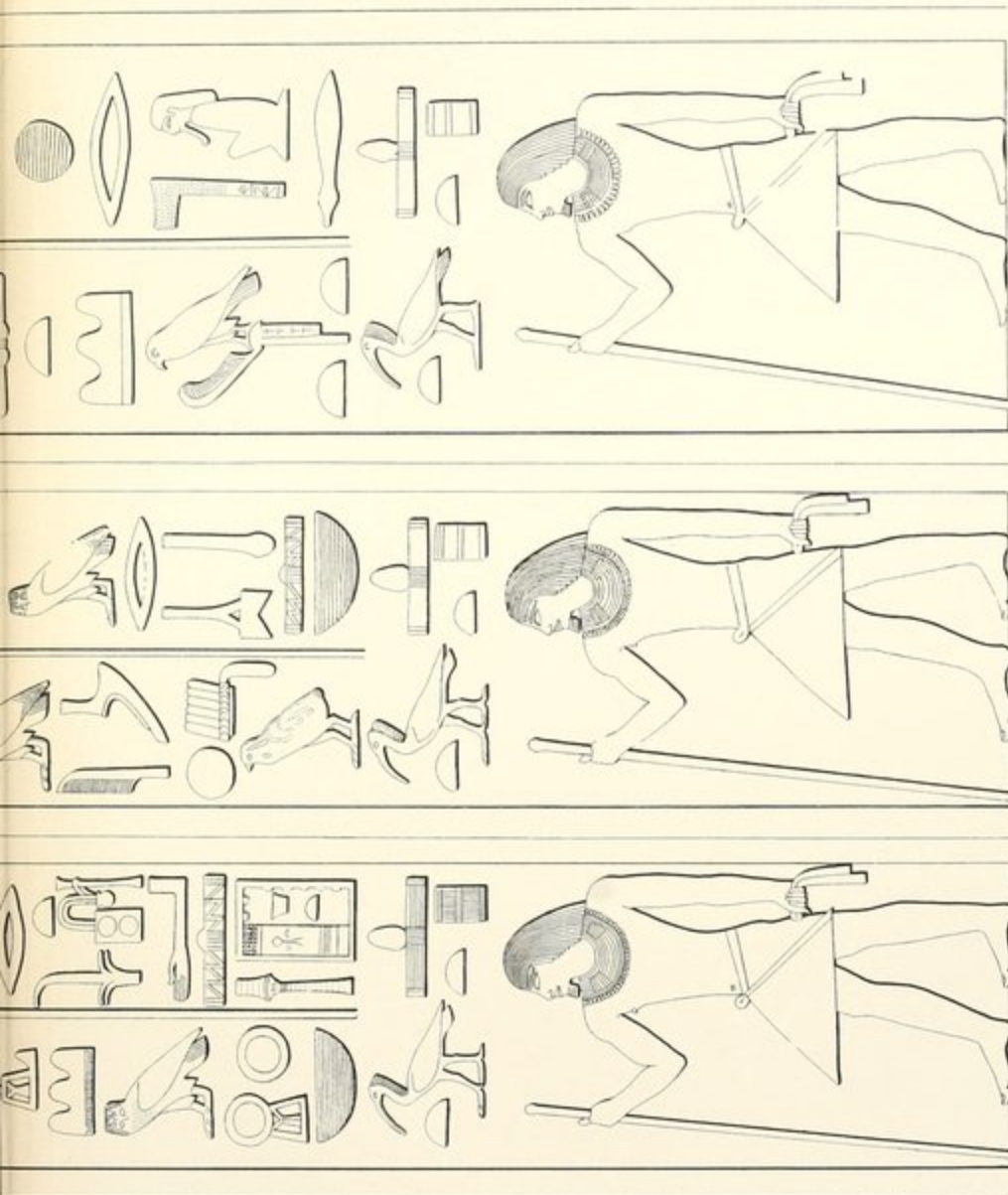






DETACHED FRAGMENT OF UPPER LINTEL



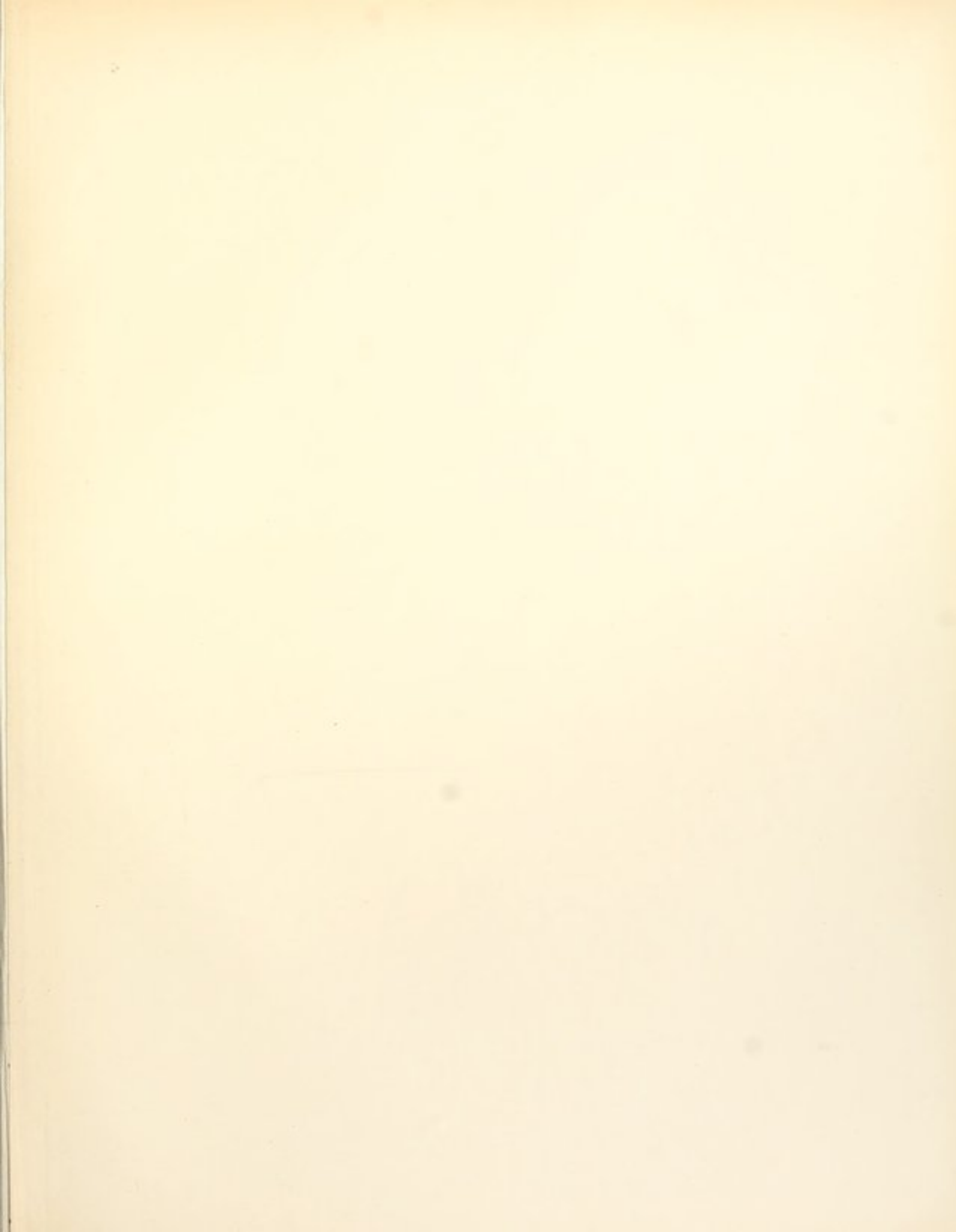


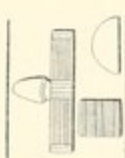
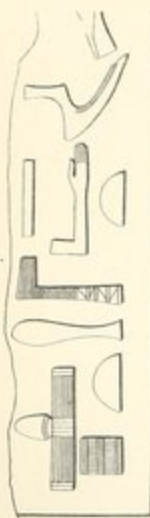
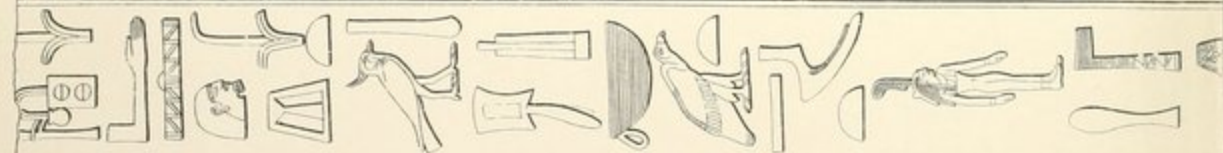
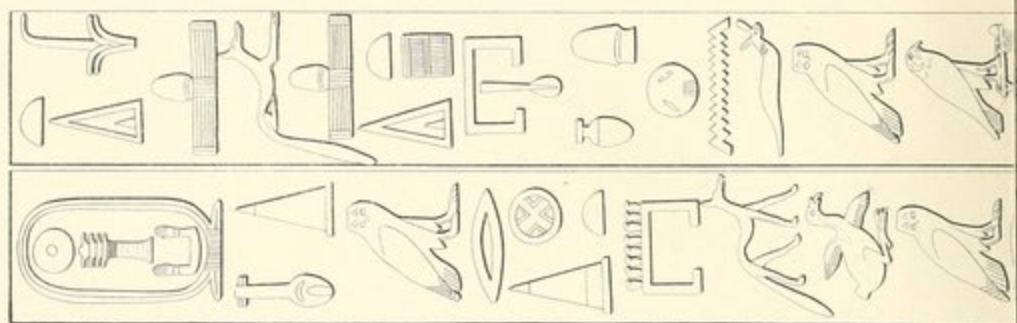
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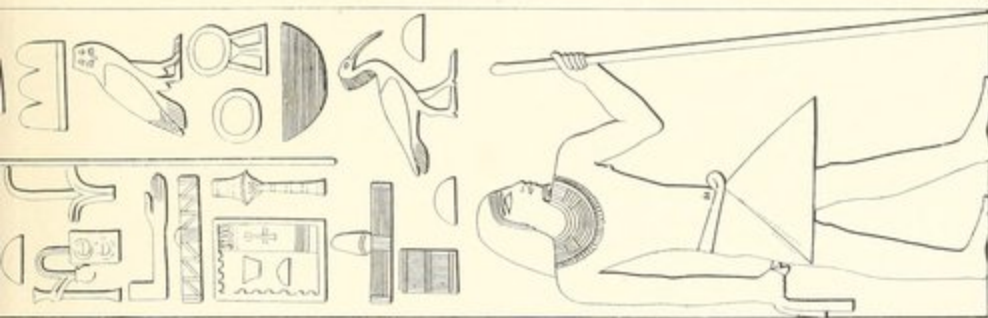
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WEST WALL, RIGHT HALF.

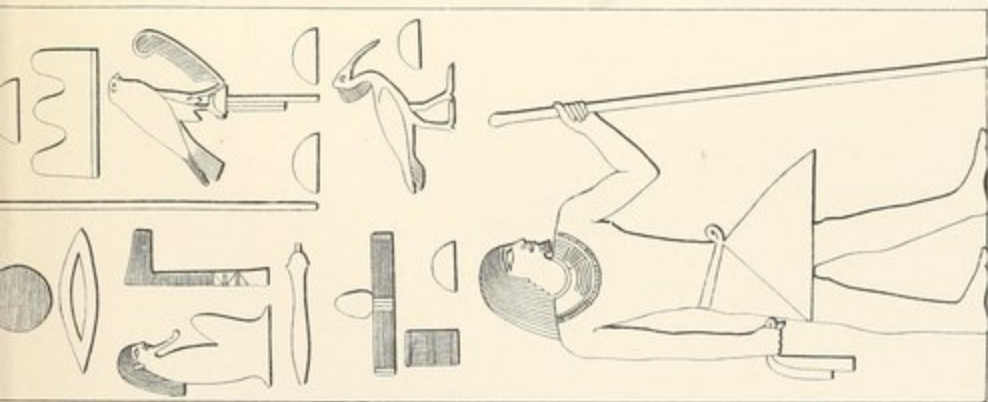








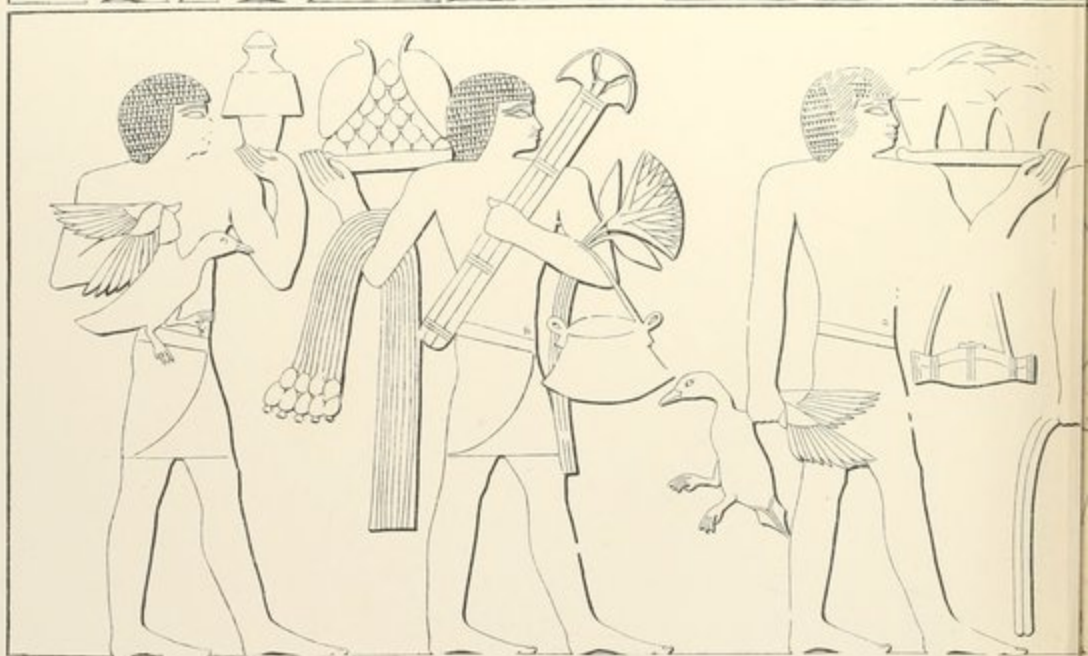
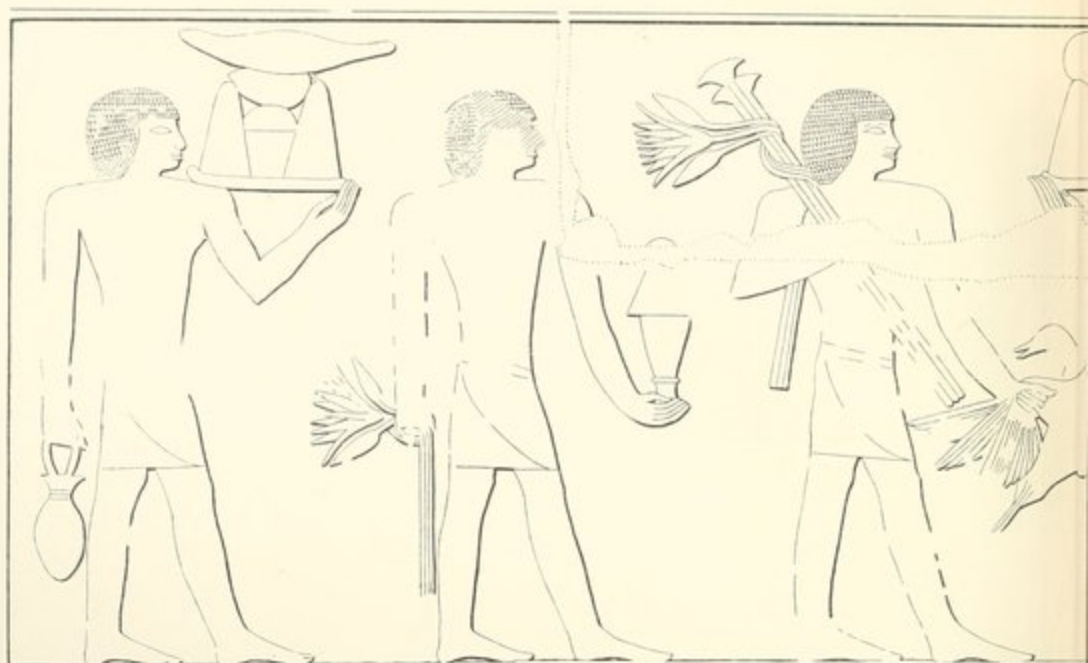
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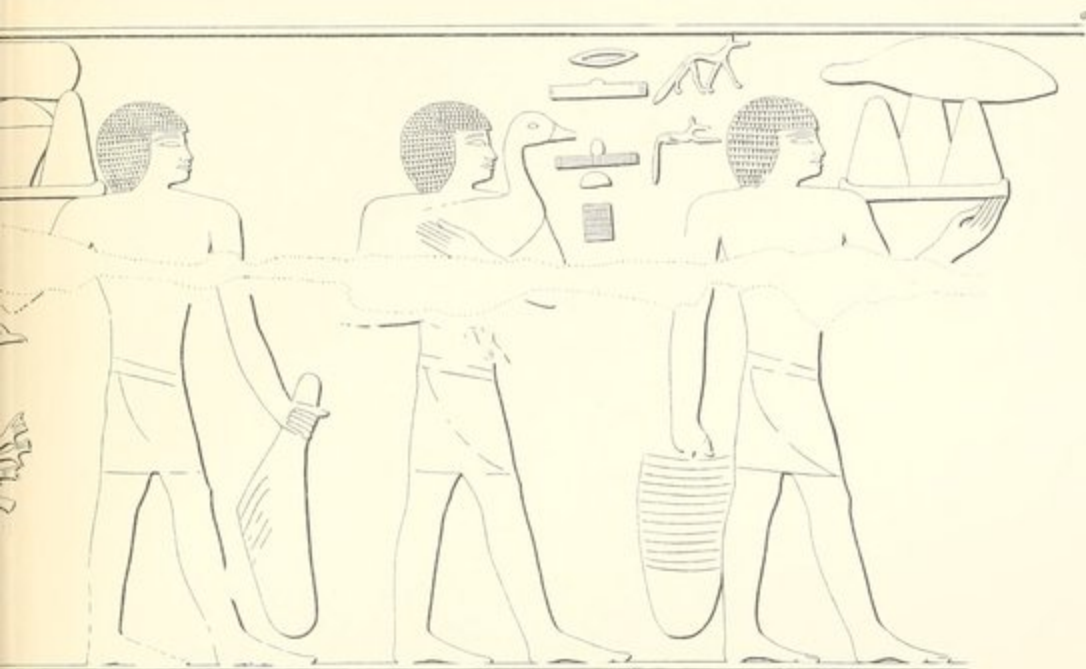


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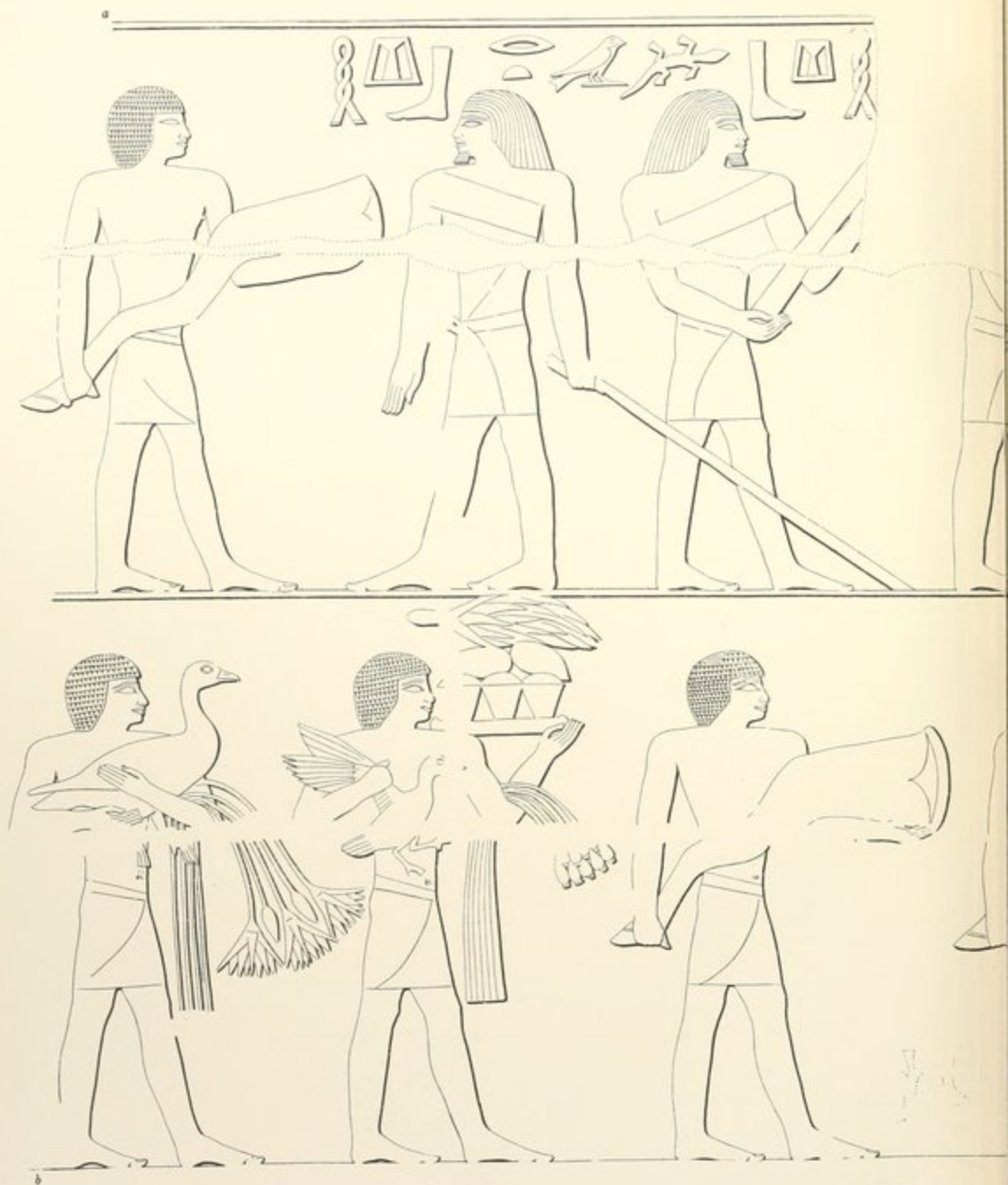
WEST WALL, LEFT HALF.



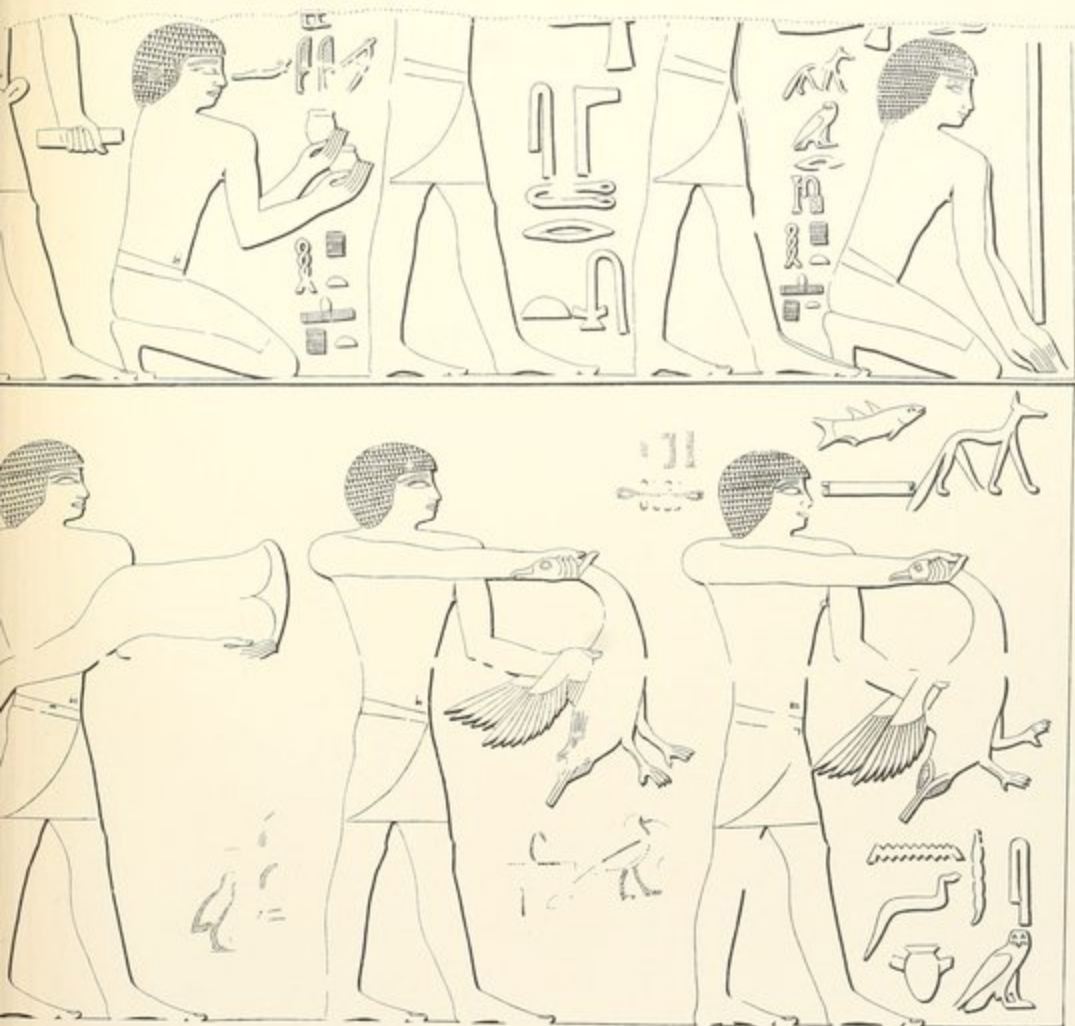




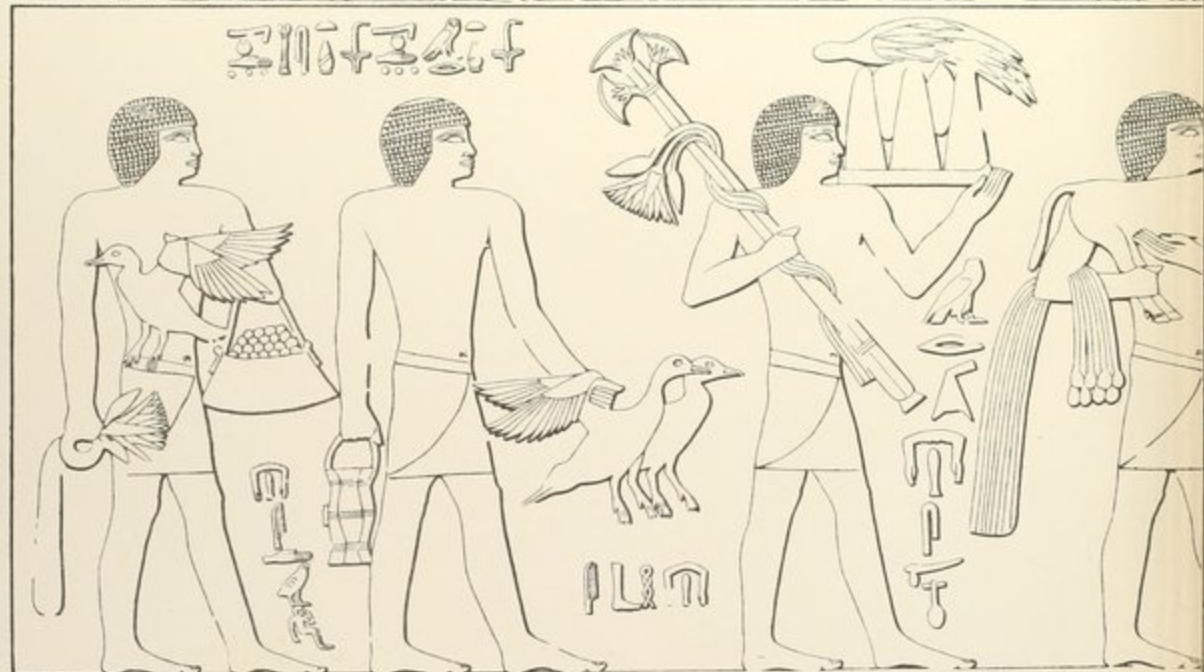
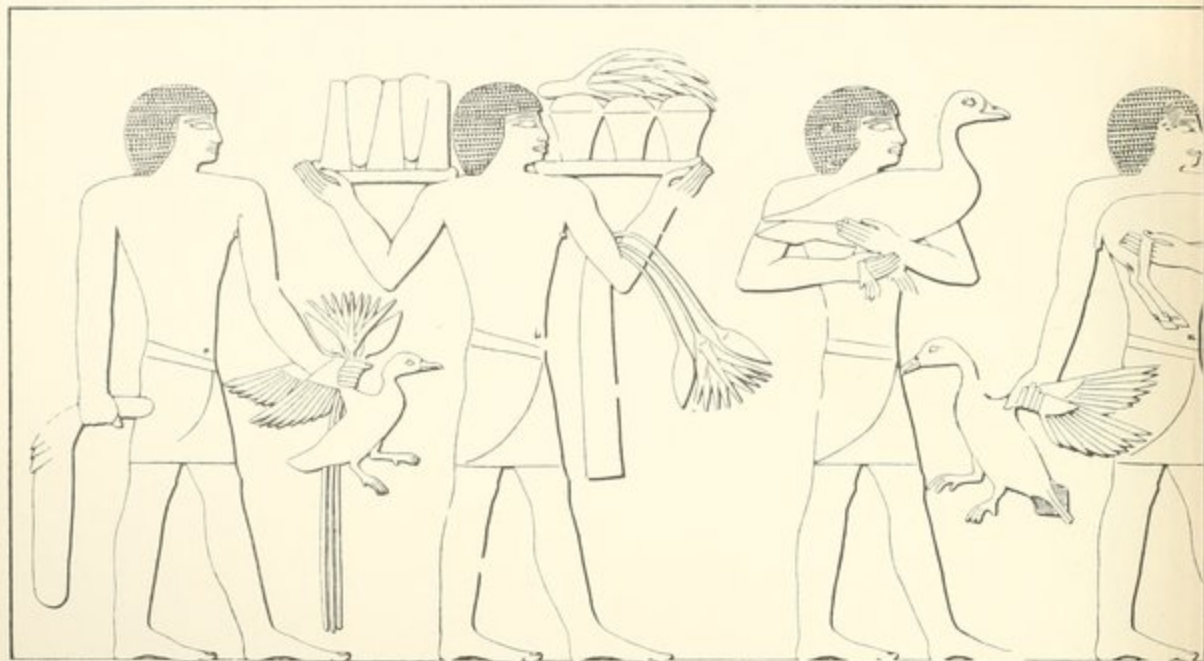


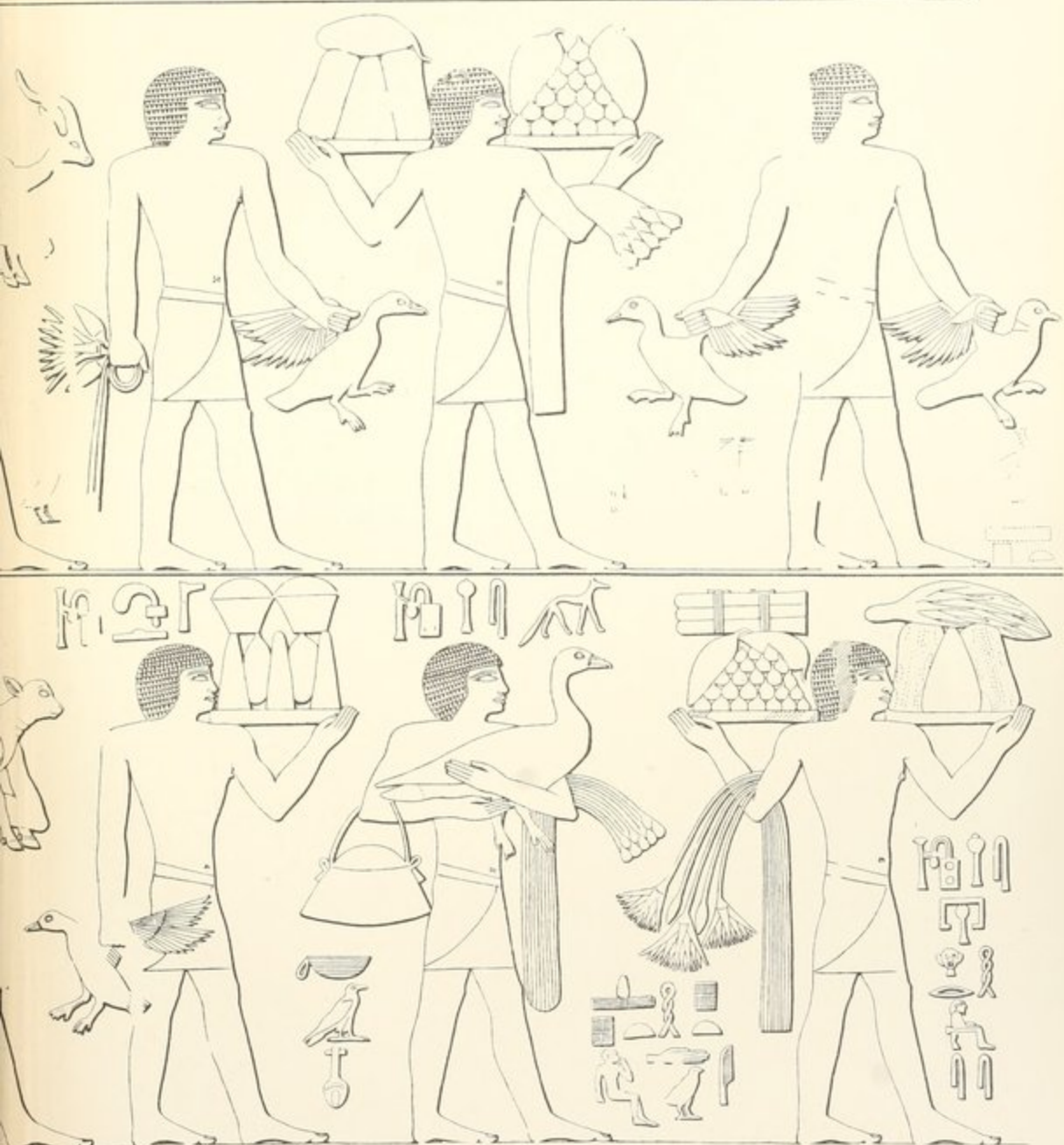


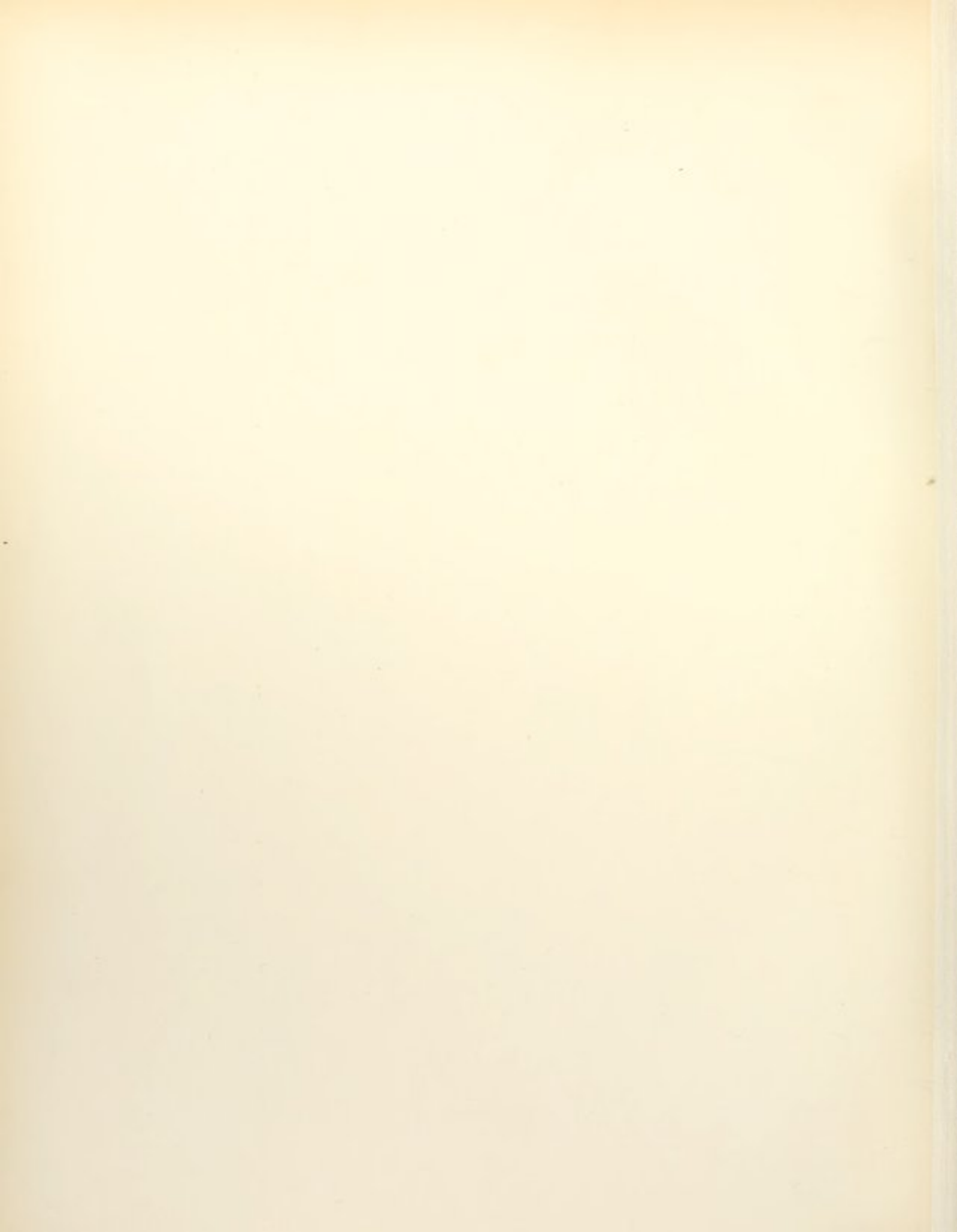
SOUTH WALL. UPPER F

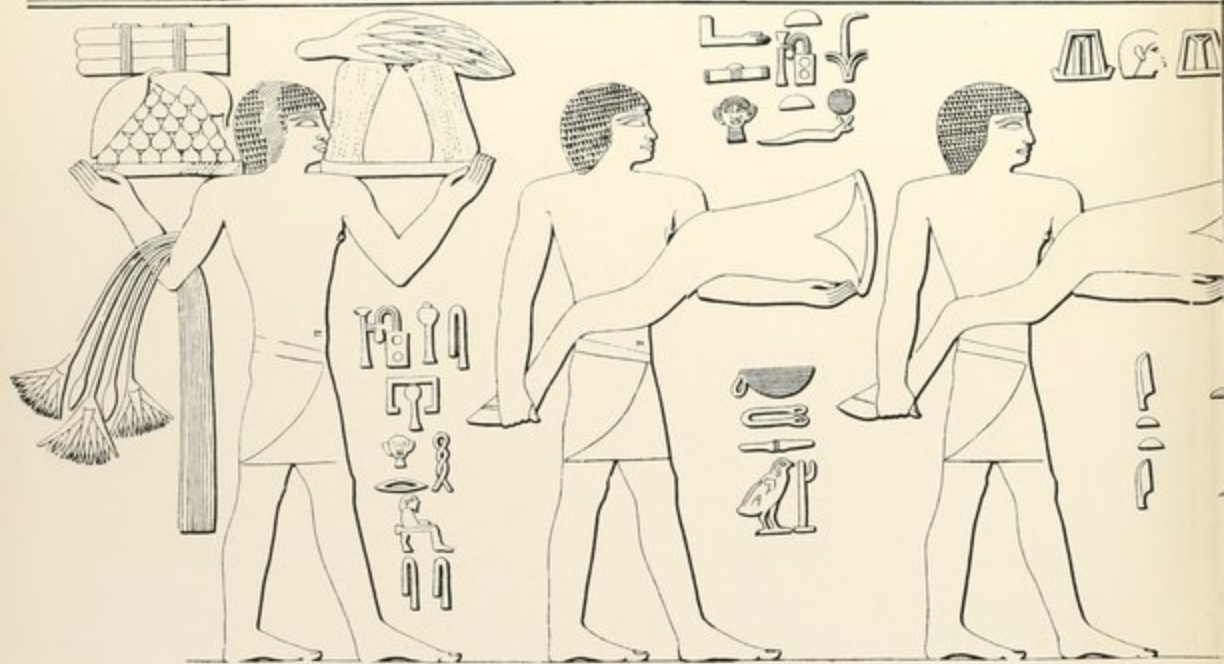
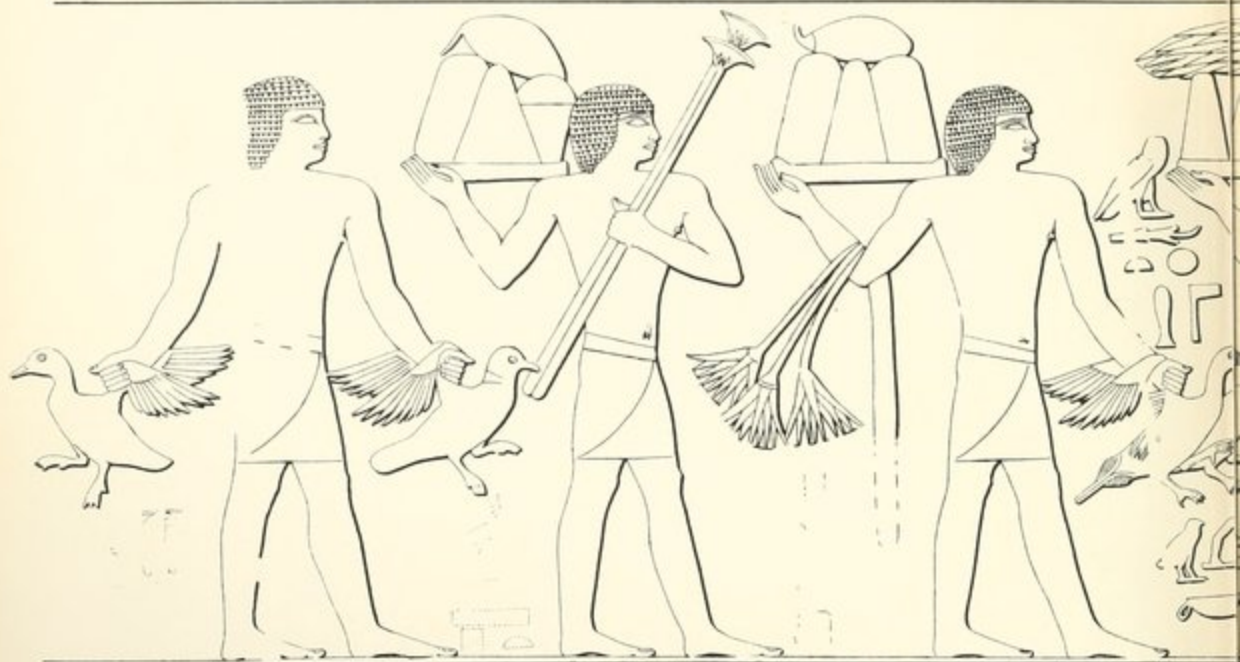


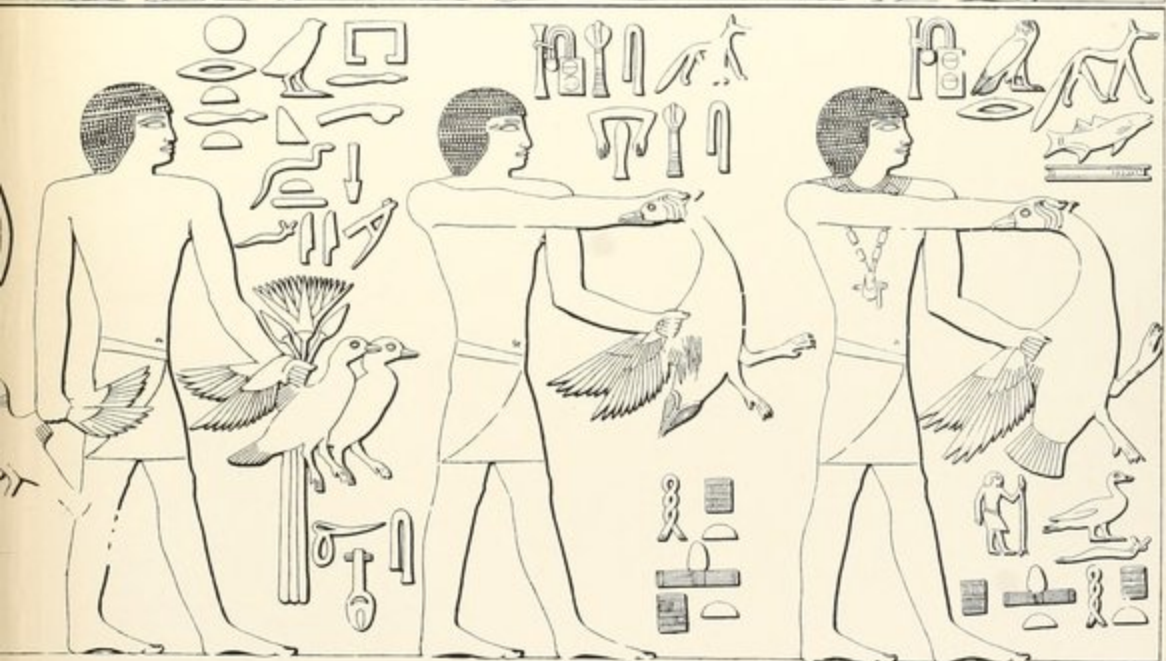




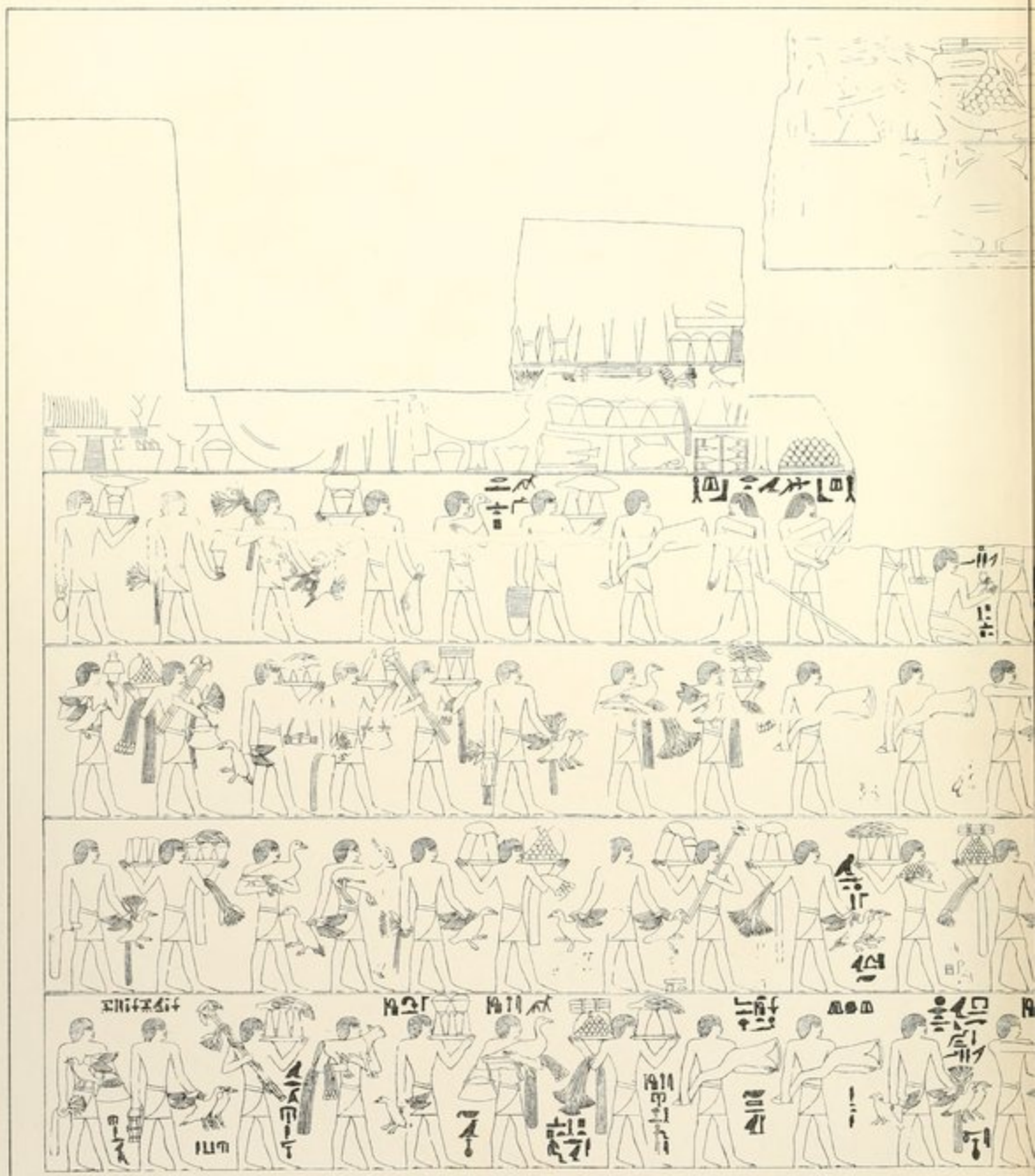


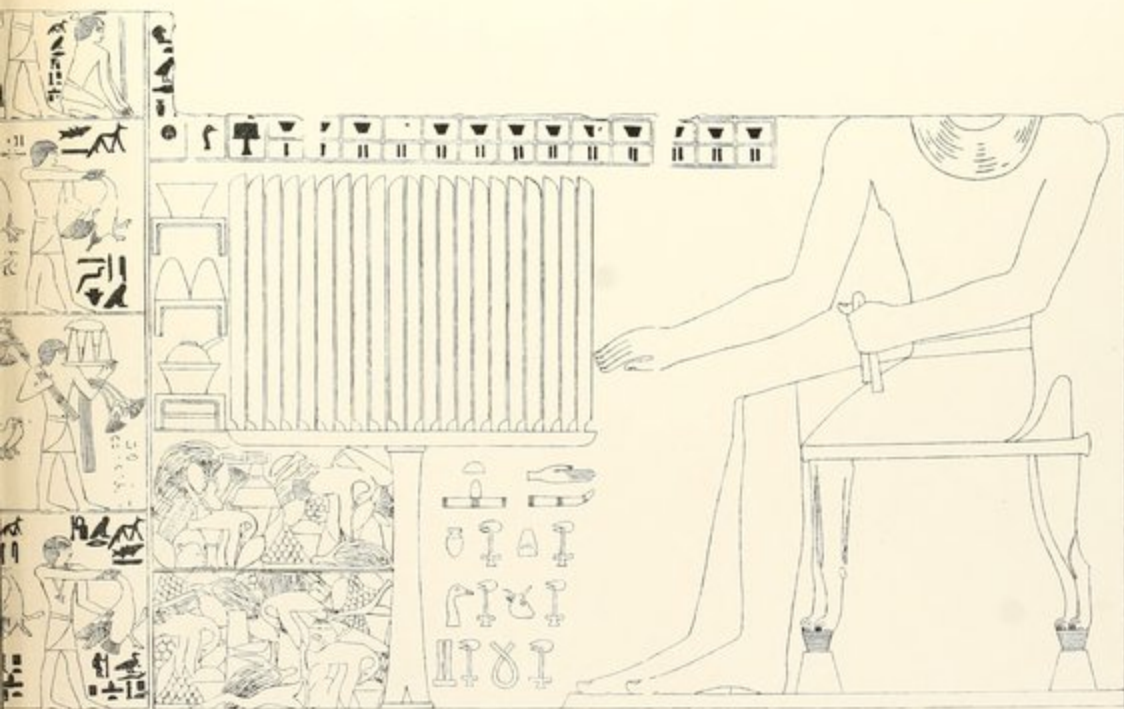
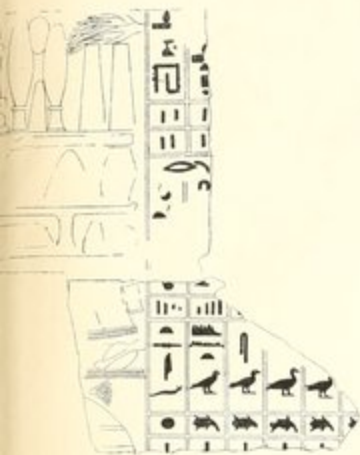






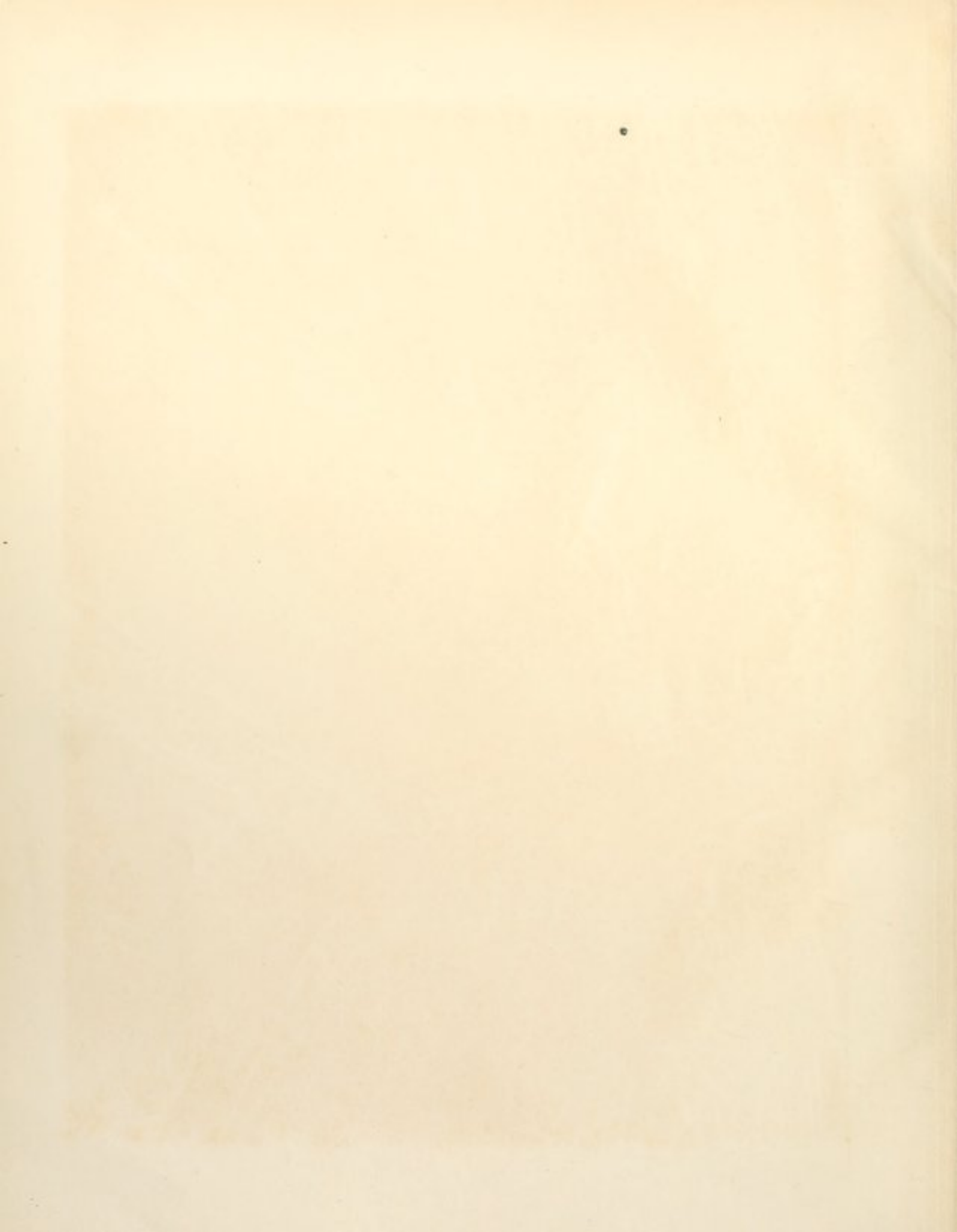












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