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**THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND.**

(EXTRA VOLUME FOR 1888-9)

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THE ANTIQUITIES OF TELL EL YAHÛDÎYEH,  
AND  
MISCELLANEOUS WORK IN LOWER EGYPT DURING THE YEARS 1887-1888.

BY F. LL. GRIFFITH.

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*This extract was prepared by Don Mills in January-April 2015.  
In order to structure the text, certain sub-headings have  
been introduced in square brackets.  
Neville's work on Tell el-Yahudiyeh, and Griffith's on  
the El 'Arish shrine, are published separately.*



GENERAL VIEW OF TELL-EL-YAHÛDÎYEH

(A Colossal Statue of Ramesses II. in the foreground).

*From a Photograph by the Rev. W. MacGregor.*

*Frontispiece.*

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## EDITOR'S PREFACE

The document below is part of single 150-page “extra volume” of the “Seventh Memoir” of the Egypt Exploration Fund, published in 1890, combining related works by two scholars, the Swiss Egyptologist Edouard Naville, and the Brighton-born British Egyptologist, Francis Llewellyn Griffith, who had excavated together at a mound called “Tell el-Yahudiyeh (with various spellings) in the Nile Delta between Cairo and Ismailia.

The volume interested Velikovsky from two aspects. One was Griffith's inclusion (under the heading of “miscellaneous work”) of an account to his visit to El Arish on the Mediterranean coast of North Sinai, where he transcribed and subsequently translated the inscription on a 4<sup>th</sup>-Century BC shrine found there, now celebrated among Velikovskians as “the El Arish Shrine”<sup>1</sup>. I have extracted and re-published this part of the volume separately.

The other aspect was the apparent chronological conflict created by finds at Tell el-Yehudiyeh, which seemed to indicate dates from the Greek classical period (say, ca. 4<sup>th</sup> Century BC) in a context dating to the Egyptian 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (13<sup>th</sup> Century BC). Best-known amongst these (to the Velikovskian community) are the “Greek Letters on Tiles of Ramses III” which Velikovsky discussed in Chapter 1 of *Peoples of the Sea*; but there was also the question of the ancient cemetery a mile from the tell, in which again there seemed to be evidence of a mix of 4<sup>th</sup>-Century and 13<sup>th</sup>-Century dates.

Naville and Griffith discussed these finds separately in their respective contributions to the EEF's “extra volume”, and came to opposite conclusions. I have extracted and re-published Naville's discussion separately.

Readers can now compare the actual comments made by these two writers against the partial quotations and summary statements in *Peoples of the Sea*, and judge for themselves how fairly Velikovsky represented their arguments. It will also be relevant to examine the arguments of T. Hayter Lewis and Emil Brugsch-Bey, which I have also republished separately, and make similar comparisons.

I have included all of Griffith's text, notes, and illustrations, but have not retained either the original pagination, or the original footnote numbering. The original page numbers have been inserted prominently in the text at the points where they occur.

*Donald Keith Mills, Aspley Guise, April 2015*

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<sup>1</sup> It is generally known to Egyptologists as “the Ismailia shrine”, since it is now housed in the small museum at Ismailia in the eastern Delta. It is generally accepted that it was one of four shrines erected by Pharaoh Nectanebo I in the Soped Temple complex at Saft el-Henna (ancient Pisoped).



## INTRODUCTION.

[page 33]

FOR antiquarian research, Egypt is a land that is quite unsurpassed. The valley of the Nile has hidden in its sandy borders a continuous series of relics, of perhaps the earliest civilization that the world has seen, abundantly illustrated by contemporary writings, and preserved in some cases for 6000 years, not indeed by a miracle, but by an almost rainless atmosphere. If any European country had been so endowed, what a marvellous and authentic picture of ancient history would have been revealed to us through the labour of industrious antiquaries ! Unfortunately for its past, Egypt is not the fatherland of Germans, Switzers, Frenchmen, or Scandinavians, but of an oriental race which seems to stand almost impassive before the wonderful works of its predecessors, and is ready to destroy them on the slightest pretext. Yet so abundant are the treasures of that country that it has presented us with certainly a most wonderful series of records. It has been the hunting-ground of collectors who have secured many beautiful and striking monuments. The inscriptions especially have had a singular attraction for those who delight in linguistic and graphic puzzles. One great expedition after another, one scientific tourist after another, has gathered a harvest from the writings of tomb and temple, and a great mass of such materials is already available for historians to use with confidence.

Now, when the philologist has firmly outlined the history, is a golden opportunity for the antiquarian to fill in the details, and show the progress and vicissitudes of culture, its action and reaction upon surrounding nations. A century ago the monuments were far more complete, the greed and haste of the collector and the dealer, of the factory builder and the “ discoverer ” had not united in Egypt as in every other country to spoil its choicest monuments, and tear up and waste its records. But still the present is the golden opportunity. Egypt is easy of access, labour is very cheap, the native labourers are manageable. The antiquarian spirit that now pervades Europe and America has been of slow growth, and only lately has become sufficiently catholic to take an interest in foreign and extra-Hellenic lands ; but the connection of Egypt with Palestine, Syria, Phoenicia, and Greece, is being more clearly shown each day, and there is no need to prove the worthiness and many-sided interest of the field of research, increased a thousand-fold by the ease with which the hieroglyphics are interpreted.

Half-hearted, hurried excavations, apart from the positive harm they do, are almost worse than useless for science. It is a misfortune, inherent in the nature of most archaeological evidence, that it can be made available only by its own destruction ! A grave is excavated, and in the course of [page 34] that excavation the connection of its contents, forming the most important item of the evidence, is hopelessly disturbed, and it will depend entirely on the observation and records made by the individual excavator at the moment of discovery whether any profit is to be derived from the exploration. An inscribed stone or a papyrus is, happily, not so constituted, and with ordinary care can be made to tell its tale from century to century ; errors in the copy of a document may always be corrected, but the observations of an excavator can be proved false only by a painful balancing of evidence.

With regard to Egyptian archaeology in particular, it is certain that at present we are very much in the dark, and that strange surprises await us. Mr. Petrie's discoveries at El Lahun this year—the work of a master in the art of exploration—give a glimpse of what we must expect. For my own part I am determined on reasonable evidence to

accept everything that comes as a fact until disproved, but not to hope that any of these bare facts will be explained immediately. Coins, Chinese glass bottles, sprouting corn, certain inscriptions, and certain modern inventions alone are to be excluded from the rule that whatever opinion one may have as to the age of objects, the Egyptologist's mind should always be open to conviction.

The archaeologist who wishes to make a steady advance should take a work like Canon Greenwell's "British Barrows" for his guide, and be content so to arrange his operations that only one grave at a time is actually opened, and always in his presence. One fairly productive grave well described is worth far more for science than a hash of fifty. It would perhaps be too much in the brilliant field of Egyptian archaeology to expect the painful minuteness of description which is necessary in a record of British barrow-digging, but the observations, if not always recorded singly, should at the time be as painstaking as in the monumental work which I have just mentioned. It must be understood that the explorer's method varies according to circumstances ; a single person may without fear employ 200 men on one occasion, while on another, and, in my opinion, more frequently a score of hands are as many as a person of ordinary activity can manage by giving them his whole attention during the working hours.

It is perhaps impossible to stop the depredations of the Arabs, but it is incumbent upon us at home to encourage the most careful of our explorers to be yet more exacting and minute in their difficult researches, carried on in a somewhat trying climate ; and above all to see that a rising generation is trained to exploration in accordance with the highest standard of archaeology.

The present memoir may be divided into two sections ; in the first I have attempted to describe, from an antiquarian point of view, the results of work at Tell el Yahudiyeh and Tikh el Qaramus during the season of 1886-7. In the second are recorded some minor explorations which I was commissioned to undertake by myself in the following season. Besides the sites which I have there mentioned, I visited the ruins of Canopus at the kind invitation of Mr. William Grant, who has prosecuted with so much energy the scheme of reclaiming Lake Abu Qir. Everything visible there dates from the Roman occupation, excepting some Saite sphinxes that lie just [page 35] covered by the waves amongst the ruins of a quay. The engineers of the English company had converted a modern circular fort into substantially comfortable headquarters, and there I was hospitably entertained by them.

#### JOURNEY TO EL 'ARISH

*This portion of Griffith's account is omitted from this edition, but is included in the extract covering his work on the el-'Arish inscription.*



## TELL EL YAHÛDÎYEH.

[page 38] TELL EL YAHUDIYEH,<sup>2</sup> “The mound of the Jewess,” (about two miles south-east of Shibîn el Qanâtîr on the railway from Cairo to Zagâzîq, and about fourteen miles from Cairo) stands on the south-west end of a sand *jezîreh*<sup>3</sup> about one mile from the edge of the desert.

The principal archæological features of the place are contained in: (1) *Et Tell el Kebîr* “the great Tell,” which consists of the remains of the ancient town and fortifications. The town was protected by a ditch and lofty bank of sand, and on the east (if not on all sides) these were doubled. Inside the fortifications besides ordinary town debris, are the remains of graves of the middle kingdom and some stone relics of an important building, probably a temple, which was adorned by Rameses II. and his successors with large statues, and to which Rameses III. added a beautiful little pavilion ? of which the porcelain and alabaster decorations have given such a special interest to the place.

The enclosure<sup>4</sup> is actually five-sided, but forms approximately a square of 1000 feet. It has been deeply excavated by the *sabbâkhîn* or manure-diggers, but lofty pillars of solid debris remain here and there, indicating the elevation which the city reached in Roman times. The rubbish slopes up on all sides to the fortifications, but in the central part little remains beyond heaps of pottery from which the dust has been sifted, half concealing the granite monuments of the temple. The *fellâhîn* have even in some places laid bare the soft stone that closely underlies the sandy surface : on the other hand, further west, down the slant of the *jezîreh*, they have almost reached water level without passing below the Ramesside stratum.

2. On the *jezîreh* east of the enclosure is a stretch of shallow ruins called *Et Tell es şugaiyer*, “the smaller Tell.” This was once a Roman (-Jewish ?) suburb, laid out in an orderly manner with streets crossing at right angles. Of the two main thoroughfares one led direct to the east gateway of the enclosure, the other was in the line of an important building of the same date which stood on the top of the eastern rampart, and was perhaps the citadel of the Roman garrison.

Of the remaining space a large part was filled with interments of the middle kingdom, Saite, and other periods, but the decomposed rock which underlies them has attracted the *sabbâkhîn* and thus most of the graves have been removed.

3. On the extreme edge of the desert, opposite [page 39] the Tell, the Romano-Jewish inhabitants of the town found a narrow strip of workable stone in which they cut the rock tombs of an extensive cemetery. In other parts the desert sand lay either on red sand or on basalt, and in the nourishing times of the XXth dynasty it was the custom to hide the painted coffins in heaps of stones or tumuli above the surface level.

The earliest dateable antiquities from Tell el Yahûdîyeh are of the middle kingdom. Two of the graves which we opened in the *jezîreh* contained some of the peculiar black pottery of that period, but most of our pottery scarabs and flints were bought from the *fellâhîn* who were digging in the Great Tell. They were found at the base of the town-remains in the east-central part of the enclosure. I examined these diggings several times and we dug two or three pits in the same part, finding fragments of bones with one or two flints in the dirty sand which thinly covered the

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<sup>2</sup> See Note A.


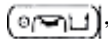



<sup>3</sup> See map Pl. ix. and Note B.

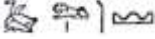
<sup>4</sup> See rough plan in Pl. ix.

rock. The town spreading over this cemetery had disturbed the graves, and few of the pots were found perfect by the sabbâkhîn.

#### [DETAILED ANALYSIS OF FINDS]

##### [SCARABS]

*Scarabs*—of these in pale steatite with white nacreous surface I purchased about fifty that may safely be attributed to the middle kingdom, and I saw several others. See Plate x. (where No. 15 only is doubtful as to period). Perhaps also Pl. xi. No. 12—14, and 17, 18 ; also Pl. xvi. 15, 16. I have in some cases noted the form of the head. In dark steatite unglazed there are three scarabs, Pl. x. 9, 27, 31 ; in soft dark green limestone one, and in amethyst three. A large piece of unworked amethyst shows that they were probably made on the spot. One, Pl. x. 1, reads . i.e. Usertesen I. [friend of ?] Ptah.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Grant has a note of purchasing one of the same king on the spot, in 1878. Another device, No. 2, , is doubtless suggested by the cartouche of Amenemhât II.<sup>6</sup> No. 3 is of an unknown queen,  Tauta (?).<sup>7</sup> The next is of a high official  'The chancellor, the keeper of the seal ' Ha ūr ? or Har ? His scarabs are well known,<sup>8</sup> and it would be interesting to localize them. A well-worked specimen, with a unique legend, which I unfortunately did not copy, was kept at Bulaq. It can be identified by the name and title, approximately, .

The type (shown in Pl. x. 7 and 8, cf. also xvi. 15) of a lion overpowering a crocodile in the presence of the sun, seems to be referable to a myth embodied in the Edfu inscriptions, according to which Horus of Mesen (as the lion) slew the Asiatic enemy (crocodile) of Harmachis (the sun).<sup>9</sup> This is a fragment of the local mythology of  (Heracleopolis Parva ?), and may well have influenced all the towns on the eastern border.

The patterns upon some of the scarabs are tasteful, but usually without meaning, and show the ignorance of the engravers, who frequently reduced characters and groups to nonsense without thereby improving the designs : while finer workmen introduced wrong signs for the sake of effect.

##### [FLINT FLAKES]

*Flint flakes* and instruments were numerous. In colour they are pale yellowish grey, slightly translucent, and often show a portion of the white outer crust. Some are broad, thin and irregular in outline, about 3 inches X 1¾ ; others are slender, flat on one side and doubly ridged on the other, measuring from 3 inches to 1½ in length. The tiny flakes, as found at Helwân, are absent. One knife is moderately well chipped. Several are serrated along one edge, which is often much polished by use. The thin-edged specimens of this variety may have been used as saws, but many specimens have a more or less blunt edge and must be scrapers.

The largest implement is a well-formed axe 5 inches long, which I picked up amongst the waste heaps of pottery rejected by the sabbâkhîn. If its situation could be absolutely trusted, it was Ramesside or later, but as its colour was similar to the above flakes, it may have been dropped there recently by a workman.<sup>10</sup>

##### [POTTERY]

*Pottery*.—To find this in anything like a perfect state is extremely rare except in graves and burnt houses : the ordinary rubbish mounds and house remains contain only sherds. The fact, therefore, of the pots being offered to us more or less complete, together with scarabs and flints as at Khata'neh, affords fair proof of their having been found together in graves. The early date of all is shown by their complete absence from our numerous excavations and researches amongst remains that are known to be late, and by their presence deep under Ramesside rubbish; apart from the legends and style of the scarabs.

[page 40] The pottery that we purchased is exclusively of black ware (except the tawny fragment mentioned below), although M. Naville's discoveries at Khata'neh<sup>11</sup> show that red ware may be looked

<sup>5</sup> This is also figured by Flinders Petrie, "Historical Scarabs," London, 1889, No. 180.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Hist. Sc, No. 205, ff.

<sup>7</sup> Figured Hist. Sc, No. 100.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Hist. Sc, No. 449, ff.

<sup>9</sup> Naville, Mythe d'Horus, PL XVIIU. 1. 3.

<sup>10</sup> See Note C.

<sup>11</sup> See below, pp. 56, 57.

for in the graves at the same period. The colour is brownish black, inclining in places to tawny. The vases are ornamented with punctured patterns imitating the branches of a palm ? or the leaves of some kind of herb ? The leaf either hangs from the neck of the vase, or rises from the foot, or encircles the body. In the latter case it often assumes the appearance of herring-bone pattern. Judging from the appearance of some examples, the punctures may have been filled with a white paste. After the ornamentation had been completed (often very coarsely), the remaining level surfaces were polished by strokes, either vertical or horizontal. The six examples in Plate xi. show the types, 1 being the commonest.






Ten specimens were collected as follows :—

1. Two specimens very similar ; another from grave 3 in the jezireh is much larger (5½ inches high) and coarser. A fourth specimen is intermediate between 1 and 2.
2. One specimen.
3. (Neck broken away) two specimens ; upon another of much larger size the bands of ornament consist of leaves placed upright and modified as on 6. Another has dotted lines radiating from the neck and foot.
4. One specimen.
5. One specimen. Two others more drop-shaped, i.e. narrowed in the upper part of the body.
6. One specimen. The palm-leaf pattern is here considerably modified.

We opened two early graves in the jezîreh. Grave 3 was much disturbed by Roman building, and the pottery was crushed. It contained the fragments of two coarse, black, punctured vases (types 1 and 3) ; plain saucer of red-ware without rim but base flattened like that in Pl. No. 10 : and the lower half of a vase resembling in shape and size type 3 (of the black ware), but of fine, polished, pale yellow-red ware painted above the keel with horizontal circles in black. This ware does not occur amongst the specimens from Khata'neh. In colour it resembles the pilgrim bottles of the twentieth dynasty. No scarabs or flints were found, possibly they were overlooked. This grave presented a most unpromising appearance ; it had been turned upside down, and the potsherds of the Romans were mixed with the earlier fragments. It (and the next) lay at the N.W. corner of the Roman suburb. Some of the later graves were close to it, but most were situated further east. Our working of these early remains was very insufficient, and I suspect that a still more ancient cemetery might be found further west, i.e. partly under water.

Grave 2. The pottery lay close to an arched grave of the usual pattern (see Pl. No. 17) built of bricks 6½ x 13 inches, but it is possible that as the cemetery was used at subsequent periods, the brick grave is later and the bones of the early interment had disappeared. The pottery is all of plain red ware ; deep jar, nearly as Pl. xv. 4, but more pointed at the bottom, a pot, Pl. xi. 11, resembling those from Khata'neh : and a rude saucer. Also a small bottle Pl. xi. 9 of yellowish white ware, slightly polished, with serpentine and other patterns in brown. The mouth of it, 9a, is very different from that of the black ware, which is always like 7. The curious pointed ear or handle 8, broken from a bowl, was purchased from the sabbakhin. The ware is polished, dark tawny. It is necessarily earlier than the twenty-sixth dynasty, and may be of the twelfth.

We purchased also two kohl pots, in alabaster and obsidian, which I believe were found in a grave in the Great Tell. The alabaster vase Pl. xi. 15 furnishes a curious instance of the devices by which the Egyptians avoided technical difficulties. Instead of hollowing the body through the narrow neck, they made the latter in a separate piece, and cemented it to the body when that was finished. The cement is now decomposed. A stopper also fitted into the neck.


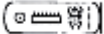
Of the early town we found no distinct traces. It probably lies below water level in the western part of the Tell. At Kafr esh Shôbak is a fragment of sculptured basalt that looks early. It is half of an altar, with  and cakes on the top in the usual style. The corners of the altar were formed by tall wine vases, looking like ornamental pillars. An inscription ran round the edge, but all the cartouches were upon the missing half. The act of homage terminated with  mer, &c. There is no geographical name like this known in the Delta. It occurs occasionally in the titles of the goddess of the south, , but regularly in those of . The pyramid of El Kûleh stands close to the twin cities of El Kab and Kûm El Aḥmar, , and suggests a royal residence there. This altar, if it had been perfect, might have

solved an important question. The name of the Hyksos king, Apepi, has also been found at Tell el Yahûdiyeh.<sup>12</sup>


We must now pass on to the XIXth dynasty, represented by Seti I., Rameses II., Merenptah and Seti II.

#### [SETI I]

*Seti I.*—Dr. Grant has a fragment of greenstone with his cartouche which he picked up in 1878. It is noted in the plan which accompanies Professor Hayter Lewis's paper on this site.<sup>13</sup> E. Brugsch Bey has published a curious monument, stated to have been found only a few yards outside the enclosure, recording the building of a temple of Tum *in* (sic) On (Heliopolis) by Seti I., and the erection of pylons, sphinxes and obelisks,<sup>14</sup> but this can hardly have had any original connection with the place. The temples of Heliopolis were the chief source from which the Romano-Egyptians in [page 41] the Delta drew their supplies of granite and other hard stone.


The only trace we found of Seti's name is on the steatite scaraboid Pl. xi. 20, which seems to give several blundered versions of . 19 of glazed pottery, is of very fine work and material, and may also be placed at the beginning of the dynasty? No. 26 bears the name of Thothmes IV. , but I believe is not earlier than the twentieth dynasty.

#### [RAMESES II]

*Rameses II.* is represented in the temple by a group of two disk-capped figures in red granite, with an inscription on the back referring to the gods of Heliopolis. The head has been broken from one of the figures, and now supports the corner of a wall at El Umrêj. The only other record is the interesting pendant of steatite Pl. xi. 21<sup>15</sup> which I bought in the ruins, bearing the cartouches of Rameses II. on one side, and on the other the name and titles of 'the queen *Maat nefru Râ*, daughter of the supreme prince of Kheta .

The same queen is found at Tanis.<sup>16</sup>

#### [MERENPTAH]

Of *Merenptah* there are two monuments, viz. a double group in red granite of the king with Set, from which the upper part of the god has been carefully chiselled away; and a small column 15 feet high, now broken in half. The latter is of the usual lotus bud type with octagonal clustered shaft, but has been cut down nearly through the centre, and two of the remaining stems in the cluster have been polished away (for re-use). The capital, which is three feet high, bears the cartouche of Merenptah. Upon the shaft three scenes remain: (1) offering to Ptah , (2) to Set (name erased), (3) to Amen (name lost). Above and below the scenes are rows of the same cartouches.

A fragment of an alabaster vessel bears part of his name,



Prof. Hayter Lewis<sup>17</sup> states that on the monuments the cartouche containing Phthah (i.e. Merenptah) is always mutilated (the figure of Set being erased). It is a matter that I had not specially noticed, and possesses some interest.

#### [SETI II]

Of *Seti II.* Dr. Grant has fortunately preserved the record. He found in the mound a kneeling statue in limestone with an inscription. At the beginning of his study of Egyptology, he took this to represent a 'priest of Seti and Merenptah'.<sup>18</sup> He kindly showed me his notes on the site last winter (1887), and I found the copy of the inscription which consists of the usual cartouches, &c, of Seti II.

This is all that I can record of the nineteenth dynasty. Of the temple that must then have existed, only a few of the toughest morsels have survived the wear and destruction of ages.

<sup>12</sup> G. J. Chester in P.E.F. Quarterly Statement, 1880, p. 138, where for Sheshonk I. read Sheshonk II.

<sup>13</sup> Transactions S.B.A. vii. p. 177, ff.

<sup>14</sup> Rec. de trav. 1886, vol. viii. p. 1, ff.

<sup>15</sup> Figured also Hist. Be., No. 1603.

<sup>16</sup> Tanis I., pl. V., insc. 36.

<sup>17</sup> Trans. I. c. pp. 185-6.

<sup>18</sup> Hayter Lewis l. c.

Arriving at the XXth dynasty we reach perhaps the most interesting point in the history of the city. Setnekht has left no trace, but of his son Rameses III. a variety of memorials have been found. Chief amongst them is the building which lay at the west end of the temple. It was on a small scale, but beautifully decorated with choice materials. The floor was of oriental alabaster ; the roof was supported by columns resting on bases of alabaster and red granite ; the limestone walls were covered with patterns in mosaic, and their uniformity was broken by semi-circular stands rising in steps, each of which was ornamented with rosettes and other devices in variegated enamel.<sup>19</sup>

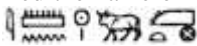
[XXTH DYNASTY AND GREEK-LETTER TILES]

The Ramesside date of these remains has been contested by E. Brugsch, who assigns the enamels to the Ptolemaic period. Hayter Lewis also supposes that they are in part Ptolemaic restorations. The question involves a great difficulty. The potters' marks include, besides less definite cyphers, several hieroglyphics and the following, which may be interpreted as Greek letters, **AEIAMOCTX**. The rosettes are abundant, and bear all varieties of marks. Good examples of the other tiles being rarer, there is some doubt about them ; but I have found **T** endorsed on a captive's head, and on one of a similar series a label is attached to the girdle, bearing the name of Rameses III.

Besides the rosettes and the figure series, there are tiles inlaid with hieroglyphic legends only. Of this class Brugsch found no specimens with "Greek" letters. But I do not see how the classes can be kept distinct as to date. The hieroglyphic and figure tiles relate to Rameses III., but the figure tiles bear Greek letters : why should not the rosettes be of the same period ?

That they are natural representatives of Ramesside work is shown, I think, by the enamelled cartouches of Seti II. from Khata'neh and elsewhere. A few very similar enamelled tiles from Nimrûd are of the ninth century B.C., and it is not unlikely that this was an Asiatic art introduced by the conquerors of the New Kingdom. But are they imitations made for a Ptolemaic restoration ? This seems to me very improbable, even when the king to be thus honoured was Rhampsinitus himself. Light will be thrown on the question some day. A few of the marks are shown in Pl. xi. 27 to 30. There is a fine collection of the tile-[**page 42**]-work in the British Museum. No dedications to deities are found in the inscriptions ; I therefore suppose that this royal hall was erected for some secular purpose, but formed perhaps an adjunct to the temple.

There are no brick walls remaining that can be attributed to the temple enclosure or foundations.

The earliest account of the stone remains is given by H. Brugsch.<sup>20</sup> He enumerates the materials thus : " Alabaster, pavement : granite, columns : limestone, walls and pillars." By the granite columns, no doubt, are meant the column of Merenptah (eastward from the hall) and the granite base of Rameses III. The limestone pillars of the hall are now of course destroyed. The inscriptions upon them contained the name of Rameses III., beloved of the usual gods, and throw no light on the name of the city.  is indeed tempting ; but as there is no mention of the local god of the Athribite nome, and as from its situation Tell el Yahûdîyeh must be outside that nome, we can only translate "Amen râ bull of Egypt." Many years ago the artist Bonomi, if we may credit a story he told in his last days,<sup>21</sup> saw the limestone gateway which led into the enclosure from the south at the moment that it was uncovered by the Arabs, and read upon it the cartouches of Rameses III. If the Sheikh's white house at El Umrêj were pulled to pieces, possibly a large part of this gateway might be found there. At the entrance I saw a stone with some hieroglyphs upon it being worked into shape by a mason.

Two fragments of limestone, loose in a house at Kafr esh Shôbak, bear the name and standard of Rameses III. : so also a base-block ? of red granite in the eastern part of the enclosure. The inscription, almost effaced, is upon the sides. Later, a large rectangular cavity has been made in it, probably to receive the pivot-socket of a door.

A scarab of white glazed pottery, Pl xi. 22, from the town, is of Rameses III., and a pretty oval ornament of white glazed ware with hieroglyphs in blue, 23,<sup>22</sup> shows a portion of his cartouche. It seems to imitate a date stone in form. The scarabs 24 and 25, in steatite, are probably of this period.

<sup>19</sup> See the Plates accompanying the papers of Hayter Lewis and E. Brugsch.

<sup>20</sup> Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache, 1871, p. 87.

<sup>21</sup> Recorded by Hayter Lewis, l.c. p. 183.

<sup>22</sup> Figured also Hist. Sc, No. 1470.

No other precisely dateable remains of the XXth dynasty were found in the town, and we will now turn to

[THE CEMETERY IN THE DESERT]

*The Cemetery in the Desert.*—It seems that, under the XXth dynasty, the inhabitants enjoyed a certain degree of prosperity which was equalled again only in the Roman period. No longer content with humble graves in the jezîreh, they chose a spot in the desert, within sight of the city, where they could pile the loose basalt blocks into tumuli of some pretensions.

To reach the new cemetery their path lay to the nearest portion of the desert across the fields, then passing over a narrow strip of soft rock and a depression beyond of half-cultivable land, they arrived at a place where loose rock abounded. Here the bodies, enclosed in coffins of painted earthenware, were laid on the surface of a natural or artificial heap of basalt blocks or on the sandy floor of the desert. Around each coffin, which was protected by a simple arch (the section showing four bricks), were placed a certain number of utensils in pottery, bronze, &c, and then the whole funeral apparatus was covered over with stones and sand to the depth of about two feet.

The coffins were numerous, lying parallel to each other in rows. We found that the plunderers in ancient times had been busy amongst them, and all the coffins of adults had been opened and pillaged. On the other hand, the graves of children were intact—the thieves knew well that they contained no valuables. In one of these, two pottery scarabs were found which bear the name of Rameses III., and thus give most satisfactory evidence for the precise date of the Tumuli. It is doubtful whether the bodies were mummified. The coffins with their bogus inscriptions do not record a single name, but they must have contained some trinkets to attract the thieves, and in fact two scarabs, set in silver and gold, are amongst the leavings. The name of Setnekht is rudely inscribed upon one of the scarabs.

The antiquities found outside the coffins, partly within the brick arch, partly arranged round the grave, include vases, jugs and bottles of several shapes, bronze bowls, bronze arrow-heads and knife, and one flint tool. The children's graves [page 43] contained, besides the scarabs above mentioned, necklaces of glass, glazed pottery, and shells.

[THE TUMULI]

The basalt here is split up and seamed, and in one place we cleared a natural well descending about fifteen feet with nearly straight sides. When cutting into the tumuli, after clearing to the hard reddish sandy floor of the desert, loose blocks with sand were found beneath, and these became more compact until the original rock was reached, still fissured in all directions.

The tumuli were grouped round the east and south sides of the depression from the north-east corner to the south-west, and were not placed in a conspicuous situation.

One and a half miles beyond lies a kind of wady through which the canal of Ismailîyeh flows, side by side with the direct road from Khanqeh to Belbês. At the top of the intervening rise, south of the main cemetery, are two low circular tumuli, perhaps prehistoric, perhaps of a later nomad race. From this elevated situation the Tell can be seen, but that is of little importance, as they are a long way from it. We cut into them deeply and in all directions, finding nothing, except close to the surface the body of an unfortunate Bedâwî, who had probably been murdered thirty or forty years before. He was wrapped in his woollen cloak, and covered with sand and stones. The skull is in the Natural History Museum. A more careful search might be rewarded with the discovery of flint implements, &c.

*Tumulus I.* was the northernmost and the most striking. Its diameter was 150 feet, and its height 9 feet above the floor, the sides sloping very gradually. It was, as usual, composed of basalt chips and blocks with sand, by no means easy to work in. In shape it must have been somewhat oval or oblong, but it had been deformed by the extensive excavations of a Greek, who about twenty years before cut into it on the south side, and, not content with reaching the desert level, had gone so deep in search of

great treasure that we had a good opportunity of testing the rock by simply clearing his digging. Our Arab informant told us that the Greek found a *şanduq abyaḍ* and a *khatm*, which, as we learnt through our subsequent experience, meant a white pottery coffin with a scarab-ring. There was no sign elsewhere that the Arabs had dug in the tumuli. The Greek must have found the coffin close to the surface, and dug deep, hoping to discover a richer interment beneath : but the work proving unprofitable, he did not try any of the other mounds.

Some pieces of diorite resembling granite gave us a hope of granite sarcophagi, but, before long, we came to the conclusion that they were all chips from rounded pebbles which had probably been on the surface of the desert for centuries before being used in the tumulus. We found them in several places, and probably there is a vein of diorite in the neighbourhood.

After clearing the old working to the original rock we cut a trench from the north end of the pit to the north-west side of the tumulus along the floor of the desert. Near the centre we hit upon an earthenware coffin, lying high up near the surface and with its head to the west. As in nearly all cases, the grave had been ransacked and the face-piece of the coffin destroyed. The latter was of the usual painted type. It was protected in the ordinary way by crude bricks, measuring  $6\frac{3}{4}$  to 7 inches  $\times$  14 to  $14\frac{1}{2}$ .<sup>23</sup> Two pilgrim bottles, a wooden handle (dagger 1), two plain *Tridacna* shells, one small, the other large, and a hardly recognizable fragment of an earthenware ushabti were found by the workmen near the head. I myself cleared the interior of the coffin, finding nothing but the skull and some bones. There were no other interments.

*Tumulus II.* lay east of I. It was circular and only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet high. It contained three graves close together in the centre, lying on the desert floor. The coffins in this case were covered, not by a brick vault, but by small basalt blocks cemented together with mud. The south grave II.1 was two feet deep, rounded at the head and foot, the central grave forming its northern wall. It had been entirely wrecked. The coffin was of white earthenware unpainted, of the usual type, but **M** was incised upon the head-piece before baking (see Pl. xvi. 6). It contained fragments of bones and part of a decayed *dûmtree* nut. I rebuilt the coffin almost entire, but it had been opened from the side on which the letter was impressed, and the continuation of the inscription (if there was any) was entirely destroyed. A jug (Pl. xv. 10) was found beneath the remains of the coffin.

The other two graves north of it were also much disturbed ; a scrap of bronze and the remains of a painted coffin were found.

*Tumulus III.*, south of I., and on the east side of the depression (VII. being continuous with it but not so high), was one of the most productive, and contained many interments. It formed a broad ridge, sixty yards long from north to south and twelve feet high, near the top of which the coffins were laid, heading westward, in three rows. We dug deep to the undisturbed floor without result. All the coffins were within two or three feet of the surface, but a small double-vaulted tomb of bricks, III.2, descended seven feet.

We found about twenty interments, placed in regular order. I will describe those of which I took special notes.

At the north end was an unpainted coffin (III. 21) with rude head and arms, Pl. xiv. 2, close to the surface and without bricks. It contained no antiquities, but between it and the next were three food jars (as Pl. xiv. 6), one of which probably belonged to it. There were many peculiarities about it ; the absence of bricks, the small size and rude work of the coffin, the strange head and curly locks of hair. However, I think it is of the same date as the rest, though probably it was the last interment at the north end.

Near the north end was a child's grave, III. 5, without coffin, built of bricks  $17 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$  and  $16 \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ . It had not been rifled (because not worth it) and contained beads of porcelain and variegated glass, with a central pendant representing the eye-ball, also of glass (see Pl. xv.).

[page 44] Round a grave of the usual kind, numbered III. 1, there was the usual pottery, one specimen of the "false amphora," Pl. xv. 15, bronze arrow-heads, 22, bronze bowl 16*b*, and another bronze object, 24, like a knife, but with rather blunt edges.

Another of the usual type, III. 3, bricks  $15 \times 7\frac{1}{4}$  and  $17 \times 17\frac{3}{4}$ , contained a fine red-ware jug of the smaller size, a shallow basin of similar ware, and a lid like a saucer with a rim inside.

<sup>23</sup> See section of a grave in Pl. xiv.



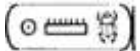
Another contained a jar (as Pl. xiv. 6 or 7) south of the head ; a very broad two-handled jar (as Pl. xiv. 4, but with peg-shaped base) : also fragments of pottery of three kinds —red, drab and red faced with white.

Another grave, III. 10, near the north end furnishes a good instance. The grave was of the usual kind, bricks 15 X 7½ . The coffin, which had been broken into from the top of the head, was painted as usual with yellow, black, blue and red colours. Down the centre was the only legible piece of inscription that was anywhere found on the coffins, but unfortunately the name was left blank. A large platter was cemented over the joint of the head-piece as a protection. At the right side of the foot outside the grave was a large jar containing vegetable matter and a bronze grater. On the left side of the head were three pilgrim bottles, one being of unusual type, and on the right side two jars, one of which was closed by a small platter.

From the debris of other interments, this would seem to be a typical arrangement of the pottery, though the number of specimens was unusually great. The whole of the remains, with the skull, are shown in Pl. xii. 1.

III. 2, a cist tomb on the N.E. side of the tumulus contained a spoon of shell, a bronze needle (?) or piercer, and a large two-handled vase xiv. 5, on the body of which was scratched a rudely-shaped C.

*Tumulus IV.* was another ridge with three rows of coffins south of III. At the south end of the middle and longest row, a grave, IV. 4, contained a long, pointed two-handled vase (see Pl xii. 2 and xiv. 8), with an indistinct hieratico-demotic inscription painted upon it in black. The coffin was of white-faced terra-cotta, not painted.

Next to it, northward, was a child's coffin with moulded head-piece, IV. 8, four feet long, and intact. There was a large hole at the foot covered by a platter of red earthenware. Inside was the skeleton, much decayed, with the remains of a bead necklace. A small pilgrim bottle lay over the stomach, rather on the left side, but below the ribs. At the left hand (placed down the side) lay a scarab, , and more beads. The skull was decayed. On the right side of it, over the shoulder, lay a *spondylus* shell, with some decayed wood or dom nut (?) beneath it. A small pot (broken) lay high up near the head. All these are shown on the left side of Pl. xiii. 3 ; for the beads, see Pl. xvi.

Next to it was an adult grave, IV. 6, bricks 15-inch : coffin painted yellow, red and black, with figures of deities and illegible inscription. Outside the brick grave, at the head, two small vases were found of the *œnochoe* and “ false amphora ” patterns. Probably they had been placed in the brick arch, and had been thrown out by the riflers. A large long-necked food jar and a food jar of the typical pattern were found outside on the left of the head. The mouth of one of these was covered with a platter. On the coffin, over the region of the stomach, was placed a bowl with broad red edging. The remains from this grave are shown on the right side of Pl. xiii. 5.

Another tomb at the south side had two food jars, as Pl. xiv. C, at the head.

IV. 10, at the north end, contained a pilgrim bottle and an alabaster spoon, two small jars (as Pl. xiv. 6 or 7) and a large jar (as 4 or 5), coffin painted, face-piece lost, except the topmost portion, which showed a lotus flower painted over the forehead. Bricks 7¼ X 14 to 7½ X 15.

IV. 1, a large pot, Pl. xiv. 5, contained a bronze grater, Pl. xv. 21. Coffin painted yellow with red bands. A red hawk (?) or goddess (?) on breast with spread wings. Inside the coffin was a small vase of peculiar shape, Pl. xv. 12.

IV. 3 contained the pottery shown in Pl. xii. 2, except the long-pointed vase from IV. 4 and the platter.

*Tumulus V.*, east of III., was circular and small. One plain coffin without bricks was found on the west side and facing west, above the desert level. A small *œnochoe* was with it. Nothing else was found except fragments of a large flat iron instrument. This was in the disturbed part near the surface : perhaps, therefore, of later date.

*Tumulus VI.*, on the south side of the depression, contained about twenty coffins heading west. It was a large, low tumulus, consisting chiefly of sand, and the coffins, buried rather deep, were principally on the west side and up to the centre.

VI. 1, a bricked grave with three platters and three small vases, Pl. xv. 6, 7, and a “ false amphora,” as 15, outside the grave at the head. The face-piece has earrings.

VI. 3 contained bronze arrow-heads, Pl. xv. 22, a large vase, Pl. xiv. 4, and painted coffin.



*Tumulus VII*, a low mound forming the northern end of III. It contained six coffins, placed irregularly facing southwest. Being very thinly covered with sand and stones, they were much damaged, but seemed to be of the usual type. Only one vase was found entire.

#### ANALYSIS OF THE REMAINS IN THE TUMULI I.—VII.

The tumuli, as we have seen, are circular, ridge-like, or irregular, the shape and size depending partly on the number of interments, partly on the rank of the deceased, partly on the natural drifts and deposits of stones and sand. The blocks of which they were composed sometimes weighed nearly 1 cwt.

The graves themselves were generally surrounded by some lighter material. They were oriented roughly to the west, and sometimes rested on the desert floor, but generally were raised considerably above it. III. 2 and the neighbouring grave consisted of deep oblong cists of brickwork built side by side, and no trace of a coffin was found in them.

[page 45] In III. 5, bricks were arched over a child's body without coffin.

In the vast majority of cases the body was placed with its ornaments in a cylindrical coffin, being introduced through an opening at the head, which was afterwards closed by a movable face-piece, on which the features were more or less rudely represented. The coffin was then enclosed by a single row of bricks laid on edge, and others arched over the top in pairs, small vases or bronze vessels being inserted in the arch. Bronze implements, food vessels, and wine-flasks were placed in order round the grave, and the whole was covered with sand and blocks of stone.

In III. 21, an exceptional interment, there were no bricks.

In II. the stones held together by mud were used instead of bricks. All the coffins of adults had been opened by people who were in the secret, knowing what was worth rifling, where they would find the coffins, and what was the best place for opening them. The robbers removed a few bricks at the head, broke out half the face-piece, snatched the valuables from the breast, neck, and fingers, and left the rest in some disorder. Sand and stones fell into the coffin through the hole which they had made ; otherwise it was empty, except that a few bones remained, and occasionally a careful search produced a scarab that had been overlooked. In only two or three instances had the robbers opened the coffin over the breast, and never at the foot.


The bones were in an extremely friable state, and I saved only one skull in fair condition. It is now in the Natural History Museum at South Kensington. The legs and body were generally left inside the coffin, but the skull in several cases had been wrenched off and lay outside. This shows that the rifling took place after the body had decayed, perhaps in the XXII<sup>nd</sup> dynasty. I much doubt whether the bodies had been mummified, the painted and moulded coffin offering a cheaper substitute.

At Nebesheh the mummies of the fifth to third centuries B.C. were easily recognizable, or even fairly well preserved, but much depends on the nature of the ground.

#### POTTERY

Each coffin, including the head-piece, seemed to have been made in one piece, [*and the body introduced?--DKM*] through the foot, which was closed up afterwards. The head-piece was clearly sliced out of the coffin after it had been formed, and thus fitted exactly. A small round hole was pierced at the head and foot.

The coffins of adults varied in length and girth to some extent. An average measurement was 6ft. 6in. long by 1ft. 8in. broad. Many of them were unpainted, the pottery having a whitish surface. Most were painted on the front half only, in three colours, red, yellow, and black ; some in four, adding blue. Of the four colours there were instances in II., III., and IV.

The pattern was the same on all, as far as it could be traced, and was an imitation of the bands of a mummy cartonnage. On the breast there was generally a winged figure kneeling ; between the legs ran a line of blundered hieroglyphics, intended to represent a common formula, with the name of the deceased (in one case, in tumulus III., it was written quite legibly, *t'ed ân âmaḫī ḫer Âsâr maā ḫeru . . . maā ḫeru*, the name unfortunately being left blank). On each side of this strip were four or five seated deities, including Thoth, and the four genii, separated by bands, on which  occurred, with more

sham hieroglyphics.<sup>24</sup> The back of the coffin was always plain. The colours and designs were seldom in an intelligible state, especially from the breast upwards.

The heads varied considerably. Sometimes the whole face, sometimes only the most prominent features, were added in separate lumps of clay to the curved surface. Painted stucco was occasionally used to complete them. Apparently all the coffins had the moulded face-pieces, but they were generally opened at that place by the robbers and the fragments of the face-pieces were scattered. Those that belonged to painted coffins were also painted, one having a lotus flower over the forehead. Moulded earrings, crossed arms, &c, were sometimes added.

Most of the coffins were accompanied by vases ; of these a sufficient number of perfect specimens were found to give a good series of types.

Two small fragments were of the blue-painted red pottery that occurs at Hajj Qandîl, Qurneh, and other sites of the XVIIIth to XIXth dynasties.

The remainder was of a plain red, yellowish, or whitish ware, with a fine and sometimes polished surface. Sometimes deep red staining was employed to give a broad edging to jars and platters of pale reddish ware, and brownish lines were painted on the pilgrim bottles.

The large pottery was placed outside the grave, the smaller pieces were laid inside the coffin, or in the brick arch over it, or at the head outside, if the latter position was not due to the robbers.

Pl. xiv. 3, heart-shaped, from VI., one only.

4, from VI., IV. 3, &c, several.

5, many, generally near the foot. On emptying them a quantity of decayed vegetable matter was invariably found at the bottom, in the middle of which was a bronze rasp or grater. In III. 2, marked with a rude **C** ; another has a + on the handle.

6, usually in pairs near the head, one of them being closed by a small platter. Varied considerably in shape. The specimen figured is a fine type, coloured red, from III. 10.

7 may be considered an extreme variety of 6. It is yellowish brown, polished, and with red bauds painted round the neck and upper part, from IV. 3.

The above, I suppose, are food jars.

9. Two specimens, one from TV. 4, with an inscription, [page 46] very faint, in the hieratico-demotic script of the new kingdom. These are, perhaps, wine jars.

#### [BOWLS AND PLATTERS]

Bowls and platters. Pl. xv. 2 (plain brownish), covered a vase in IV. 6 (see Pl. xiii. 3, in which the same platter is represented. Larger platters, often with a broad red border, were used to cover joints and gaps in coffins. In III. 10, the broken platter in Pl. xii. 1 was cemented over the joint of the head-piece. A similar one VI. 1. In IV. 8, the platter Pl. xiii. 3 covered the large hole in the foot of the child's coffin.

Pl. xv. 1. Bowl of the same ware, reddened inside, and with a broad red edging outside.

3. Lamp, two specimens from two graves in VI., plain, much larger than the similar ones from Naukratis. Traces of burning at the spout.

4. From VI., another IV. 8, photo.

5. One only in VII. of a fine pale red ware. In form, but not in material, it resembles the tomb pottery of Tel Basta of the XXIIInd dynasty ? Unfortunately, the pottery in VII. was crushed to pieces, and nothing else was found.

6. One in VI. 1, polished pale brown with lines and wicker pattern round it, black.


7. Also from VI. 1, stained red and polished.

8. Yellowish, from III.

9. Yellowish, from IV. 6 ; an intermediate form of white-faced ware with horizontal circles of brown from V., and VI. 1.

10. Jug, white-faced, II. 1, and another red. A smaller variety, 3¼ inches high, white-faced, two specimens in III. or IV. and one red polished.

11. With three handles, one in III. or IV., whitish.

<sup>24</sup> M. Naville, however, would seem to have detected a proper name, where I could only recognize blundered formulae  followed by the name of Osiris and other divinities.

12. One specimen IV. 1.

13. Pilgrim bottle. One side usually less pointed than the other. The decoration consists of brown lines on the mouth and handles, cross lines beneath the handles, and close spirals (as if concentric circles) on each side. The lines are broad (sometimes narrow, on small specimens).

Two as figure in III. 10 (cf. Pl. xii. 1, one contained a lump of resin) ; smaller IV. 8 (Pl. xiii. 3 found in child's coffin over the heart), and IV. 10.; a much larger one in VI.

Also one plain, stained red, another small of plain, polished, white-faced ware (in fragments, Pl. xii. 2) from IV. 3.

14. A long-necked variety, one specimen III. 10, with narrow concentric lines.

15. "False amphora," as Mr. A. S. Murray has termed it, IV. 6, cf. Pl. xiii. 3, dark yellowish ; another with a flat foot and horizontal circles, stained red, from VI. 1. Fragments of a large specimen with red ornament, in VI., and several others. One is represented amongst the paintings in the tomb of Rameses III. One of green porcelain in Bulaq. The form was universally adopted and elaborated in Greece at a very early date.

A rude ushabti of terra-cotta, much decayed and hardly recognizable, in I. ; several others found together in III.

#### [BRONZE.]

*Bronze.* Bowls, Pl. xv. 16 (form of rim *b*) in fragments, III. 1 ; another, similar, but without handles, perfect (rim *a*), in the brick arch of III. 20 ; another form, 17 (Rim 17*a*) from III.

Knife (?), Pl. xv., 24 flat, edge apparently blunt, III. 1. There are traces of hafting at one end.

Arrowheads, Pl. xv. 22, varying very slightly, in five specimens III. 1.

23. Much stouter and the central rib distinct, four specimens, VI. 3.

Both of these types are tanged, not socketed. They thus bear some resemblance to the iron (hammered) arrowheads from Defeneh, but differ entirely from the bronze of Defeneh, which by clever casting were made with sockets.<sup>25</sup>

Graters, Pl. xv. 20, from III. 10 ; 21, from IV. 1. Traces of these were found with vegetable matter in nearly all the vessels of type Pl. xiv. 5. They are hollow and circular, made from a sheet of bronze punched with holes like the domestic nutmeg-grater. They are very fragile.<sup>26</sup>

A thin sharp *piercer* of bronze, from III. 2, was, I think, perforated as a *needle* when found, but is now much damaged.

#### [WOOD.]

*Wood.* Pl. xv. 27, rounded wooden handles (or kohl sticks), four together, in III. 20.

A stout swelling handle for a small axe or adze in I. much decayed. If the head was of stone it may easily have been overlooked by the workmen.

#### [IRON.]

*Iron.* In Tumulus V. a thin bar was found, much rusted and broken, but I doubt its great antiquity. If any iron objects belonged to the interments, they have entirely disappeared owing to the rains and the loose sand and stones in which they were embedded.

#### [STONE.]

*Stone.* Flint flake, Pl. xv. 26, oblong, translucent brownish ; one face is quite flat, the other shows three flakings. The ends squared and trimmed, on the upper side only, with a few small chippings. It was handed to me quite fresh and direct from a grave in III. Its colour is entirely different from any in the desert and Tell, and so is its type. I have therefore no hesitation in accepting it as from these graves.

The flat whetstone 25, of the same material as the tapering square-sectioned ones from Defeneh, was found in III.3.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> For iron arrowheads, see Petrie's memoir on Nebesheh and Defenneh, Pl. XXXVII., especially 14 (12 and 13, of circular section, were by far the most abundant) ; for bronze, Pl. XXXIX; in this metal Nos. 8 and 12, triangular, are infinitely the most abundant; 11 and 20 are the only types in which the tang survives, and they are very rare.

<sup>26</sup> Similar graters, of bronze, rarely from Naucratis and Defeneh ; but of iron, frequent at Defeneh (see Nebesheh, Pl. XXXVIII. 9 and 10).

<sup>27</sup> The Defeneh type occurred also at Naucratis, both in 1885 and 1886.

Spoon of alabaster, 18, with the bowl ground out in a true circle, from IV. 10.

[SHELL.]

*Shell.* The names of the shells are due to the kindness of Mr. Edgar Smith, keeper of the Conchological Department in the Natural History Museum at South Kensington, who spared no pains in identifying the mutilated and faded specimens that were found in these tumuli. As far as can be [page 47] ascertained, they are all of Red Sea species, and may still be found at Suez.

Spoon, Pl. xv. 19, made of half a large shell, *Strombus tricornis* (?), from the brick tomb III. 2.

*Tridacna elongata*, two specimens in I. They would serve well for lamps, but show no trace of burning; probably they were to be used as spoons.

Another bivalve, *Spondylus* sp. (?), with a hole bored in the middle, from the child's grave, IV. 8.

[SMALL ORNAMENTS.]


*Small ornaments.* In the adult's grave, III. 20, a broken bead was found of an irregular pipe shape. "Phoenician" opaque glass, white and black bands, measuring about 1.3.

In three children's graves, which, as containing nothing of value, had been left unrifled, beads and other ornaments were found, viz.:

III. 5. see Pl. xv., an eyeball *a*, of black and white glass, no doubt formed the central pendant of a necklace. The beads were:

Material.	Form in plane of axis.	Size.	Form in the Plate.	Remarks.
Glass, opaque, bands of black, pale blue or green, and whitish (?)	Irregular oval.	1 1/6 x 3/8	<i>b.</i>	One specimen.
Glass, opaque, white, pale blue or green, red eyes.	Oval	7/32 x 1/8 to 3/16 x 3/16	<i>c.</i>	Several.
Glass, decomposed.	Rounded	3/32 x 5/32	<i>e.</i> , also <i>d.</i>	Several.
Porcelain, pale blue.	"	1/32 x 3/32	<i>f.</i>	Abundant.

Also a number of pierced univalve shells *g*. Apparently *Nerita crassilabrum*.

In IV. 2 (see Pl. xv), were found two ivory studs *l* for the ears; two very coarse green glazed pottery scarabs *a*, with the prenomen of Rameses III., another *b*, with three disked uræi upon the sign ; three small eyes *c*, and six plain rings *d*, all of the same ware. Also some cowries *e* (*Cypræa moneta* (?) abundant at Suez) with the backs cut away, and other shells *f* (*Ancilla* sp. ?) like rice shells, and imitations of them in white glazed ware, *g*. IV. 2 was clearly a child's grave. Unfortunately the workmen opened it in my absence. I did not at the time observe that the scarabs bore inscriptions, owing to the faintness of the impression and the dust upon them, but I was delighted to find this confirmation of the date on opening the bag containing them in England. The beads were:—

Material.	Form in plane of axis.	Size.	Form in the Plate.	Remarks.
Glass, opaque, blue, and greenish-white (?) with red eyes	Oval and irregular.	1/32 x 1/8 to 3/16 x 5/16		Two specimens
Glass, greenish.	Irregular, rounded.	3/32 x 5/32		One specimen
Glass, blackish, decomposed.	Irregular, rounded, circular, or oval.	3/17 x 7/32	<i>h. j.</i>	Numerous
Porcelain, greenish.	Short.	1/16 x 2/32	<i>k.</i>	A few.
Porcelain, yellowish, white.	Irregular, oval, or pipe-shaped.	5/16 c 1/6	<i>g.</i>	Numerous, rather irregular

In IV. 8, see Pl. xvi, the ornaments consisted of a well-formed green-glazed steatite scarab of Rāmen kheper *a*, a small rude scarab in green glazed ware *b*, and the following beads:

Material.	Form in plane of axis.	Size (Axial length x diameter).	Form in the Plate.	Remarks.
Red jasper and carnelian.	Rounded or oval.	5/32 x 1/6 to 1/8 x 5/32	<i>e.</i> , &c.	Numerous.
Carnelian.	Sharply carinated.	3/16 x 5/8 to 1/8 x 7/32	<i>g.</i>	Numerous.
Black opaque glass (?)	Square, corners cut off.	1/8 x 1/8	<i>e.</i>	One specimen.
Pale green and blue translucent glass.	Rounded.	3/16 x 5/16		A few.
Do.	Bluntly carinated to rounded.	1/8 x 1/4 to 5/32 x 1/4		Several, rather irregular.
Pale blue translucent glass.	Sharply carinated.	3/16 x 3/8	<i>g.</i>	One specimen.
Glass, variegated yellowish white and blue, with red eyes. Opaque.	Circular or oval.	3/8 x 3/16 to 1/4 x 1/4	<i>c.</i> and <i>d.</i>	Several.
Decomposed glass, opaque, variegated.	Irregular oval.	5/16 x 5/32 to 5/16 x 3/16	<i>f.</i>	Many.
Pale greenish blue porcelain.	Short.	1/16 x 3/16 and rather smaller	<i>h.</i>	Abundant.
Yellow porcelain.	“	1/32 x 1/16	<i>j.</i>	A few.
“	“	1/16 x 3/32		Several, some chained in pairs.

An intact adult's grave would, no doubt, have furnished us with more valuable ornaments. We found a few objects that had been overlooked by the robbers, namely :—

In III. 20 a broken bead, irregular pipe-shaped, of opaque “ Phœnician ” glass, banded white and black. 1 inch by 5/16.

From III. and IV : a beautiful jasper scarab in gold setting, but miserably engraved with (apparently) the prenomen of Ramses VI., Pl. xvi. 1.

Fig. 2, in glazed steatite, with a fragment of its bronze and silver setting.

Fig 3, in greenish porcelain.

Fig. 4, set in gold with a silver ring, green glazed steatite.



All of these differ entirely in condition from those found in the Tell. They were handed to me at the graves fresh-found, and with the fragile settings still with them. I do not hesitate to accept them as found in these tumuli.

Two letter-like marks were found, one resembling **M**, Pl. xvi. 6, or the Phœnician *shin*, was incised before baking on the head-piece of II. 1 ; the other **C**, Pl. xvi., 5, perhaps doubtfully authentic, was rudely scraped on a vase in III. 2. The remains in both of these graves are necessarily of the same date as the rest, viz., XXth dynasty.

Tumulus VIII. stands by itself nearer the edge of the desert, west of the depression, and on a bank between it and a second depression. It is probably a natural drift in which the graves were excavated. About ten rude and unpainted coffins were found in it, without any brick work,<sup>28</sup> and two burial urns for children, of the form of the largest vessel shown in the photograph.<sup>29</sup> This one was closed by a plain saucer.

The remains in VIII. are ruder than in I.—VI. I think they are poor burials of the XXth dynasty, mixed with later ones.

Food vase, deep rimmed jar, and saucer from one grave, (the three smaller vessels shown in Pl. xii. 3), XXth dynasty.

Vase, type Pl. xiv. 5, with grater, XXth dynasty.

<sup>28</sup> See Pl. xiii. 1.

<sup>29</sup> Pl. xii. 3.

Jug, type Pl. xv. 10, white-faced ware, XXth dynasty.

Vase, type Pl. xv. 4, coarse red ware.

Vase, Pl. xvi. 7, very irregular, coarse white ware.

Flat flask with long handles, 8, coarse white ware, XXIIInd (?)

A grave, probably of a child, furnished a necklace, Pl. xvi. Tum. viii. *a-e*. It consisted of a small flat incised right eye of green porcelain, the pupil black (resembling those of the XXVIth dynasty, and not coarsely moulded in the round like the earlier ones) a small scarab in agate, and the following beads:

Material.	Form in plane of axis.	Size (Axial length x diameter).	Form in the Plate.	Remarks.
Jasper and carnelian.	Rounded.	1/8 x 1/8	<i>e</i> .	Several
Carnelian.	Oval, &c.	3/16 x 1/8 &c.	<i>d</i> .	"
Agate	Sharply carinated.	7/32 x 9/32	<i>c</i> .	One
Carnelian.	"	5/32 x 1/4 and smaller	<i>c</i> .	A few.

Also a number of decomposed glass and inferior porcelain beads which were blown away by a gust of wind.

The general result of the excavations in the tumuli is to show that they belong to the XXth dynasty, at least as the central period. Out of the first seven tumuli, there is nothing certainly later or earlier than this, while the finding of scarabs of Ramses III. and VI., in agreement with the fact that the most striking type amongst the pottery, "the false amphora", is found in the paintings of the tomb of Ramses III., fixes the date. At the same period the royal hall was built in the city, and although there were no great local dignitaries who would live and die in the place and be buried in stately tombs, there must have been many well-to-do people in the city who could afford themselves respectable burial in these tumuli.

A factory of glass and porcelain beads, &c., in the south-east part of the town, belonged to about the same period, and furnished us with many objects.

The greater part of the waste-heap, or floor, on which they had been deposited, had been cut away; but a corner remained at the base of a high pillar of rubbish. The untouched earth was full of beads and minute ornaments in porcelain, and in an hour (all that could be spared) I collected a sufficient number of examples to verify most of the objects produced from it by the sabbâkhîn, see Pl. xi.

#### [TERRA COTTA MOULDS.]

*Terra Cotta Moulds*, neatly and smoothly formed, of an oval shape, and grooved to admit of piercing the amulet, viz. for

Sacred eyes of three sizes.

Pigmy Ptah, small and plain.

Sekhet, small, one.

Small flower pendant, as *l*.

#### [PRODUCTS.]

*Products*. *White glazed ware* (faded from green (?)). The hippopotamus *c* (bought from a sebak digger close to the spot to which I later traced the workshop); small *uta*'s, flower pendants *l*; circular buttons with loops at the back *h*. (Some of the *uta*'s, pendants and buttons, together with several plain rings, are green.) *Black glazed ware*. Small eyes, flower pendants *l*.

#### [MISCELLANEOUS.]

*Miscellaneous*. Pieces of greenish slag.

Fragments of pottery crucible (?) with bubble of iridescent pearly-white glass.

A number of cylindrical rods of the same pearly half-decomposed glass.

Fragments of a bronze pin or needle, evidently the tool for piercing amulets while in the moulds.


Irregular flake of flint (from the sabbâkhîn) *a*.

Instrument of flint resembling a borer fairly well chipped (found not by myself, but in my presence, and I have every reason to believe in its authenticity, *b*.

#### BEADS.

Material.	Form in plane of axis.	Size (Axial length x diameter).	Form in the Plate.	Remarks.
'Phœnician' opaque glass, the colours faded to white with darker bands.	Irregular, pipe-shaped.	1 x 3/8	<i>k</i> .	One.
Similar, white.	Globular, or rounded, or oval.	1/8 x 3/16 & smaller.		Abundant.
Similar, traces of other colours.	Globular.	¼ x ¼		One or two.
Do.	Oval.	5/8 x ½		One.
Blue, translucent glass.	Irregular, round.	3/16 x 3/8	<i>m</i> .	1, perhaps doubtful.
Dark brown porcelain.	Brick.	3/16 x 5/32	<i>i</i> .	Annexed (6 together), numerous.
Do.	"	3/8 x 3/16		Do., scarcely divided (4 together).
White do.	Pipe.	5/16 x 1/8		Annexed.
White or yellowish do.	Flower-shaped.	3/32 x ¼	<i>g</i> .	Numerous.
White do. with longitudinal dark brown stripe.	Brick, imitating cowries?	½ x 1/8 x 5/16	<i>e. to f</i> .	Do.
Dark brown do.	Rounded.	1/8 x 5/32 &c. to 1/16 x 1/8		Do., some chained.
Pale bine do.	Short.	1/16 x 3/32 & smaller.		Many chained.
Do.	Pipe-shaped.	11/32 x 3/32		A few.
Yellow do.	Short.	1/16 x 3/32 & smaller.		Many chained.

Four moulds were brought to me which possibly belong to a different deposit, the clay of which they are formed being coarser. They are for an atef crown, a pendant with a crocodile *d*, a similar pendant with bull, and lastly one to stamp the *reverse* of a sacred eye. The design is in relief, with a wide margin in order to receive the edges of the upper mould. The style is the same as in those from the factory, but the details are different.

It is noteworthy that on comparing the  from the factory and a few other specimens from Tell el Yahûdîyeh with those from the mummy-chambers of Tell Basta, an important difference is traceable in the style. In the Ramesside examples the eyes are roughly moulded, with very deep channelling. The amulet makers of the XXIIInd dynasty on the other hand prefer to have the spaces between the details wide and smooth, with a gentle curve, and the details, although sometimes skeletonized, are never deeply embossed. The Ramesside eyes, too, seem to be almost uniform and always of moderate size, while those of the XXIIInd are much varied, and often of great size. During the Saite period the eyes were flat and the details incised.

The occurrence of Ptah and Sekhet in this Ramesside factory is noticeable. They are abundant also in the XXIIInd dynasty.

#### [THE CITY.]

The great fortifications, which cut in two the cemetery of the Middle Kingdom, may be attributed to the New Kingdom. They appear to be double, consisting of two ramparts, each of which is protected by a ditch.<sup>30</sup>

Unfortunately a hurried excavation, which I began in May, in order to ascertain on what stratum the sand ramparts rested, had to be stopped before the base was reached, in order to give me time for an expedition to the neighbourhood of Siût. I have, however, noted the following points :

<sup>30</sup> See plan in Pl. ix.

## [INNER ENCLOSURE.]

The inner enclosure consists of a rampart, and outside it a ditch, which furnished the materials of the rampart. In the eastern part this consists of fairly clean sand, the ditch having been excavated in the *jezîreh* ; in other parts, especially south-west and west, chiefly of mud and rubbish. The height of the sand in the loftiest part is not less than 18 ft.

The ditch in some places, at least on the sandy east, north, north-west, and south sides, was lined with stone to hold back the sand. In others the upper part of the mud slope of the rampart was carefully smoothed down, and sometimes bricked in receding courses (afterwards smoothed with mud), in order both to hold the rubbish in and to present a slippery surface to an attacking party. The ditch may have been lined here also, but is still choked up, while in other parts the fellahin are actively digging out the blocks of stone lining.

I at first thought, like my predecessors, that these blocks had been the stone *facing* of a *brick* wall (cut away) instead of the lining of a ditch, but they are found equally on the inner side against the sand rampart. As far as I could tell, only loose blocks were found in the middle of the ditch, so it was not a solid stone wall carried down to a rock foundation (which, with its width of 32 feet, would have been in the last degree unlikely, for even in Upper Egypt, where stone is abundant, all town walls are of brick).

I doubt whether a wall was ever built on this rampart. Nothing of the kind can be found now.

A gateway can be identified, I think, at the junction of the north and north-west sides, where there is a complete break in the sand. Other level entrances are not likely to have existed, and though I searched carefully, I could trace none.

## [OUTER ENCLOSURE.]

The *outer enclosure* consisted also of rampart and ditch, but is now visible only where the ditch crossed the *jezîreh* at the east end. The remainder being beyond the sand, consisted no doubt of mud, and has been levelled.

On the *jezîreh*, at about 100 feet from the first rampart, rise two sandbanks, separated by a less elevated space. The northern bank reaches a height of fifty feet, and so completely commands the inner rampart, that it cannot be contemporary with it unless it has been increased by later additions. Outside it is another stone-lined ditch, unfortunately choked up, except on each side of the passage between the two mounds. Here I cleared a small space and found the lining on both sides. The width, including the lining, which appeared to be double at the base, is 32 feet.

## [THE RAMPART.]

The rampart is crowned by a massive wall, built, as usual, in separate towers. Some of the blocks or towers are placed at right angles to the rest of the wall, appearing like buttresses, and although, on such an insecure foundation, they could not have the strengthening effect of true buttresses, they doubtless gave the defenders better opportunities of molesting assailants. A considerable part of this wall remains, but the natives are digging away the mixed rubble [page 50] and sand of the rampart from below, and are gradually bringing it all down.

There is no appearance of a gateway in the inner rampart at the east side, but in the outer enclosure, the break between the two mounds appears to be for a gateway. There are traces of brick walls to hold back the sand at the sides ; but the foundations of these walls are above the level of the top of the inner rampart.

I suspect that at first, after the XIIth dynasty, a double rampart and ditch were constructed without any eastward entrance. Later, in prosperous times, the town rose high, overflowed the inner fortification, and filled up the ditch. It was then re-fortified by heightening the outer rampart, except at one point where a gate was required, opening eastwards. At the same time the great wall was built on the top of the ramparts. This latter may date from Pre-Ramesside to early Roman times, excepting probably the period between the XXVth dynasty and the later Ptolemies. The bricks measure about 14 inches.

The scarabs Pl. xvi. 9 to 12 are of green glazed porcelain, probably XXth dynasty. 10 is a curiously blundered variety of 9.

The mediaeval-looking head of a captive 13 carved in limestone, was bought on the mound. The only attachment seems to have been at the top of the cap. Was it a cornice ornament like the heads under the window of the tower at Medinet Habu ?

Between the XXth dynasty and the Roman Empire there is little to record. Mr. Chester obtained here two basalt fragments, one with the *nomen* of a Shashanq, the



other with part of a "standard" or *ka*-name,<sup>31</sup> XXIIInd dynasty. Professor Lanzone found a statuette of Osorkon I.,<sup>32</sup> XXIIInd dynasty. Next comes the base-block of King Uapet, discovered by M. Naville, XXIIIrd dynasty. Dr. Grant picked up here a fragment mentioning the Theban governors Nesptah and Mentu mḥā. He is sure of the locality—XXVth dynasty. The fragment of a statue, Pl. xvi. 23 (bought of a peasant, who also travels to some extent, collecting as a middle-man for dealers), is of the XXVIth dynasty, but, to judge from the inscription, should come from Sais. It contained a prayer to Osiris in the house of the bee' at Sais for funeral offerings to ' . . . kep Net, son of Pedu Net.' The two names are compounded with that of the goddess Net or Neith of Sais.

[BURIALS.]

As to burials, I have attributed some in tumulus VIII. to this period. There must have been many in the *jezîreh*, but the Romans destroyed numbers in clearing the ground for their suburb, and many more have been removed by the *sabbâkhîn*. Those that remained were of various dates.

*Graves found in the jezîreh.* A. Bodies not mummified (?) simply laid in the sand ; several without antiquities. In one case with porcelain beads and a pair of bronze earrings, and bones of child laid at right angles behind the head. *circa* dynasty XXVI. (?)


B. At some height above body a low grave, section showing four bricks, Pl. xvi. 17 (in one case only three, 18), the outside often smoothed with mud, the usual method. All had been opened at the head and rifled.

Inside one a face modelled in clay (not burnt), stuccoed and painted. In grave 8, traces of an inner coffin of (unburnt) clay painted and roughly shaped over the skeleton, which lay with head to the south. Some long and short green glaze beads with it, dynasty XXVI. (?)

Grave 2 (see above p. 40). Outside, and apparently belonging to it, some pots of the XIIth dynasty ware.

Grave 4. Pilgrim bottle green glazed ware, and bronze double kohl stick placed at the head loose in the sand outside. (Head to east) XXVIth. (?)

C. Earthenware cover substituted for bricks, several. No antiquities, Roman (?) In one case the cover was in two halves, divided at the shoulder ; the body not mummified, arms down the sides. At the foot, at right angles to it, and at the same depth, another body wrapped in a cloth, of which there were remains on the skull.

D. Child burials in jars, a hole being knocked in the bottom (cf. the pierced coffins in the tumuli). One contained bones only ; the other, Grave 7, with amulets : viz., green glazed skeleton *uta*, winged and framed in a rectangle, pupil and eye black ; some very small figures of deities, pigmy Ptah, Bes, a pig, Nefer tum, the last having *blotches of yellow glaze* ; also flattened beads, apparently derived from  Pl. xvi. 19, and a few green, black, and red short beads. Pl. xvi. 19 *a* is a rough sketch of the jar. Found with two adult burials, one of which showed traces of cartonnage blue and green, C. XXIIInd dynasty.

In the town I bought, or picked out of the upper strata, several rude scarabs and seals of limestone and porcelain of c. XXIIInd dynasty. Pl. xvi. 20-26.

To Macedonian times and thereabouts belong the Persian seal Pl. xvi. 27, the clepsydra or water-clock of Alexander the Great<sup>33</sup> and the [page 51] amphora handle, ΣΩΣΙΚΡΑ 28. It is strange that no legible coins were found of any period. The Roman coins on the surface may have decayed or been picked up, but even the massive Ptolemaic coins are entirely absent.

Under the Roman rule the place rose to its highest level of prosperity, perhaps during the second century A.D. The whole of the old site was then inhabited, for Roman pottery is found mixed with the loose rubbish of earlier date in all parts of the mound. Probably the city expanded on all sides. In the course of centuries it had

<sup>31</sup> Birch., A.Z., 1872, p. 122 ; in B.M., Nos. 936, 937.

<sup>32</sup> S.B.A. Proc. VI., p. 205.

<sup>33</sup> *Academy*, Nov. 19, 1887, p. 342.

risen high on its own *detritus* and ruins, and sloped up to the top of the outer rampart, over the inner choked ditch. At the highest point of the outer rampart, near the north-east corner, new buildings were erected on the top of the ruined city wall, containing limestone columns and pavements, and forming probably a Jewish synagogue, if not a temple,<sup>34</sup> and citadel, which commanded the whole extent of the town, including the newly-built suburb on the jezîreh. The constant size of the bricks in the suburb, in the buildings on the top of the rampart-wall, and in the rock-cut tombs on the edge of the desert, show how suddenly the prosperity of the city began and ended. 5 inches x 10 is the invariable measurement, except where the suburb occasionally covered over an earlier house of 5½ x 11 on the jezîreh, where also one building is met with of very black brick, 7 x 14.

In the tell itself nothing of importance remains. On the summit of the rampart the building I have mentioned is completely ruined. I trenched through the fallen bricks, finding portions of pavement in thin slabs of limestone, and pieces of limestone columns.

The suburb on the jezîreh is built with considerable regularity. A large space, part of the ancient cemetery, was cleared of sand, and the rubbish, full of bones and potsherds, was piled up in a low irregular bank on the north side. The space thus cleared was laid out with straight streets crossing at right angles to the cardinal points. There are two main streets : one leads direct to the gateway in the rampart; the other runs parallel to it towards the highest part of the outer rampart, on the top of which is the citadel (?) of the same date. The other streets do not continue in straight lines, but have frequent turns at right angles, or stop suddenly.

The plans of many of the houses are clear, and 3 coatings of plaster remain on some of the walls. Burnt brick was used only to make a firm backing for cement, in the lining of what appeared to be baths, drinking-fountains, washing-slabs, &c. In many of the larger houses is a small chamber with a cemented bath sunk into solid brickwork or rubbish, the inner layer being of red brick. I cleared one that was perfect: the red bricks measured 5 x 10 inches. The bath measured 4½ feet by 3 and was 3 feet deep, the corners rounded ; a foothole 22 inches above the floor at one end, and 11 inches above it a ledge 6 inches deep, forming a narrow step out of the bath. A small waste-hole was pierced in the centre, but it was stopped with cement, and excavation beneath showed no trace of a pipe or channel.

The antiquities that I picked up here include stamped handles, a few pieces of friable green-glazed ware with figures and ornaments in relief, ribbed pottery, glass, peg bottoms of jars and amphora handles made double. The suburb throughout is practically of one date, and probably did not exist more than a century. I should be inclined to attribute the bulk of the remains to a later date than the reign of Vespasian, when the temple of Onias was closed. Unhappily, not a single legible coin was found.

There were also scattered buildings. At the extreme northeast end of the jezîreh, on the south side of the modern cemetery of Esh Shôbak, there are the foundations of a circular building 85 feet in diameter, with crude brick walls 9 feet thick, bricks 5 x 10 inches ; around it are a few other remains, with stamped handles.

#### [CEMETERIES.]

At the extreme edge of the desert, on the way to the tumuli, is a level strip of soft rock,<sup>35</sup> full of Jewish tombs with characteristic loculi. I call it [page 52] the Southern cemetery. It extends northwards about a quarter of a mile to the village of El Liqât. After a short space begins the Middle cemetery, just north of the village, and after

<sup>34</sup> The cemetery proves the wealth and numbers of the Jews, who seem even to have formed the whole population of the town. The city of Onias lay in this neighbourhood. According to Josephus, it had been deserted for some time when Ptolemy Philometor, about the year 160 B.C., gave it to the Jews in order that they might build a temple there, and so be induced to pay less reverence to that at Jerusalem, which was in the territory of his enemy Antiochus.

<sup>35</sup> The rock is similar to the limestone of the jezîreh, but seems to have been affected by the basalt. Sometimes there is a considerable depth of pebbly sand above it ; red sand is found further south, and the basalt overlies this as far as I could ascertain.

another space the Northern cemetery, lying between the village 'Arab es Sawâleh and the cultivated land.

There must have been several hundreds of tombs in the three cemeteries. We excavated about fifty. All of them had been broken into, and one had been opened recently by the Arabs.

[SOUTHERN CEMETERY.]

*Southern Cemetery.*—I suppose, from its mixed tombs and its position, that it is earlier than the other two. It consists of—

(1.) Square pits, descending vertically about 10 feet, and ending in an oblong cavity. Nothing found in them.

(2.) Rectangular graves, neatly cut in the rock, measuring 5 x 8 feet, with rabbet for covering slab. Three, side by side, at the back edge of the rock, amongst those of the third and fourth class. No bones or antiquities.

(3.) Similar to (4), but the chamber contains a double row of niches superimposed. Two or three, ruined, at the south end.

(4.) The plan in Pl. xvi. is a typical instance taken from the Middle cemetery. From the level surface a flight of four or five steep and high steps leads down to a narrow doorway three feet high. This opens into a chamber the floor of which is 3½ feet below the doorway ; a further step is therefore left in the rock on the inside. In the walls of the chamber, on the same level as the entrance, are ten rock-cut niches, each six feet deep.<sup>36</sup>

This description applies exactly to most of the tombs. In the *South Cemetery* the entrances usually faced east or west. In one case two niches were *built* of red brick and stucco at the end of the excavated chamber. The heads of the two tenants, as M. Naville has reminded me, were raised on a brick and the names ΤΡΥΦΑΙΝΑ ΘΥΓΑΗΡ, &c, painted on the stucco over the open entrances of the niches.

The epitaphs of ΜΙΚΚΟΣ, ΘΕΒΑC, ΕΛΕΑΖΑΡ, and the fragment with LKE were found in this cemetery. Also a fragment of sculpture with a bunch of grapes.

The antiquities found consisted of a thick glass "lachrymatory," a spouted jug with strainer in the neck, like the modern *abrîq*, but of whitish pottery, Pl. xvi. 35. Also three vases like 36, from one tomb, and one 37.

[MIDDLE CEMETERY.]

*Middle Cemetery*, half mile east of the tail of the *jezîreh*, and therefore most convenient for the inhabitants of the suburb, while the road from the Tell itself may have led then, as it does now, from the south-east corner to the Southern cemetery and the tumuli.

The rock is soft, whitish, with green coppery (?) patches. The tombs, all of type (4), are so closely packed in about an acre, that the niches of different tombs often met and had to be diverted. We partially or entirely cleared about 25 in all parts. Of the entrances sixteen faced N., six E., two S., and one West towards the city.

The steps were sometimes cut in the rock, but the hardness varied, and often the exposed parts, i.e. the steps, the sides of the staircase, and the doorposts were of burnt or crude brick or hard cement. Sometimes a slab of limestone formed the lintel. The burnt bricks measured about 4½ x 9, the crude brick 5 x 10.

The measurements quoted above applied to most of the tombs correctly, even in detail ; but one carefully made with three steps led into a very small chamber with three niches only, one in each side, and the third opposite the door. The roofs of two chambers, otherwise of the normal type, were supported by a pillar in the centre. In most cases the roofs had fallen in.

<sup>36</sup> Tombs at Acre similar to 2 and 4 are described by Herr Schumacher. P.E. Fund Quarterly Statement, Jan. 1887, pp. 26, 27.

One with central pillar had been stuccoed, and in it were found fragments of plaster from the cornice (?) with painted wave pattern, the colours being green and yellow. In the chamber were pieces of a friable blue-glazed vessel with ornament in relief.

Two thick glass "lachrymatories" came from another tomb. Many slabs of limestone, generally plain, were found close to the doorway outside, or lying in the chamber. Possibly they had served to close the entrance. Sometimes there was a pediment sculptured upon them, sometimes an epitaph with or without the pediment. The inscriptions included that of Agathocles and the long metrical one.

Several skeletons were found, but generally they had been disturbed or destroyed by the damp. One in somewhat better preservation, but without the skull, lay upon the remains of a cloth, the upper part turned to the inside of the chamber. Another was placed similarly, but no traces of the cloth remained. It also was headless.

The niches had, apparently, never been filled up, or even [page 53] plugged, although the sand had often drifted into and half-filled the chamber.

[NORTH CEMETERY.]

*North cemetery.*—We cleared a few tombs, all of type (4), but found nothing noteworthy except some fragments of inscription.

#### [MISCELLANIA.]

*Miscellanea from the Tell.*—A piece of orpiment with sulphur, two pieces of amethyst, green microcline felspar,<sup>37</sup> blue paste for amulets; bronze cat-headed Bast holding ægis; large bronze fish-hook. Of porcelain amulets (which are so common in town remains from Saite to Ptolemaic times) only three or four fragmentary specimens of Sekhet, one perfect Isis suckling Horus, and one Bes. I believe these are all the identifiable amulets or fragments that I saw from the 1st to the 31st March (1887), and during two days' collecting 18th and 19th May.

The limestone baths west of the hall of Rameses III.<sup>38</sup> have long since been destroyed. Dr. Grant in 1878 noted them as 15 feet above the alabaster blocks of the pavement. One was oval, the other rectangular, 12 feet 5 inches x 8 feet 7 inches, the sides being 14 inches thick.

In May (1887) when I revisited the place with Count D'Hulst, I found that the sabbâkhîn, in digging at the base of the inner side of the northern half of the outer rampart, had loosened the sandy rubbish 15 feet above them: and this, in falling, laid bare a number of beehive-shaped constructions of unbaked clay about 2 feet high and the same in diameter. The sides were thin, and at the top was a large circular hole. They rested each on a base formed of two or three small slabs of limestone or bricks, and perhaps the hole at the top had been covered by a brick; but this having slipped off, the interior was filled with sand from the rampart. Inside, upon the floor, was a thin layer of charcoal, with traces of burnt bones, and the interior was sometimes reddened by fire. In one case the fire had been prematurely extinguished, and charred grass stems could be discerned. Two rows of them were visible at different heights, and the rows were at least double horizontally, the beehives being buried in the bank, one behind the other. Many were destroyed by the fall, but some remained intact, while others probably lay deeper in the bank.

It seemed as if bricks or stones had been laid flat, some brushwood put upon them, and an animal, or a portion of one, laid upon the brushwood, the whole then being domed over with clay: after which a piece of burning material was dropped through the opening at the top and the fire left to take its course or to go out, while the aperture was closed by a brick. I cannot guess the object of such a ceremony.

I have been told both by visitors and by natives that there had existed a great heap of burnt bones at the N. end of the outer rampart. It was removed some years ago by a European for some agricultural or manufacturing purpose and the site, consisting of massive crude brick walls and chambers, has been much dug into. I heard also of limestone remains being found. A quantity of the burnt bones remain, and although they are reduced to the merest fragments, the well-known anatomists Dr. Garson and Mr. O. Thomas have identified some of the best preserved as probably of calf, and lamb or kid. Why are they burnt, if they are not the remains of Jewish sacrifices?

<sup>37</sup> These minerals were kindly identified for me by Mr. Fletcher, keeper of the Department of Mineralogy in the British Museum.

<sup>38</sup> S.B.A. Trans. VII., p. 187.

## [THE TEMPLE OF ONIAS.]

The most probable site for the temple of Onias, if it stood here at all, is on the top of the mound just south of this point. From this spot the whole city is commanded, and one of the two main streets in the suburb led directly towards it. Josephus, in one passage, compares the Jewish temple to a tower (πύργος), and probably it would form a kind of Acropolis, as at Jerusalem. But if this is the site, the temple must have been rebuilt in Roman times, for the structure, with its column bases and pavement of limestone, is built of small Roman brick, 5 x 10 inches, and has every appearance of late date. Notwithstanding the Greek letters on the glazed tiles, the whole evidence of the antiquities, in my opinion, is against a Ptolemaic, or even early Roman occupation of the city, and while it is certain that Jews<sup>39</sup> formed a very important part of its population for some time under the empire, I believe that the temple of Onias must be sought for not here, but in one of the neighbouring Tells.

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*Griffith's work on Tukh el Qaramûs, Khata'neh, Tell Rotâb, and other places is omitted from this edition.*

*His work on the el-'Arîsh shrine is published separately.*

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<sup>39</sup> Hebrew inscriptions may well have existed on the site, cf. E. Brugsch. Rec. de Trav. VIII. p. 6.



## NOTES

[page 58]

## NOTE A.

LONG known as Tell el Yahûdeh or T. e. Yahûd, although correctly spelt in the French map. Yahûdiyeh is interpreted as in the text by the natives of the place, one of whom tried to account for the name by saying that an old Jewess used to live upon it. A conceivable meaning, suggested, I think, by Mr. E. S. Poole, would be the "Mound of Judaea," hence "of the Jewish people, Jewry?"

The true Tell el Yahûd "mound of the Jews," is about twelve miles away, three miles south-west of Belbês, on the south side of the Ismailiyyeh Canal, and opposite the village of El Gêteh. Owing to its situation on the edge of the desert, the excavated pits of the *sabbâkhîn* become entirely filled with sand, and have to be reopened every year. Some fresh workings showed only Roman remains, and no definite antiquities beyond a few illegible coins were to be seen or heard of. The *sibakh* is carried across the canal by ferryboats.

## NOTE B.

The word *jezîreh* (plural *jezâir*) will be frequently met with in the memoir, and needs explanation. جزيرة. in Arabic, means nothing more or less than an island, properly speaking surrounded by water, and this is practically the only meaning given in even the most complete dictionaries. In Egypt the word *jezîreh* has a special application to the islands of sand which crop up here and there above the alluvium, both at the edge of the desert and elsewhere, even in the central districts of the Delta. It thus enters into the formation of many place-names.

When a workman digging in the neighbourhood of a *jezîreh* has passed through the alluvium into sand, he will sometimes say, "the *jezireh* is visible," instead of "the sand is visible," showing that he recognizes the increase of the alluvial deposit. Similarly sand met with in digging near the edge of the desert *jebel* is called *jebel*.

Mr. Petrie<sup>40</sup> has noted the combined effect of denudation of the sand and accumulation of alluvium in reducing the real and relative height of the sand islands. Most of them are only from a few inches to a few feet high, and it cannot be very long before they will be swallowed up if the soil continues to rise at the rate of four inches in a century.

While upon this point I will state a further matter of importance for the geography and archæology of the Delta. It seems that :—

(a) In the earliest times, before canals were invented, the would-be settlers were absolutely forced to secure their habitations from the yearly floods by making them on the sand islands or on the edge of the desert.

(b) Later, as the artificial canal system came into use, and means were employed for irrigation and drainage, the danger of settling upon the alluvium was reduced, and the advantage of being in the middle of the fields became greater. Once built, the mud-brick village or town rose steadily on its own rubbish; but still, *cæteris paribus*, the sand island was naturally preferred.

(c) At the present day numbers of 'Ezâb (' hamlets,' sing. 'Ezbeh) and villages are being planted upon the alluvium, and in many cases they are perfectly safe. Thus the *jezîreh* has almost entirely lost its importance.

So far I have given no instances ; unfortunately there is one great difficulty in the way of illustrating these statements :—In the case of early cities it is seldom possible to reach the subsoil of the foundation. The explorer may take advantage of the deepest *sibâkh*-pit and dig many more feet into the rubbish, but, before any sign of the base appears, water is reached, and all further research in that direction has to be abandoned. Beginning with the easiest, I will first consider the case of—

*Founding on the alluvium.*—In modern times very frequent in the Delta and seldom attended with bad results except in marshy, ill-drained districts. The dwellings are raised on a slight artificial mound. Sites of ancient towns, old forts or walls, canal-banks or their bases, and small waste patches are chosen in preference to a *jezîreh* for the convenience of being in the midst of the crops and pastures, and near running water.

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<sup>40</sup> Nebesheh § 2-3.

However, the 'Ezbeh of Muhammad en Nebêsheh (who died in 1888), having been twice founded in the open fields, but each time invaded by floods, was finally removed to a safe situation on the edge of a jezîreh.

In ancient times the only instance known to me is that of Naucratis, founded in the 7th century B.C. The whole of the excavated portion<sup>41</sup> lies on hard alluvial mud ; and this portion includes the temples of Apollo, Hera, the Dioscuri, and Aphrodite, and may well be the most ancient quarter. Pits dug elsewhere passed through rubbish into water, but there was nowhere any indication of a sand basis. The cemetery, too, was an artificial heap of soil. The sand-islands in the neighbourhood are all west and south-west of Naucratis.

*Foundation on a jezîreh.*—Excluding shallow desert sites like Defeneh and Qanlarah, which may be easily fathomed, [page 59] it is difficult or impossible, as I have stated above, to reach the base of very ancient towns. But numerous cases may be quoted in which a town lies at the edge of a jezîreh, the slope of which may be traced further by digging under the ruins until both sand and rubbish dip beneath the water. Examples of this kind are furnished by Tell el Yahûdîyeh, Nebêsheh and Kûm Afrîn. At Kûm el Hîşu and Tell Tûkh the jezîreh is completely hidden, and only appears in the excavations or the pits of the *sabbâkhîn*. Tarrâneh, Tell el Yahûd and Gemayemi are completely surrounded by desert or jezîreh sand, in part owing to drifting ? Other sites such as Heliopolis (Tell el Hîşn) and Tanis (Tell Şân) are evidently connected with the neighbouring jezâir or desert, as the case may be, Tell Basta, which gives no indication of base, is completely surrounded by alluvium.

A town in growing naturally spread backwards upon the jezîreh, thus the later extensions covered up the early cemeteries ; e.g. at Tell el Yahûdîyeh and Khata'neh.

This long note, perhaps, needs an apology, but the question here treated is of practical importance to the explorer, and also throws light on a curious custom of the ancient temple-engineers, which is referred to in Note D.

#### NOTE C.

The rocks found here are worth the notice of a geologist. The French map marks "montagne de grès noire et de granite," really level desert of basalt with some chips of diorite ; these latter found loose on the tumuli were identified by Mr. Fletcher, of the Department of Mineralogy in the British Museum. Pieces of basalt and of fossil wood are common in the Tell and villages. For another rock in which the Roman tombs were cut, see p. 52 [page 26].

All the flint tools and flakes, notwithstanding their bad workmanship, must have been manufactured elsewhere and imported, perhaps from Helwân or Upper Egypt.

In the desert near the tumuli, where there are many pebbles of opaque chert or jasper, Monsieur Naville and I picked up two rude implements which I am told are of that material. In colour they are pale ochreous, and in shape quite different from those described on p. 39 [page 9].

#### NOTE D.

[Omitted from this edition.]

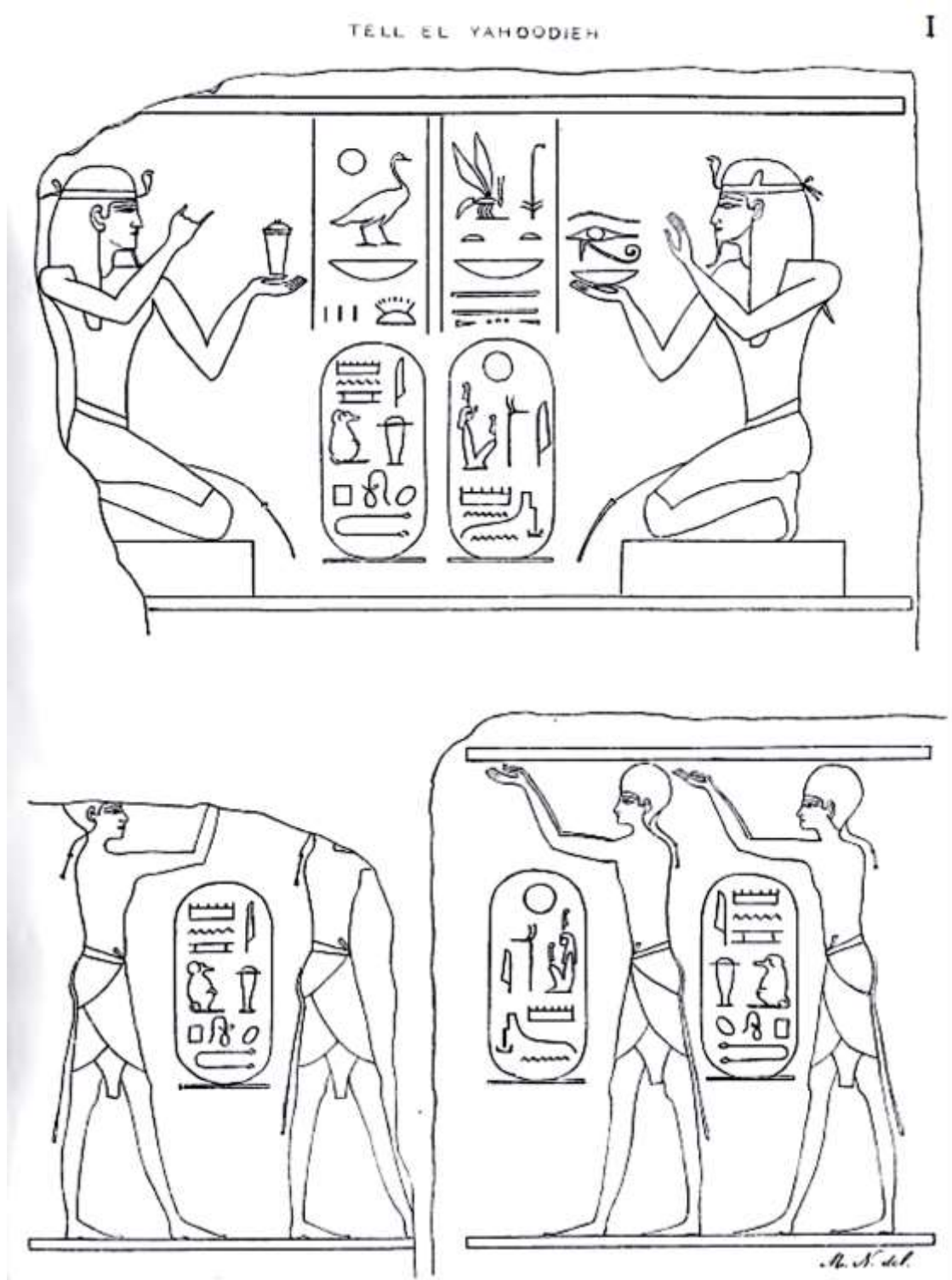
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<sup>41</sup> Naucratis I. Pl. XL.



## PLATES RELEVANT TO TELL EL-YAHÛDÎYEH

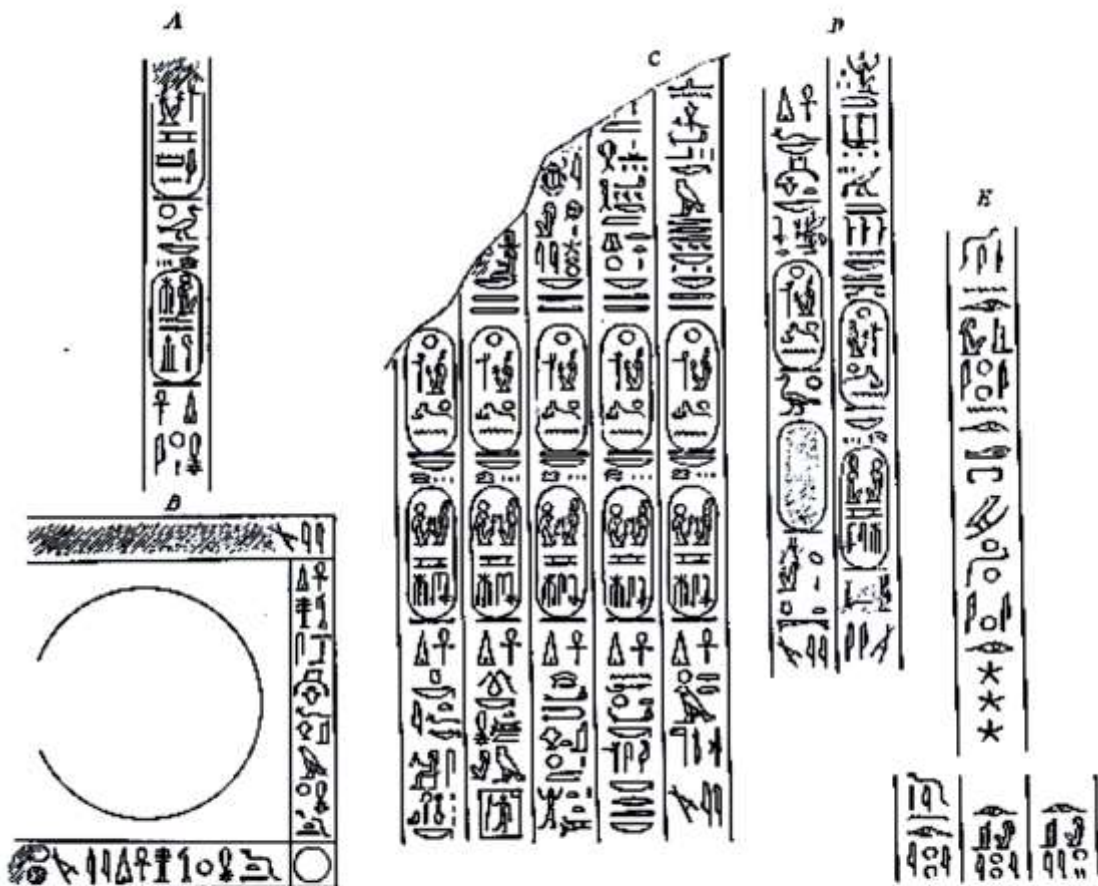
PLATE I.



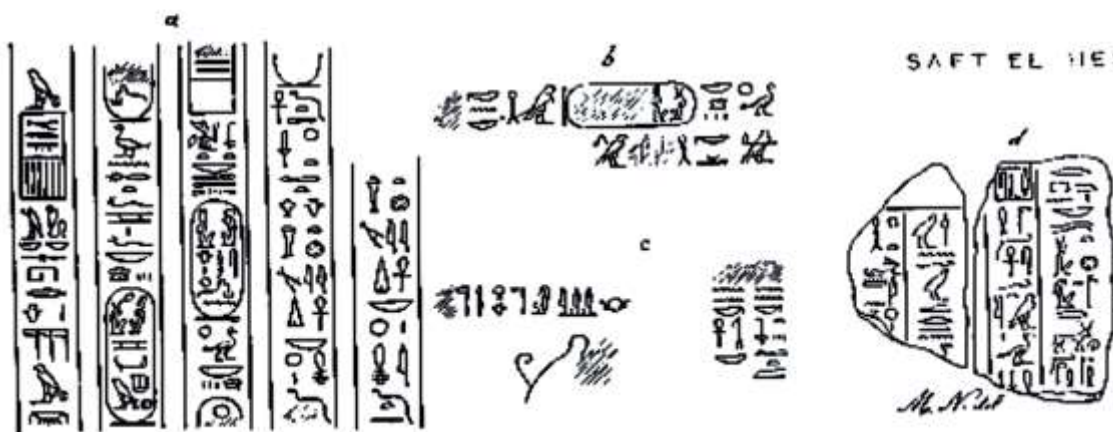
## PLATE II

TELL EL YAHÛDÎYEH

II



HELBEIS



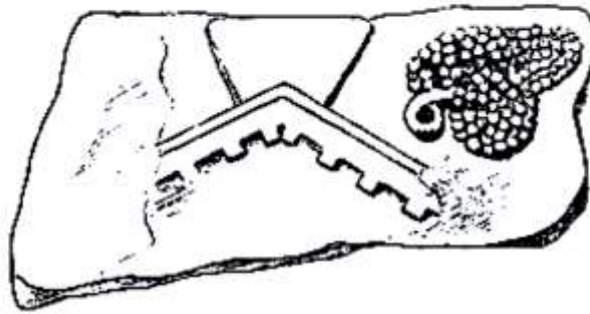
SAFT EL HIENNEH

## PLATE III.

TELL EL YA-ŪDĪYEH

III

A



B



C



D



M. J. J. J.

## PLATE IV.

TELL EL YAHÛDÎYEH

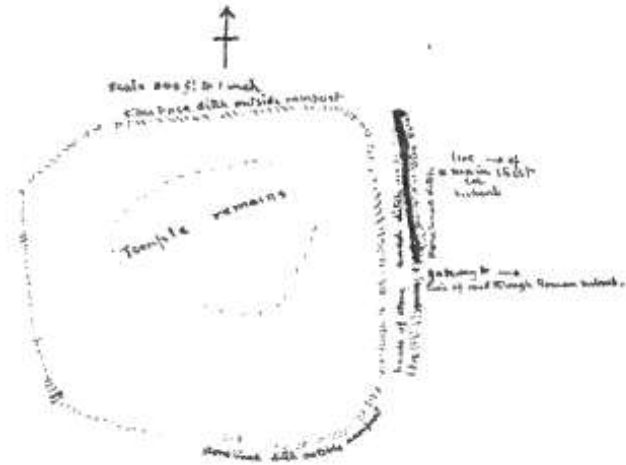
IV



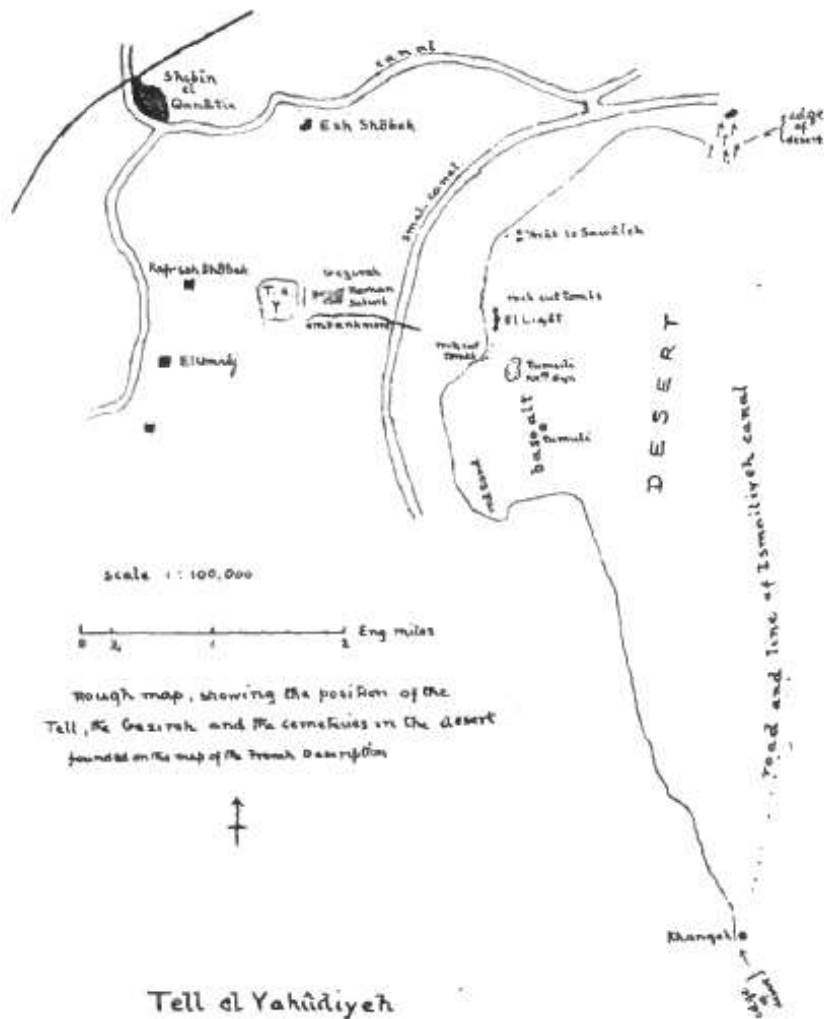


PLATE IX.

IX



Plan of the Tell el Yahûdiyeh fortified enclosure, showing the inner and outer ramparts of sand, the latter on the East crowned with coarse brick walls.  
Scale 1:10,000



## PLATE X.

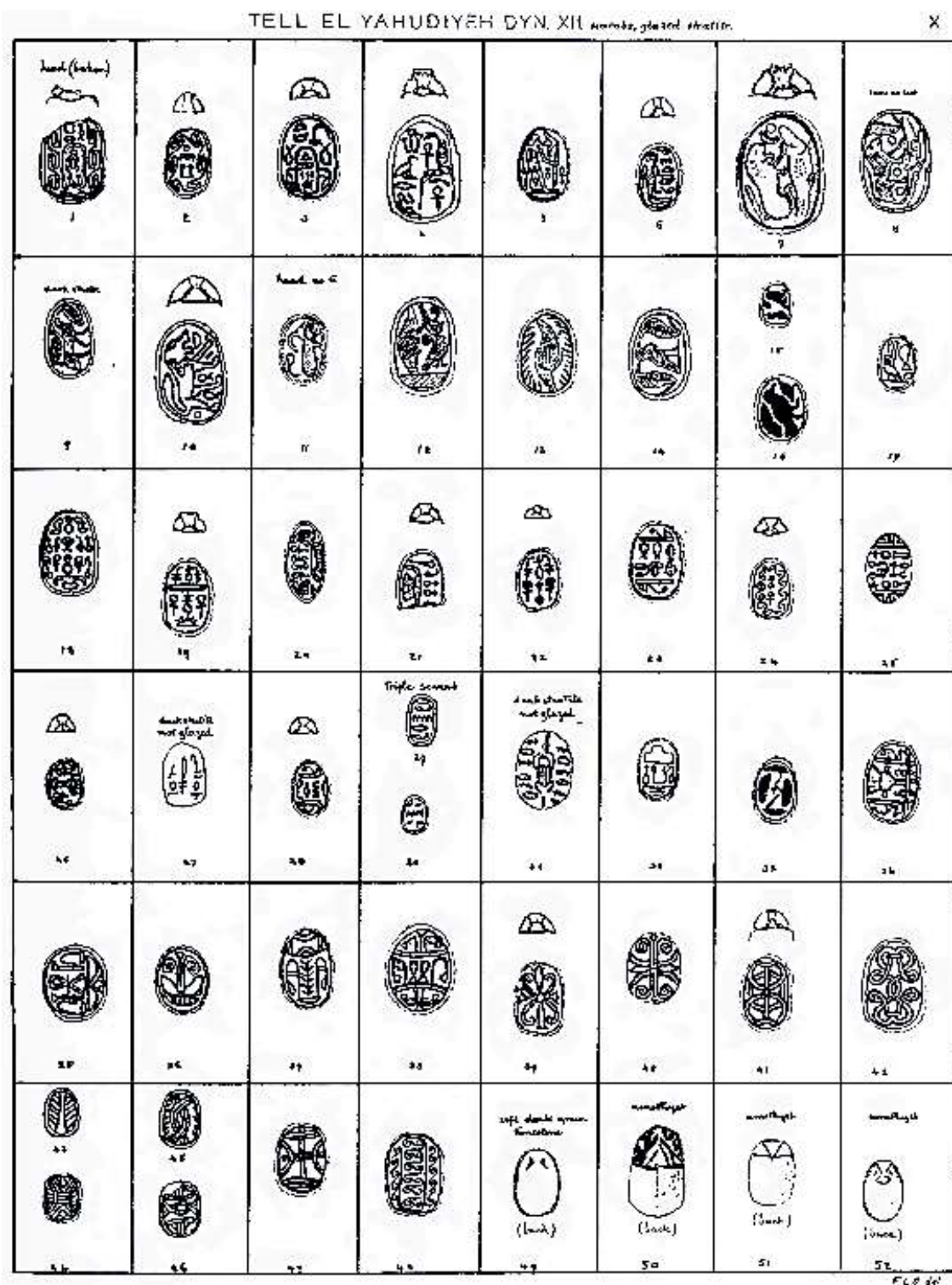
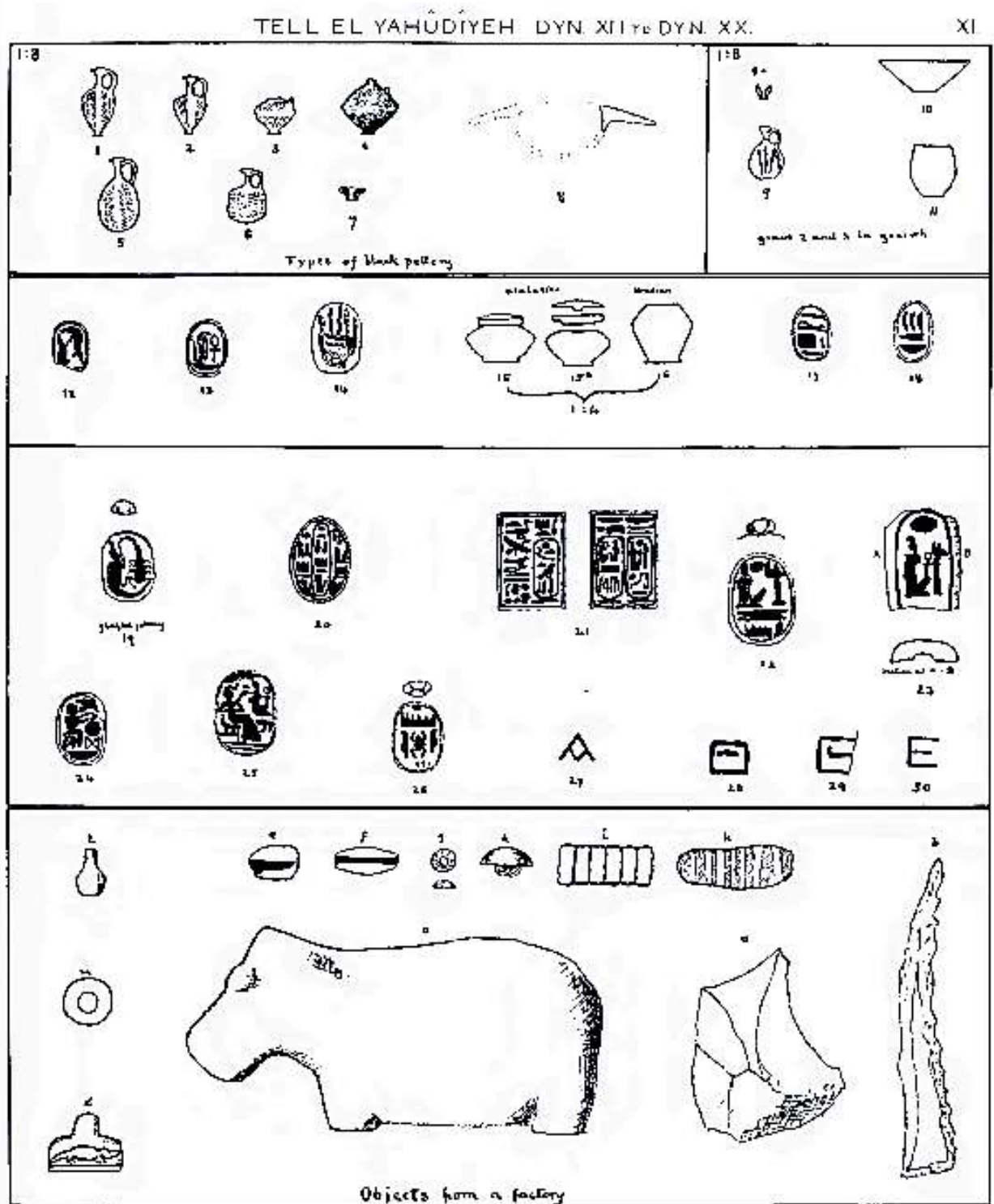


PLATE XI.



## PLATE XII.

TELL EL YAHUDIYEH. TUMULI 10, III, IV

PLATE 12



2



3



1. TUMULUS III, 10. 2. TUMULUS IV. 3. TUMULUS VIII.



PLATE XIII.

TELL EL YAHUDIYEH TUMULI VIII, III, AND IV

PLATE 12



## PLATE XIV.

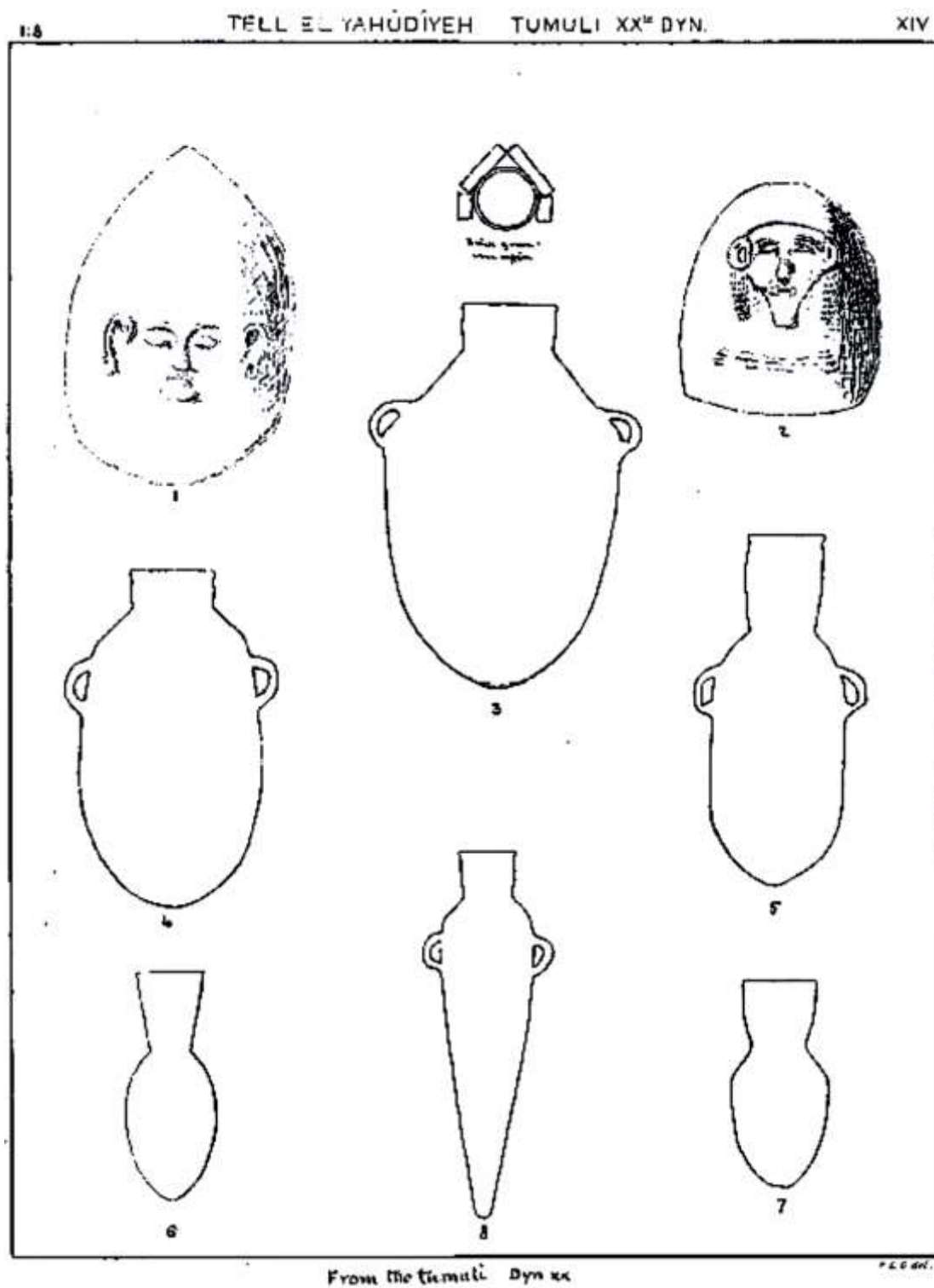
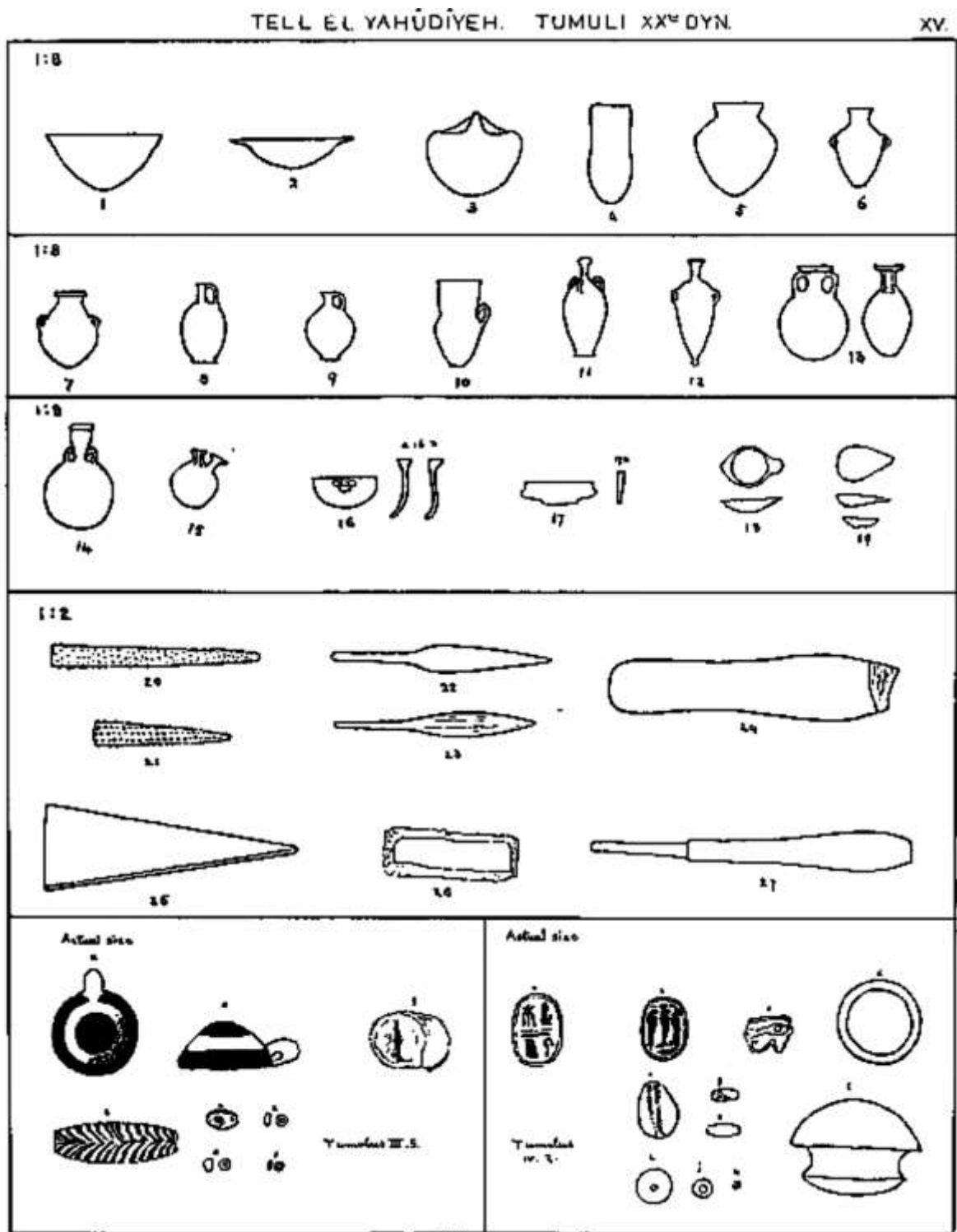


PLATE XV.



## PLATE XVI.

