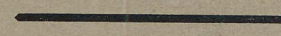


(66<sup>A</sup>)

FLINDERS PETRIE CENTENARY 1953

**CEREMONIAL  
SLATE PALETTES**



**CORPUS OF  
PROTO-DYNASTIC  
POTTERY**

FLINDERS PETRIE, KT.

Eg  
95  
BORBONE

66

CEREMONIAL SLATE PALETTES AND CORPUS OF PROTO-DYNASTIC POTTERY

Eg 95 (66<sup>A</sup>) - 4°

FLINDERS PETRIE CENTENARY 1953

BRITISH SCHOOL OF EGYPTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

VOL. LXVI (A)

# CEREMONIAL SLATE PALETTES

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WITH PREFACE AND INTRODUCTION BY  
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*Hon. Director*

AND ADDITIONAL NOTES TO TEXT BY  
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AND  
BERNARD QUARITCH  
11 GRAFTON STREET, NEW BOND STREET, W.1

1953

ACQUISITION  
N°108515



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DECORATED VASE OF GERZEAN PERIOD  
(FLINDERS PETRIE)

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HILDA F. PETRIE

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# MONOGRAPHS ON EGYPTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY BASED ON FIELD WORK

The Collection of Egyptian antiquities at University College, London, was gathered by me in order to study the development of civilisation of the past ages of Egypt. The nucleus of the series was the small collection of a few antiquities given by Miss Edwards who founded the professorship which I held. The opportunities of acquiring antiquities when living in the country for forty years were great, and many curious specimens, less saleable to the tourist, came my way. These purchased antiquities gained in value from comparison with the dated objects discovered in my excavations. From this there grew a view of serial development in primitive times and onwards. It eventually gave a basis for a series of monographs on different subjects, illustrated by my collection and in some instances augmented from other collections, thus forming a library of Egyptian archaeology.

My clear time has more or less sufficed to complete such "catalogues." I proposed to issue twenty-four volumes altogether. Twenty of these volumes were for the subjects which had to be worked up, and in addition there are four which are on subjects within the scope of other students. I might have issued more, if assistance had been provided, as much of my time in the preparation of them was occupied in the photographing and drawing of over 14,000 objects. Half of each year was swallowed in excavating and moreover a half-time post and pay, at the College, left no margin for keeping an assistant.

The following nineteen Catalogue Volumes have been completed, and one more got into order. The last four of the series can be delegated.

1. AMULETS, the first catalogue, began the classifying of the subject in 275 kinds, with 1,700 photographs, and references to other collections. Constable issued it, but it was hit by the war, and no publishers will undertake such books. At the time, I was

ordered to remain at the College, and that gave opportunity to prepare Catalogue Volumes which could be issued annually to the subscribers of the British School of Egyptian Archaeology, while all excavations, and publication of results of field work, were suspended.

2. SCARABS WITH NAMES, AND CYLINDERS was the most important of the volumes, historically. The 2,300 named scarabs of the collection form a more complete series than the British Museum series, and no other museum collection is of half the size.

3. TOOLS AND WEAPONS contains 3,200 figures, of which 960 are photographs from the College. The absence of any *corpus* of forms before it was published has made this the standard book of reference for this subject. It is always quoted as "T.W." in Germany.

4. PREHISTORIC EGYPT, with discussion of the dating of predynastic objects, has over 1,000 figures. The newly conceived "Sequence Dating" was put into practice, and applied to distinguish differences of age through the prehistoric periods.

5. CORPUS OF PREHISTORIC POTTERY, AND PALETTES. This embodied in 61 plates more than 1,700 different pots, arranged according to their form for easy reference, and dated by Sequence Dating.

6. BUTTONS AND DESIGN SCARABS is complementary to the previous volume on scarabs, completing the subject. It contains 2,200 figures, classified.

7. ANCIENT WEIGHTS AND MEASURES records over 5,000 weights, with 1,000 figures and full discussion of the various standards, superseding the previous theories on the subject.

8. GLASS STAMPS AND WEIGHTS, the companion volume to this, deals with the Byzantine and Arab periods and records the most complete series known. It contains over 700 photographs with transcripts and translations.

9. OBJECTS OF DAILY USE, with 62 photographic

plates, contains 1,600 figures. The classes comprise jewellery, toilet articles, carvings, furniture and basketry, games and writing.

10. SHABTIS. This volume contains 400 figures, with analysis of the text and copies, and a catalogue of continental collections.

11. FUNERAL FURNITURE gives detailed descriptions, with catalogue of 650 objects, and

12. STONE AND METAL VASES (bound together in one volume). This Catalogue gives drawings of 1,300 vases of various dates, mostly early, with some photographs to show texture.

13. CORPUS OF PROTO-DYNASTIC POTTERY. 30 plates with over 800 figures.

This makes a total of thirteen volumes, which will serve as text-books on the various subjects.

Besides these, I wrote seven more Catalogue Volumes:—

14. GLASS AND GLAZES,

15. TEXTILES,

16. STONE AND PLASTER WORK,

17. COPTIC OBJECTS, notes prepared on,

18. SMALL INSCRIPTIONS,

19. ROMAN TERRA COTTA FIGURES,

20. SMALL FIGURES, GLAZE AND BRONZE,

but these volumes have disappeared in a clearance of College records which was made just before my return from Palestine in 1934.

There also remain to be undertaken, by my successors, the Catalogues of:—

21. BEAD NECKLACES, illustrating the unique collection of over 1,000 strings, ranging from Badarian (early prehistoric) down to the Coptic Age. The representation of these in colour has been purposely postponed, awaiting a photographic process which will give a continuous colour without white spotting, and not too red.

22. FLINT IMPLEMENTS.

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FLINDERS PETRIE.

## BOOKS FOR REFERENCE

PREHISTORIC EGYPT .. ..	Prehistoric	<i>Petrie</i>	Brit. Sch. Egn. Arch.	1920
CORPUS, PREHISTORIC POTTERY ..	Prehistoric	<i>Petrie</i>	Brit. Sch. Egn. Arch.	1921
MOSTAGEDDA .. ..	i Tasian	<i>Brunton</i>	Quaritch	1937
BADARIAN CIVILISATION .. ..	ii Badarian	<i>Brunton</i>	Brit. Sch. Egn. Arch.	1928
EL AMRAH AND ABYDOS .. ..	iii Amratian	<i>MacIver, Mace</i>	Egypt Explor. Fund	1902
NAQADA AND BALLAS .. ..	{iii Amratian iv Gerzean}	<i>Petrie, Quibell</i>	Brit. Sch. Egn. Arch.	1896
KOPTOS .. ..	iv Gerzean	<i>Petrie</i>	Quaritch	1896
LABYRINTH AND GERZEH .. ..	iv Gerzean	{ <i>Petrie, Mackay</i> <i>Wainwright</i> }	Brit. Sch. Egn. Arch.	1912
DIOSPOLIS PARVA .. ..	{v Semainean & Sequence Dates}	<i>Petrie</i>	Egypt Explor. Fund	1901
HIERAKONPOLIS I, II .. ..	Dynasty 0	{ <i>Green, Quibell</i> <i>Petrie</i> }	Egn. Research Acct.	1900-2
PRIMITIVE ART IN EGYPT .. ..	Dynasty 0	<i>Capart</i>	Grevel	1905
TARKHAN I, II .. ..	Conquest	<i>Petrie</i>	Brit. Sch. Egn. Arch.	1913-14
ABYDOS I, II .. ..	Dynasty I	<i>Petrie</i>	Egypt Explor. Fund	1902-3
GIZEH AND RIFEH .. ..	Dynasty I	<i>Petrie</i>	Brit. Sch. Egn. Arch.	1907
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CORPUS, PROTO-DYNASTIC POTTERY	Dynasties I-III	<i>Petrie</i>	Brit. Sch. Egn. Arch.	1953

In editing this volume by Flinders Petrie, I dedicate it to the memory of the body of loyal workers chosen from the fellahin of Upper Egypt who, under training, attained such skill and honesty in their toil.

*Egypt, 1880-1914, 1918-1926.*

## CEREMONIAL SLATE PALETTES WITH RELIEFS

*The natures of living creatures, and the furies of wild beasts.*  
WISDOM, vii, 20

### PREFACE

HILDA F. PETRIE

**1. Creative design in palettes.** To those who do not care for pottery the redeeming feature of this volume will be the slate palettes.

Flinders Petrie has assembled them here in the attempt to marshal them in approximate order of dating.

They present a vivid picture of the appearance of the early tribesmen for, in the dawn of art, these had power to give a single-hearted presentation of themselves, both as regards their facial type and their surroundings.

These primitive people also had an unerring facility in portraying in low relief the strength and grace of animal form. Wild creatures pounce or prance, lope or slink, with matchless accuracy. So true are they to nature that the genera can in many instances be identified.

The collection of their forms, here given, yields us a veritable bestiary. We may study nearly a hundred figures of beasts and thirty of birds.

Even among the palettes with figures merely incised, omitted here, we find presented an antelope and also an elephant which are superb in their delineation.

**2. Origin of ceremonial palettes.** The ceremonial slate palette had a very simple beginning. It was derived from a small plain slab of slate which was used for eye-paint.

Hundreds of such slates have been found in Upper Egypt, as they are among the usual contents of a

simple grave. The material was obtained near at hand; a fairly extensive ridge of slate is known to occur east of Esneh.

A small toilet palette was often the only object placed in a woman's grave in early prehistoric times.

The paint was ground from malachite, not only protective in its green colour but recognised as anti-septic. It is still used in some parts of Central Africa.

A flint pebble for the grinding was sometimes laid with the palette, and sometimes a little bag of ground malachite, or a lump of it.

"In the later prehistoric age decoration begins to appear upon the slate palettes, used for grinding the eye-paint. Sometimes incised, . . . later in relief as on palettes found at El Amrah and Gerzeh, with emblems of Min and Hat-hor. From these were developed palettes with the same outline but of larger size, which bore elaborate scenes of historical record, and which were consecrated in the temples.

"These form the most important evidences of the period of the dynastic conquest." (*Handbook of Egyptian Antiquities*, 1915, p. 15. Flinders Petrie Collection.) The larger were about 2 ft. long.

" . . . As along with these carved slates were found great mace-heads covered with fine carving, it is clear that ordinary daily objects were at that time developed into ceremonial show pieces and made the vehicle for historical records. The development of snuff-boxes into gorgeous and artistic valuables in the last century is on the same principle." ("Note on a carved slate." W.M.F.P., *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, 1900, pp. 140, 141.)

**3. Time scale of Sequence Dates.** As regards chronology, there can be no dates in actual years until the reign of Mena, the first king of the First Dynasty. Flinders Petrie therefore proposed a time

scale of a hundred sequences of a generation apiece, which can be used as a method of dating.

Accordingly, the early remains he placed at Sequence Date 30, to allow for earlier if needful, and the Dynastic Conquest at Sequence Date 80, or thereabouts (see *Diospolis Parva*, pp. 4-8).

The Tasian period having come to light subsequently, this is now considered as the first of the five successive waves of civilisation. He suggested placing it at Sequence Date 20.

The scheme of Sequence Dates has been accepted by scholars, both at home and abroad, as a workable scale of dating.

**4. Approximate dating of early periods.** The length of each king's reign in dynastic times being usually known, Flinders Petrie adopted such dating as he believed would have been considered correct by the ancient Egyptians themselves.

In recent decades, he did not believe in the short chronology put forward by the Germans. Latterly, he modified his tentative dating, and brought it down to about 4000 B.C. for the First Dynasty.

**5. Five pre-dynastic civilisations.** The scope of this volume ranges from Early Prehistoric, S.D. 20, through five civilisations down to Mena, first king of the First Dynasty, S.D. 80.

These have been summarised as follows:—

“ There was first a crude condition, akin to all Africa;

- (1) upon this came the Tasian;
- (2) a skilful civilisation, Badarian from Asia;
- (3) next a Libyan influence, Amratian, from the west;
- (4) an eastern civilisation, Gerzean, akin to the Amorite;
- (5) lastly Semainean, the dynastic race from Elam, which brought in art, and rapid growth of ability.” (*Wisdom of the Egyptians*, p. 1.)

These civilisations were named from our various excavation sites where first identified: Deir Tasa, Badari, El Amrah, Gerzeh, Semaineh. In listing them here, I have added their Sequence Dates, and also an approximation of dating, as put forward in *The Making of Egypt*.

Name of Period	Sequence Date	B.C. (approx.)
1. Tasian	20	—
2. Badarian	21-29	7400(?)
3. Amratian	30-37	—
4. Gerzean	38-60	5500(?)
5. Semainean	61-78	—
First Dynasty	78-82	4000(?)

**6. Necessary omissions.** In presenting this subject, it was the original intention of the writer to make outline drawings of all the objects described in sections 22-29 and to reproduce them in the present volume; but he altered his intention for, as he remarks (p. 7), it is unnecessary to republish them, because he has given references to the original sources of publication, and this should suffice.

Even if it were desirable, I am prevented from drawing the objects in sections 25-29, for they are only now being gradually released from their place of wartime safety.

**7. The Flinders Petrie Collection.** Some part of the Flinders Petrie Collection is already on view once more, in University College, London. It is displayed in a temporary gallery, facing the Department of Egyptology, in Foster Court (south side of College).

This will eventually be housed, however, in a permanent gallery which has been planned for it in the main building.

It is hoped that most of the Collection will be on exhibition in 1953, as the Centenary of Flinders Petrie's birth is being celebrated this year.

**8. Alterations in publication.** For the present volume, it was designed in the first instance to publish photographs of casts of the palettes, but for this I have substituted the plan of obtaining from the various Museums photographs taken direct from the originals.

There are some changes in the nomenclature: pl. B, figs. 4, 5, 6-7; pl. C, fig. 10.

Pl. B, fig. 5. An origin other than the cow's head with horns has been suggested for the so-called Hathor palette (p. 11, sect. 37) and I have re-named it Gerzean palette, as that fits its date and provenance and possibly its subject.

Pl. B, figs. 4 and 6-7. The suggested Bird and Boat has been re-named Plover palette, and the Storks palette is Ibis.

Pl. C, fig. 10. The pair of birds sparring, below the gazelle, are now considered to be geese, so it is named Gazelle—Goose palette.

Some changes on the plates should have mention. It was needful here and there to alter the position of a palette in completing the half-filled plates. They are not in exact sequence nor, indeed, can their order be precise.

If I seem to have labelled the palettes with letters and numbers against the intention of the writer (see p. 10, sect. 31), I would add that I found it necessary for facility of temporary reference to distinguish one plate from another, and to indicate each figure by means of a numeral.

**9. Additions to plates and text.** The writer intended to publish eight plates of slate palettes, but I have since collected more of them, which brings the number of plates up to ten, and of figures up to twenty-six (seventeen obverse and nine reverse).

Plate H has been newly inserted, as containing palettes (nos. 21-24) not originally included in the discussion on style and relative order of dating, nor in the List and Summary; they are merely added without comment at the foot of the List (p. 19).

In order to draw on further material amplifying the text, it seemed well to ask Dr. Margaret Murray for additional detail. Her supplementary matter appears here in square brackets.

In the desire to supply more accurate names for the fauna so vividly represented, I had recourse to the Zoological Society of London. The Superintendent, and the Curators of the Mammalian and Bird Departments examined and pronounced on the more doubtful of the creatures and were most helpful in correcting any inaccuracies.

In the Natural History Museum (Brit. Mus.) several members of the staff in the Mammalian Room and the Bird Room were kind enough to confirm some of our names, and make suggestions.

After each descriptive section of the text I have inserted a passage, *Beasts and Birds*, listing the names of the animals in their order on the palette. Where the attributions are uncertain, the findings of these authorities are appended.

**10. Acknowledgments and thanks.** Lastly I have to render thanks to Dr. Murray for her lively contributions to the subject matter of the palettes; also to Professor W. B. Emery; and Mrs. I. Bedford.

My grateful thanks are due to the Royal Society; when it became necessary, owing to post-war bombing in Jerusalem, to make duplicate copies of texts and drawings, I was allowed the privilege of storing much material in Burlington House, until my return to England.

I am grateful to the following Museum Directors and Curators for their courtesy in granting me excellent photographs of their slate palettes, with permission to publish:—

Brussels, Musées du Cinquanteaire: figs. 5, 6-7, 21, 22.

Cairo, Museum of Antiquities (*Antikhana*): figs. 4, 19-20, 23-24, 25-26.

London, the British Museum: figs. 1, 3, 10-11.

Manchester, University Museum: fig. 2.

Oxford, the Ashmolean Museum: figs. 13-14, 15-16.

Paris, Musée du Louvre: figs. 3, 8-9, 12, 17-18.

## INTRODUCTION

HILDA F. PETRIE

**11. Contributory.** As the opening paragraphs of this short study of Proto-dynastic times (p. 7) seem to take for granted intimate knowledge of the period, I have ventured to preface them with a brief summary of the sequence of events and the conclusions which Flinders Petrie arrived at in an attempt to realise the incoming of some of the early peoples.

**12. Primitive Man. Palaeolithic.** “ The oldest vestiges of Man yet found in Egypt are pieces of mineralised blackened bone, discovered in our work at Qau in Upper Egypt (Petrie, *Antaeopolis*, p. 1, and Sandford, *Palaeolithic Man*, iii, 85-86). These earliest remains were collected anciently, with those of many animals indiscriminately . . . ”

These words from *The Making of Egypt* (p. 1) refer to the coming of Man into Egypt. We hope in due course to publish Brunton's discovery of the bones from Qau (pronounced Gow) in a volume of papers by Sir Arthur Keith, Dr. K. S. Sandford, Dr. D. E. Derry and others.

**13. Fayum Solutrean. Neolithic.** “ The first contact with the continuous civilisation of Egypt is in the Fayum basin.” An agricultural people storing grain, and using flints of Solutrean type, lived there.

**14. The Tasian Age. First civilisation.** Period, Sequence Date 20. Named from Deir Tasa, near Abu-tig. See *M.E.* pl. ii, pp. 3, 4.

Following after the Palaeolithic and Neolithic ages, five different civilisations are now known to have preceded the dynasties, and opened the way for the unified rule of the kingdom of the Pharaohs.

“ The successive periods are named from places where each is found with least admixture.”

The earliest of these was the Tasian, discovered by Brunton (*Mostagedda*, 1927-29). A more advanced race of people had now appeared. The type of skull was larger and finer than that even of their successors.

The products from the various sites are closely alike, and of a character distinct from all that went before or after.

We find no trace of written signs nor of standard of weight.

These people had axes of igneous stone and of hard white limestone, and square stone palettes for eye-paint.

“ Their flaked flints . . . are evidence of a highly advanced people whose affinities are not yet recognised.”

Metals were as yet unworked.

Various shapes of pottery were skilfully made. Their characteristic pots were beakers with flaring brims.

**15. The Badarian Age. Second civilisation.** Sequence Dates 21-29. Named from Badari, 20 miles S. of Asyut. See *M.E.* pls. ii-iv, pp. 4-8.

An Asiatic source is suggested, from the skull measurements. Skulls were long and narrow, most resembling the primitive Indian.

Various details seem to indicate that the Caucasus was the immediate source of origin of the Badarians.

Their position in Egypt is known from stratified sites. The Badarian age must have covered many centuries, because the same class of remains occurs before and after a long intervening period of cementing of rock debris, as shown by the similarity of deposits.

"The use of emmer wheat by the Badarians . . . points to the recognition of the corn god Osiris who brought the Egyptians out of savagery."

In respect of the year of 360 days—"The date of the addition of five days is indicated by those days being dedicated to divinities of the Osiris family. That form of theology came in with the Osiris worship of the Badarians who introduced corn, and Osiris was said to have brought corn into Egypt." *W.E.* p. 3.

The sites of cemeteries and the poorer dwellings occur on spurs of limestone debris, but the chief remains are considered to lie far below the Nile mud accumulations.

In this age as in the preceding, we find no trace of written signs nor of standard of weight.

These people were in contact with the cultures of N. and S., also with the Red Sea, Sinai, and Syria.

With regard to beliefs, the worship of Osiris is mentioned above. Also various amulets were found in graves.

They used stone tools, and slate was employed for the small oblong palettes for malachite eye-paint. Quartz crystal was known to them.

"The flint arrow-heads are closely like those of the Fayum flints."

"The most surprising advance of the Badarians was in glazing. A favourite ornament was a belt formed of a hank of threads with thousands of stone beads covered with green copper glaze."

Ivory was carved into bracelets, combs and spoons. An ivory statuette, a figure modelled in pottery, and one in clay, show three racial types.

These people wore skin coats over linen; they excelled in leather work, and "their weaving . . . was well advanced, with selvedge, and very evenly spaced."

We find basket-work and matting in their graves, shell fish-hooks, and a wooden bumerang.

The Badarians made superb pottery—jars, pans, cups, in black-topped ware; also carinated bowls. The potter's wheel was as yet unknown.

"The fabric with combed surface, cross-ribbed, excels all other in regularity and thinness. Basalt was ground to a fine powder to make it an artificial basis, and the surface of the pots cross-combed diagonally; they were baked black, or were kiln-fired red.

"Some of this is the most perfect handwork that is known, for its regularity and thinness."

"The finer qualities were never equalled in later times in the Nile Valley. The best vases are extraordinary for the thinness and excellence of the ware and for the high finish of the delicately rippled, or the smooth, surfaces."

**16. The Amratian Age. Third civilisation.** S.D. 30-34, 34-37. Named from El Amrah, near Abydos. See *M.E.* pls. vi-xiv, pp. 15-21.

The very civilised people of this age had little in common with the Badarians, and probably came into Egypt from the Libyan side.

They used a system of linear or geometric signs, continued later in Egypt as personal marks. Out of the signary developed from it, all the western alphabets were derived.

Their system of weights was on the gold standard of historical times. In an early burial one such stone weight was found, carefully wrapped in leather and laid in the hands.

Their arts began well but declined. In decorative design on painted pottery they showed much observation of nature in delineating plant life.

Amulets were in use. Other than these, we have no detail as to their religious faith. Chiefly we know that the peoples, both earlier and now onward, had an inborn belief in a life after death.

Stone vases of alabaster, limestone and basalt were made, and disk maces. Little slate palettes were carved in animal outline.

We find some small use of quartz crystal, obsidian, porphyry for weapons, garnet, imported turquoise and lazuli, and some pierced pebbles of agate.

Flint was very skilfully worked for ripple-flaked knives (saw-like, with thirty serrations to the inch).

Copper was known in small quantities and was used for little chisels and drills.

Glazing was kept up.

Ivory was carved into ornamental combs, also into small figures of slender build, and cloaked squat figures. Tusks were used for water-skin plugs.

In some of the burials, the bodies were covered with skins, or wrapped in leather sometimes painted in patterns in several colours.

Pottery was found in abundance, with eighty plain varieties. The technique was less skilful but the shapes showed greater invention and beauty. White-lined red pots resemble the modern Algerian, and were a distinctive class. They were decorated with figures of animals, and with geometrical, botanical and other designs. One painted bowl gives the oldest example of a plan, that of a boat with detailed tackle; and a vase has the oldest scene of a combat (*M.E.* vi, 4, 6).

**17. The Gerzean Age. Fourth civilisation.** S.D. 38-44, 45-60. Named from El Gerzeh, near Meydum. See *M.E.* pls. xv-xxviii, pp. 31-47.

Folk from high Eastern deserts filtered in, during six generations. They may have been from Syria or the Red Sea mountains, and were akin to the Amorites.

Their period was perhaps equivalent to Magdalenian.

They brought in a system of pictorial signs; we find them as early as S.D. 39. These continued in use as hieroglyphs, together with word-signs.

Their weights were on the Babylonian standard.

They showed inferiority in artistic sense, but their arts were varied.

They had fixed ritual observances, and many amulets.

It is perhaps to this age, or the following age of the Semainean civilisation, that the painted wall-scenes of Hierakonpolis (*see* section 20) may be attributed; also the colossal figures of the god Min from Koptos (Ashmol. Mus. Oxford) and the slate palette (pl. A, fig. 1) with the emblem of Min, both of which would point to the Min-worshipping Aunu being already in the land.

The trade relations of the Gerzeans were considerable, and their sea-going galleys of forty oars probably called at a score of ports, from the Aegean to Persia.

These people worked basalt to fashion coarse goblets, and white stones for pear-shaped mace-heads; they also made fine vases in syenite, breccia, serpentine and other stones, and they had turquoise, obsidian, garnet, and lazuli. Amethyst occurs once, and once later on. At S.D. 41, we find one example of dark blue glass.

Finely worked flints of exquisite precision, S.D. 45-60, were their highest achievement. Harpoons and lances were made, and flint armlets were chipped out.

They knew gold alloys, silver, and electrum; gold

beads first appear at S.D. 38, and silver beads at S.D. 42.

In copper "the adze and dagger were well developed." A small flaying-knife dates from S.D. 49, and there were other small tools and some needles. We find Late Gerzean use of lead.

Ivory was carved into small heads with pointed beards, and into ornamental combs.

Leather work and linen cloth were among their industries.

For wall-paintings and primitive statues, *see* earlier in this section.

"The Decorated pottery, buff painted with red line, is the distinctive mark of the Gerzean folk," with marbling of vases. They painted a profusion of scenes of hunters and women and ostriches, and especially of shipping, on the rotund vases (*see* coloured plate, *Frontispiece.*) Wavy ledge-handled pots and Black Incised ware from abroad also prevailed. Black-topped and Red Polished pottery continued.

The Amratian and Gerzean civilisations were the first which came to light. Petrie's evidence at Naqada pointed to their being prehistoric, but Quibell was less certain at Ballas and held back, so this, for a few years, postponed the great series being named Prehistoric, and taking its true place before the dynastic conquest.

**18. The Semainean Age. Fifth civilisation.** S.D. 61-78. Named from Semaineh, near Qena. See *M.E.* pls. xxix-xxxiii, pp. 55-57.

These people were the race from Elam, by way of Punt (Somali) and the Red Sea mountains, who founded the dynastic history.

They introduced phonetic signs into Egypt, and also inscribed them on cylinders. The mixture of the pictorial and phonetic signs constituted the hieroglyphic system of Egypt.

They brought in the standard of weight which was the main one of historic times and lasted down to the Roman age.

The Semaineans "had no generally distinctive culture," but were a medley of peoples in turmoil of decay and new elements. There was little general advance of ideas during the few centuries they dominated the country.

Fine stones were worked, resulting in many new forms of the stone vase; there was variety in small slate palettes, such as those with 'Oxford frame' borders.

There was increase of copper, which was now becoming abundant for heavy tools. New Asiatic forms of dagger came in. "The earliest iron from Egypt was found as beads, in graves of S.D. 62."

Ivory rings and hair-pins and large spoons were in



use, but ivory carving and other arts were mostly decadent.

In one of the graves, beadwork mittens were found on the hands.

In pottery, five distinctive classes had died out, giving place to dull Late forms, and painting on pottery was also at a low ebb.

**19. Dynasty Nought. Early dynastic kings.** At the close of the ages briefly summarised here, indistinctive centuries of decline set in, marked by struggle with incoming forces.

Dynastic invaders were obtaining mastery over the country slowly but surely. Meanwhile the various arts decayed; there were replacements, of a new order.

It would seem that there were many local kings before the final unification of the kingdom under Mena. "The early Annals recorded at least some ninety names of kings of Upper and Lower Egypt."

About seventeen royal names, Ka, Ro, the Scorpion King and others, have come to light in the digging of early sites, and have been attributed to Dynasty 0 (Nought).

These names were found on the clay cappings of offering-jars and, in a few instances, the wooden cylinders which impressed them have survived.

They have also been found roughly incised on the shoulders of the tall pointed offering-jars stacked in the storerooms surrounding the central chamber of early royal tombs. These jars held remains of grain and other provision for the deceased.

There was a medley of races even in the early times. Half a dozen pre-dynastic types are figured in "The Making of Egypt" (pl. xxxvii) and contrasted with the entirely different dynastic types.

A separate southern people, the Aunu, were aboriginal (sects. 17, 20); we recognise the slanting jaw and drooped chin in the pre-dynastic portraits of the ivory king from Abydos, and the Scorpion King who worshipped Min and Set, enemies of the dynastic Horus (*M.E.* xxxvii-viii, 9, 10, 11).

Erment, Gebeleyn and Esneh were among the cities of the Aunu.

With the dynastic people were the Rekhytu (plovers) who entered at Koptos, and went north to found a base at Heliopolis. They were farmers and formed the class of franklins below the nobles, under the Pharaoh; together with them, they held Egypt for many thousand years down to Greek times.

The invaders came in from Elam, and some occupied the land of Punt. Those who went up the Red Sea colonised Egypt from Qoseyr and Koptos, and others reached Phoenician coasts.

**20. The Dynastic Invasion.** S.D. 78-82. See *M.E.* xxxv-xlii, pp. 65-86.

The pre-dynastic civilisations drew to a close in the Semainean age, S.D. 63-78, by reason of the tumultuous inroads of the dynastic invasion.

A new era was emerging, and the old one passing away.

"The dynastic people brought with them as perfect an artistic sense and ability as is known anywhere. The earliest of their known productions, the ivory knife-handle in the Louvre, has lifelike figures of dogs, goat, ibex and lioness, unsurpassed in truth and spirit (*M.E.* xxxv, pp. 65-67).

"The later stages of this art in the slate palettes, just before the Ist dynasty, are decadent and crude; but the skill in ivory work continued in the Ist dynasty figures, such as the old King (*M.E.* xxxvii, 10), and was revived in the ivory statuette of Khufu (*M.E.* lvi, 1)." *W.E.* figs. 33-34, p. 51.

The Elamite ivory above described, the knife-handle of Gebel el 'Araq, "a monument of highest value", dates from about S.D. 60-65. The reverse side of it shows the round-head armed invaders, and their black ships with tall bows and stern, in combat against the long-haired inhabitants with their low two-cabined craft.

The unique wall-paintings at Hierakonpolis, S.D. 63, also give a graphic representation of similar scenes. The Nile boatmen encounter the foreign ships, the new-comers dispute the land with them (*Hierak.* II, lxxv-ix, and *M.E.* xxxv-vi). Even in Gerzean times the inroads were beginning which were to change the face of Egypt.

Yet a third work of art has been preserved to us which is reminiscent of this period and is a monument no less valuable than the ceremonial knife handle.

It is a festival mace-head, sculptured in limestone, in honour of the Scorpion King in his public works, and commemorating the irrigation ceremony at high Nile. His standards of Min and Set bear limp bodies of plovers hanging from them, symbolic of a temporary success (*Hierak.* I, xxvi c, 4). The Aunu indeed were not themselves subdued nor unified with the invaders until the IIInd dynasty, many centuries later.

Ceremonial slate palettes end with the Dynastic Conquest. In the latest of them (pls. J, K) we see the conqueror first entering and annexing the South, and finally subduing the North.

Thus were united the Crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt.

Volumes for reference:—

THE MAKING OF EGYPT. W. M. Flinders Petrie. xvi + 188 pp., 85 pls. Sheldon Press (S.P.C.K.). 1939. *Temp.* out of print.

WISDOM OF THE EGYPTIANS. W. M. Flinders Petrie. xvi + 162 pp., 24 pls., 128 figs. Brit. Sch. Egn. Arch. 1940. 10s. 6d.

## CEREMONIAL SLATE PALETTES WITH RELIEFS FLINDERS PETRIE

### I. THE RISE OF THE DYNASTIES

**21. Sources for periods.** The publications on the proto-dynastic age being more complete and unified than those of the prehistoric age, there is not the same need for compiling or for discussing all the material. The period of Dynasty 0 is represented in *Hierakonpolis* I and II; the century just before the Ist dynasty has been described in *Tarkhan* I and II more fully than any other age; the entry of the Ist dynasty provides much in *Abydos* I; and, of the whole of the Ist and part of the IIInd dynasty, the remains of the richest burials are in *Royal Tombs* I and II.

As most of the objects have been already figured in these volumes there is little need to republish them.

**22. Kings' names.** Hierakonpolis, Nekhen, was the primitive capital of Upper Egypt. The earliest ruler mentioned is usually known as "the Scorpion King," and the evidence for this name is the great mace-head (*Hierak.* I, xxvi c, 4) with the seven-leaved rosette over a scorpion, placed before the king's figure.

As the six-leaved rosette, with *hem* "servant," is placed before the attendant of Nar-mer on his palette (K 26), and the seven-leaved rosette in the same group on the mace-head, there is good ground for taking the rosette to mean "king," as in Mesopotamia.

This is corroborated by a limestone vase with the royal falcon on a crescent, placed over a scorpion (*Hierak.* I, xix, xx). The matter however is complicated by the alabaster bowls which bear the falcon and *ka* arms "the royal Ka," the scorpion and *ka* arms "the scorpion Ka," and the same with the mouth *ro* between the arms, reading "the Ka of Ro."

Now Ro was presumed before to be the name of a king, by the sealing with the falcon on Ro (*Royal Tombs* II, xiii, 96), found also on jars (*R.T.* I, xxxix, 2; xlv, 2 to 9; *R.T.* II, lv, 5). Is Ro, then, a second name of the Scorpion King? From the bowls it might be supposed that the scorpion was a title, but the mace-head and vase seem to make it a personal name.

There is yet another possibility, that the scorpion was a tribal ensign. On the fragment of the Tehenu palette (pl. G, fig. 19) representing towns taken by various ensigns, we see the falcon the royal bird of Hierakonpolis; the double falcon of Koptos; the scorpion; and the lion (which was a city name, *shennu*(?) on the Bull palette fragment, reverse, pl. G, fig. 18). Thus it might be possible that the mace read "the king of the Scorpion principality."

Of bowls there are three, inscribed; they have been catalogued with other plain bowls found together, in the Stone and Metal Vases (see *Funerary Furniture, and Stone & Metal Vases*, pl. xvi).

There is a pottery scorpion, which is another example connected with the numerous scorpion figures of stone found at Hierakonpolis.

**23. Mace-heads.** Portions of two mace-heads in yellow limestone are photographed in *Hierakonpolis* I, xxvi a. One of these is part of a scene of tribute-bearers, the upper line walking, the lower line dancing. Compare the lower line with tribute-bearers engraved on ivory plaques, *R.T.* II, iv, figs. 4, 5, 15. The physiognomy and pigtail of hair are the same in both. The dress in figs. 4, 5 is a long skin robe, which indicates a cool climate. The vase in fig. 1 is evidently a stone vase, by the shape of the handles.

At this early age it would be useless to look to Syria or Arabia for such people, while the Nile Valley was still being conquered. The only seat therefore for this stone-vase people would be in the cool mountain region between Egypt and the Red Sea. That region, by the monastery of St. Anthony, still has trees, and springs of water where cultivation can exist, and in the winter there are snows on the peaks above Suez. Before the camel destroyed the woods, and when there was probably more rainfall, a mountain people may well have lived there. Such seems to have been the source of the fourth prehistoric civilisation.

The other mace-head fragment should be compared with that of Nar-mer (*Hierak.* I, xxvi b). The king seated on a high throne, under a shrine cover, is alike on both. The object here before the king is a covered object on a tray, which reminds us of the *teknu* human offering (Quibell, *Ramesseum*, pl. ix). This might be a symbol of the ritual death of the king

connected with his Osirification in the *Sed* festival.

Below is a rope border round a head, but the connection of this with a part of a couch and figure (?) beneath is not explained by anything on the other maces.

**24. Ivory carvings.** Of the ivories from Hierakonpolis, most of those that were deposited in England are now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. A few are in the Flinders Petrie Collection, University College, London, published in *Hierakonpolis I* (see *H. I.*, xiv, xv 5, xvi 2, xvi 4 = vi 6). There are others of less importance not yet published. . . .

**25. Glazed pottery.** The pottery figures are an important branch of early dynastic work. Glazing, as we have seen, was an art of the very early civilisation in Egypt, and it became a national industry when the dynasties arose.

Glazed vases are found to belong to the commoner burials at Tarkhan, and a vase with coloured hieroglyphs inlaid bears the name of Aha—Mena, or his successor.

Large tiles of blue or green glaze were made for lining walls, and glazed toggles for fastening clothes; also there were human figures, animals, and even model palanquins (*Abydos II*, iv-xi).

The following is a list of the examples in the Flinders Petrie Collection, Univ. Coll. London.

Female head. Baboons (*Hierak. I*, xxi, 11). Dog (*H. I.*, xx, 12). Bird (*H. I.*, xxi, 14). Part of bird (as *H. I.*, xxi, 15). Scorpion, and part (*H. I.*, xxi, 4). Palanquin. Basket pots. Pot lid (*H. I.*, xxi, 9). Vase, two-handled, blue. Vase on stand. Vase (*H. I.*, xxii, 1). Cup, green.

Twisted beads. Striated beads (*H. I.*, xxi, 8 and xx, 3, 5). Plain beads. Tile, piece (as *H. II.*, xxxii). Tile with sign. Anklet, green (diam. 2.3 inner, 3.6 outer).

**Limestone.** A baboon, with a young one, is figured in *Hierak. I*, xviii, 1. Another baboon is of hammered work in hard limestone (*H. II.*, xxxii, 1)—not of chert as described in text (*H.* p. 43). Two vase-grinders are of silicified limestone (*H. II.*, xxxii, 3) similar to those in *H. II.*, lxii, 3, 6. A fragment of limestone is of early style, with reliefs of an ox-head and a goose, but the date of it is uncertain (*H. I.*, ii, 2).

The above list comprises all the objects from Hierakonpolis in the Collection.

Closely of the same style are two glazed pieces, bought and therefore without history: a cross-legged figure of a boy, perhaps Horus, in green glaze: a solid cylinder of grey-blue glaze, with ribbing around, and a hole on one side.

**26. Other objects.** A few objects from Tarkhan have not been named in the prehistoric classes.

A small copper bowl or dish from grave 16 is of Sequence Date 78. A wooden bat or model dagger, grave 20, is of S.D. 78 (*Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, i, and xi, 20). A scrap of wood has a roughly cut figure of a lion in relief. A large wooden case for a *sa* amulet from grave 231, is of Seq. Date 81 (*T. I.*, iii, 2; xi, 22) and contained an ivory comb with flat top, engraved with *ka-d*, like the personal names in the Royal Tombs (*T. I.*, ii, 11; iii, 2). A bowl carved in wood was found in grave 544, of S.D. 80 (*T. I.*, xi, 21).

**27. Sculptured heads.** On reaching the Ist dynasty, three sculptured heads are the most important pieces of this age, in the Flinders Petrie Collection.

A limestone head is of unknown source, but is obviously so closely like the portrait of Nar-mer on his great palette, that it is either of that king or of one of his immediate relatives. It has never been part of a statue, as it is flat at the back and on the top of the cap; the neck is broken below, so it was not a stone face to fit into a wooden statue. It seems to have been a sculptor's trial-piece, as a study of the king for future reference in carving, like the plaster death-cast of Akhen-aten, or like a sculptor's study of a Roman head in the Collection.

In style it differs from any of the later Egyptian sculptures, even from the statues of Kha-sekhemui of the same dynasty. The eyes are quite natural in the form of the corners, and placed far apart; the nose wide and short, without any hollow at the bridge; the lips rather prominent but thin, and the corners of the mouth and cheek also natural; the cheek bones wide, and the ears placed at the true level.

As Michaelis remarks, "This head, belonging to the oldest known portraiture, renders the racial type with astonishing precision and shows an excellent power of observation in the exact representation of the eyes." (*Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, 1917, p. 13.)

There are two other heads which, from the slope of the features and the flattening on the top, seem to have been those of captives on door-sockets, like the one found at Hierakonpolis (*Hierak. I*, iii, p. 6). That door-socket was of the earliest temple before the Ist dynasty; these heads are more elaborated, but are certainly early, from the vigour of the style and the hardness of the stones.

One of the heads is of black porphyry, and is so far complete at the back that it might have been from a statue, but the flattening of the proportions and the low type of the mouth seem to mark it, in any case, as a figure of a captive.

The other head is of grey quartzose rock, and was

clearly broken away, on the back and both sides, from a wide mass.

**28. Royal Tombs of Ist dynasty.** From these tombs at Abydos there are a few specimens in the F. P. Collection.

Of stone there are pieces of a ribbed tray in hard brown limestone (*R.T. II.*, xxxii, 54).

Of ivory, part of a plaque with engraving of huts (*R.T. II.*, iv, 11); and part of a fluted column of ivory, the top piece in *R.T. II.*, xxxiv, 72. Bought pieces, obviously of the Ist dynasty, are a bull's leg, and some strips of incised ivory.

A fragment of an ebony tablet here is figured in *R.T. II.*, iii, 8. A bit of ebony knob is like *R.T. II.*, xxxii, 51.

Some gold foil is from the tomb of Nar-mer; a small disk of gold is from the tomb of Zet. A small electrum cap, from the tomb of Zer, is engraved with the sign *ab*, the head on a standard.

Of glazed pottery, we find a fragment of a spouted vase; part of a vase of hard blue stoneware with fine facing; and a piece of a blue glazed tube.

One of the names painted on the plaster side of a private tomb is preserved (*R.T. I.*, lxiii; *R.T. II.*, lxi, w 64). Clay models of granaries are from the tomb of Den, and a much broken head of a wooden statuette.

Two pieces of thick square slate palette with rounded edges and no border lines, from the tomb of Mer-neit, are the latest palettes dated.

There are three fragments of ivory tablets of Den (*R.T. I.*, xiv, 8; xvi, 25; *R.T. II.*, vii A, 1); part of a wooden tablet (*R.T. II.*, vii A, 2); a dried sycamore fig.

From the tomb of Kha-sekhemui are copper models of a dish, an axe, four adzes, a knife, two harpoons, five chisels; an actual libation vase of bronze (crushed), a double spout of a vase, and a narrow chisel; a piece of copper wire chain of plain round links not joined; and small ring beads of base gold, copper, and coloured paste, blue, red, and white.

**29. Temple of Ist dynasty.** From the early temple site of Abydos there are several pieces of glazed tile, published in *Abydos II*.

The mat pattern tiles (*Ab. II.*, viii, 176; x, 215; xi, 249). Plain ribbed tiles (*Ab. II.*, viii, 177, 178), with two other large tiles similar. Close ribbed tile, curved, papyrus (?) head (*Ab. II.*, xi, 229).

Small tiles, with a dovetail tenon on the back, from Abydos, Naqada, and Hierakonpolis. Small domed tile with tenon (*Ab. II.*, xi, 234). Small domed tiles with tie-holes.

Large flat tile with tenon back (*Ab. II.*, viii, 180). The other large flat tile in *Ab. II.*, viii, 181, has

incised signs on the back which might be read *nesut Her Ro*, the king Horus Ro, another example of this royal name. A piece of curve-line tile is perhaps part of a wig.

A string of odd beads shows the forms then made in glazed pottery. Glazing on quartz is seen in *Ab. II.*, viii, 171, 172.

[A dark blue bead, found in a private tomb in the Osiris temple at Abydos and dated to the early Ist dynasty, is of glass. The material is identified by the fracture and by specific gravity. It is clearly an imitation of lapis lazuli.]

Of ivory from Abydos there is a great spoon, the bowl about .8 in. wide, and the cylindrical handle 11.5 ins. long and .8 in. thick.

Two pieces of pottery hearth-borders are like those found at Abydos.

In the great tomb at Gizeh of the age of Zet, we found an inscribed flint flake; also pieces of flint bracelets (*Gizeh and Rifeh* iii a).

From unknown sources are an ivory comb with a falcon, of the age of Aha; an ivory draughtsman; a much broken figure of a ram; and a black pottery bowl, closely imitating basalt (of the form *R.T. II.*, extra pl. xlvii A, basalt vase 57).

## II. SLATE PALETTES WITH RELIEFS

**30. Figures of pre-dynastic palettes.** There are mentioned here twenty-one slate palettes, whole or fragmentary, which have signs and low relief carvings of men and animals. Seventeen of them are reproduced in the plates, in twenty-six figures (obverse and reverse).

Others there are which have figures incised, but as such designs were nearly all done some time after the shaping of the slate and do not lead to anything of importance, nor show any connection with the series of reliefs, they are not dealt with in this volume.

There have been several partial publications of these reliefs, the most complete being in Capart's *Primitive Art in Egypt*, to which references (K) are given in the List and Summary (p. 19).

**31. Nomenclature proposed.** It seems possible by comparison of detail to arrange all these carvings in the order of development of the work; but as there may have been local differences—if they were not all made at one place—the order of workmanship may not be exactly the order of date.

There is no recognised nomenclature nor is there any numbering for these slates and, in view of the scattered sources, and possibility of fresh discoveries, it is not suitable to use consecutive numbers or letters. It seems best therefore to designate each by a distinctive word or words referring to its subject, if may be, so that references can easily be followed in reading.

Names for the palettes are accordingly adopted (section 32, p. 19).

The reasons for the relative order proposed for these palettes are stated here in brief, being given in the adjoining *List of Slate Palettes and Summary* (section 32) followed by (sections 33, 34) the *Order of Development*.

These are enlarged upon in the subsequent matter dealing with the *Historical Position* (sections 35, 36), and further expanded to describe differences of style in (sections 37-61) the *Detailed Description of Slate Palettes*.

32. FOR LIST AND SUMMARY see p. 19 (section 32).

### III. THE ORDER OF DEVELOPMENT

33. *The earlier slate palettes.* Plates A, B, C, F. The HORNS palette from Diospolis Parva, not figured here, is fixed in position by the Sequence Date S.D. 33-41.

The MIN palette (pl. A, fig. 1) and the GERZEAN palette (pl. B, fig. 5) might be inverted in order, for the date of the former is S.D. 58 and that of the latter is very vague (S.D. 47-77); but as the general style was running down from S.D. 50 to S.D. 70, it is probable that the Gerzean palette is later than the Min palette. See sect. 37.

The IBIS palette (pl. B, figs. 6-7) might perhaps be earlier in date, but this is akin to the Gazelle—Goose carving (pl. C, figs. 10-11). See sect. 38.

The MAN—OSTRICH palette (pl. A, fig. 2) comes as the most advanced of the palettes that are without a central saucer. The eyes are mere round pit-holes, drilled out, more elementary than any of the examples which follow. See sect. 39.

The GAZELLE—GOOSE palette (pl. C, figs. 10-11) begins the series of saucer type; it is linked to the Ibis palette (B, 6, 7) by the style of the gazelle at the top, and linked to the Hunters palette (A, 3) by another feature—the identity of style in the cross-lining of the tails of the geese and of the hair of the hunters. The eyes of the geese are balls with a central pit. See sect. 40.

The HUNTERS palette (pl. A, fig. 3) is distinctly more archaic than any of the other large palettes. The animal eyes are merely long pits, and the human eyes have a small ball in the pit. The lion has thick shaggy hair extending beneath the whole length of the body, like the lions on the Gebel 'Araq knife-handle of about S.D. 60—a feature which has been copied from cold-country lions, exposed to snow. The feet have the exaggerated claws, like a comb. The shoulder muscles of the herbivora are deeply ribbed. See sect. 43.

The FOUR DOG palette (pls. B, fig. 8, and C, fig. 9). The four supporting beasts were said by Bénédite to represent the hyaena (*J.E.A.* 1918, 6). The lioness has also been suggested (N.H. Mus.) but they bear a close resemblance to the beasts on a similar palette (pl. F, figs. 15-16) in which the long square muzzle is definitely canine (*Zool. Soc.*).

The eyes are long pits, as in the preceding examples, but with a distinct border. There is also the beginning of a wiry marking over the faces.

The muscles are fairly rounded in modelling, while on the Two Dog palette they are merely marked by hard incised lines. See sect. 45.

The Two DOG palette (pl. F, figs. 15-16), besides having hard lines for details, shows smoother, less elaborated work than that of the larger beasts; also the bodies of the other animals are flatter than on the Four Dog palette.

The lions in the scene on the reverse still have the shaggy hair under the whole body, and the comb-feet. See sect. 46.

34. *The later slate palettes.* Plates C, D, E, G, J, K.

The Two GAZELLE palette (pls. D, fig. 13, and E, fig. 14). This marks the end of archaism in this style. Detail is modified as, in the last-named example, the roughness has all been smoothed out and some strength lost, in the search for beauty.

The eyes for the first time pass from the pit convention to being outlined by a narrow border ridge, both in men and animals.

The lion's shaggy hair only covers the chest and not the belly; the paws have a distinct pad, and the claws are smaller.

There is as yet no ground line or register. See sect. 48.

The BEYRUT palette (pl. C, fig. 12), a fragment, is of about the same style. The eyes are outlined by a narrow ridge, but no ground line is used. This palette might perhaps precede that of the Two Gazelles. See sect. 50.

The TEHENU palette (pl. G, figs. 19-20) is the first to be carved with distinct ground lines for the figures (see *Ancient Egypt* 1915, p. 97). The wiry

lines, first appearing on the faces of the Four Dogs, are seen here to mark the anatomy of the oxen. Thus the palette cannot come earlier, although the fortress figures are much ruder than on the succeeding palettes. See sect. 51.

The BULL palette (pl. G, figs. 17-18) shows the fullest treatment of muscles by wiry lines, and is splendid in the energy of the figure. The lion has only pad feet, and the thick hair is solely on the chest. A well-defined register line separates the scenes.

The relief and finish of the work makes this, though fragmentary, the boldest and most complete of the series. See sect. 52.

The HARTEBEEF fragment (not figured here) has the outlined eye, and is weaker in style, like the following. See sect. 53.

The NAR-MER palette (pls. J, fig. 25, and K, fig. 26) is found to bring the series down to historic times. The work is flat and tame compared with that of the Bull palette. The ground lines are strongly marked, even above the main scene. See sects. 58, 59, 60.

The FALCON fragment (not figured here) ends the series.

(Plate H is omitted from this summary as it was added subsequently.)

\* \* \*

The criteria of the development of the style were noted by Bénédite in *Le Couteau de Gebel El-'Araq* (*Mon. et Mem. Acad. Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, xxii, 1) as serving to divide classes into early and late style; here they have been followed, in my attempt to trace the consecutive order of the palettes.

### IV. THE HISTORICAL POSITION

35. *Contact with an Eastern art.* Now that we have obtained, by internal evidence, a probable order of development for these slate carvings, we can review the connection of them with the historical position of the peoples involved.

To this end we must take into account the Gebel 'Araq knife handle of ivory (*Anc. Eg.* 1917, p. 26) and the fragment of a stone vase in Berlin (K 70).

These serve to show a distinctively Eastern art coming into contact with Egypt; the hero and lions on the knife handle are Mesopotamian or Elamite, the scolloped axe carried by the man on the vase is Syrian or Mesopotamian, being an un-Egyptian type at any time, and not in the least in line with Egyptian products at an early age.

The date of this Eastern influence is indicated as about S.D. 60, by the fine work of the flint knife blade belonging to the ivory knife-handle. We know therefore that a new art—far in advance of Egypt at that time—was coming in sporadically.

This was probably from Elam by the Persian Gulf and Red Sea (shown by the two fleets of ships carved on the ivory handle), at the time of the collapse of the fourth civilisation in Egypt, or just before that. This new art is obviously the parent of the style of the later slate palettes.

36. *Other details of dating.* In the series which has been described here, there is no trace of the later style, as far down as the Gazelle—Goose palette.

We learn that the Min sign and probably the Gerzean sign were used in the fourth civilisation; and that the application of relief carving to slate palettes was increased, resulting in the separation of the grinding space as a saucer-hollow on the Gazelle—Goose palette.

(In studying the series of palettes figured here, it will be recognised that there is no exact precision in the order of their arrangement on the plates.)

### V. DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF SLATE PALETES

*Passages in [square brackets] are added by M. A. M.*  
*Passages in (round brackets) are added by H. F. P.*

37. *The Gerzean and early palettes.*

The only references made in the text to the Horns palette (not figured here) and to the Min palette (pl. A, fig. 1) are in sections 32 and 33.

*The Gerzean palette.* (Pl. B, fig. 5.) No text.

(This has been called the Hat-hor palette; we found it at Gerzeh, and it appeared to represent a cow's head and horns. It is pierced for suspension, and the reverse showed traces of malachite rubbing. The pottery with it was all of the commonest types and of long range, so it is not more closely dated than S.D. 47-77.)

[It is reminiscent of the figures of women with up-raised arms, painted on the Decorated pottery of the Gerzean period (see coloured plate, *Frontispiece*). These, always portrayed as gigantic in size, are presumably representations of a goddess.]

The figure on the slate palette (B, 5) is clearly a constellation, in which there are five prominent stars. Though rather inaccurate, the grouping recalls Orion, the four large stars and the small closely grouped cluster suggestive of a head.

If there is a connection between the subjects of the goddess and the constellation, this palette may show the earliest known representation and may help to explain the attitude of the Gerzean goddess with uplifted all-embracing arms.]

**38. The Ibis palette.** (Pl. B, figs. 6-7.) No text. (This is considered to be crested ibis, or possibly a night heron. The birds are crouched on the shoulders of the palette and facing each other; their beaks would meet above the top. The crest is seen flattened against the neck of one of the figures.)

**39. The Man—Ostrich palette.** (Pl. A, fig. 2.) No text.

(This scene represents a man driving three reluctant ostriches along, or possibly he is hunting them.)

[The man is clearly masked, but the carving is so much simplified that it is impossible to tell what animal he represents, whether dog, baboon, or jackal. In view of the figure of a masked man in pl. F, fig. 15, it may possibly be a jackal mask.]

**40. The Gazelle—Goose palette.** (Pl. C, figs. 10-11.) No text.

(The lower half of an antelope, couchant, can be traced on both sides. It is too much defaced to identify which of the gazelles or other antelopes is figured.)

On the obverse, below the saucer, two lively young Egyptian geese (?) confront each other, fluttering their wings.)

**41. The Plover palette.** (Pl. B, fig. 4.) No text.

(In the List of Palettes and Summary (p. 19) this fragment was merely mentioned as Bird and Boat palette. It is generally taken to represent a crested plover, the emblem of the Rekhytu people. It somewhat resembles the hoopoe (Nat. Hist. Mus.), see hind claw, and barring. For the Rekhytu, see p. 6, also *M.E.* pp. 69-70 and pl. xxxviii, 12.

The chequered square figured beside the bird is evidently used as the symbol of a walled town, and resembles other representations. This city of the Rekhytu may be compared with the city signs on the Tehenu palette in pl. G, fig. 19 (pp. 14, 15).

The papyrus barque below is unfortunately incomplete.)

[This boat is reminiscent of the model boat in glazed quartz (Flinders Petrie Collection, Univ. Coll., London) and would therefore be a survival of a Gerzean form.

Rekhyt birds are portrayed in the scene on the mace-head of the Scorpion King, where they represented a powerful but completely defeated enemy being hanged by the neck on poles surmounted by the totems of the victorious tribes (see *Making of Egypt*, pl. xxxviii, 12). The festival of the Smiting of the Rekhyt, celebrated in historic times, perhaps

refers to the same event as that commemorated on the mace.

There is no indication on this palette as to the meaning of the bird, or of the square beside it. The curiously shaped object entangled in a rope is probably the top of the mooring-post to which the boat was made fast.]

**42. (Beasts and Birds (a).**

B, 5. Cow's head and horns, Hat-hor (?), B, 6-7. Crested ibis (*Comatibis eremita*) or else night heron (N.H. Mus.). A, 2. Three ostriches. Jackal (?) mask. C, 10-11. Gazelle, two Egyptian geese (Zool. Soc.), obverse; gazelle, reverse. B, 4. Crested plover (*rekhyt* bird), or possibly hoopoe.)

**43. The Hunters palette.** (Pl. A, fig. 3.)

Of the great palettes (which ended the series) the earliest in style is the Hunters palette.

On this there is a row of hunters along each side, meeting at the top. Both rows have alike the spear with a mid-rib, the re-curved bow, the pear mace and the bumerang; they have the same type of face, and alike wear the pleated kilt with a broad belt, and the fox (?) tail hanging behind.

The differences are that in the right group the men have a double axe, two feathers on the head instead of one, and a bag hanging on the hips, while in the left group only the leader has a bag slung round his neck. Such variations are what might distinguish one clan from another, without implying any difference in blood or in alliance.

Who then are these people? Their leaders on both sides bear a standard of the falcon with ostrich feather in front; the left group also has another standard, that of the "east" in historic usage.

There are thus two entirely Egyptian standards carried, and we must therefore take these people as either those of the fourth or else of the dynastic civilisation, and not as a completely foreign race.

The figures nearest to this type are those of the Chief of the Fayum seized by Nar-mer (pl. J), the men who control the serpo-leopards of Nar-mer (pl. K), and the canal diggers on the mace-head of the Scorpion King. That is to say, this is the facial type of the general population before the dynastic race.

The people of the fourth age, probably shown by the stone-vase bearers, are nearly of this type, which may well be of those people modified by mixture in Egypt. In any case this has nothing to do with the dynastic type of Nar-mer. (For all these, see *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* xxxi, 248.)

We must, then, see in these hunters the Egyptians of the fourth civilisation. The pear maces belong to that age; and several things already known as later are here carried back to the fourth civilisation, for instance the ribbed spear (Ist dyn. *Tarkh.* I, i, 12),

the chisel-ended arrow, the bumerang, and the pleated kilt.

The locality of this scene is indicated by a shrine and a composite figure of the fore-parts of two bulls joined, which was the sign *Aqer* of the canal of the Libyan nome, in the north-west part of the Delta. This agrees with the type being that of the Chief of the Fayum but very probably a rather different people may have inhabited the south, as indicated by the ivory carvings of Hierakonpolis.

"The sign of the fore-parts of two oxen joined, and a hut building by it, might refer to a sacred or royal building in the Libyan nome, as the canal there was named *Aqer* written by this same sign. . . . the long survival of names, through (many thousand) years in the East, shows that we are justified in trying to track them through one or two thousand years earlier." ("Note on a carved slate." W.M.F.P. *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.* xxii, p. 140.)

So far, we have no trace of the dynastic people, although the artistic impulse seems to have been borrowed from them. They appear then to have influenced the region of the Delta before their conquest.

It may be that this Hunters palette is a Western Delta imitation of more advanced work going on elsewhere under the direct dynastic influence.

In any case there is rather a puzzle about the pleated kilts. These are never found on other early figures. The girdle with hanging ends (Chief of Fayum, and Nar-mer's servant), the sheath, and the long robe, are dresses of early times. The kilt of Nar-mer is smooth and not pleated. The pleated kilt therefore suggests that this palette is near the close rather than the beginning of the series.

**44. Beasts and Birds (b).** A, 3. Hunters palette, on right.

(Upper half, left, Louvre.) Desert hare. (Right, Brit. Mus.) Bull, composite figure, two-headed, with two fore-parts. Lion pierced with two arrows, and cub. Lyre-horned gazelle, the hartebeest, lassoed. Fox (or jackal?). (Lower half, Brit. Mus.) Gazelle with forward-curved horns, probably Grant's gazelle, and fawn with head over shoulder. Bustard. Hartebeest. Stag, with branched antlers. Jackal. Lion pierced with six arrows.

**45. The Four Dog palette.** (Pls. B, fig. 8, and C, fig. 9.)

The next palette, that of the Four Dogs, has no human figures and much less detail. What can be the motive of carving groups of animals on this and on the Two Dog palette?

The Hunters and the Two Gazelles and also the later palettes are all obviously historical; they glory

in certain events of hunt or of conquest. Can the animal figures also be historical?

Regarding the strong symbolism of the carvings, the animals acting in attacking fortresses, the bull trampling on the enemy, the hands proceeding from the standards, it would be quite in keeping if the groups of animal figures similarly had a meaning.

May the dog possibly be a symbol of guardianship? The four dogs surrounding the palette might refer to a tribe guarding its possessions. They guard on the one side the palm tree and giraffes (C 9), on the other side the ibis, lion, and a mythical animal (B 8). Are these the emblems of different parts of the country?

The two giraffes might imply Middle or Southern Egypt; the other side might refer to the Delta, with the ibis of Hermopolis and the lion of Leontopolis.

The feline beast with serpentine neck is not known in historic times, except as the *sez* animal at Beni Hasan; but it certainly had a meaning as representing a people, for the two serpo-leopards entwined on the Nar-mer palette (K 26) are held in by ropes round their necks. There is no classical name for this monster, but it might well be named serpo-pard by the same method as the camelo-pard.

**46. The Two Dog palette.** (Pl. F, figs. 15-16.)

This has a similar division of subjects, though complicated by many more animals.

(Fig. 16, obverse.) On the side with the saucer are the serpo-pards.

(Fig. 15, reverse.) On the other side we see the gazelle of Cusae, the winged hawk-headed monster, *sefer*, figured at Beni Hasan, and the jackal-headed 'Anup or Up-uat of Asyut, all of Middle Egypt.

The regional division between the subjects of the two sides should be considered in further studies of these palettes.

[On the reverse (F, fig. 15, base, left) is a masked man. This figure is peculiarly interesting as being one of the earliest examples of ritual masking. He wears a jackal mask over his face, and a jackal tail attached to his belt. He plays on a long pipe, and this is the earliest known instance of the Orpheus *motif*, the charming of animals by music. An ibex is clearly attracted.

E. B. Tylor once called my attention to the large feline with falcon's head and wings, on this palette, as the earliest example of a winged quadruped. The creature is known in the scenes of hunting in the desert at Beni Hasan, where it is called indifferently *sfr* or *srf*, seraph (?).]

**47. (Beasts and Birds (c).** B, 8. C, 9. F, 15. F, 16.

B, 8. Four dogs. Ibis. Lion cub. Serpo-pard. C, 9. Four dogs. Two giraffes.

F, 15. Two dogs. Two lions, each with gazelle (forward-curved horns), probably Grant's gazelle. Serpo-pard, with oryx, straight horns. Leopard, spotted, attacking wild sheep, and wild hunting-dog (Z.S.) looking round. Gryphon, winged, and gazelle (lyre-horned) the hartebeest. Buffalo, hump-necked, or else a wildebeest. Jackal-masked man playing pipe, and ibex, bearded. Giraffe, at base.

F, 16. Two dogs. Two serpo-pards licking their prey, Grant's gazelle. Ibis, above. Three wild hunting-dogs in corners. Below. Oryx, straight horns. Ibex, curved horns. Grant's gazelle, and hartebeest beneath, pursued by three hounds (Z.S.), trained hunting-dogs in collars.)

48. *The Two Gazelle palette*. (Pls. D, fig. 13, and E, fig. 14.)

This palette may well maintain the regional division.

On one face (D, 13, reverse) there is the beautiful group of the two long-necked gazelles on either side of a date palm, "the oldest instance of the tree or column and supporters, as a design." This represents the south. (These long-necked gazelles, *Gerenuk*, are now found in Somaliland and North Kenya.)

The other face (E, 14, obverse) bears a battle scene of captives and slain. From the lack of clothing it would not at first seem that these people can be from the north, yet their type is most like that of the deity and worshipper at Ibriz in Northern Syria.

What people are represented is a difficult question. These vanquished are of a type only found elsewhere on the Bull palette (see pl. G, fig. 17, upper half, left side). The nose is thick and large, in one line with the brow. The hair is close, curly, a line of whisker follows the jaw, and the beard hangs down distinctly plaited. In the example on the Bull palette, the sheath is worn.

Circumcision is general, of the Egyptian type, seen also on the Nar-mer palette (J, K), the skin being split in front and hanging down below (see the statue of Nen-sekha, Cairo, and the palette of Khem-ten, Univ. Coll., London). There is thus a similarity to the Egyptians in custom though not in type.

In the Two Gazelle palette, the ring saucer is on the side representing the south, while on other palettes it is on that of the north.

49. (*Beasts and Birds* (d)). Pls. D, fig. 13, and E, fig. 14.

(D, 13, reverse.) Two long-necked gazelles, *Gerenuk*. Bird; if a bird of prey, possibly a buzzard; or vulture (?), from its beak. According to both authorities, this bird, having an ornamental

head with comb or wattles, may be gallinaceous and an ancestor of the domestic fowl (?).

(E, 14, obverse.) Lion, licking his prey. Three eagles, or vultures (?), alighting. Four ravens or else crows, pecking. Two standards, ibis and falcon.)

50. *The Beirut palette* (fragment). (Pl. C, fig. 12.)

This fragment shows long-haired men, with peaky nose like that of the Hunters. They wear a double girdle with a loose flap in front, probably arranged as in the figure in *Meir* I, p. 31. They are armed with hooked sticks, as in *Hierakonpolis* II, lxxvi, lxxix. Thus there is nothing on the fragment which might not be found in Egypt.

There seem to be three possibilities: (1) that a similar people occupied Egypt and Palestine, and palettes were carved in both countries; or (2) that the fragment was taken from Egypt anciently; or (3) taken recently.

Of these, the last-named is very unlikely, as antiquities are traded west from Syria to Egypt, Cairo being the best market. If taken anciently, it is improbable that in historic times such a fragment should be found, as sites were seldom dug deeply, nor is it credible that a scrap of stone should be picked out and exported.

The suggestion that Syria was in touch with pre-historic Egypt is enforced by a similarity of type; the head of a man on the Gebel 'Araq knife-handle resembles a head from Middle Syria (*Ancient Egypt* 1917, 33). We must therefore be alert for any further links in this connection.

51. *The Tehenu palette* (fragment). (Pl. G, figs. 19-20.)

This being only the lower part of a palette, the position of the saucer is not shown.

So far as the subjects remain, one side refers to the conquest of Middle Egypt, and the other to a raid on Libya (Tehen) and necessarily therefore on the north coast.

The conquest is represented by an emblem (of a tribe) breaking through the wall of a fortress with a pick. The animals are: a falcon, a very usual tribal standard; a lion, probably tribal, on this and on the Four Dog and Two Dog palettes; a scorpion; and the double standards of falcons, well known later at Koptos and on the Nar-mer palette.

The towns are designated by a sign enclosed in each. The owl M may refer to Mem in the Fayum, written with two owls. The *bennu* may refer to Hipponon (Ha-bennu) or, less likely, to Heliopolis or Tanis. The two wrestlers, Horus and Set, belong to Pa-rehui, west of the Oxyrhynchite canal. The

*kheper* (beetle) is of southern towns, Abydos or further south.

The *ka* arms may refer to Memphis, which was "the place of the *ka*" of Ptah, and also of Seker, or else to "the place of the *ka*" near Tanis or in the Letopolite nome. The hut may possibly refer to the only city named from a building, *Hebt*, Behbit in the Delta. The *nesut* sign probably refers to a "royal town," such as that near Habennu (XVIIIth upper) or in Saite or Xoite nomes (see "Note on a carved slate." *P.S.B.A.* xxii, 1900, 140, 141).

Thus the upper row may refer to northern Middle Egypt and the lower row to the Delta.

[G, 19. The small squares within the enclosures are as yet unexplained. Two points are perhaps worth noting: (a) in the lower row each enclosure has three squares, while in the upper row each complete enclosure has seven; (b) some of the squares have faint indications of vertical lines.

G, 20. On the right of the register of olive trees is the object which reads T ḥ n. The faintly indicated lines suggest that it is twisted like a hank of flax, and that it is lashed at the top. The object on which it stands should be compared with the object which appears to hang from the neck of the captive on pl. E, fig. 14.]

52. *The Bull palette* (fragment). (Pl. G, figs. 17-18.)

This had probably two symmetric figures of the royal bull trampling on enemies, forming the top of the palette.

The rope, which was doubtless binding captives, is held by five tribal standards, two jackals, ibis, falcon, and Min sign. These are probably the signs later used for Asyut (the two Up-uats, northern and southern), Hermopolis, Koptos, and Panopolis; the tribes may not all have been fixed in these centres at the time.

On the other side were city signs, of which there remain in one a *nu* vase and lion, and in another an ibis (?) as part of a second name; there does not seem to be any clue to these at present.

[The reader should compare this group of the bull trampling the man with the similar group on the palette of Nar-mer (pl. K, fig. 26).

In the first, the bull has planted his fore-feet firmly on the man, and is in the act of lowering his head and preparing to gore and toss; the victim is either dead or entirely helpless.

On the Nar-mer palette the bull's fore-leg lightly touches the man's arm, but the bull is really engaged in knocking down the fortress; and the victim, quite alive, is struggling up, hoping to escape. The difference in style between the two examples is marked.]

53. *The Hartebeest fragment* (not figured here).

This shows only the animal adjoining a part of the saucer. The whole palette must have been about 10 ins. wide. It is plain on the back, like the Hunter and the Beirut palettes.

54. *The Trussed Goose (?) palette* (fragment). (Pl. H, fig. 21.)

(This broken piece of palette, scraped and worn, shows the trussed carcass and the short legs and webbed feet of an Egyptian goose, or some short-legged wader. Its museum label bears the name *échassier*. No provenance is known.)

[The outline of this slate appears to have been tampered with, and consequently misleads the eye. The design, however, appears to be of a bird trussed ready for cooking, laid on its back with the legs neatly folded over the abdomen. The wavy line below the legs is the outline of the lower part of the body.]

55. *The Donkey (?) palette* (fragment). (Pl. H, fig. 22.)

(Two lank but massive figures confront each other in heraldic style. This beast with hunched shoulder and tenacious expression has been variously regarded. It is considered to be equine (Zool. Soc.), and a donkey; the wild ass is suggested.)

[This palette seems to be an unfinished work.]

56. *The White Oryx palette*. (Pl. H, figs. 23-24.)

(Two antelopes facing, but the palette is fragmentary, and their figures are rubbed and worn down.)

From their curved horns lying flat along the neck, they can only belong to the species called White Oryx. This is still to be found in Arabia and in Syria.)

[Two sides of the same palette. The beasts stand on hind-legs, facing one another with fore-legs raised and bent. Shoulder muscles indicated by lines.]

57. (*Beasts and Birds* (e)). (Pl. G, figs. 19-20, figs. 17-18. Pl. H, fig. 21, fig. 22; figs. 23-24.)

G, 19. Beetle. Stork (or heron?). Falcon. Owl. Two falcons. Scorpion. Lion. G, 20. Four oxen; four asses; five rams, the ventral mane suggesting Barbary sheep (Zool. Soc.). The trees below were identified as olive trees.

G, 17. Bull. Two jackals, ibis, falcon, on standards. G, 18. Bull. Lion. Ibis (?).

H, 21. Trussed Egyptian goose (?) or else a wader. H, 22. Two donkeys (?), the wild ass. H, 23, 24. Two white oryxes.)

58. *The Dynastic Conquest*. (Pls. J, fig. 25, and K, fig. 26.) See *Hierak*. I, pl. xxix.

(In the following great royal palette the scenes are given in historical order so that the reverse, showing Nar-mer as king of Upper Egypt, is figured first, although it would seem to have been carved on

the back of the palette; and secondly the obverse, with central saucer, in which Nar-mer is seen proceeding to conquer Lower Egypt.)

This is the most important of all the series for its details and for linking with the historic position.

The new feature on this palette of a king is the prominence of the king's person, in contrast with the purely tribal references on earlier palettes.

The name Nar-mer appears on some sealings as *Nar* only, with *mer* placed apart. Though phonetically the reading Nar-mer is generally accepted (the confusion with Buzau being quite baseless) no meaning has been given for the name. We must regard it as parallel to Tehuti-mer (chisel) on a vase (*Tarkh.* I, xxxi, 68).

Since we know from another vase (*Tarkh.* II, xx, 2) that the *mer* chisel and *mer* hoe were interchangeable in that age, these names mean "beloved of Tehuti" and "beloved of Nar." The *Nar* sign is therefore that of a deity.

The fish, *nar*, is only well known as the characteristic head-sign of the goddess of Mendes, and the sign of the Mendes nome.

This goddess is Hat-mehyt, the "Leader of the North," the "Powerful one of Mendes," the "Mistress of Heaven," the "Ruler of all the gods," the "eye of Ra," the wife of the "living ram of Ra." She was evidently the supreme goddess of a city which was at one time a capital of the Delta. What more likely than that a ruler should claim to be under her protection?

Thus the real reading of the name Nar-mer should probably be Mery-Hat-mehyt. This would imply that this king ruled in Mendes, and thus held the Delta. Bearing on the equivalence of the hoe and chisel signs for *mer*, we may see the meaning of the word *semer*, "companion"; it is literally "he who causes love."

59. *Nar-mer's palette. Reverse.* (Pl. J, fig. 25.) We see here the earliest example known of the group of the king smiting an enemy, which was continued to the latest times.

The king, in the white crown of Upper Egypt, wears a garment from the chest to the thighs, slung over the left shoulder and decorated with four Hat-hor heads and fringes; the tail behind is made up of a bundle of long hair, bound round at the top and attached to the belt.

The *bety hem* "royal servant," behind the king, carries the sandals and copper water-pot, and is dressed with the girdle with long ends, and an amulet hung at the neck.

Before the king is the kneeling figure of the captive enemy whose hair he grasps; this is named *ua she*, "sole one of the lake." The *ua* seems to imply an

autocratic ruler or chieftain, as in the frequent title *semer ua*, "companion chief," a local prince who was one of the peerage of Egypt. The *she* is probably "the lake" largest and best known, the Fayum.

It might be some Lower Egypt lake, but we must remember that the great coastal lakes did not exist in early times; they were fertile districts not submerged till the reign of Justinian.

Above the chieftain is the head of a captive secured by a rope apparently attached through the upper lip. The royal falcon holds this rope by one leg—boldly represented as a human arm. Balanced on the other leg, he dominates six *kha* plants, implying 6,000 captives in his grasp.

Below the group are two figures of the slain lying on the ground, with the signs of their localities—one a fortress, the other like the rising sun with two long streamers below, perhaps a form of diadem and lapets (*see* the use of *kha* for the crown).

[From the size of the figures, it is clear that the scene of the king sacrificing the enemy chieftain is more important than the scenes on the obverse of the palette. Nar-mer is represented as essentially the King of the South, wearing the White Crown. His victim is "the Only One of the Waters," which may be the Fayum, or even the sea; at any rate, the region was more northerly than the domain of the White Crown. A sacrifice of this kind seems to have been the culmination of a conquest, possibly from a belief that the spirit of the victim would thus be made to enter into the sacrificer.

The conquest is further emphasized, as Petrie points out, by the emblematic group of the king's totem; the papyrus signs not only represent the Delta but can also be read as numerals. The close connection of the totem with its human representative is shown by the falcon's human arm. The group may read—"the Falcon leads captive six thousand Northerners."]

(J, 25 is figured in *M.E.* pl. xl; see p. 78.)

60. *Nar-mer's palette. Obverse.* (Pl. K, fig. 26.) (The scene of conquest of Lower Egypt is the sequel.)

The upper register shows the king in triumph. (Wearing the red crown of the North,) he marches with his standard-bearers before him. His name is in the field, and also in the palace frame above, between the heads of Hat-hor.

He is shown coming from the *deb* building, perhaps designating Edfu, or perhaps the "brick" hall, in contrast to the portable wooden houses then commonly used. He is followed by his body servant, bearing the sandals and copper water-pot.

The title above, reading "the *hem* servant of the king," is written with a flower. Similarly on a great mace the flower appears put as a title before the scorpion name of a king. Now a late word for a rosette flower is *betet* or perhaps *bety* (dual); and this is so closely the bee name for a king *baty*, and the *battos* kingly name of the Libyans, that it seems as though the flower were the equivalent of the bee, as a royal emblem. May both of these be expressions for honey? Compare *ba* "palm," a worn form of *bau*.

Before the king goes his scribe, with the title of *thet* "scribe" over him. In front are four tribal standards of the army, the two falcons of Koptos, the jackal of Asyut, and the piece of flesh of Letopolis.

The last-named is carried by a shaven man of the dynastic type, the other three men are of the native type. The latter two of the men wear a waist-cloth, the former two only the girdle with flaps.

They all proceed toward the "Great gate of shipping" or port. Here lie ten beheaded men, all bound as captives, and with their heads between their legs. One head is of the same type as that of the bearer of the jackal standard; the others seem similar but are each masked in the skin and horns from a bull.

It may be noted that the *thet* "scribe" was also the king's son, as shown by the leopard-skin; *see* the king's sons Merab, Rahetep and Nefermaot, and we may compare the modern African custom (*Anc. Eg.* 1914, 161).

The saucer is ingeniously formed by the intertwined necks of two serpo-pards, which are held in leash with ropes round their necks by two men of the type of the fourth civilisation, closely like the Chief of the Fayum (or of a more northern lake) figured on the other side of the palette. This stamps the serpo-pard as being the emblem of some tribe. (The pair of monsters resemble, for the most part, the serpo-pards of palettes B, fig. 8 and F, fig. 16 except that, detailed as the design is, their necks are left plain and not corrugated.)

Below is a bull breaking open a fortress and trampling on an enemy, who is of the type of the tribute-bearers with stone vases.

In the fortress is a sign which is not known in this form in later hieroglyphs. It seems to be a short sack, with the upper end rolled over and tied at the two sides to serve as handles for lifting.

Now the early form of *set* is clearly that of goods rolled up in a cloth and tied at each end. There is also a tied-up sack as a sign with values *anq* and *sk*. These latter however do not lead us to any name of a people; whereas *set* is the well-known name for a

desert, and *setet* the desert people, whether in Sinai or at the Cataract. It seems most likely therefore that this fortress was in Sinai or on the way to Palestine.

[The obverse side of the palette has a scene which is given the place of honour at the top. Here Nar-mer appears as King of the North, the conqueror taking possession. He has reached the Great Port, which surely means a harbour on the sea, thus the limit of his conquest. The sacrifice of ten men and their leader has an air of finality, showing that the Conqueror could go no farther.

The difference of crown is a significant factor in the two scenes. In the first scene (reverse) he is the foreign conqueror, in the second (obverse) he is the acknowledged king.

The four standards which precede the king are the private standards of the Pharaoh, and cannot be confused with other religious standards. The two falcon standards go first, then the jackal, then an object which is not, I think, the emblem of the Letopolite nome but is the placenta of the king with part of the umbilical cord hanging from it. This object was called *h-n-ni-sw*, placenta of the king, and in later times was deified (Khonsu) and represented in human form.

In this group the arrangement of the standards is significant. The bearers are clearly walking two and two, the totem-falcons in front, then the placenta signifying Birth and the jackal signifying Death. Note that the first three bearers are bearded, while the fourth is beardless.

The streamers on the falcon-poles differentiate the immortal from the mortal emblems, and show that the king was one with his totem in life and in death, for he was born as the Falcon in the Nest, and at death "the Falcon flew to join his Maker."

In the early groups of the Pharaoh's standards, the placenta is always carried immediately in front of the king; later, the order is not observed. But, with hardly any exceptions, from Nar-mer to Ptolemy Soter, the four standards were always present when the king appeared in state.]

61. (*Beasts and Birds* (f)). Pls. J, fig. 25, and K, fig. 26.

J, 25. Reverse. Two heads of the Hat-hor cow. *Nar* fish. Falcon (with human arm).

K, 26. Obverse. Two heads of the Hat-hor cow. Two *nar* fishes. Jackal. Two falcons. Swallow. Falcon. Two serpo-pards. Bull.)

62. *Standards of conquerors.* We may now turn to the different standards of the conquerors. The list overleaf indicates which standards are represented on each palette.

*See* figs. A, 3; E, 14; G, 19; G, 20; K, 26.

*Hunters.* Falcon, Koptos (?) 2, East, 1.  
*Two Gazelles.* Falcon, Koptos (?) 1. Ibis, Hermopolis, 1.  
*Tehenu.* Falcon, Koptos (?) 3. Scorpion, 1.  
*Bull.* Falcon, Koptos (?) 1. Ibis, Hermopolis, 1.  
 Min, Panopolis, 1. Jackal, Asyut, 2.  
*Nar-mer.* Falcon, Koptos (?) 2. Jackal, Asyut, 1. Piece of flesh, Letopolis, 1.

63. *Two slate carvings.* In addition to the slate palettes, two slate carvings may be noted. They were bought, without any history, and can only be judged on their internal evidence. Nor is anything like these known elsewhere, of a class to which they might belong. They stand therefore to Egyptian works much as the Blau Monument tablets do to Mesopotamian.

These slate carvings are photographed in *Pre-historic Egypt* (pl. xlviii, 1, 2, 7). The details of nos. 1 and 2 bear each other out. There is a strange head having a knob projecting from the forehead, with a point in front; down the back edge, crossed lining suggests a pigtail of hair, its thickness only a third of the breadth; in front, grooves down the upper quarter and the lower half suggest a separation of arms and legs; below, a foot with five toes.

On one side are signs in relief—a bird, a bowl, a sickle *maat*, a serpent, perhaps another sickle, a bowl and a bird. The flat-bottomed bowl or dish, with an indication of a turned-over lip, is the form usual at the close of the pre-dynastic time.

On the other side, a similar group of signs was incised—the bird, sickle, bowl, another bowl with a

vertical line, two loop signs, a bird, a bowl, and a group suggesting the Anubis symbol of the jackal-skin on a pole (*Anc. Eg.* 1915, iv, 152).

Below the foot, on the projecting base, are two block signs like packages, and a bird, in relief. On the base at the back is a serpent, incised. On the incised side there seems to have been some sign above the bird, defaced by a superficial hole.

The fish (*Prehist. Egypt* xlviii, 7) must be taken in connection with the above. It has a fish's head at the left end, and perhaps a human head at the right end. On each side are the same signs, a looped serpent, a bird, a bowl, and a bird. The looped serpent here seems to explain the two loop signs.

As to the age of these there are no similar pieces, ancient or modern, for comparison. It seems unlikely that a forger should invent relief inscriptions, and the style is good and archaic without any infection of recent ideas; there is no reason then to question the antiquity of these works, but no conclusions should be built upon them without allowing for a chance of forgery.

The knob on the head, with its point, is so far like the African cone of hair (*Anc. Eg.* 1914, iv, 169), that such may be the meaning of it, though placed too far forward on the head. The inscriptions of the group serpent—bowl—bird are repeated and reversed. Whether this is a name or a phrase we cannot say.

So far as the style of the signs is concerned, they may probably be dated to Dynasty 0 or else to the beginning of the First Dynasty.

### 32. LIST OF SLATE PALETTES AND SUMMARY

Name given	Pl. Fig.	Museum	Capart	Provenance and Style
Horns palette .. ..	—	F. P. Coll.	—	Diospolis parva (not figured here). S.D. 33-41.
Min palette .. ..	A 1	Brit. Mus.	K. 63	El Amrah. S.D. 58
Gerzean palette .. ..	B 5	Brussels	—	Gerzeh. S.D. 47-77.
Ibis palette .. ..	B 6-7	Brussels	K. 64	Upper Egypt (?)
Man-Ostrich palette ..	A 2	Manchester	—	J.E.A. 1918, vii. Eyes round, pits.
Gazelle-Goose palette ..	C 10-11	Brit. Mus.	—	P.S.B.A. 1900, 138, vii. Eyes round, centre pit. Cross-hatched tails (like hunters' heads, A 3). Same technique as B 6-7. First ring saucer.
Hunters palette .. ..	A 3	Louvre Brit. Mus.	K. 170	Eyes of men, long-pitted, with pupil. Feet square. Lion with belly hair and comb feet. Herbivora, ribbed shoulders.
Plover palette .. ..	B 4	Cairo	K. 169	—
Four Dog palette .. ..	B 8	Louvre	K. 173	Eyes of animals, long-pitted. Muscles good. Lion, comb feet.
Two Dog palette .. ..	C 9 F 15-16	Oxford	K. 171 K. 172	Eyes long-pitted. Muscles and ribs degraded to lines. Lions, comb feet.
Two Gazelle palette ..	D 13 E 14	Oxford Brit. Mus.	K. 177 K. 180	Eyes, outline ridge. Much more advanced than previous. Lion, comb feet, chest hair. No ground lines.
Beyrut palette .. ..	C 12	Louvre	K. 185	—
Tehenu palette .. ..	G 19-20	Cairo	K. 175 K. 176	Wiry muscles. Rude fortress figures. Ground lines. Registers.
Bull palette .. ..	G 17-18	Louvre	K. 181 K. 182	Wiry muscles, finely done. Regular fortress figures. Lion, pad feet. Registers.
Hartebeest fragment ..	—	F. P. Coll.	—	Similar, but flatter work. (Not figured here.)
Nar-mer palette .. ..	J 25 K 26	Cairo	K. 183 K. 184	Flat work, poor muscles. Registers.
Falcon fragment .. ..	—	F. P. Coll.	—	(Not figured here.)
Trussed Goose (?) fragment	H 21	Brussels	—	—
Donkey (?) palette, fragment	H 22	Brussels	—	—
White Oryx palette ..	H 23-24	Cairo	—	—

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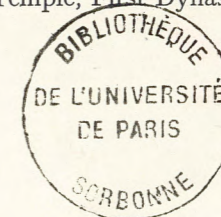
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2  
The Man—Ostrich palette

3  
The Hunters palette



4

The Plover palette

5

The Gerzean palette

8

The Four Dog palette (obverse)

6-7

The Ibis palette



10-11  
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9  
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20791.







17-18  
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19-20  
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21  
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22  
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23-24  
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BRITISH SCHOOL OF EGYPTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

VOL. LXVI (B)

CORPUS OF  
PROTO-DYNASTIC  
POTTERY

THIRTY PLATES OF DRAWINGS

By

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, KT.



LONDON

BRITISH SCHOOL OF EGYPTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

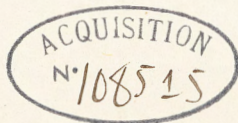
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1953



# THE CORPUS OF PROTO-DYNASTIC POTTERY

## INTRODUCTION

HILDA F. PETRIE

*For the potter, tempering soft earth, fashioneth every vessel with much labour for our service: yea, of the same clay he maketh both the vessels that serve for clean uses, and likewise also all such as serve to the contrary: but what is the use of either sort, the potter himself is the judge.*

Wisdom xv, 7.

**1. DATING OF POTTERY.** Among the Arabs, Flinders Petrie was known as the Father of Pots, and they indeed spoke more truly than they knew, for the classification of pottery is a corner-stone of early dating in ancient Egypt.

If pottery or potsherds be arranged and dated by their shapes and texture, the rest of the antiquities fall into place in due order.

The knowledge of the development of pottery forms has grown year by year and, though acquired slowly, has been built up with the result that we now have fairly complete *corpus* volumes.

Going along the desert edge in Upper Egypt, one no longer need dismount to ascertain the age of mound or cemetery, if potsherds lie strewn about.

**2. THREE CORPUS VOLUMES.** This portion of the present volume, which may appeal little to the general reader, has been assembled because of the necessity of having an ordered *corpus* of the pottery forms of so well-defined a period as that which lay between the close of the fifth, and last, Prehistoric civilisation and the beginning of the Pyramid Age, the III-IV dynasties. In the reigns of Mena and his successors lay the dawn of dynastic history.

Flinders Petrie had already published the type series of the earliest pottery of Egypt, which he collected, arranged, and drew to scale 1:4 (reduced to 1:6). This was the *Corpus of Prehistoric Pottery* (58 pls., Petrie, 1918). It supplied a want and served as a foundation for future studies.

He next gathered a large amount of material in

Palestine, drew the pots to the same scale, and they were arranged by the same method as that designed for the previous volume. This is entitled *Corpus of Palestinian Pottery* (84 pls., Duncan, 1930).

In the present volume, *Corpus of Proto-dynastic Pottery*, thirty plates of pots which he drew and arranged are similarly issued. He saw them through the press many years ago, passing proofs himself.

The classification of pottery being a necessary study for students, he may have intended to write at greater length, but the following short account was more probably all that he considered needful. The students of pottery forms must supply the rest for themselves, and the majority of our readers will not need it.

## THE CORPUS OF PROTO-DYNASTIC POTTERY

FLINDERS PETRIE

**3. RANGE OF SERIES.** This publication is on the same lines as the *Corpus of Prehistoric Pottery*, unifying in one series, so far as may be, all that has been published from various sources, reduced to a uniform scale.

The range of this *corpus* is from the Conquest by the Dynastic people to the Third Dynasty, or about Sequence Date 76 to 87 (see *Tarkhan I*, p. 3).

There is no need to classify by the nature of the pottery, as most of it is a development of the Late class of the prehistoric, and the few examples of other styles are not enough to form a separate class.

Some other figures of early dynastic pottery, ranging on to the XIth dynasty, are given in *Abydos II*, pls. xlii-xlvi. These are not included here, as the early temple levels are not uniformly or closely dated, but the levels vary, as shown on pls. lix, lx, in that volume.

**4. LIST OF SOURCES.** The various sources are marked by letters A to Z, to denote the royal

tomb, or site of excavation, with reference to publication :—

Petrie, *Abydos* I. Town levels, reduced to S.D.  
 Royal Tombs, age of Mena.  
 Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos*.  
 Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*.  
 Garstang, *Mahasna and Bēt Khallāf*.  
 Tombs in town of Abydos. *Abydos* I.  
 No date.  
 Reisner, *Archaeological Survey of Nubia*.  
 Firth, *Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, 1908-9.  
 Tomb of Zer, *Royal Tombs*.  
 Tomb of Perabsen, *Royal Tombs*.  
 Tomb of Qa, *Royal Tombs*  
*Royal Tombs*.  
 Tomb of Den, *Royal Tombs*.  
 Tomb of Semer-khet, *Royal Tombs*.  
 Tomb of Kha-sekhemui, *Royal Tombs*.  
 Tomb of Azab, *Royal Tombs*.  
 Tomb of Mer-Neit, *Royal Tombs*.  
 Tomb of Zet, *Royal Tombs*.

The greater part of the drawings are unmarked, as being of the principal source in *Tarkhan* I and II.

The number at base of right side is the Sequence Date.

5. REFERENCES TO EARLY KINGS. The references to published material of the early kings are as follows :—

RO	From Tomb B 1 (North of B 14) : Seal, <i>R.T.</i> II, xiii, 96. Pottery marked <i>R.T.</i> I, xxxix, 2 : xl, 8 ; xlv, 2 to 9. <i>R.T.</i> II, lv, 5. From Hierakonpolis, perhaps of King Ro : Ivory, <i>H.</i> xv, 6. Alabaster bowls, <i>H.</i> xxx, xxxiv, Univ. Coll.
KA (AP?)	Mostly from tomb B 7, in position. Seals, <i>R.T.</i> II, ii, 1 ; xiii, 89. Pottery inscribed, <i>R.T.</i> II, xiii ; <i>Ab.</i> I, iii. <i>Tarkh.</i> I, xxxi, Queen Ha ?
NER	Pottery inscribed, <i>Tarkh.</i> II, ix, Queen Ha ? (1914).
HATI	Jar marked, <i>Tarkh.</i> II, vi (1914).
MER-TEHUTI	Pottery inscribed, <i>Tarkh.</i> I, xxx, 71 (1914).
PETETI ? (scorpion)	King in Hierakonpolis ? Mace, <i>H.</i> xxv, xxvi, C. Alabaster vessels, <i>H.</i> xvii, xix, xxxiii, xxxiv. Univ. Coll.

NAR-MER, MENA Tomb B 10, Abydos. Stele *Ab.*  
I, xiii.

Mace, *H.* xxvi B.  
 Palette, *H.* xxix (here, pls.  
 XXXVII, XXXVIII).  
 Sealings, *R.T.* II, xiii, 91-93 ;  
*Tarkh.* I, ii ; *Tarkh.* II, vi ;  
 ix, 2 (latest, 1914).  
 Alabaster vase, *R.T.* I, iv, 2 ;  
*R.T.* II, ii, 3.  
 Wooden labels, *R.T.* II, ii, 4 ;  
 x, 1, palace *Seqed-hetep*.  
 Ivory cylinder, *H.* xv, 7.  
 Jars marked, *R.T.* I, xlv, 1 :  
*Tarkh.* I, lvi, Univ. Coll.  
 Son ? Sa-ast, *R.T.* II, ii, 13, 14.  
 Tomb B 19, Abydos.  
 Crystal vase, *R.T.* I, iv, 1.  
 Univ. Coll.  
 Tablets, *R.T.* II, iii, iiiia.  
 Sealings, *R.T.* II, xiv.  
 Gold bar, *Ab.* II, xiii, 171.  
 Queen Neit-hetep. Naqada  
 tomb. De Morgan, *Tombeau*  
*Royal*. Ivories, *R.T.* II, ii,  
 11, 12. 12 bowls, Univ. Coll.,  
 Berens.

AHA, TETA

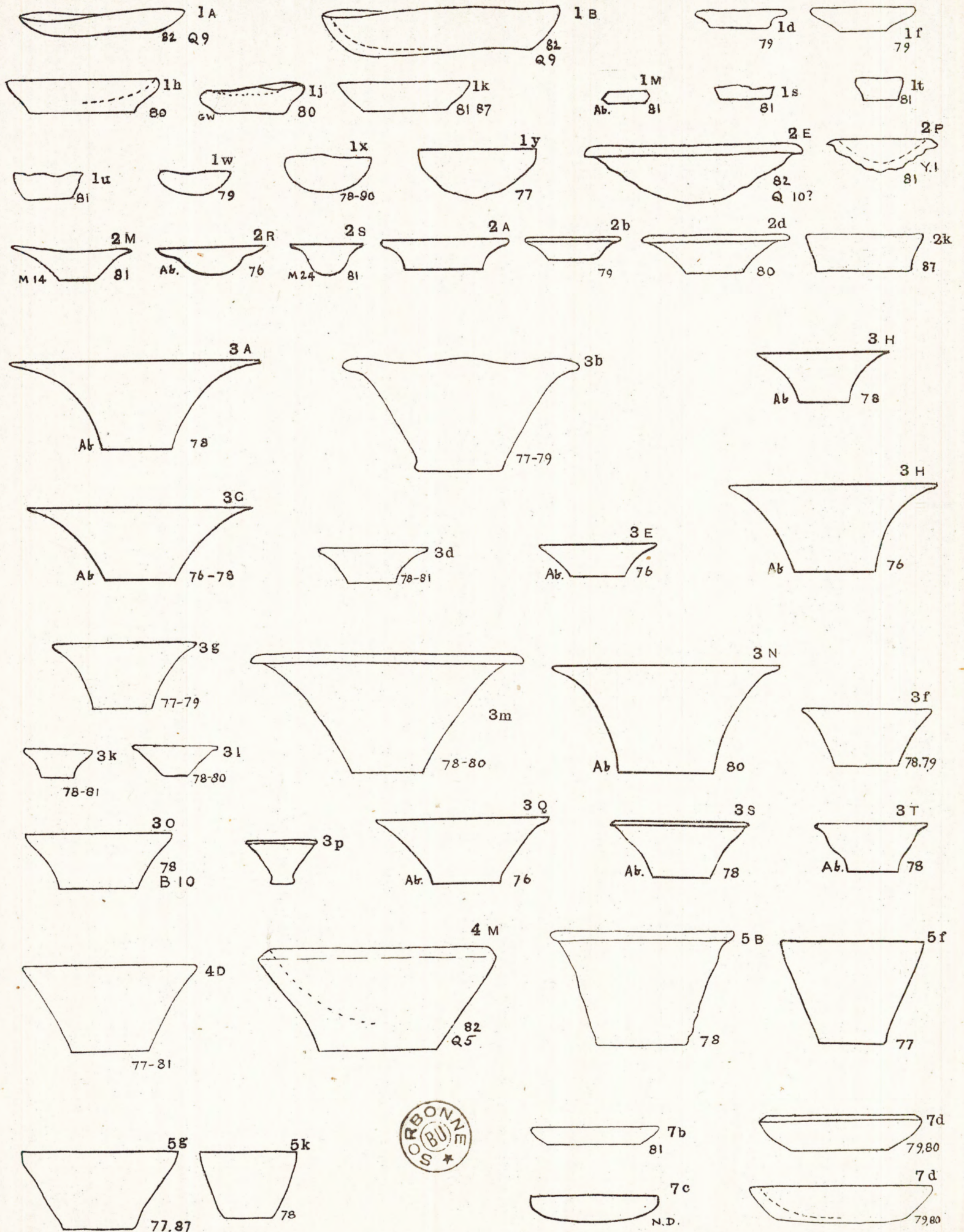
*Daughter*, Bener-ab. Tomb B 14,  
 Abydos. Ivories, *R.T.* II, iiiA,  
 9-13. Bracelet, *Ab.* I, iv, 3.  
*Daughter* ? Pat. Cup, *R.T.* II,  
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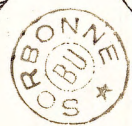
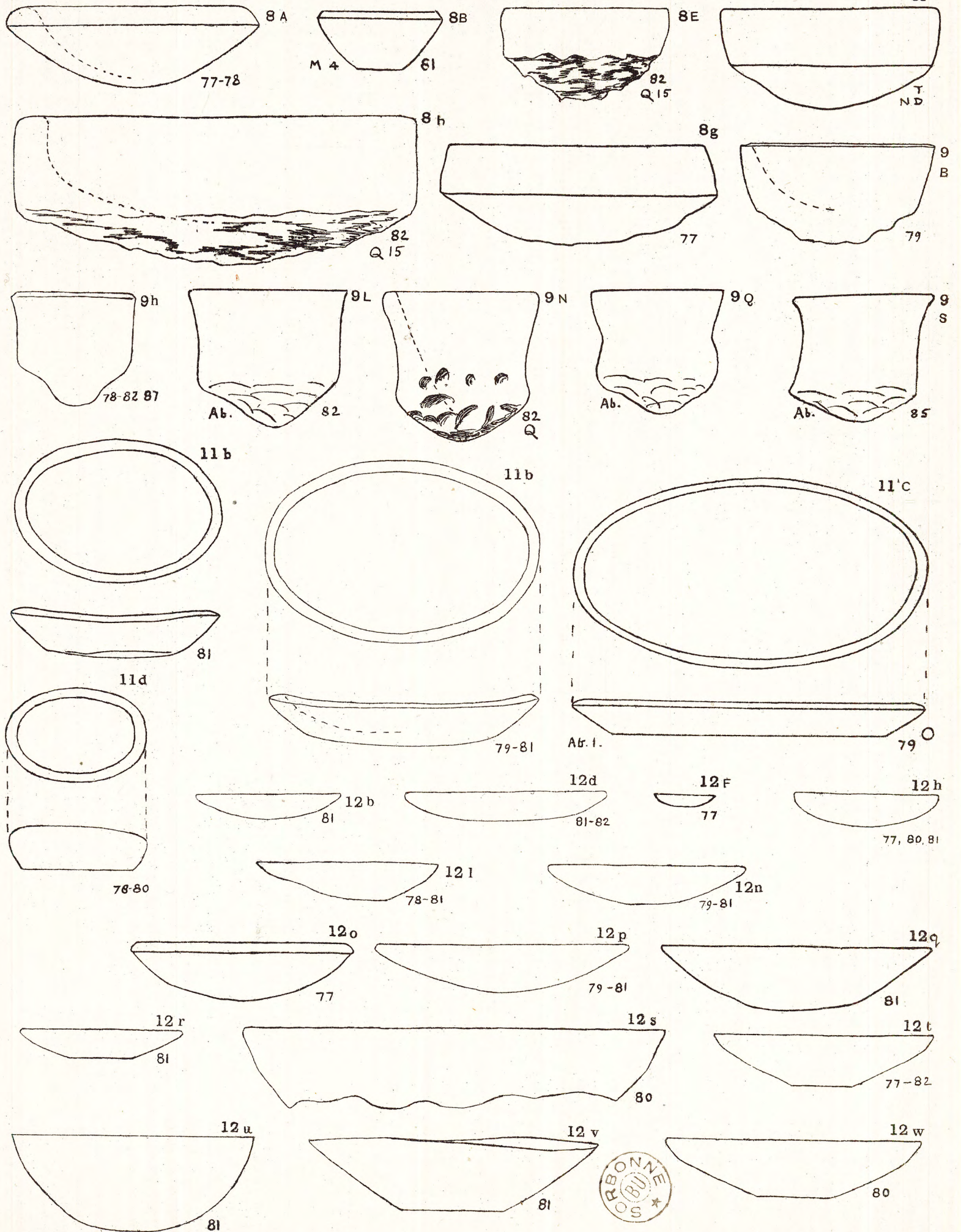
\* \* \*

This was compiled down to 1914. Since then, much has been discovered, at Saqqara and elsewhere, but unhappily no pottery has been figured, and therefore it is impracticable to notice the additions of the last twenty-five years.

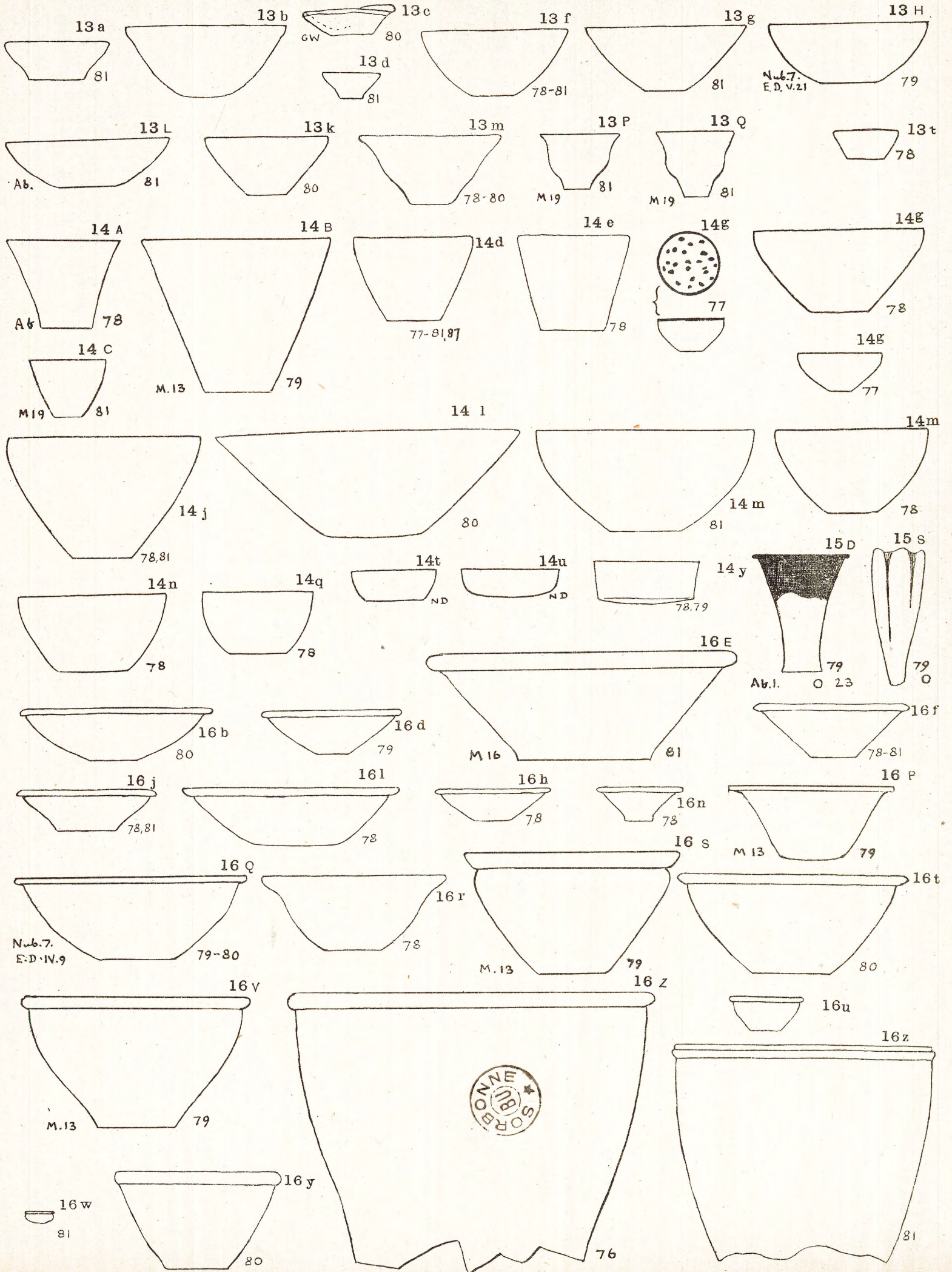
The series was deposited in University College, London, so far as it was derived from my excavations.  
 (W. M. Flinders Petrie, 1939).

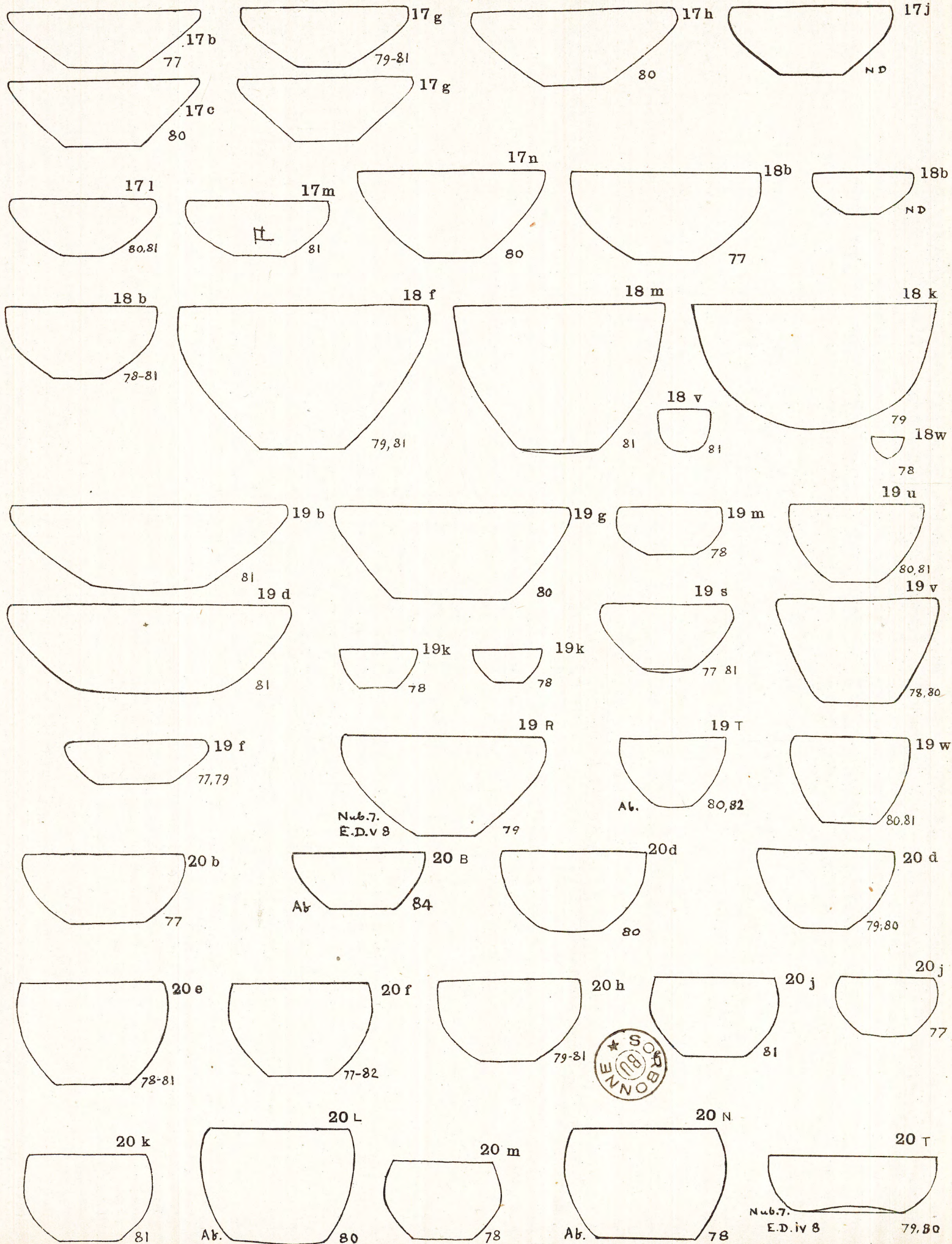
6. POTTERY PLATES I-XXX. In the following *Corpus*, the various sources denoting site and publication are distinguished by abbreviations which accompany the pots figured, being placed *below* each pot on *left* side ; *below* each pot on *right* side is the Sequence Date or range of dating ; *above* each pot on *right* side, continuous numbering from 1 to 100 denotes order of sorting in types. The system adopted in the arrangement, from open pan to narrow neck, is similar in each *Corpus*, and a grouping which is easily followed.

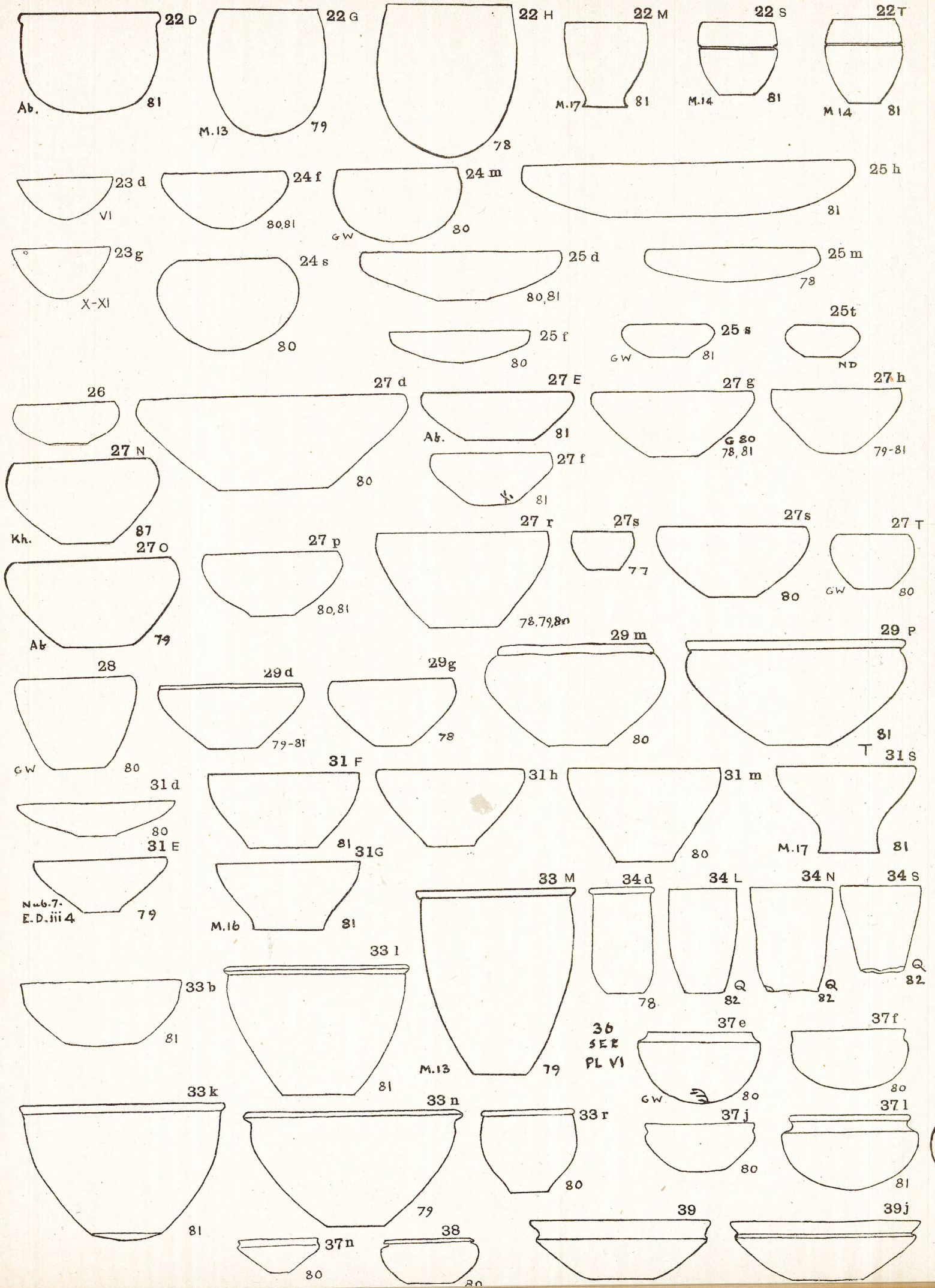


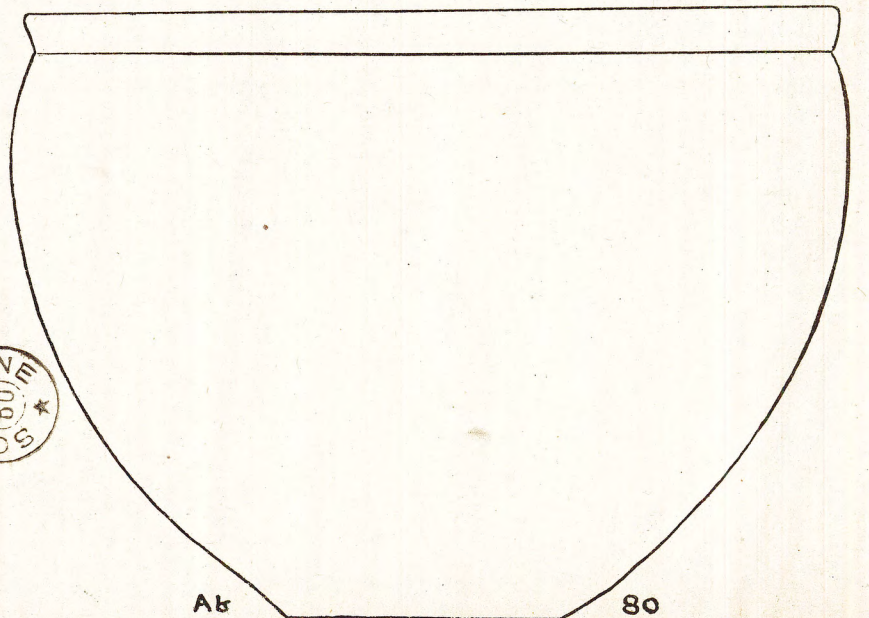
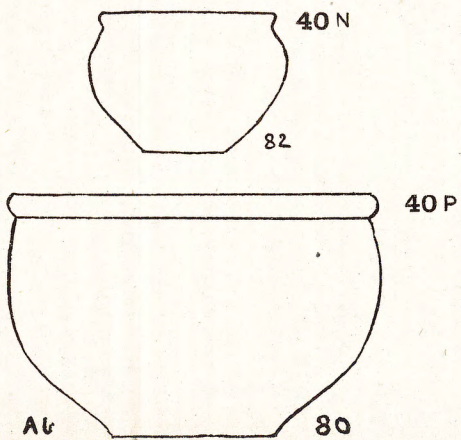
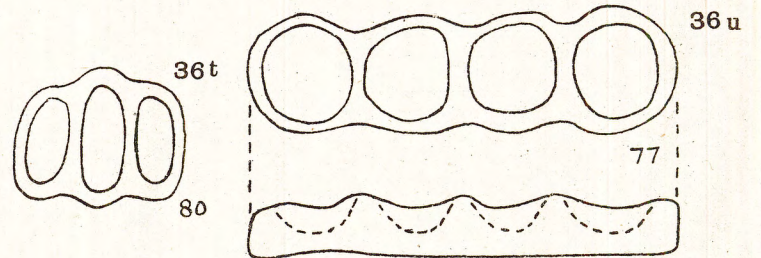
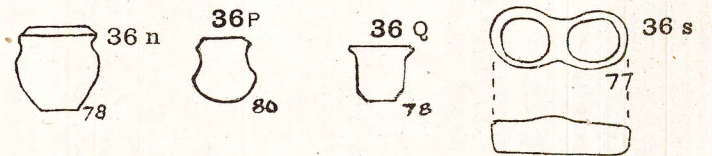
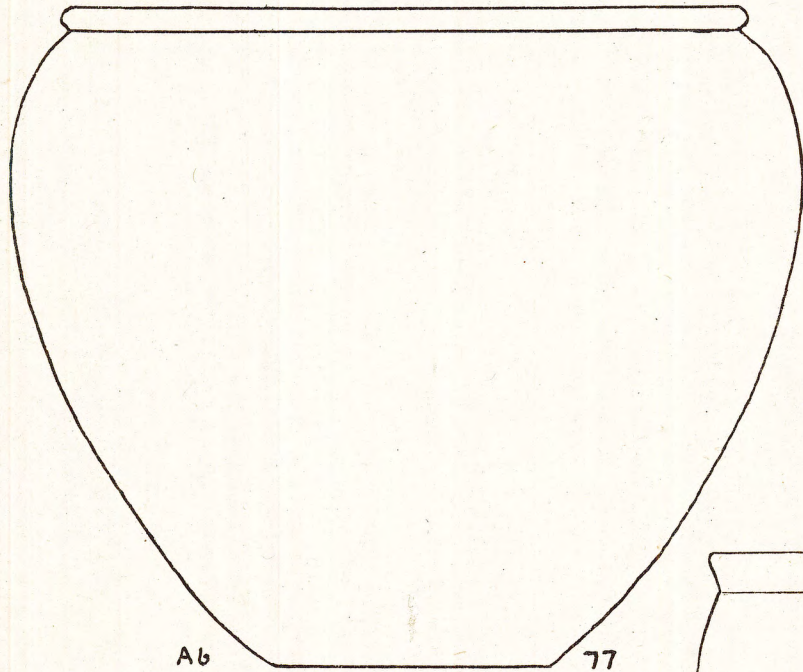
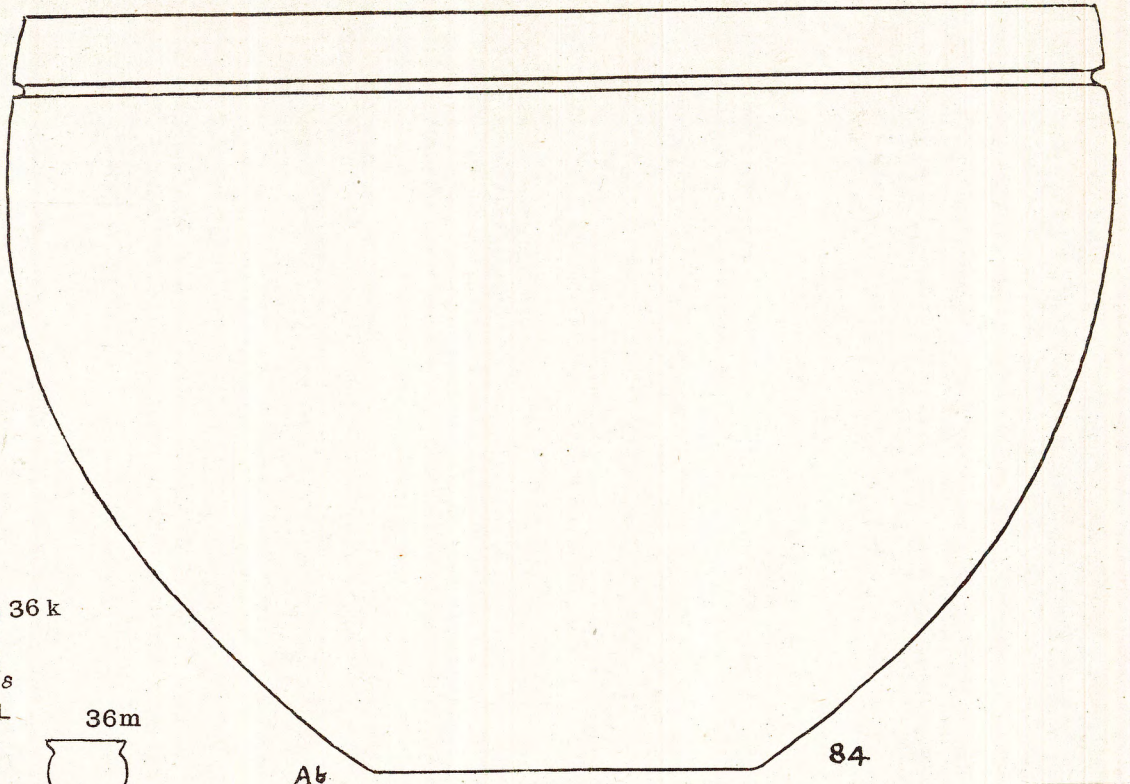
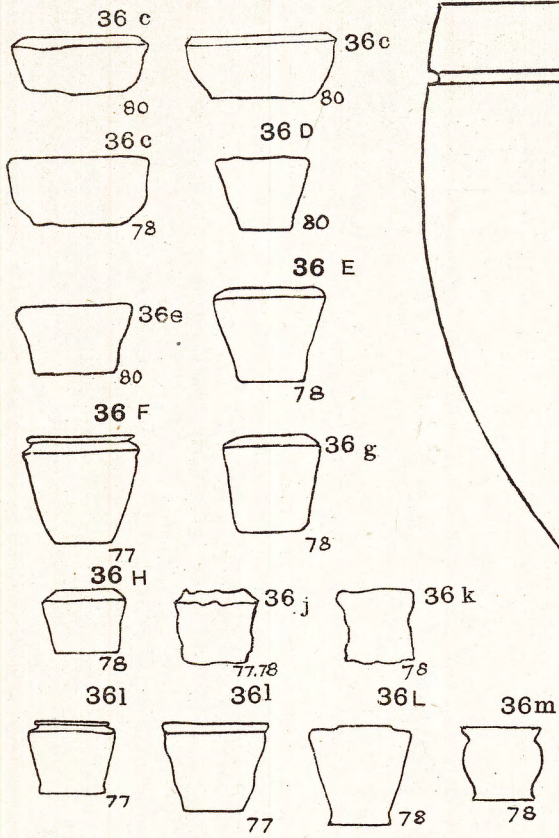








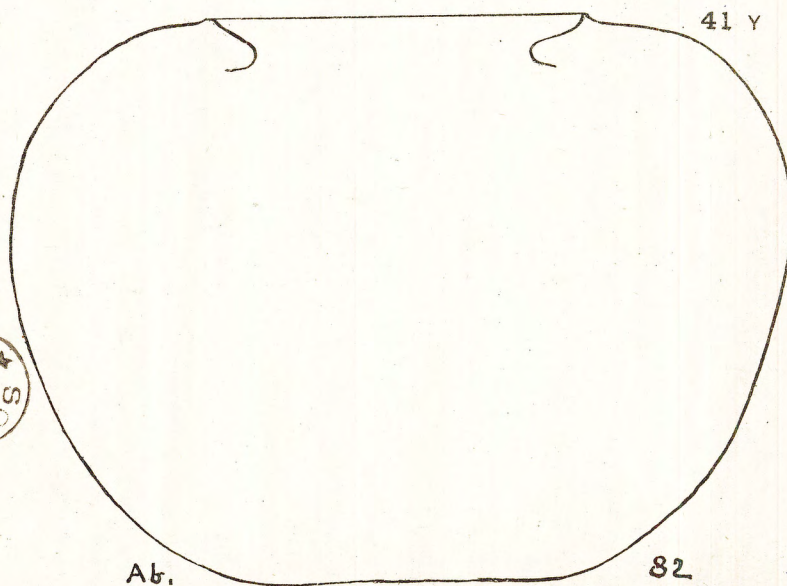
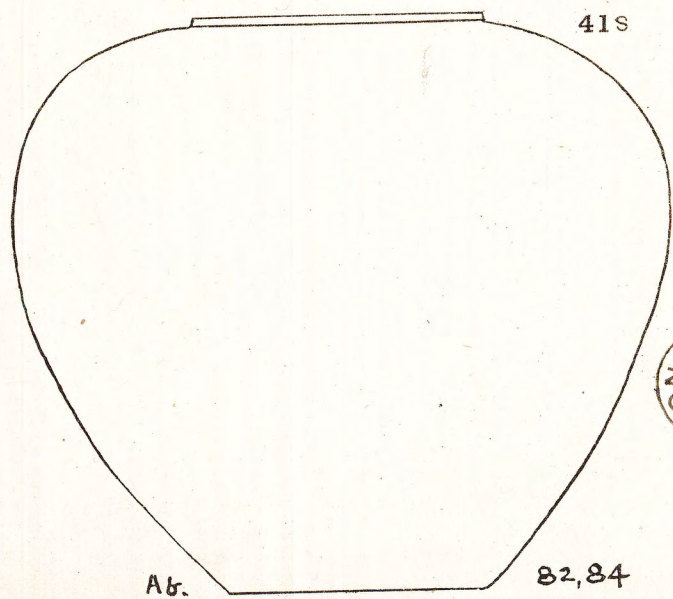
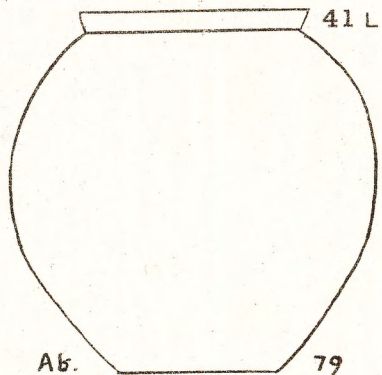
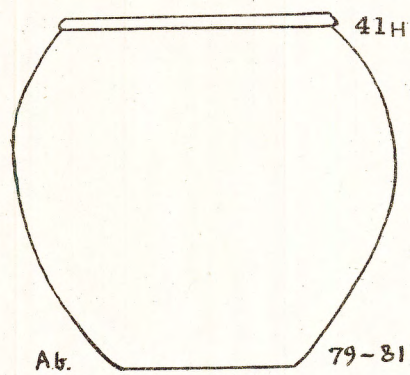
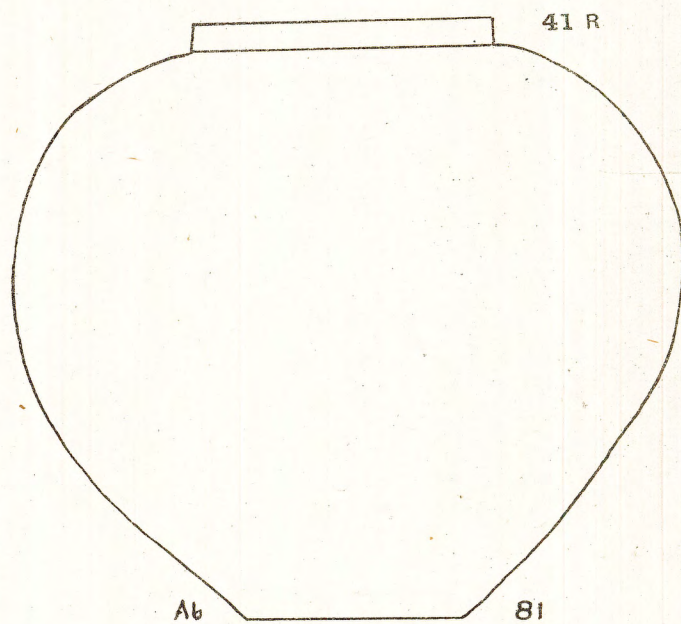
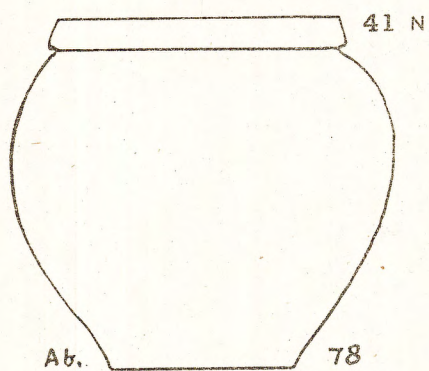
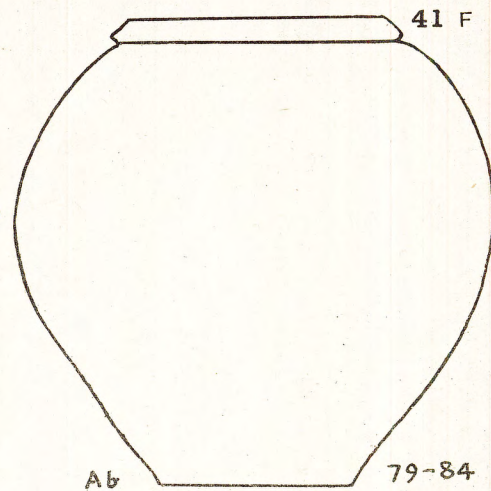
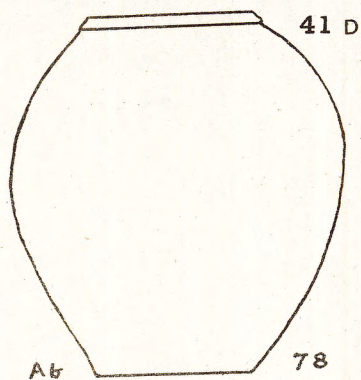
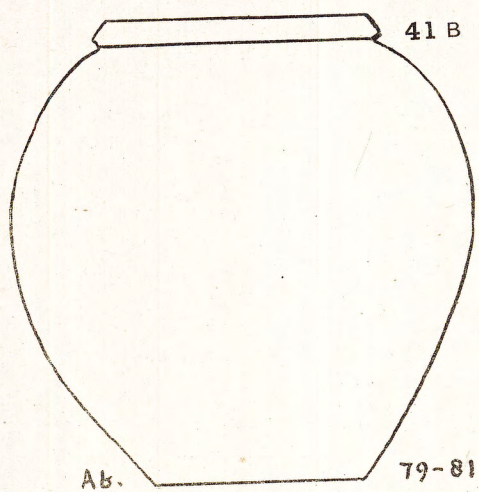


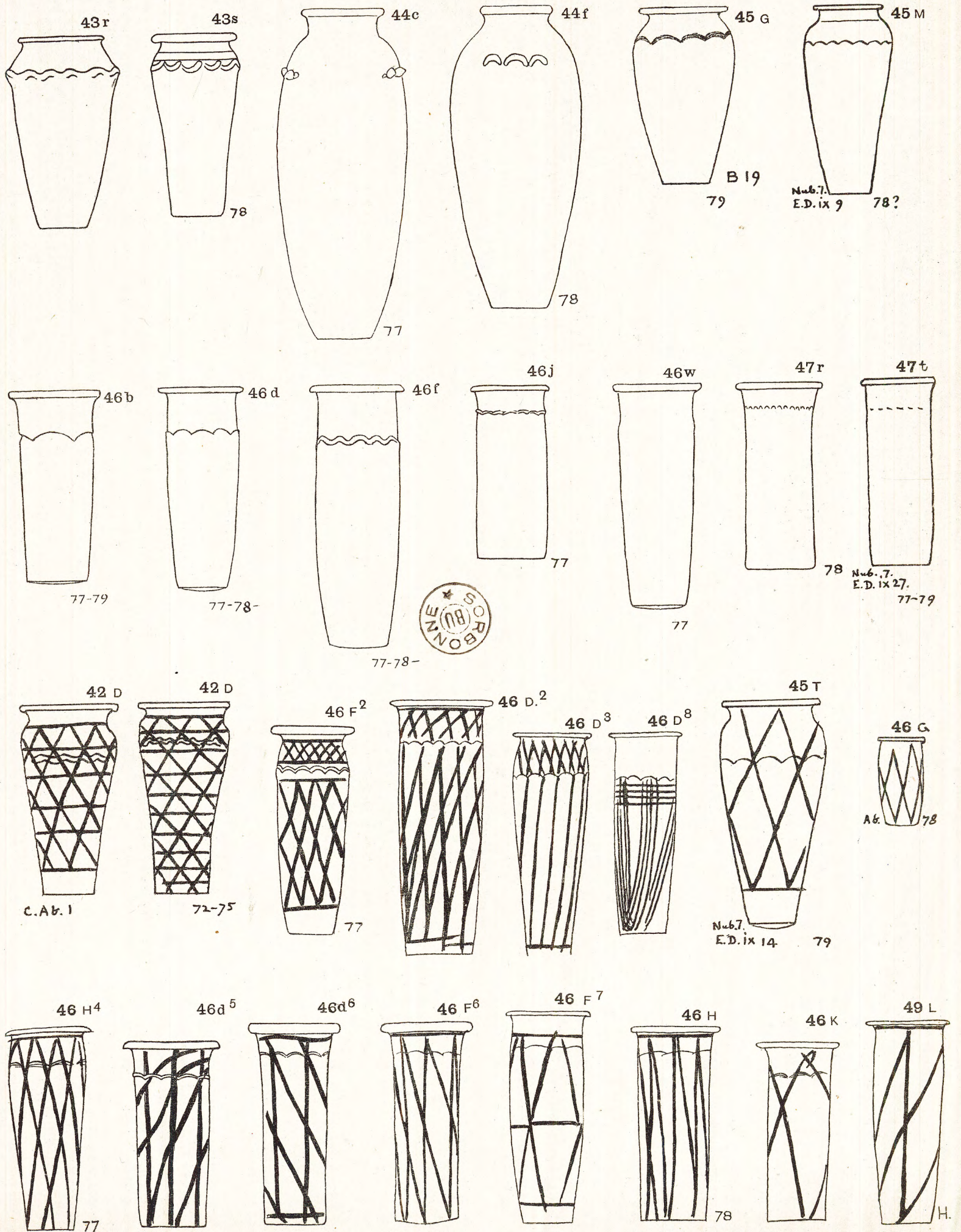


1:6

CORPUS OF PROTO-DYNASTIC POTTERY. 41.

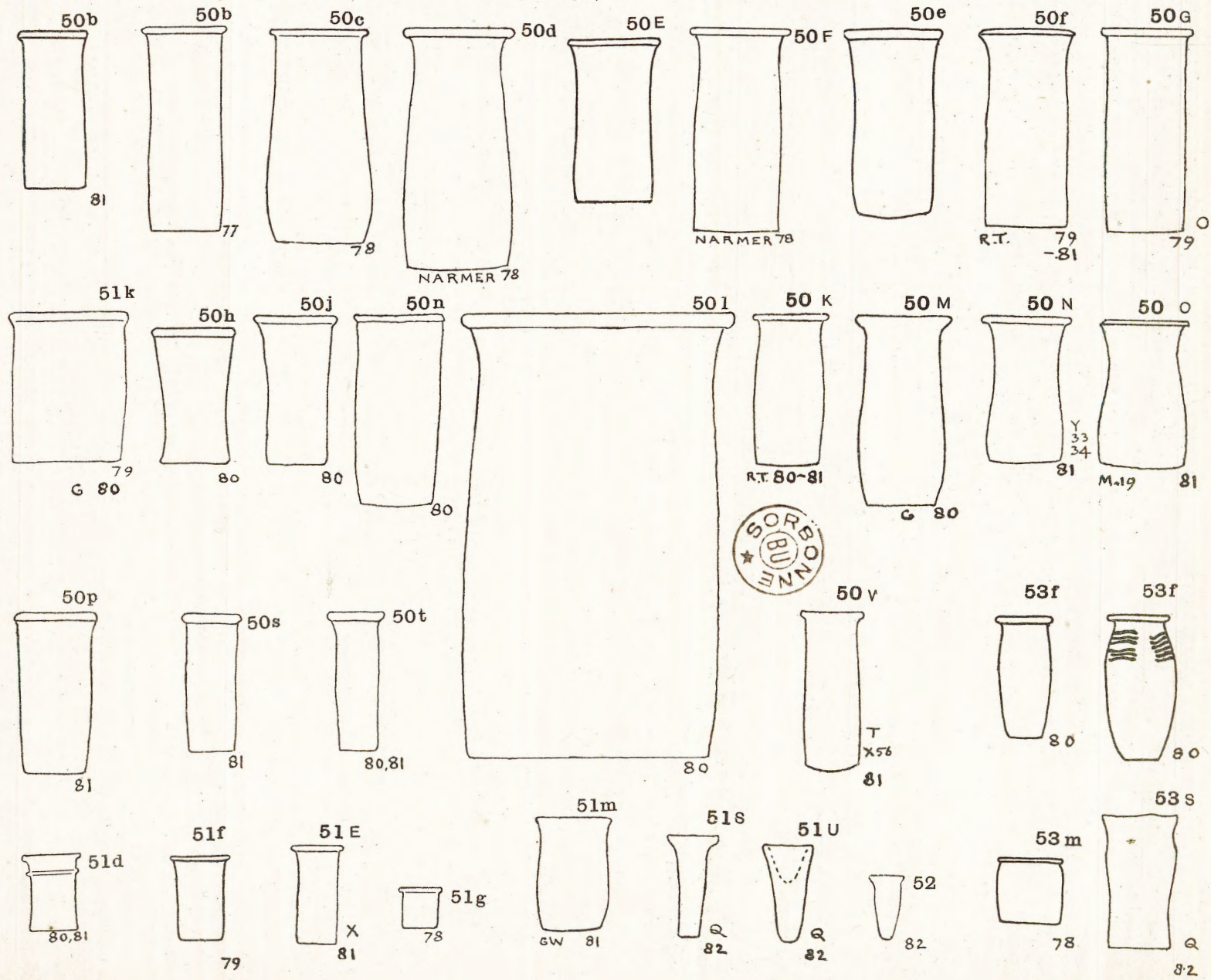
VII.

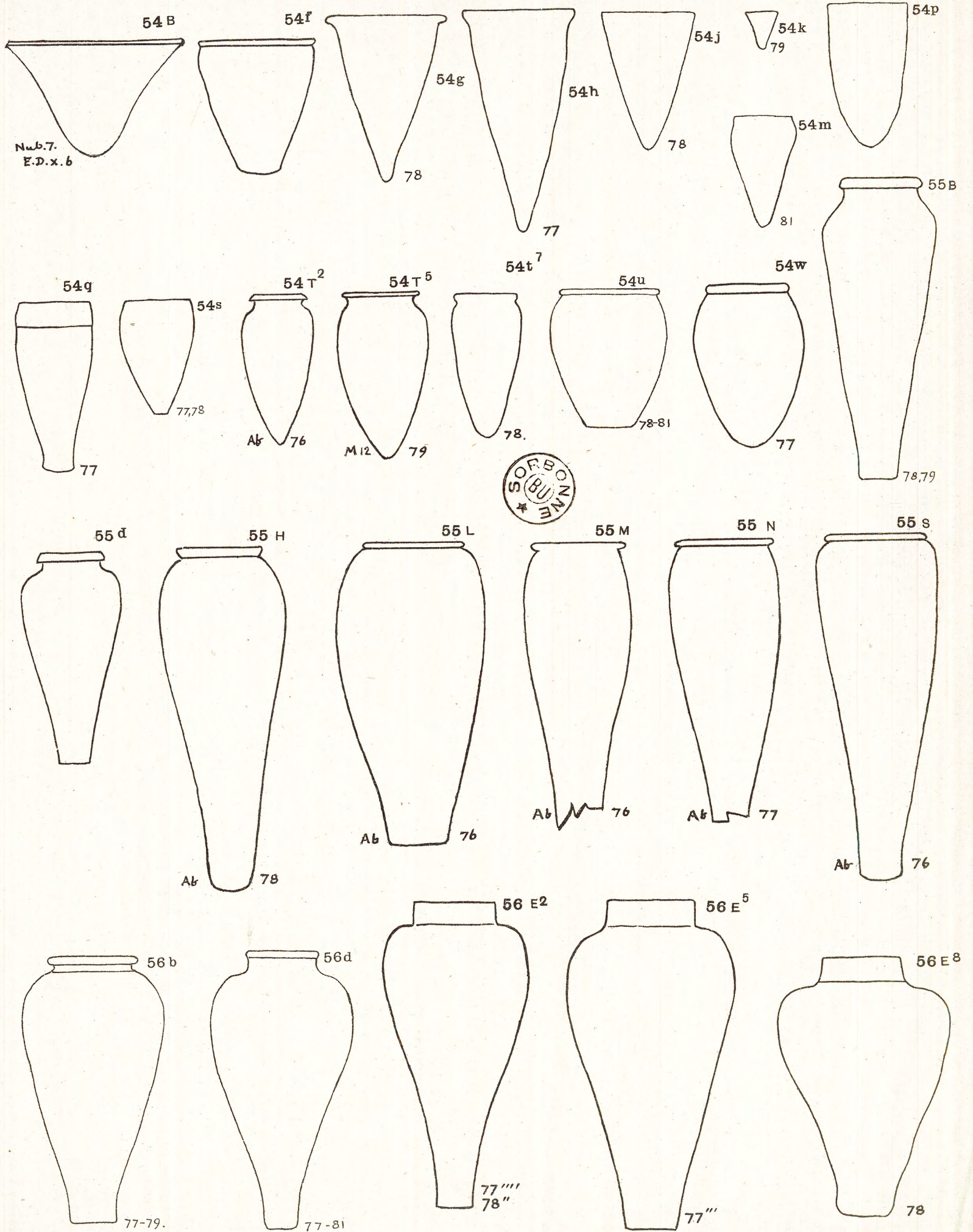




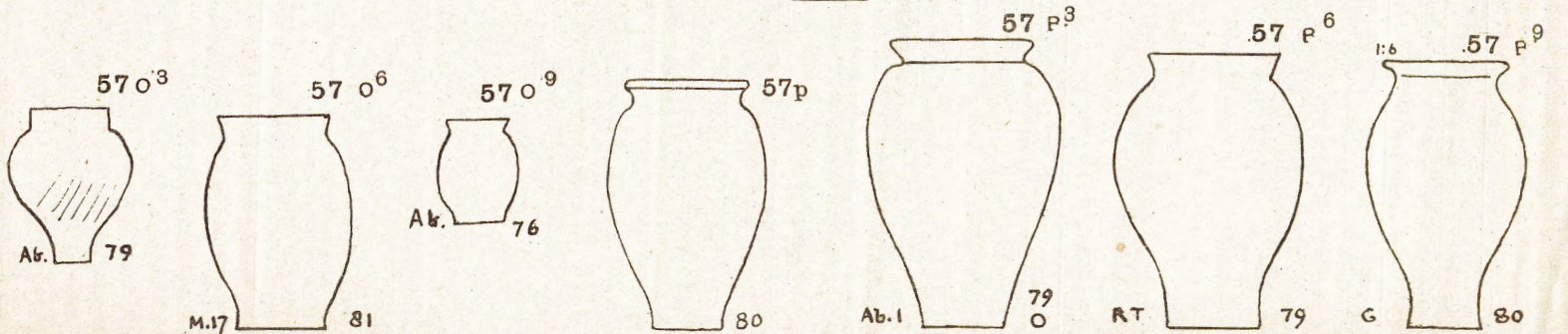
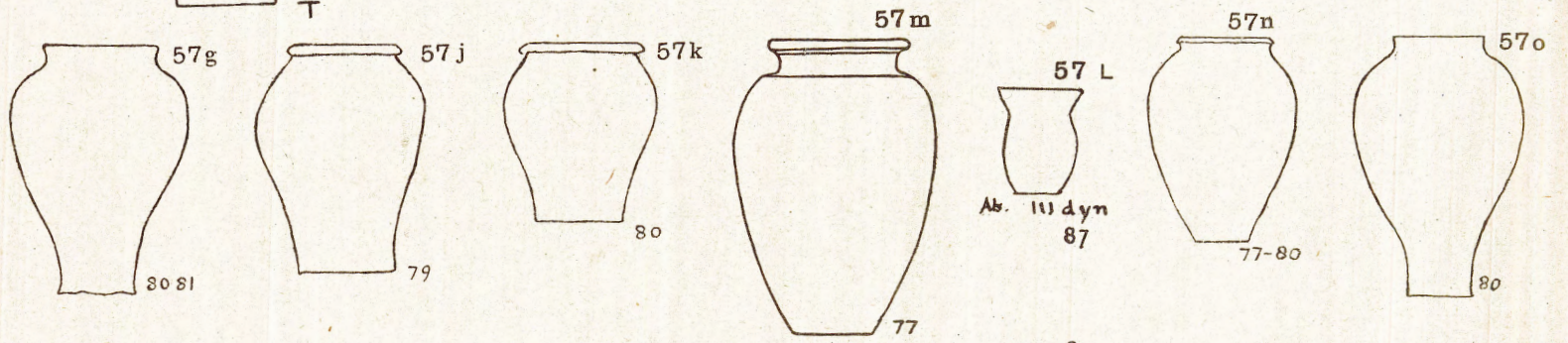
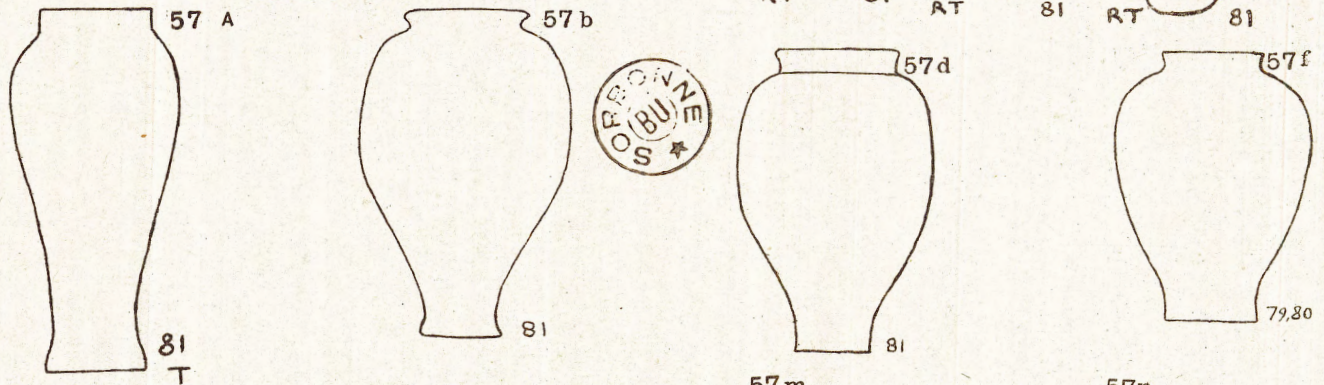
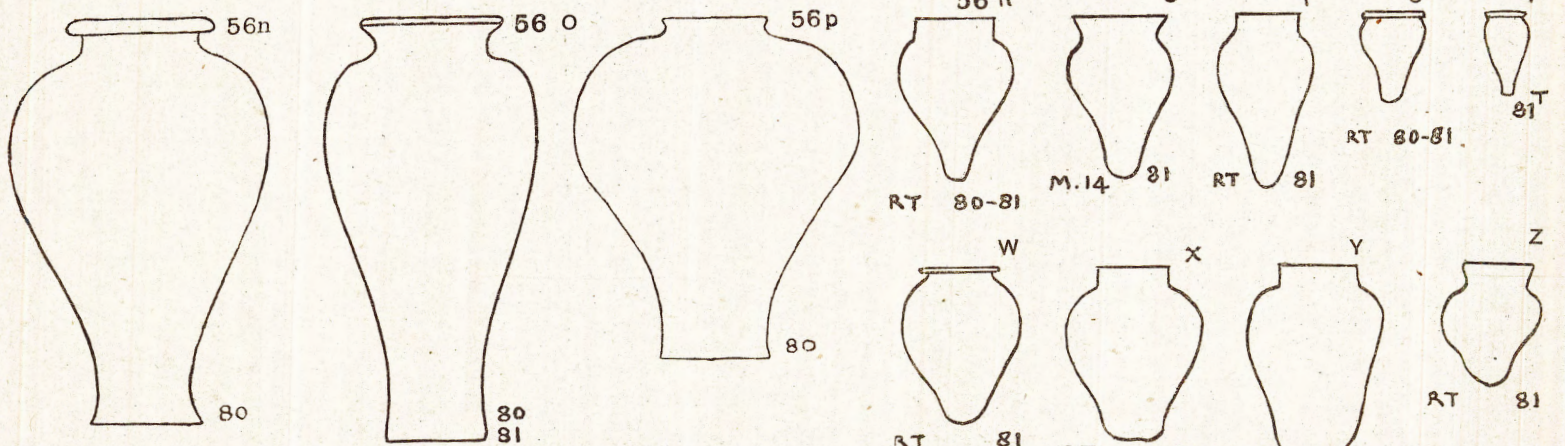
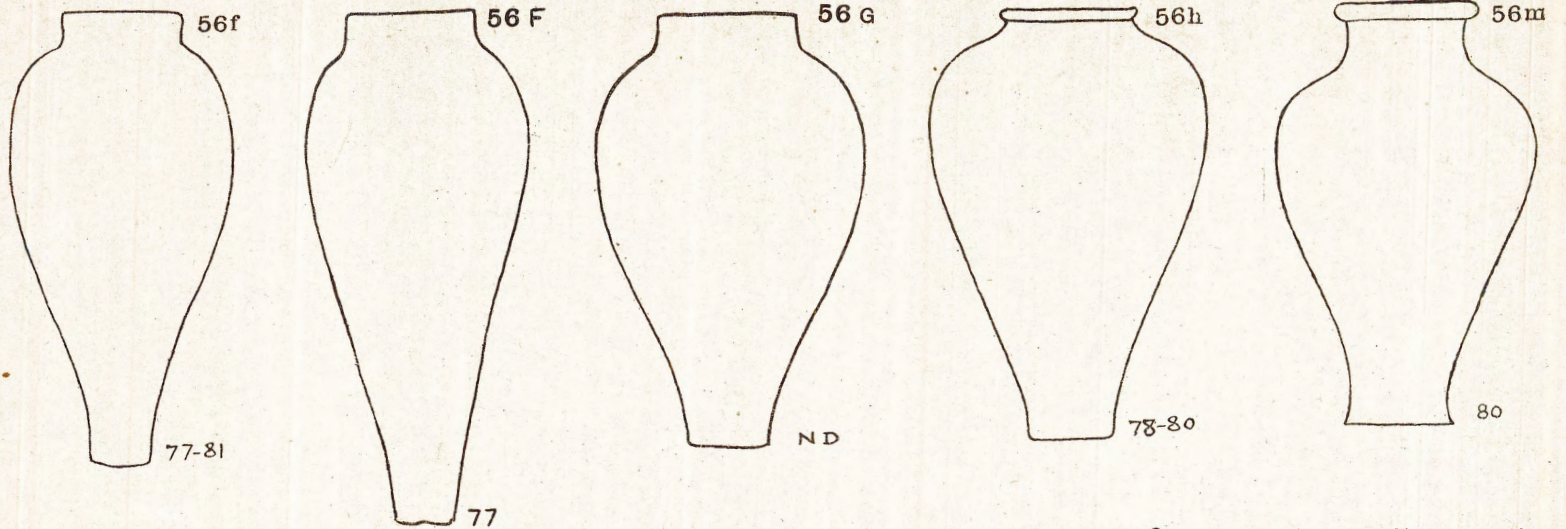
# TYPE PATTERNS ON CYLINDER JARS.

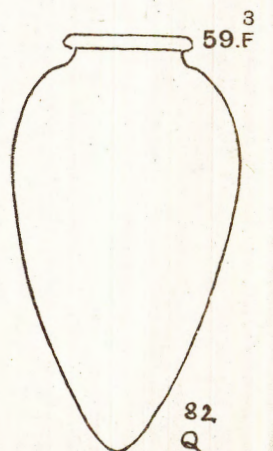
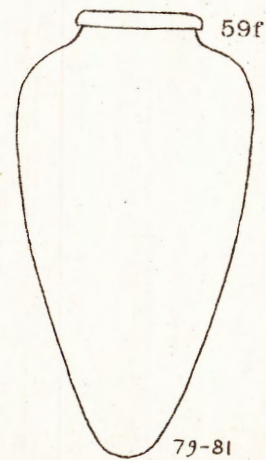
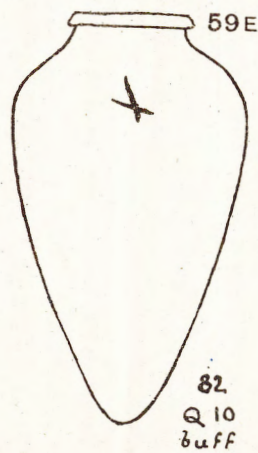
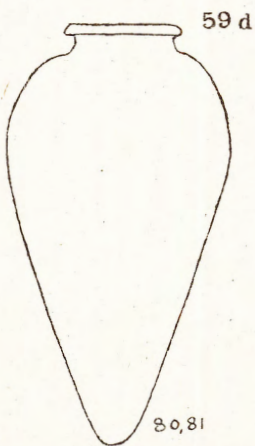
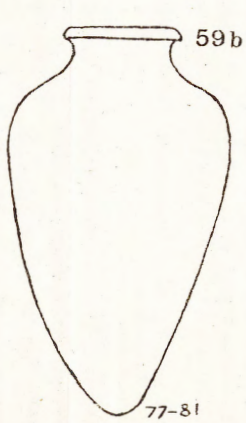
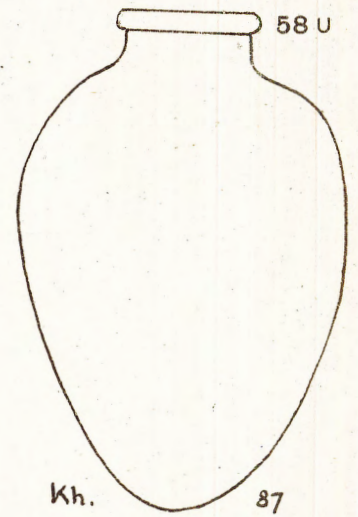
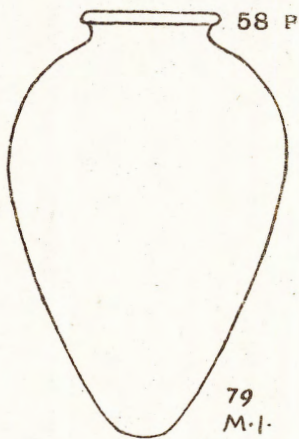
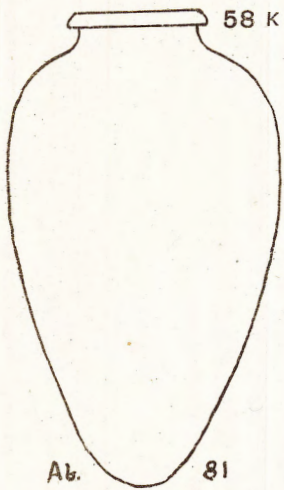
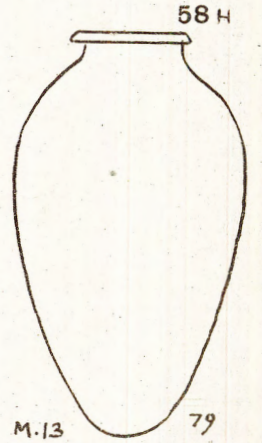
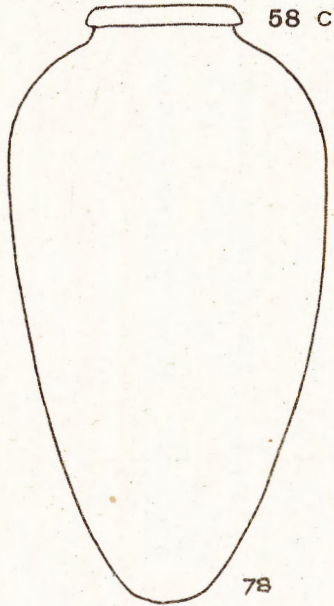
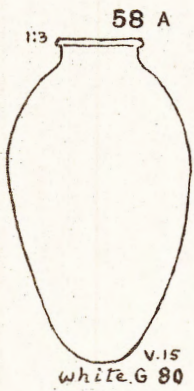
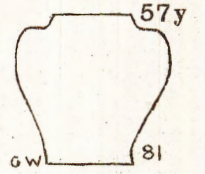
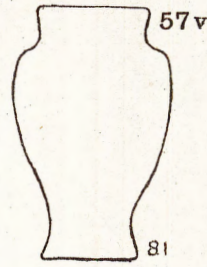
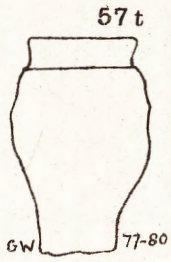
- |     |  |  |     |  |  |
|-----|--|--|-----|--|--|
| 46b |  | Bold projecting ridges <sup>77,78-</sup>                   | 46m |  | Wiped low above ridge pushed up. <sup>77-</sup>      |
| 46d |  | Sharp ridge pushed up. <sup>77,78-</sup>                   | 46p |  | Wiped low above, ridge smudged up. <sup>77,78-</sup> |
| 46f |  | Pushed up, flattened. <sup>77,78-</sup>                    | 46r |  | Faint irregular hollows. <sup>77-</sup>              |
| 46h |  | Squeezed up by thumb. <sup>77,78-</sup>                    | 46t |  | Faint ridge dabbed by finger. <sup>77-</sup>         |
| 46k |  | Squeezed in by finger. <sup>77,78-</sup>                   | 46w |  | Faint lumps. <sup>77-</sup>                          |
| 47b |  | Jabbed up with a stick. <sup>78-79-</sup>                  | 47k |  | Deep groove scored by stick. <sup>79-</sup>          |
| 47d |  | Jabbed with finger nail. <sup>77-79-</sup>                 | 47m |  | Deep groove, lower edge smudged. <sup>78-80-</sup>   |
| 47f |  | Wiped with stick or finger. <sup>78-</sup>                 | 47p |  | Wiped low below, ridge pushed up. <sup>-77,78-</sup> |
| 47h |  | Wiped low below, ridge pushed up. <sup>77-79-</sup>        | 47s |  | same. <sup>78,79-</sup>                              |
| 48d |  | { Wiped low above and below, ridge notched. <sup>78-</sup> | 48s |  | Cord impress. <sup>78-</sup>                         |
| 48g |  | { Ridge notched, deep groove below. <sup>78,79-</sup>      | 48t |  | Cord impress left handed. <sup>78-</sup>             |
| 48l |  | { Slight groove, upper edge notched. <sup>78-</sup>        | 49g |  | Jabbed by a point. <sup>78-80-</sup>                 |
| 49d |  | Groove, upper edged pushed wavy. <sup>78,79-</sup>         | 49l |  | Plain line. <sup>78-80-</sup>                        |

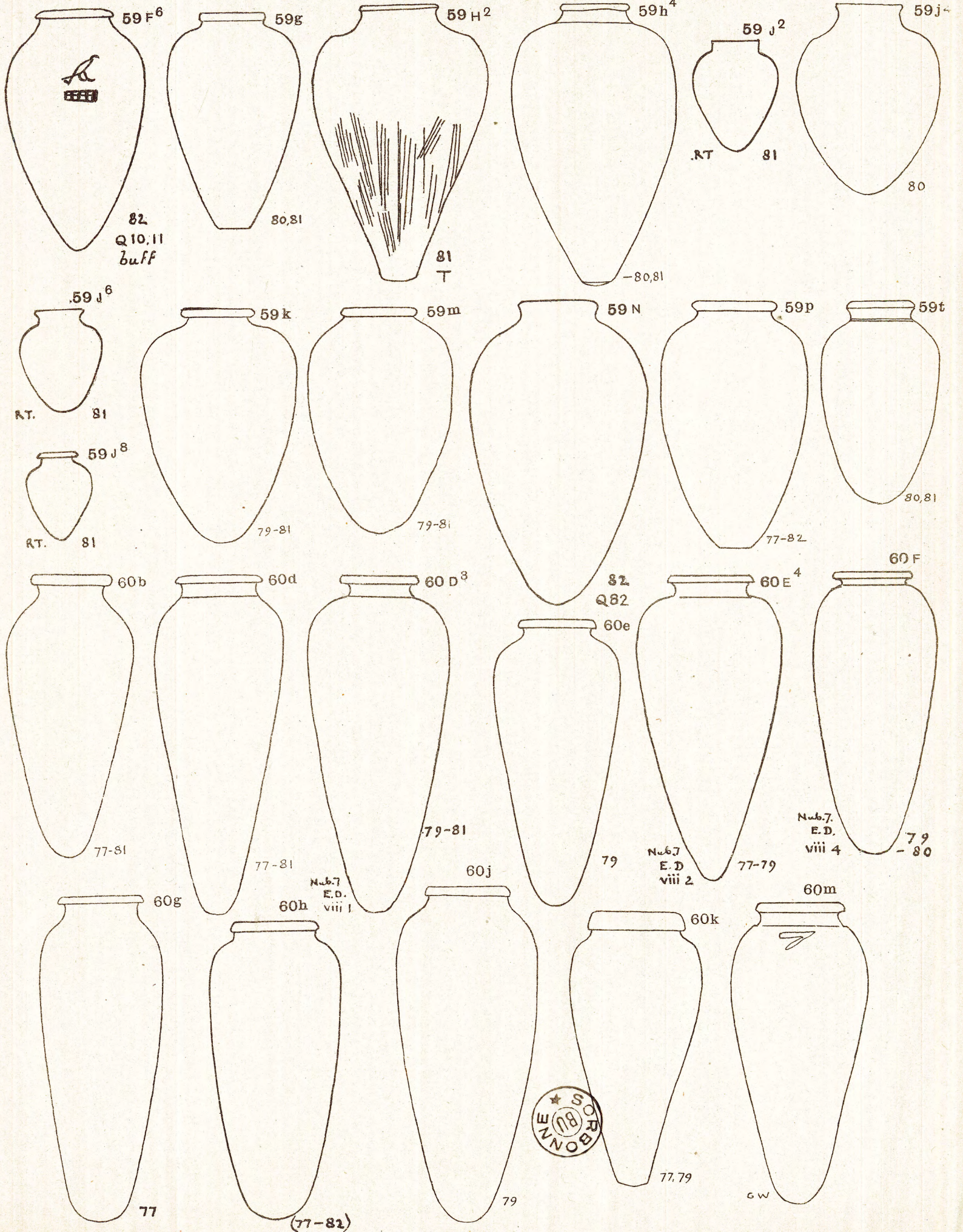








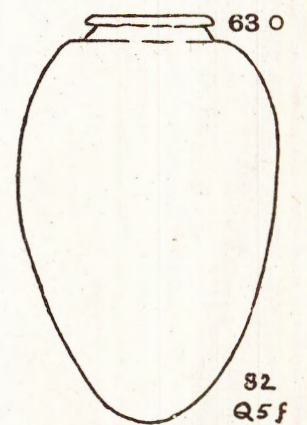
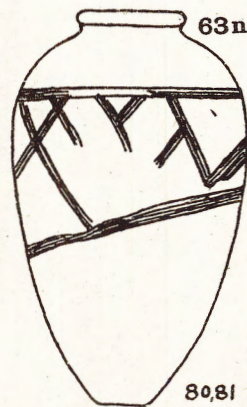
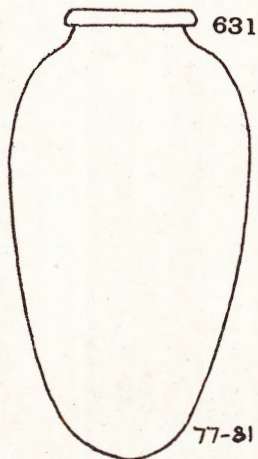
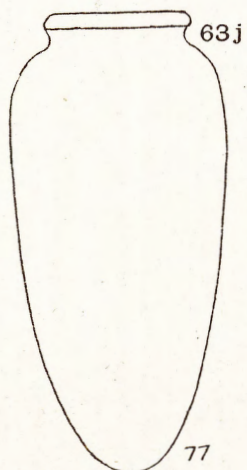
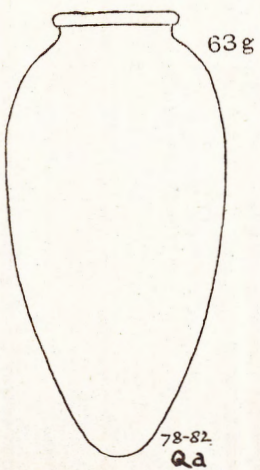
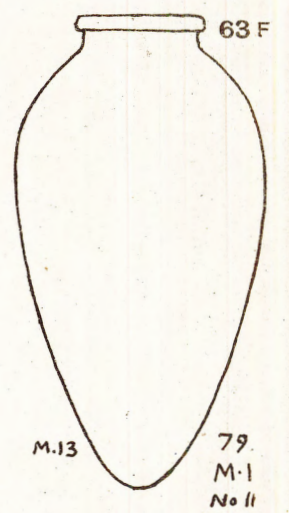
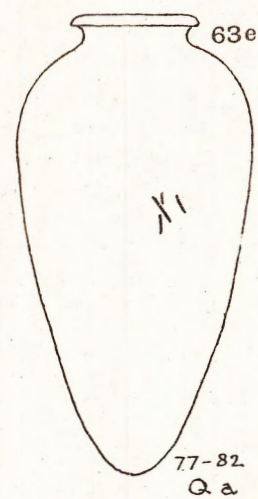
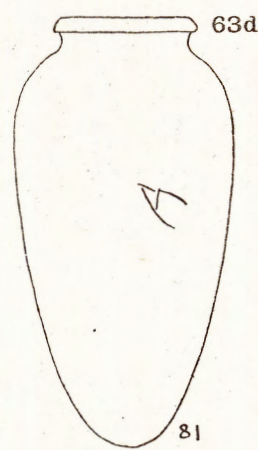
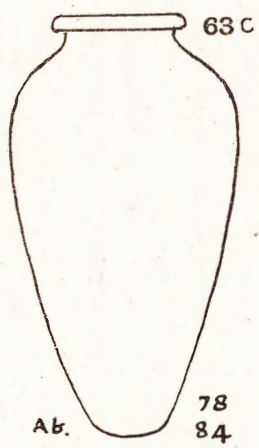
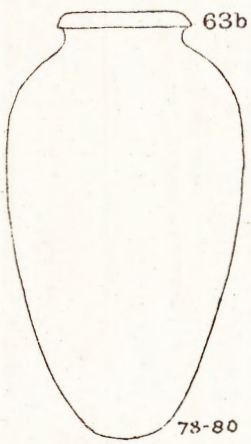
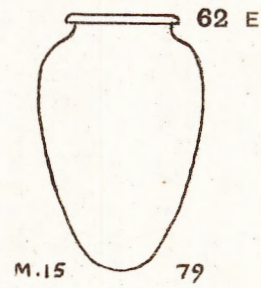
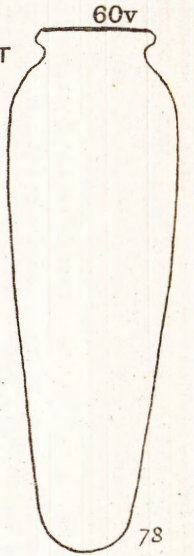
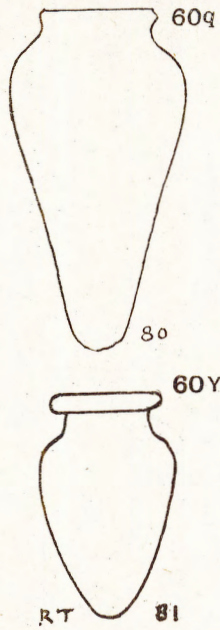


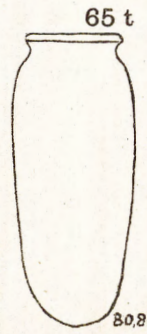
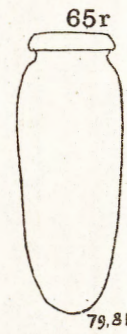
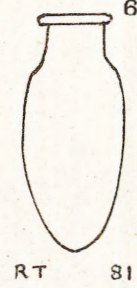
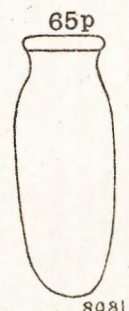
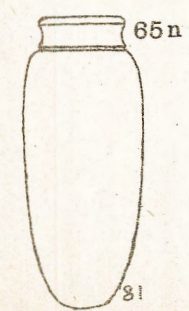
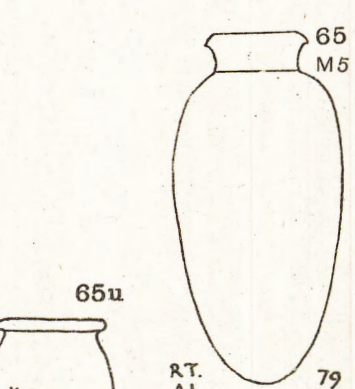
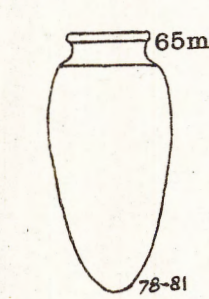
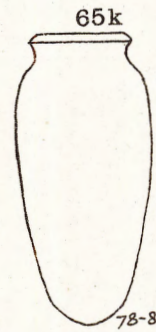
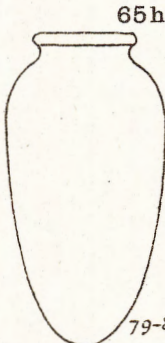
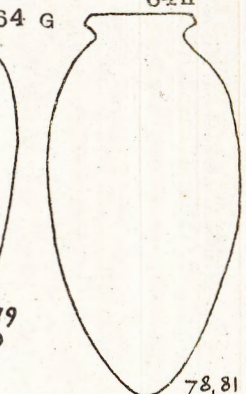
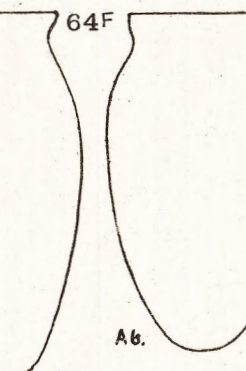
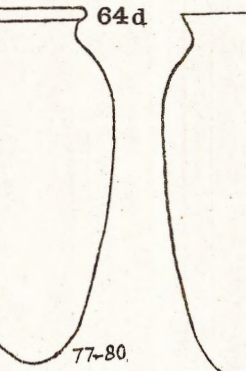
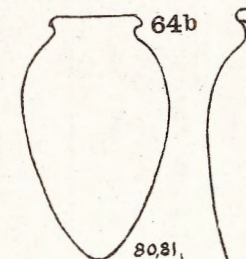
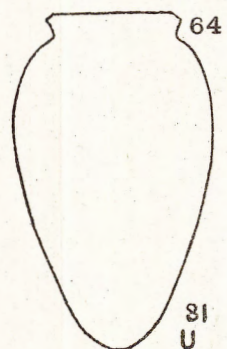
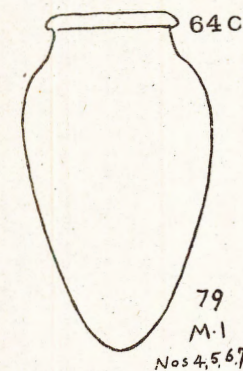
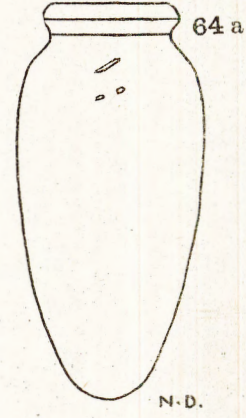
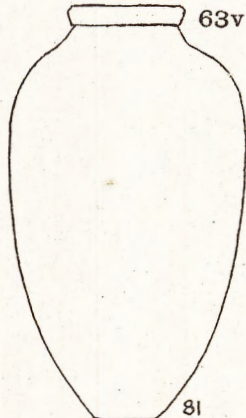
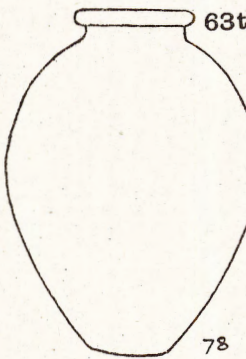
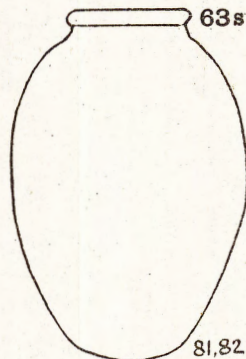
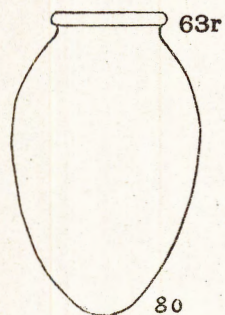
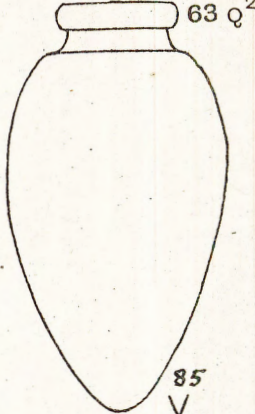
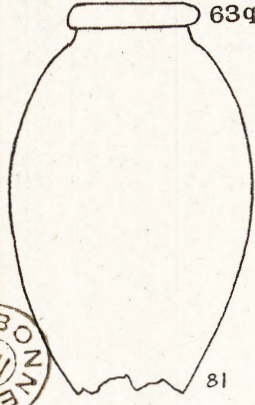
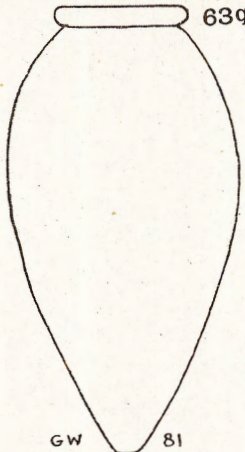
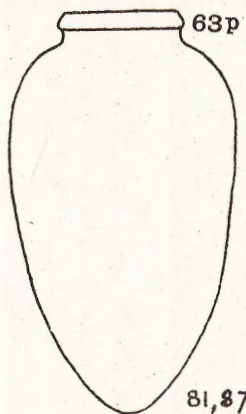
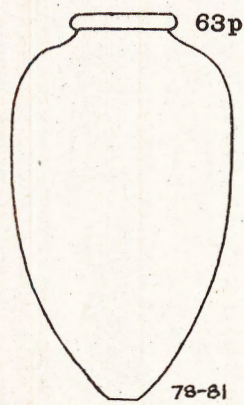


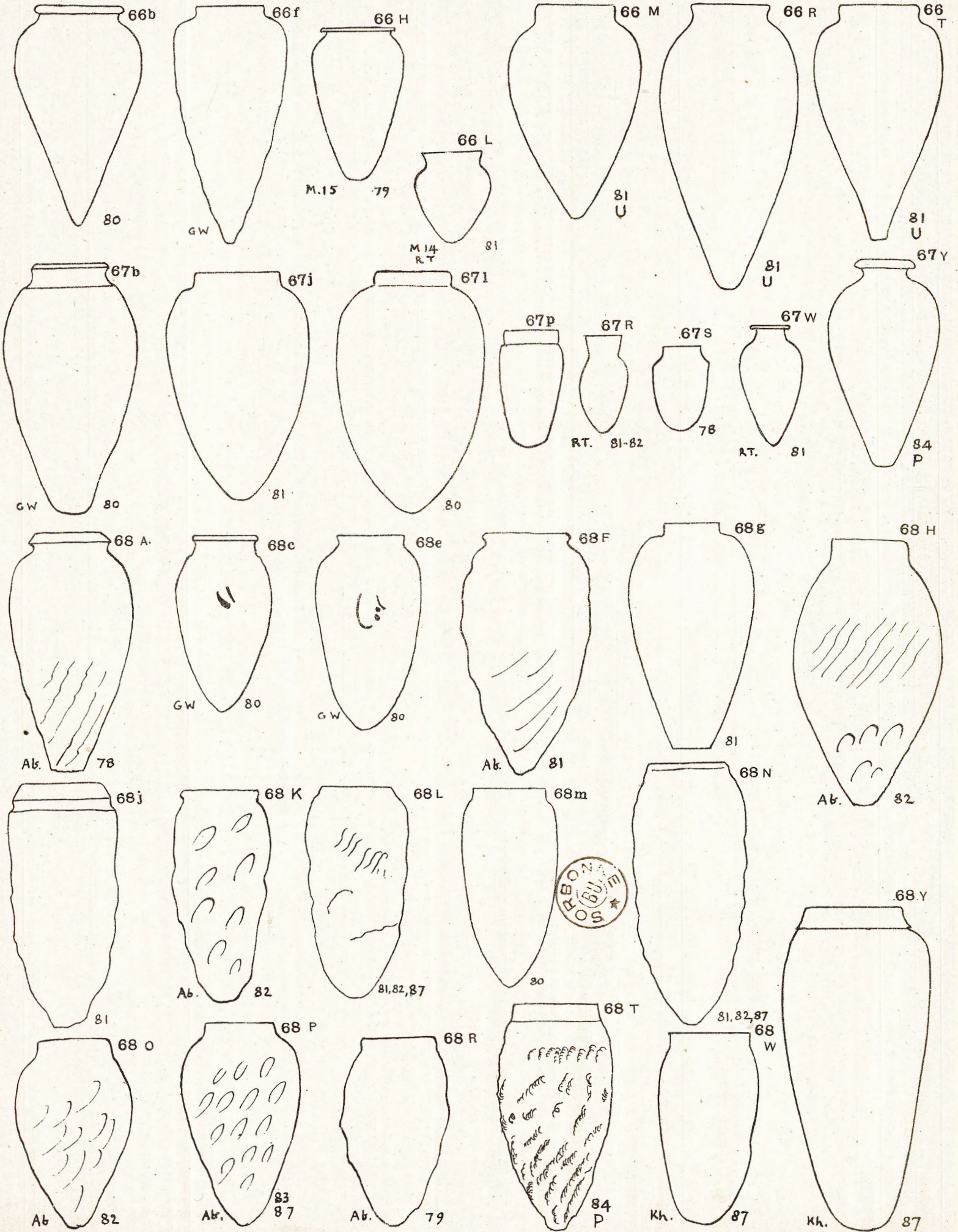
1:6

CORPUS OF PROTO-DYNASTIC POTTERY. 60-63.

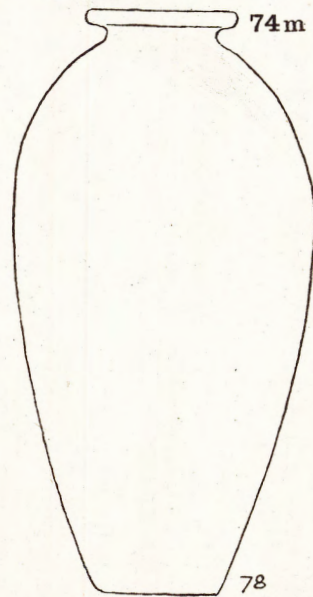
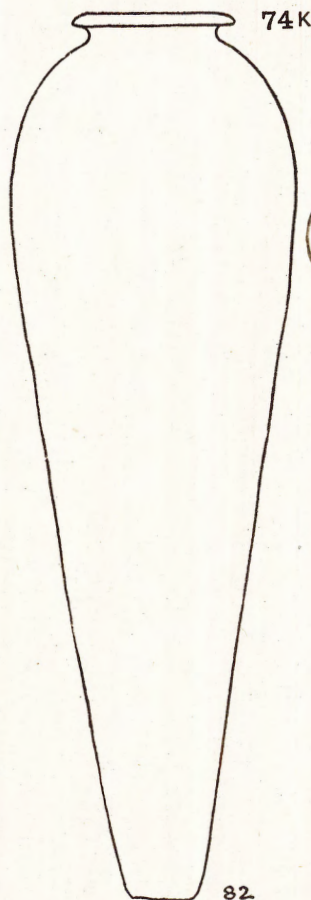
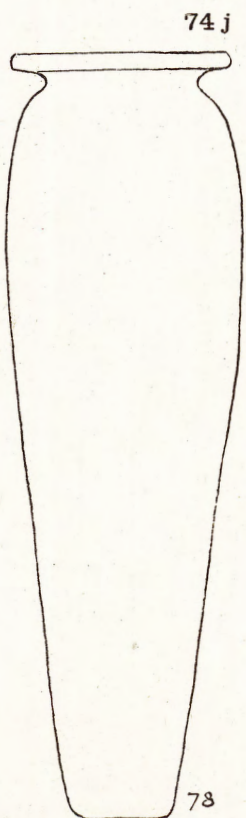
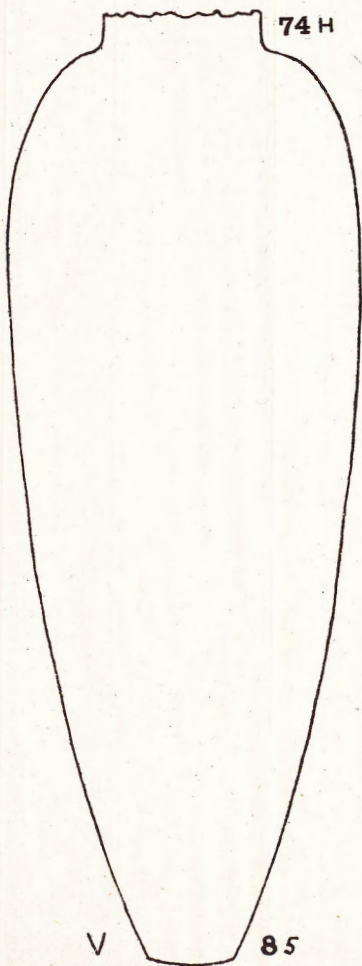
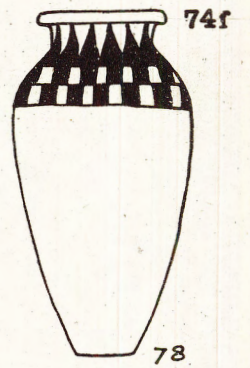
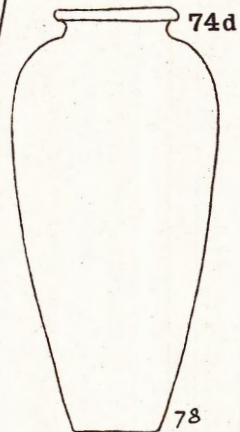
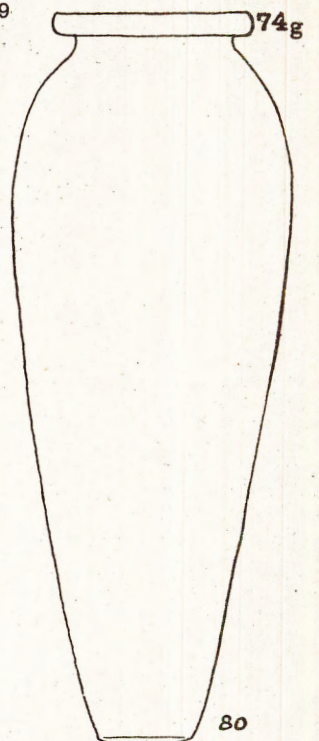
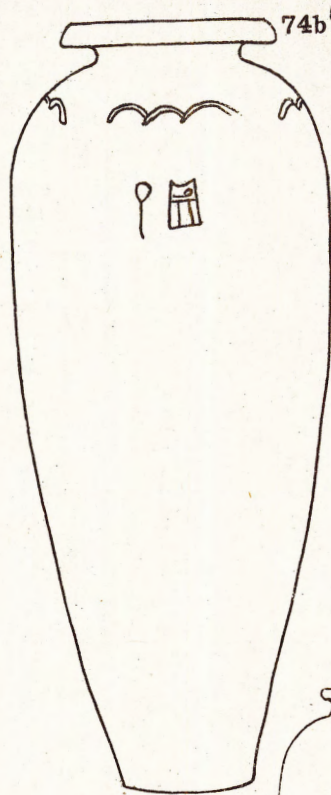
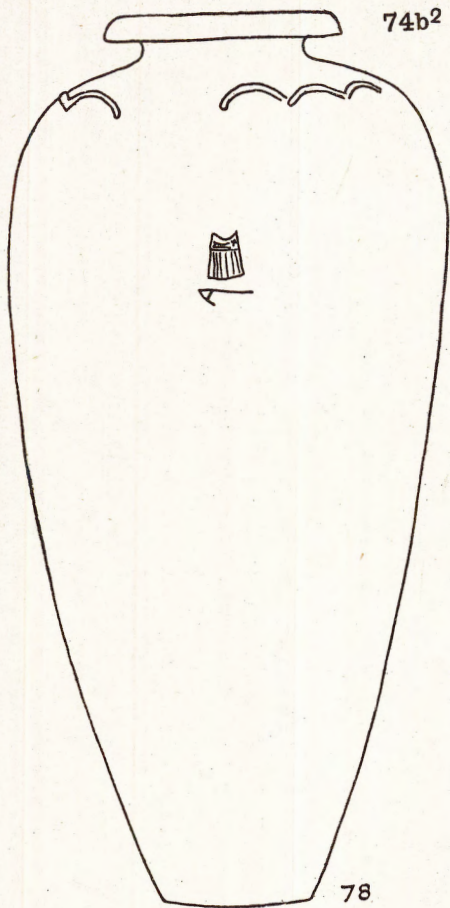
XIV.









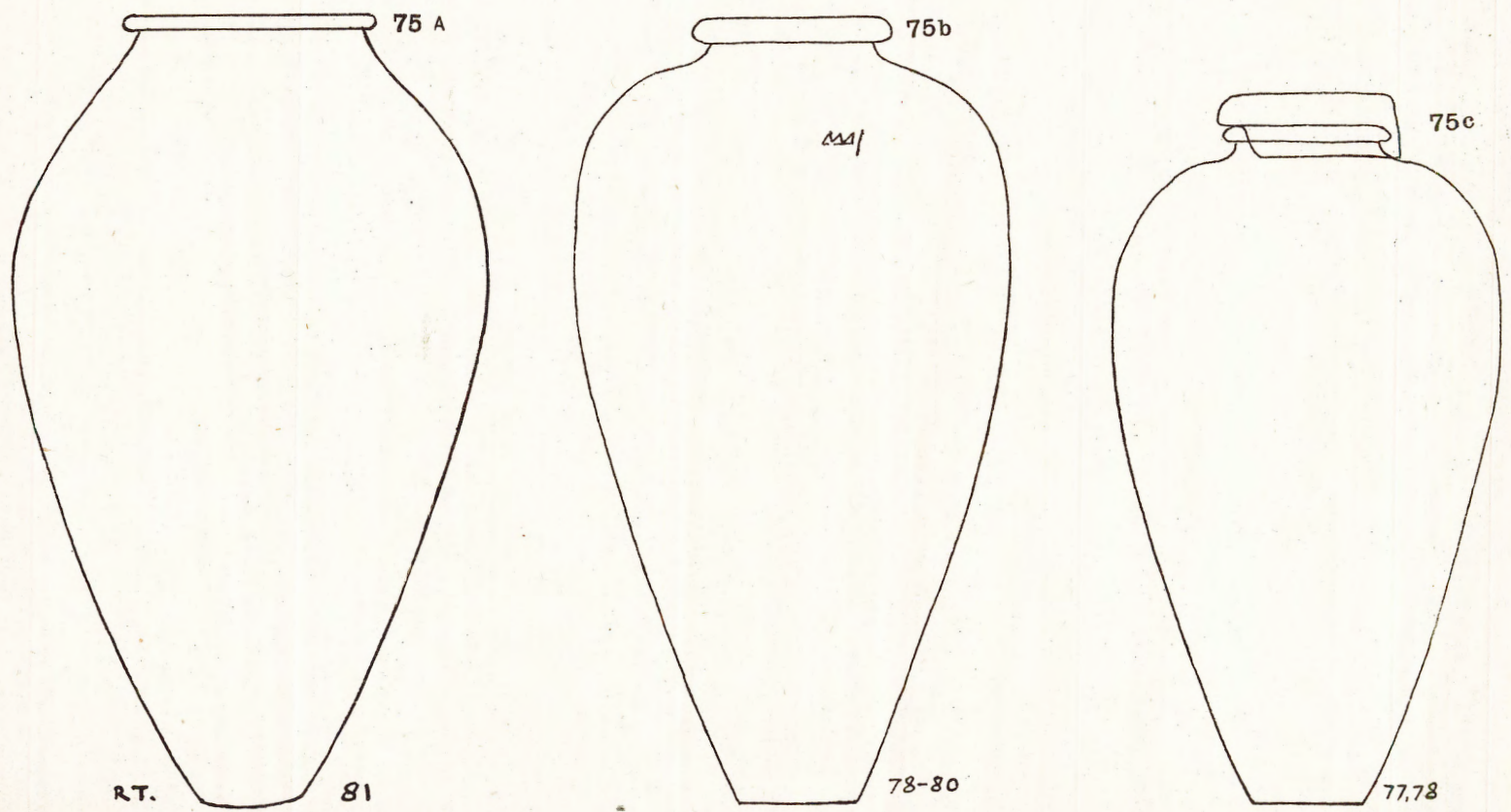
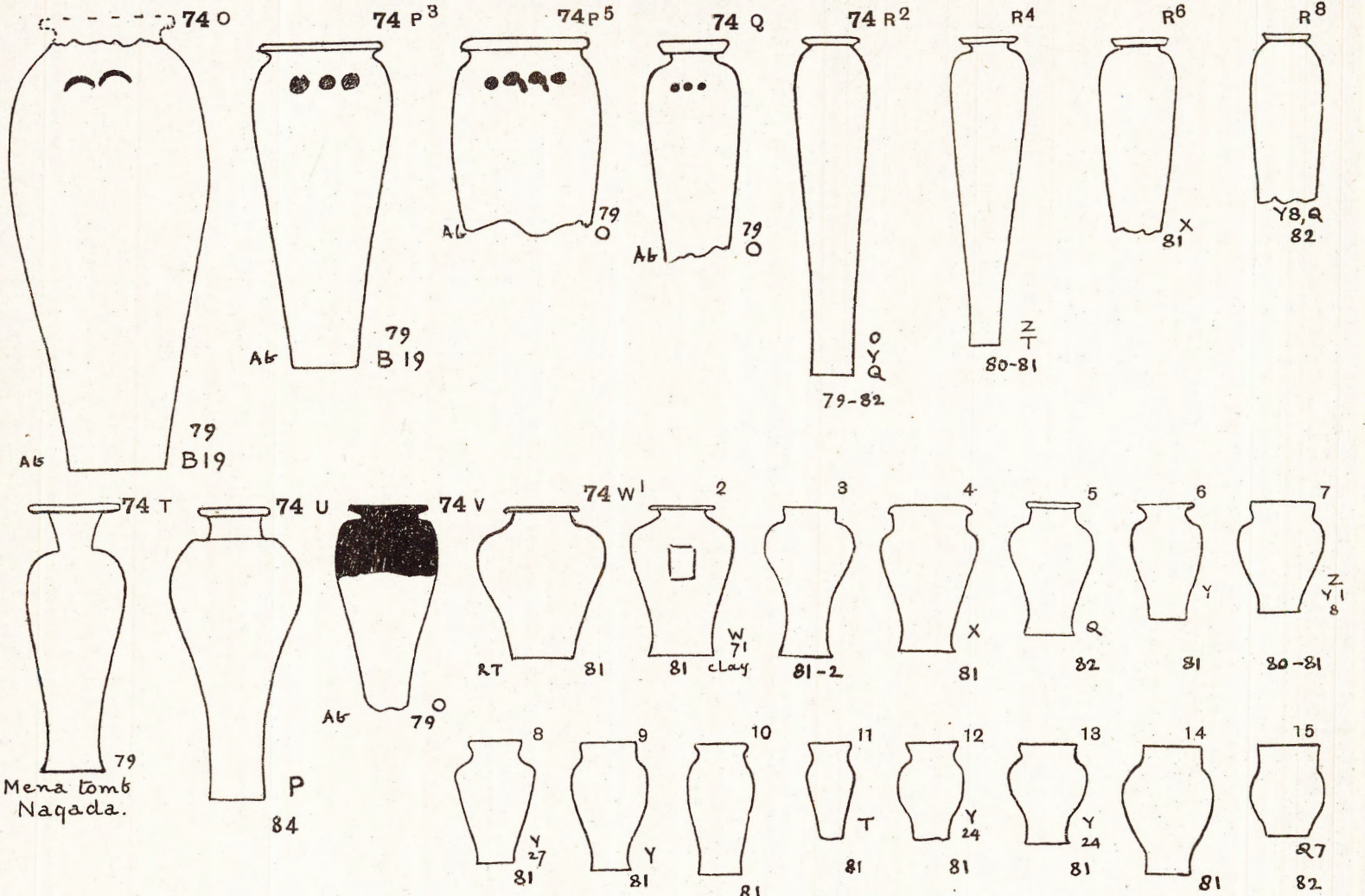


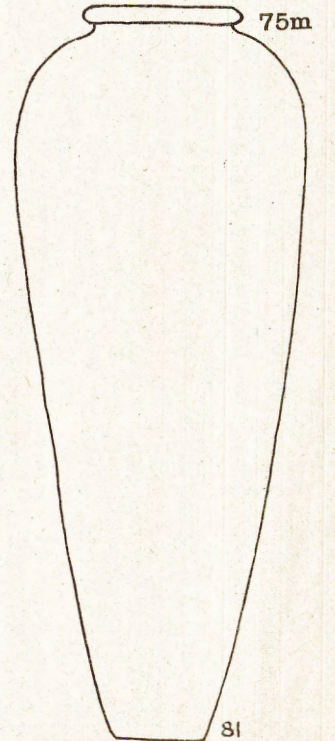
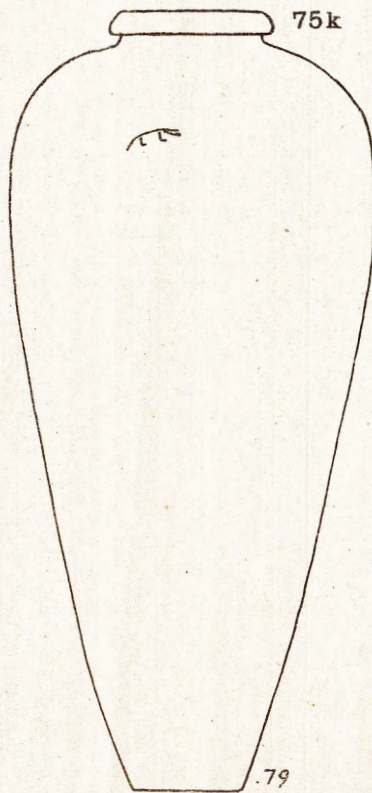
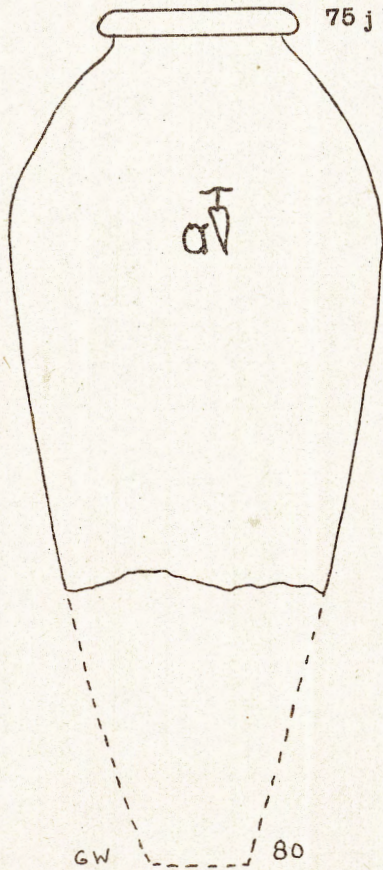
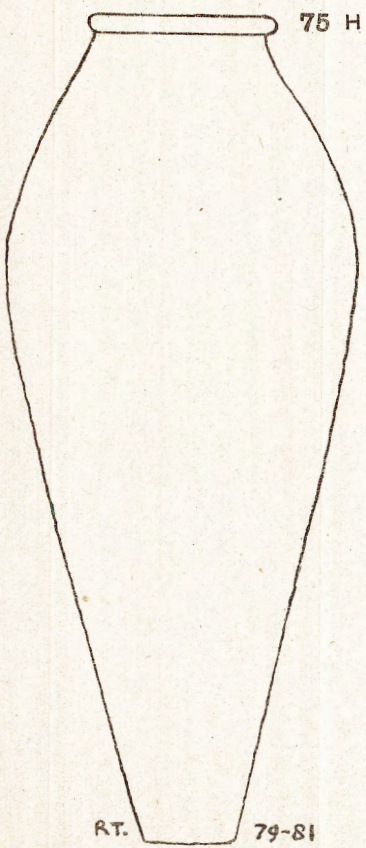
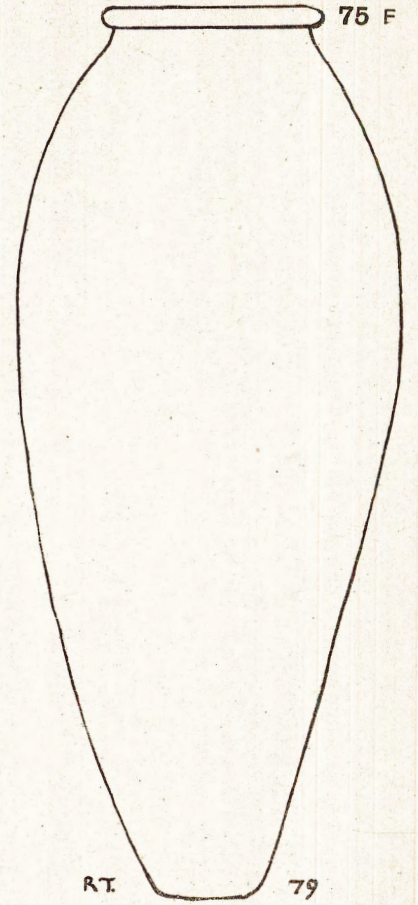
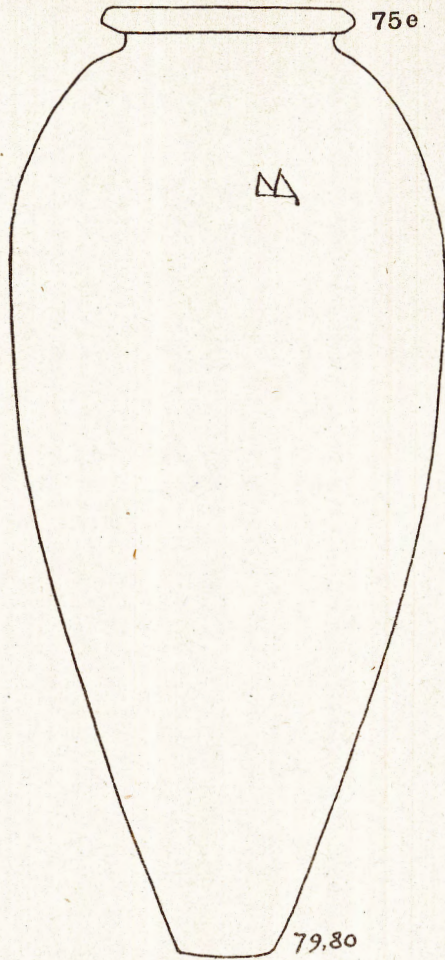
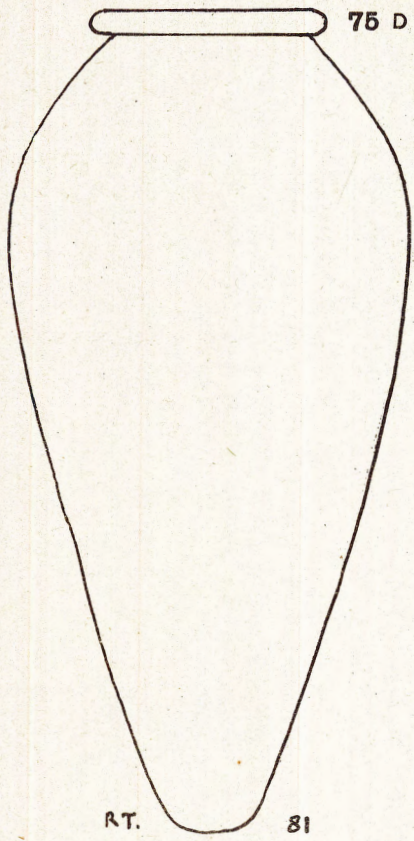


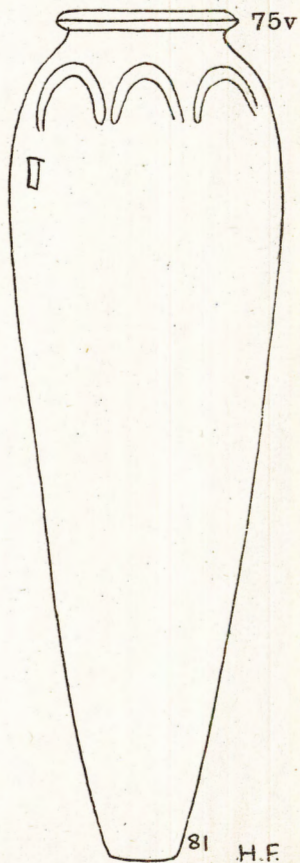
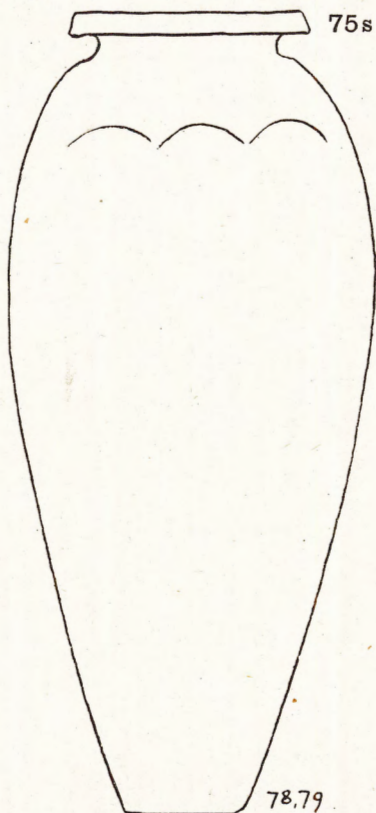
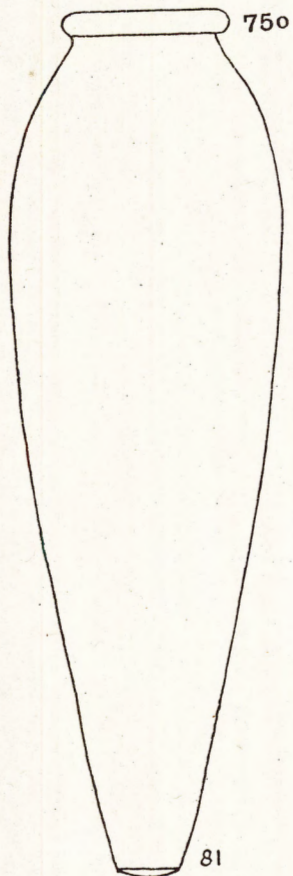
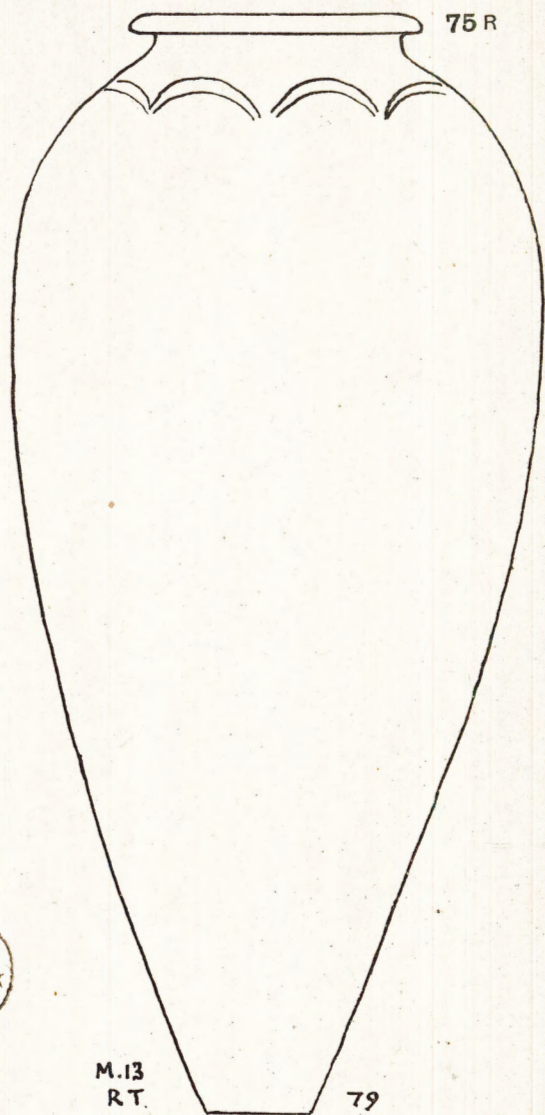
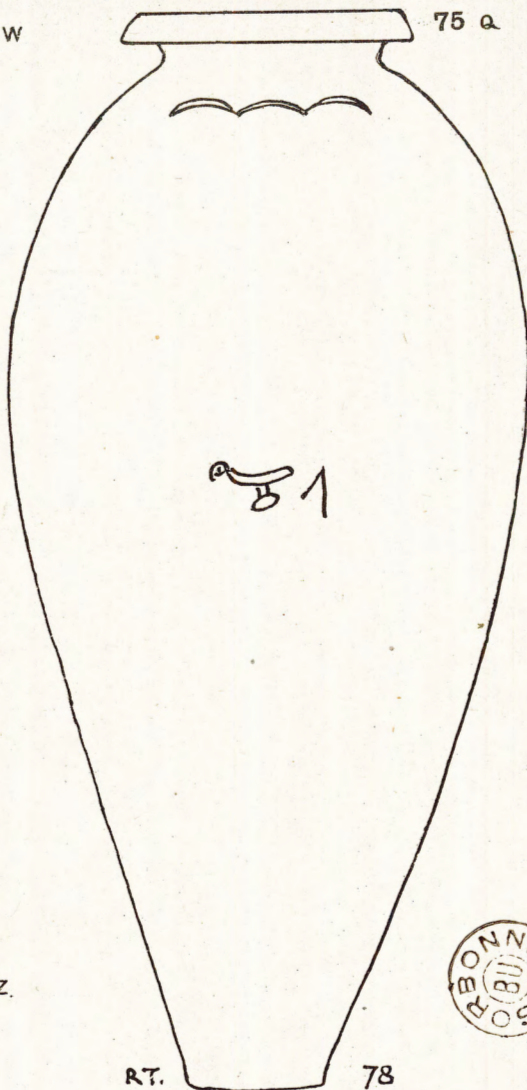
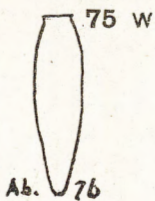
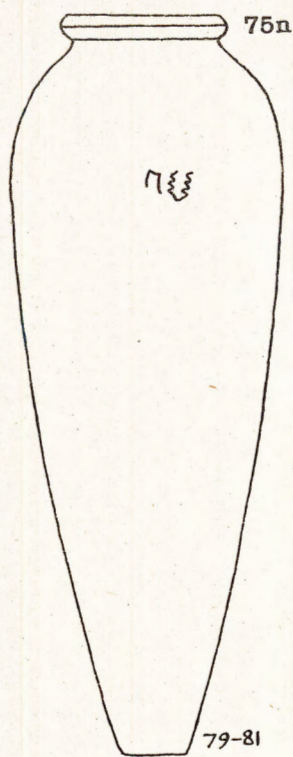
1:6

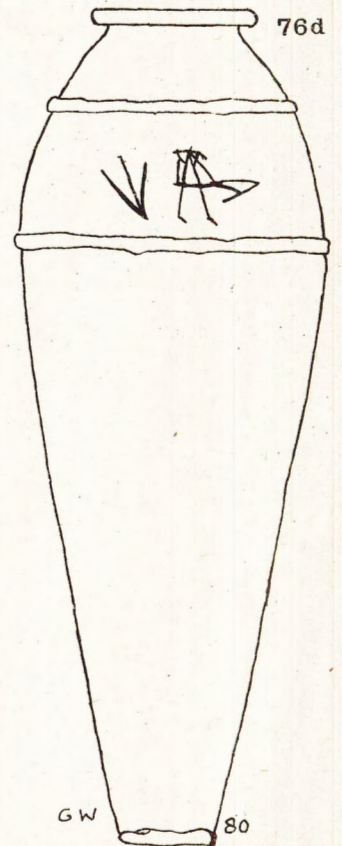
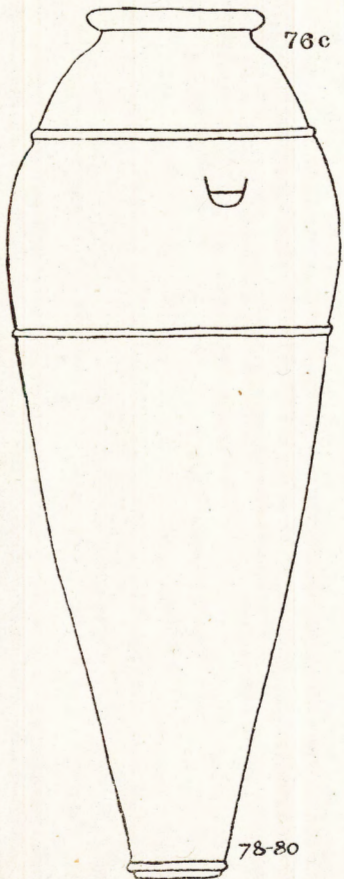
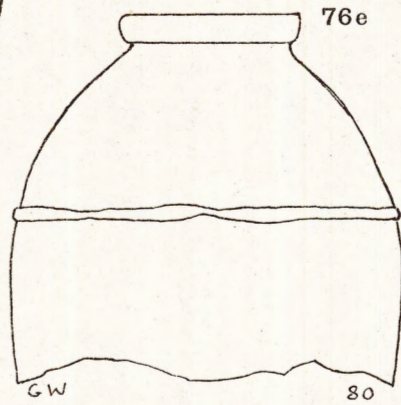
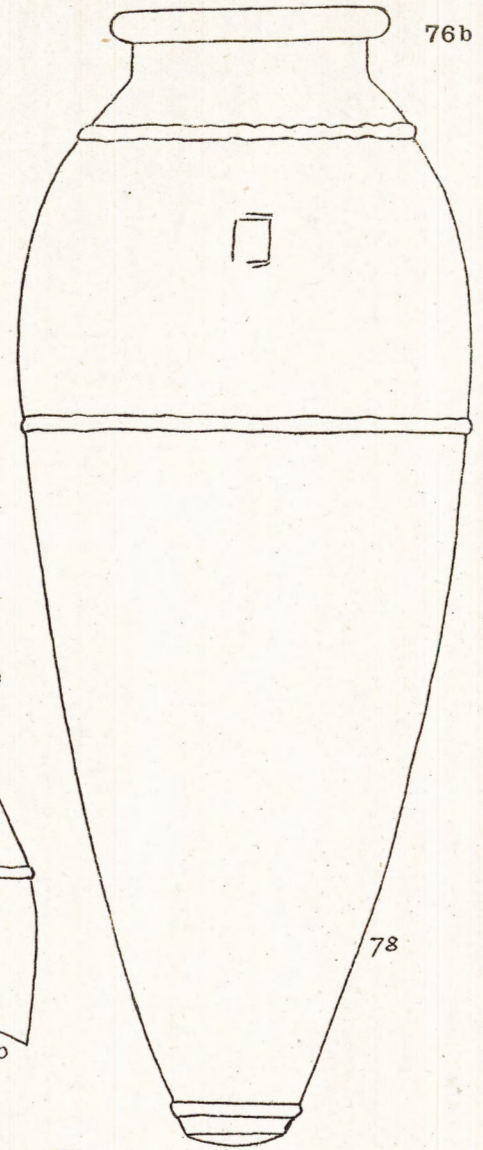
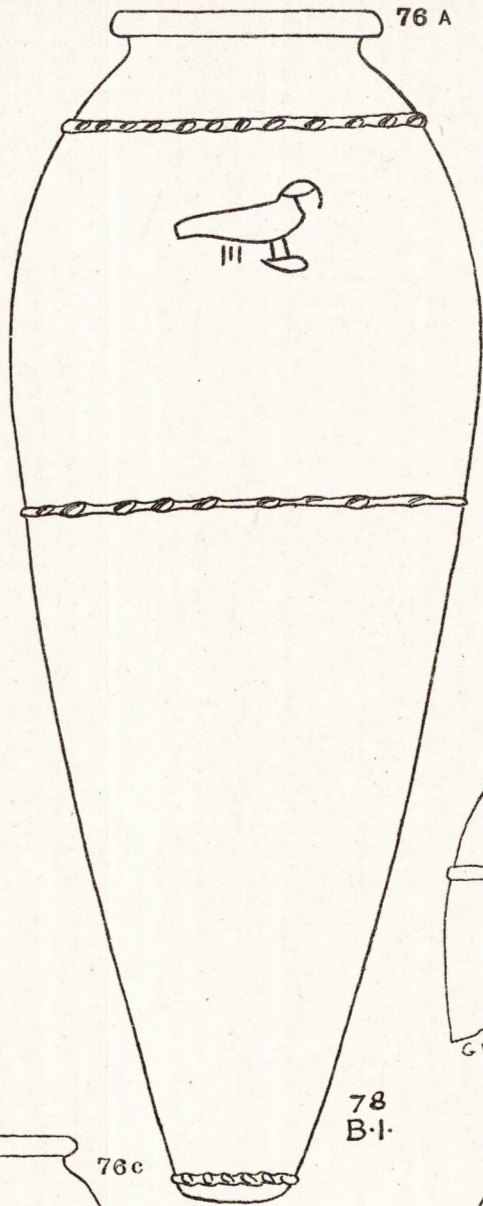
CORPUS OF PROTO-DYNASTIC POTTERY. 74, 75.

XIX.





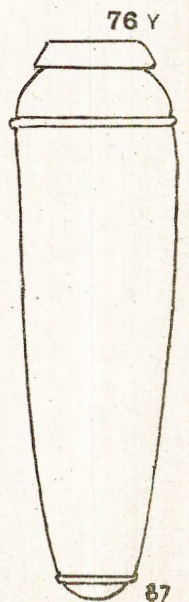
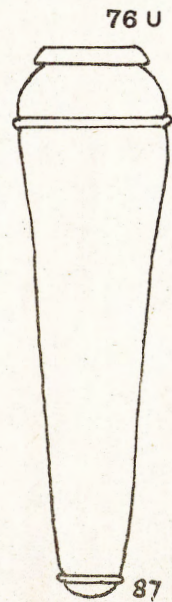
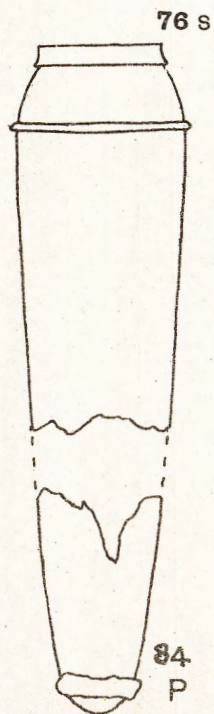
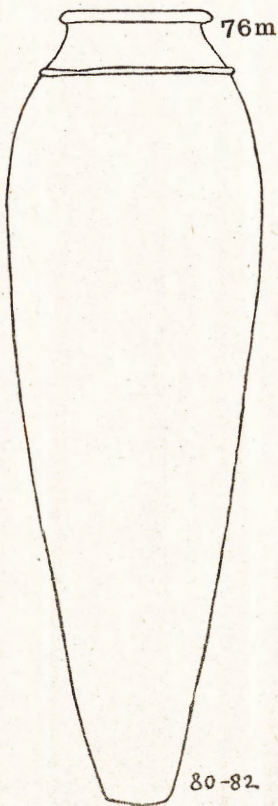
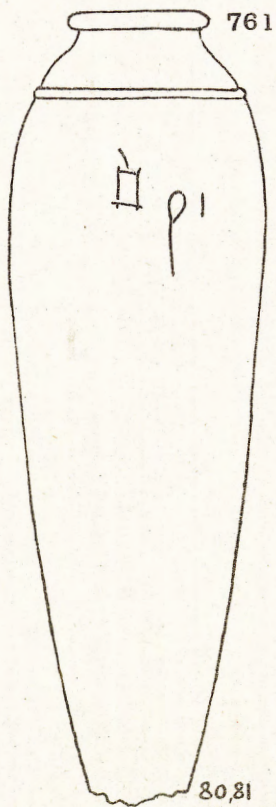
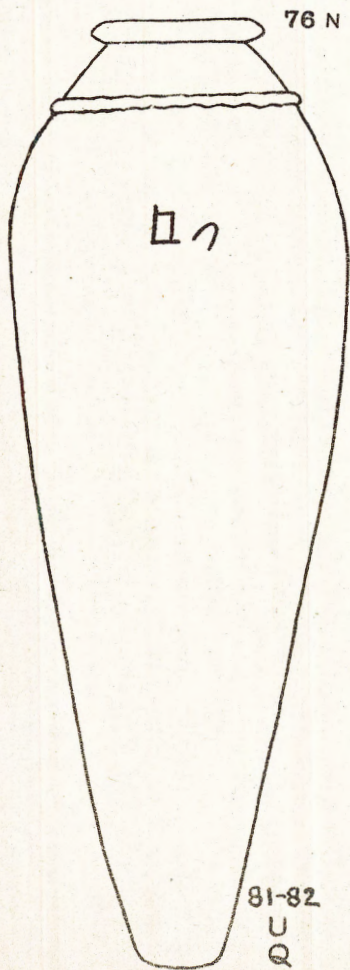
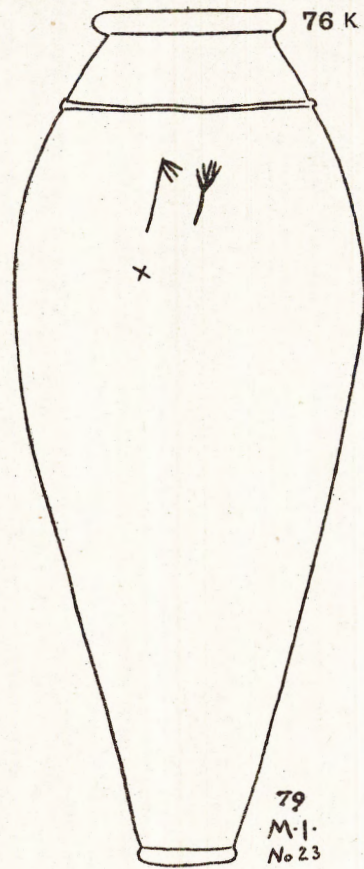
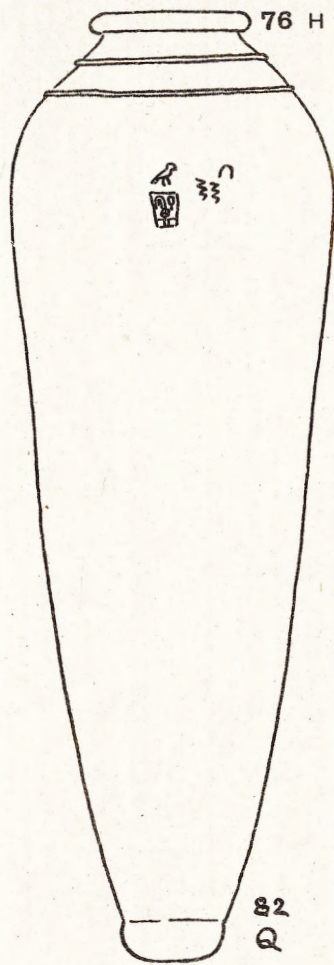




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CORPUS OF PROTO-DYNASTIC POTTERY. 76.

XXIII.

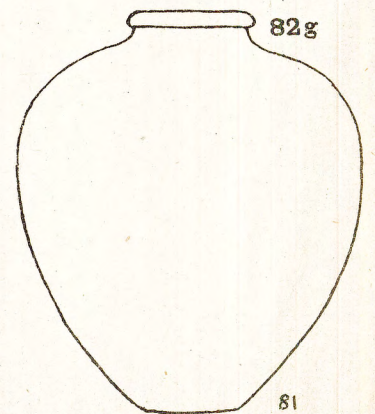
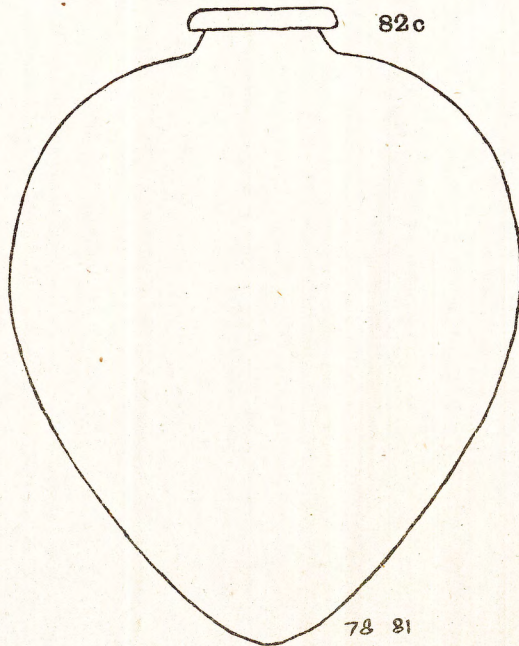
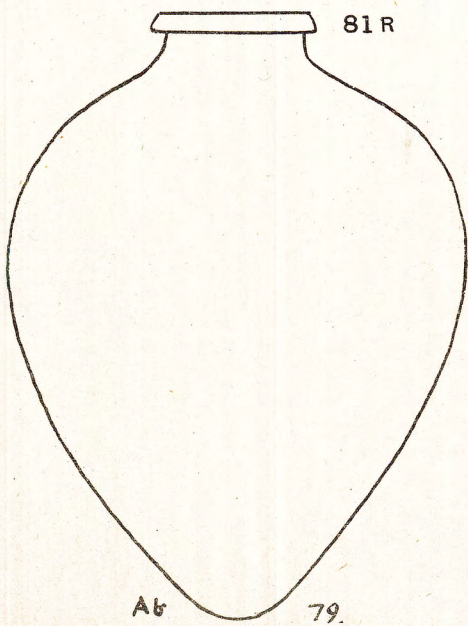
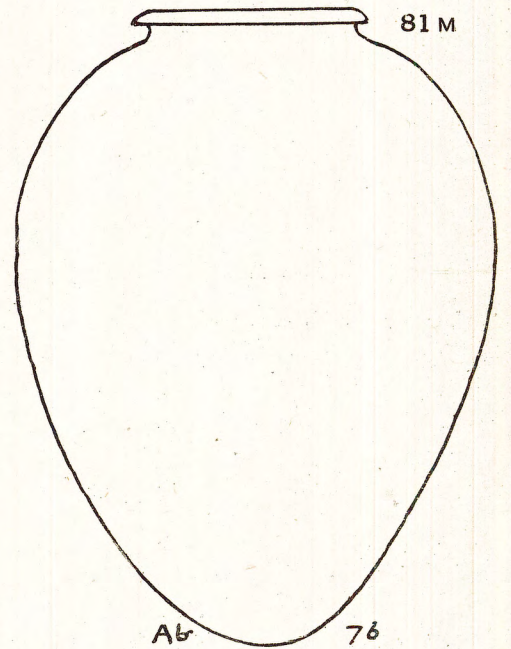
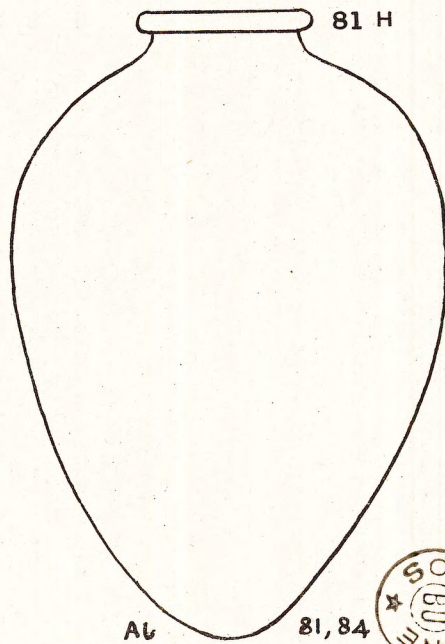
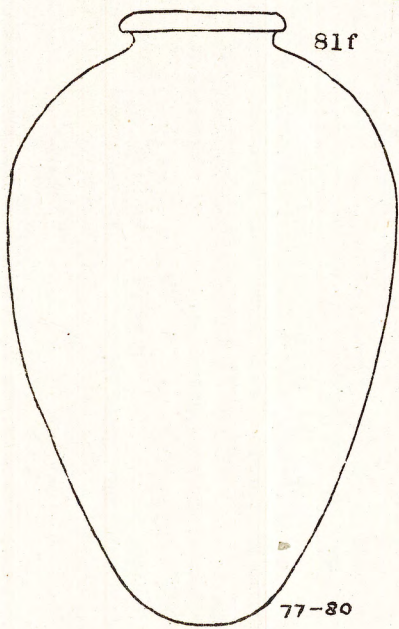
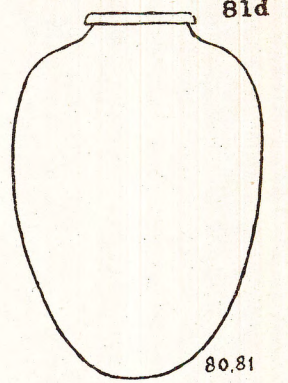
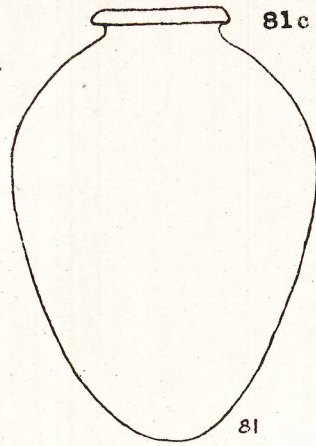
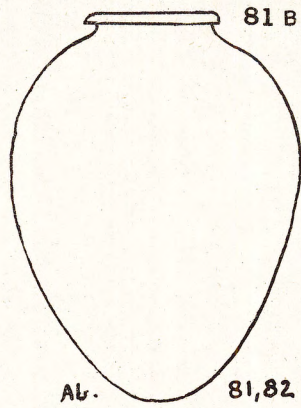
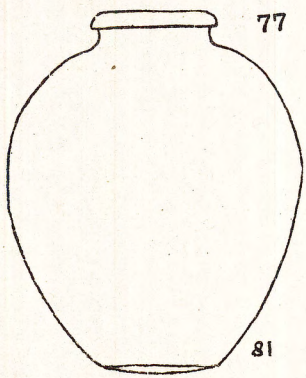


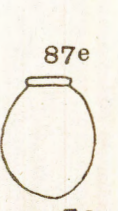
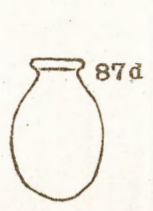
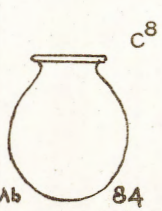
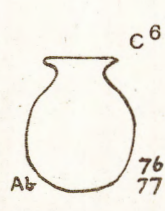
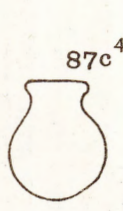
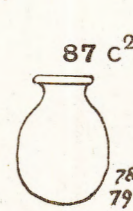
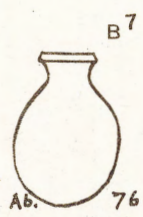
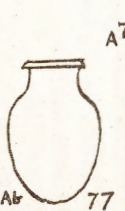
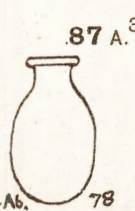
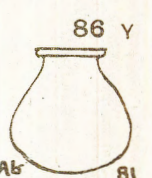
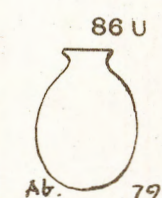
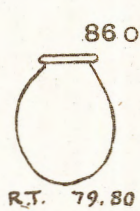
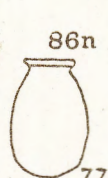
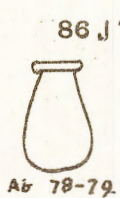
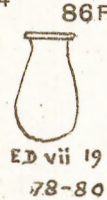
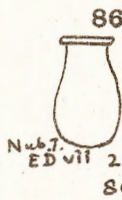
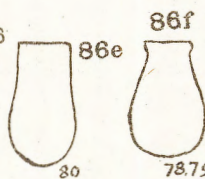
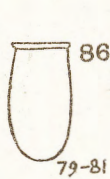
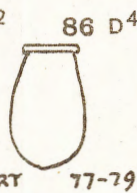
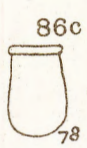
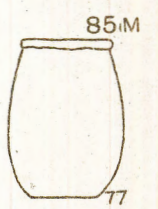
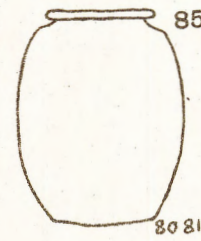
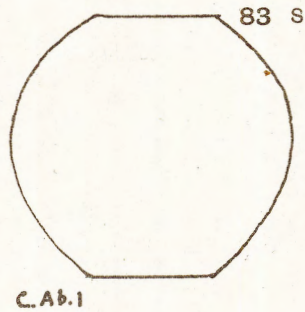
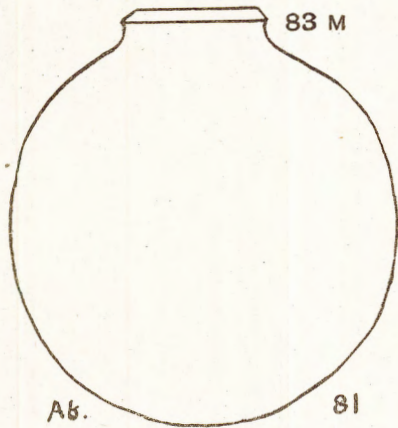
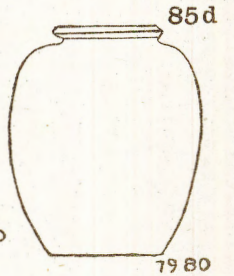
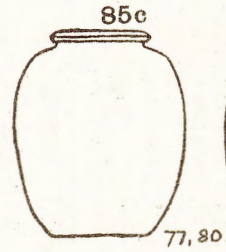
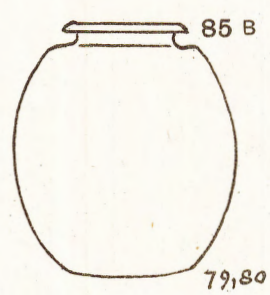
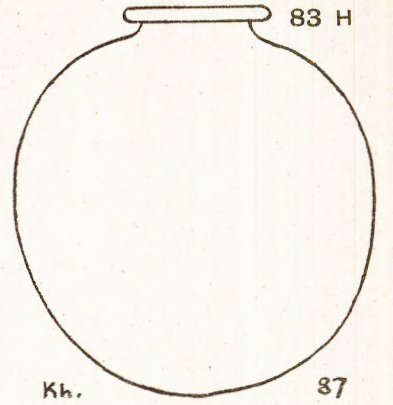
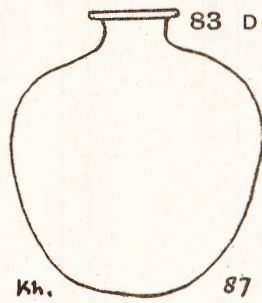
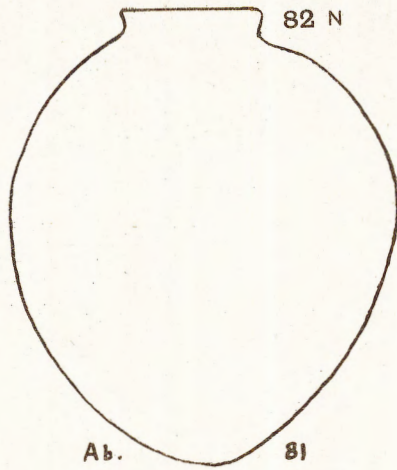
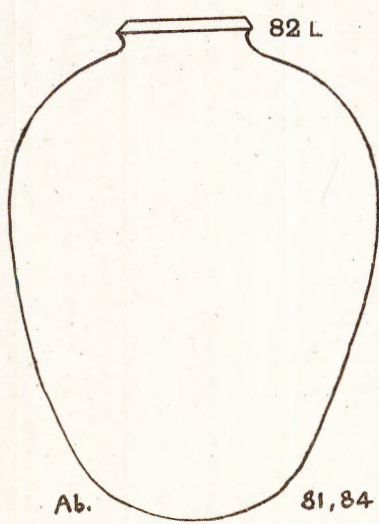
Kh.

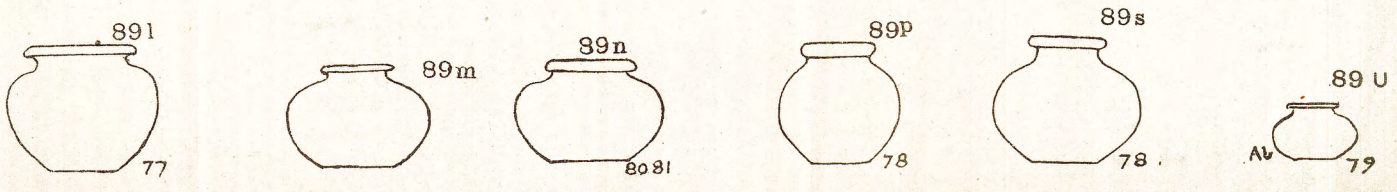
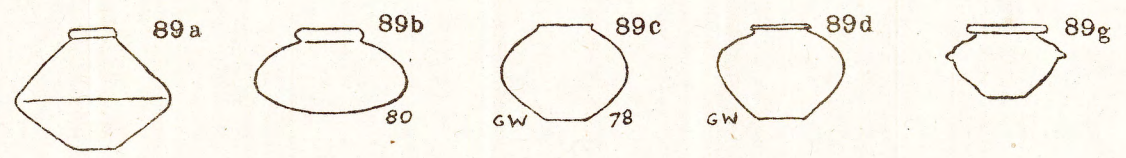
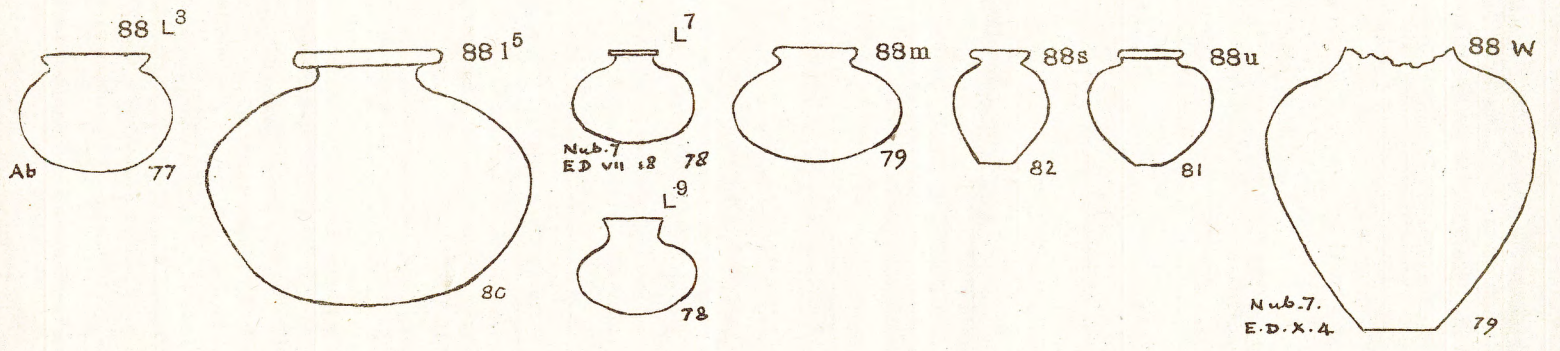
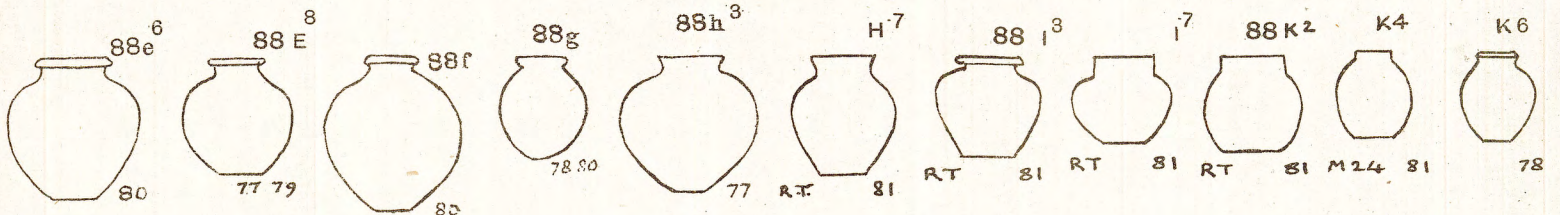
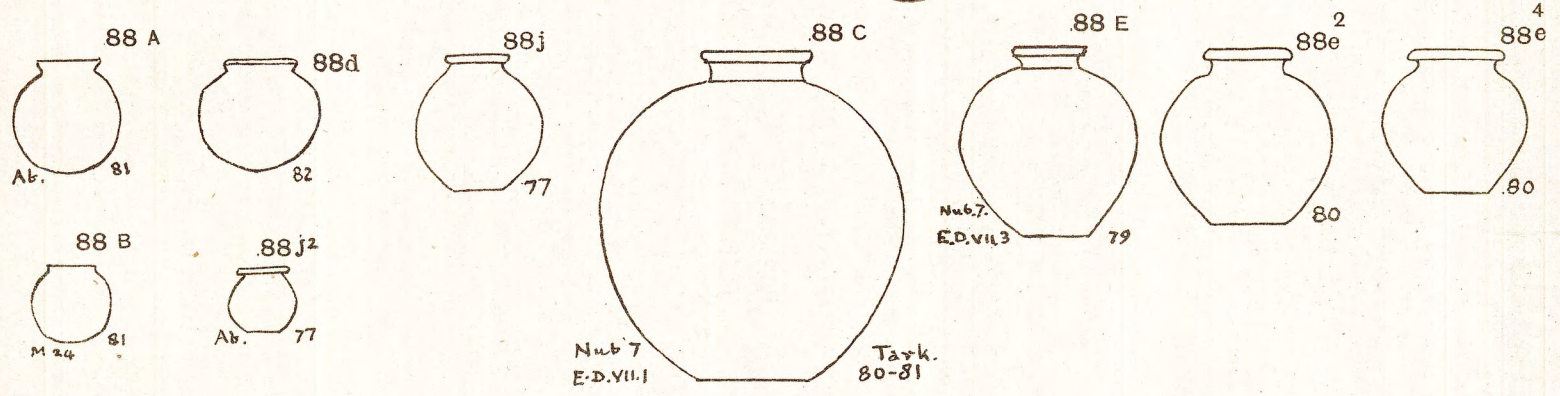
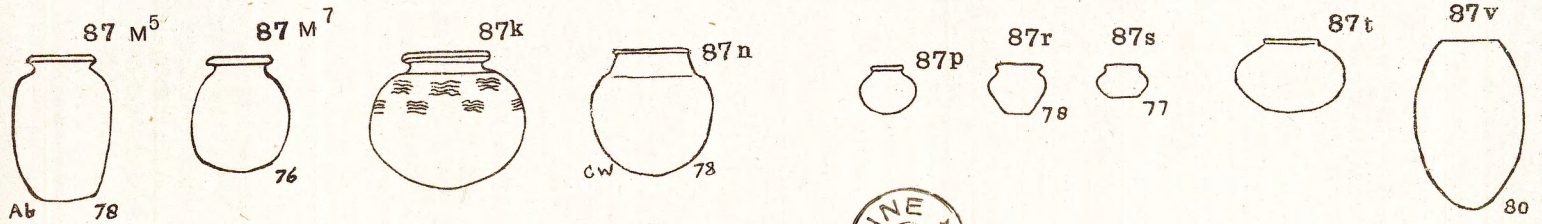
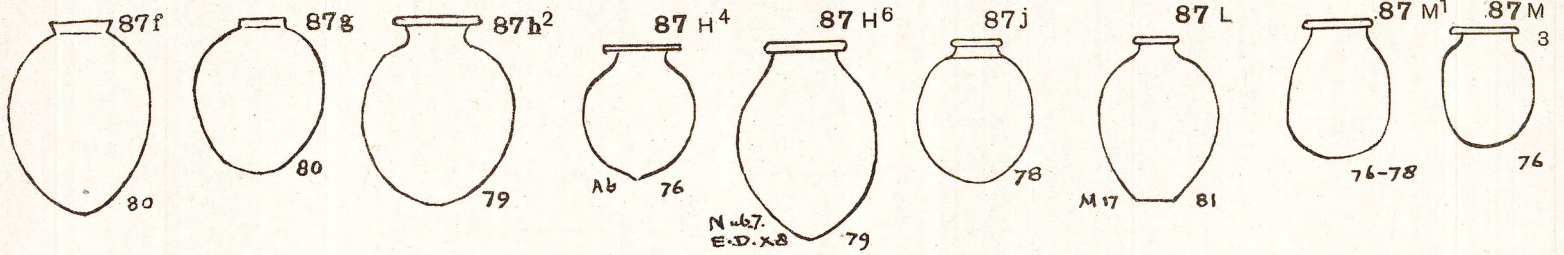
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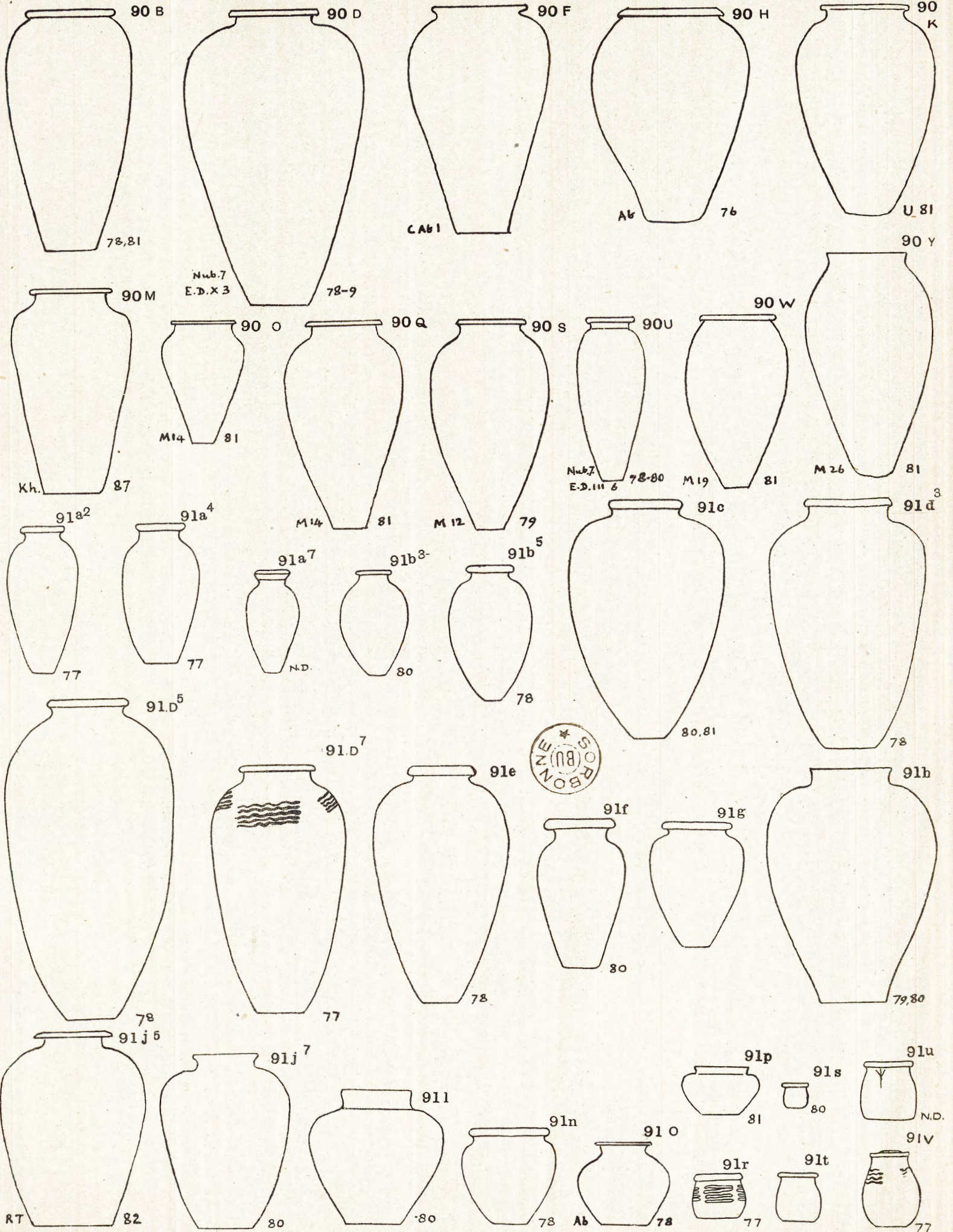
XXIV.

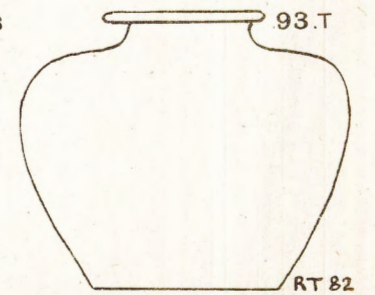
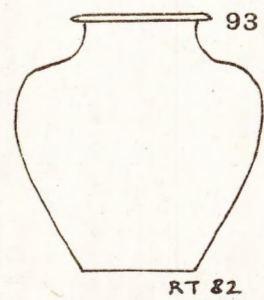
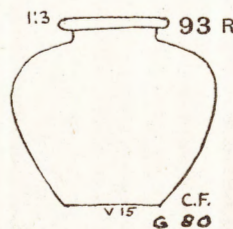
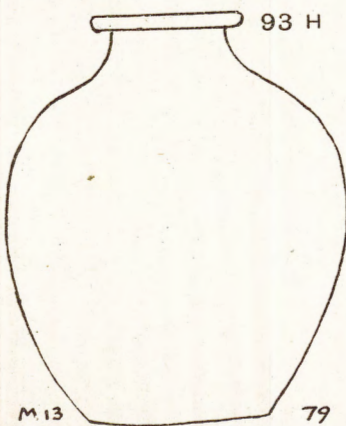
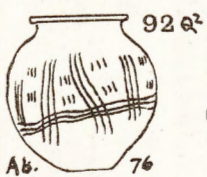
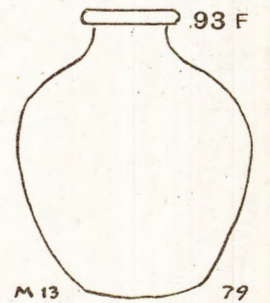
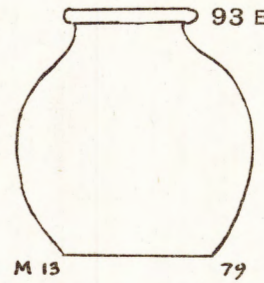
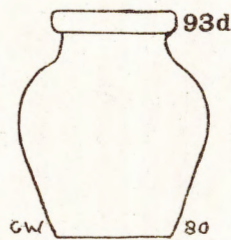
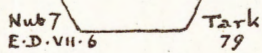
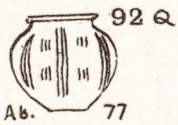
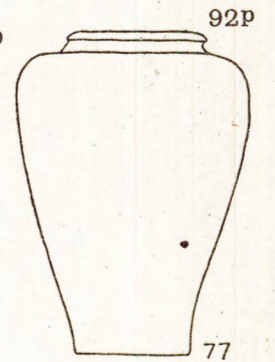
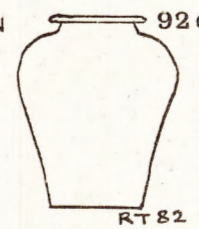
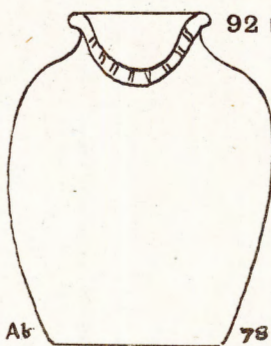
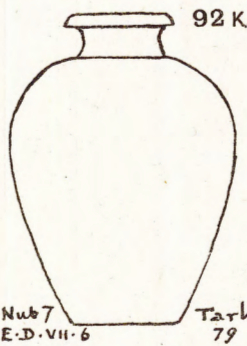
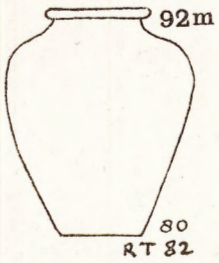
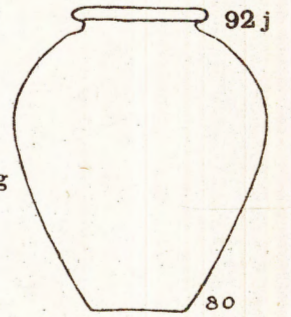
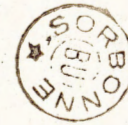
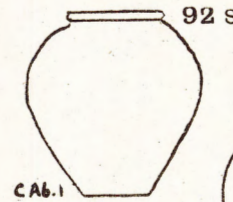
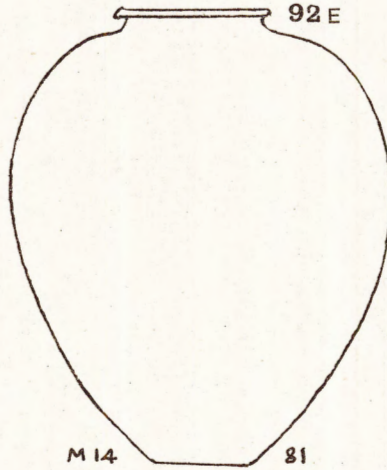
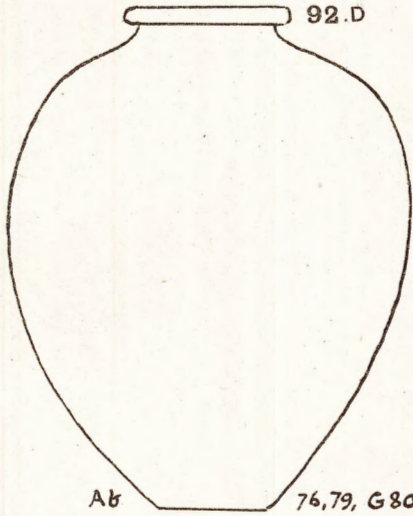
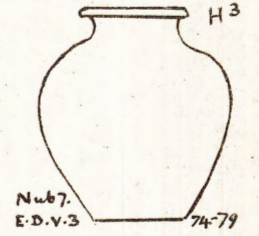
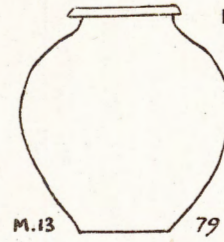
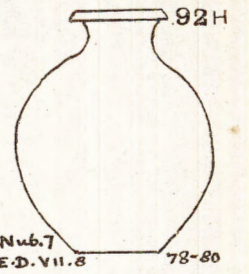
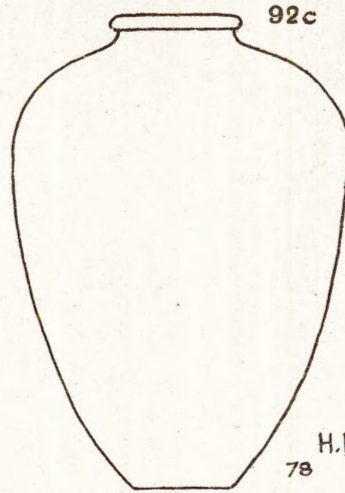
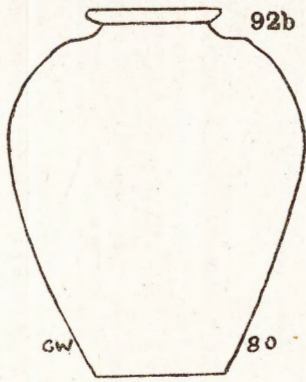
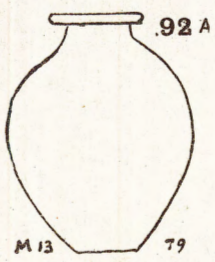


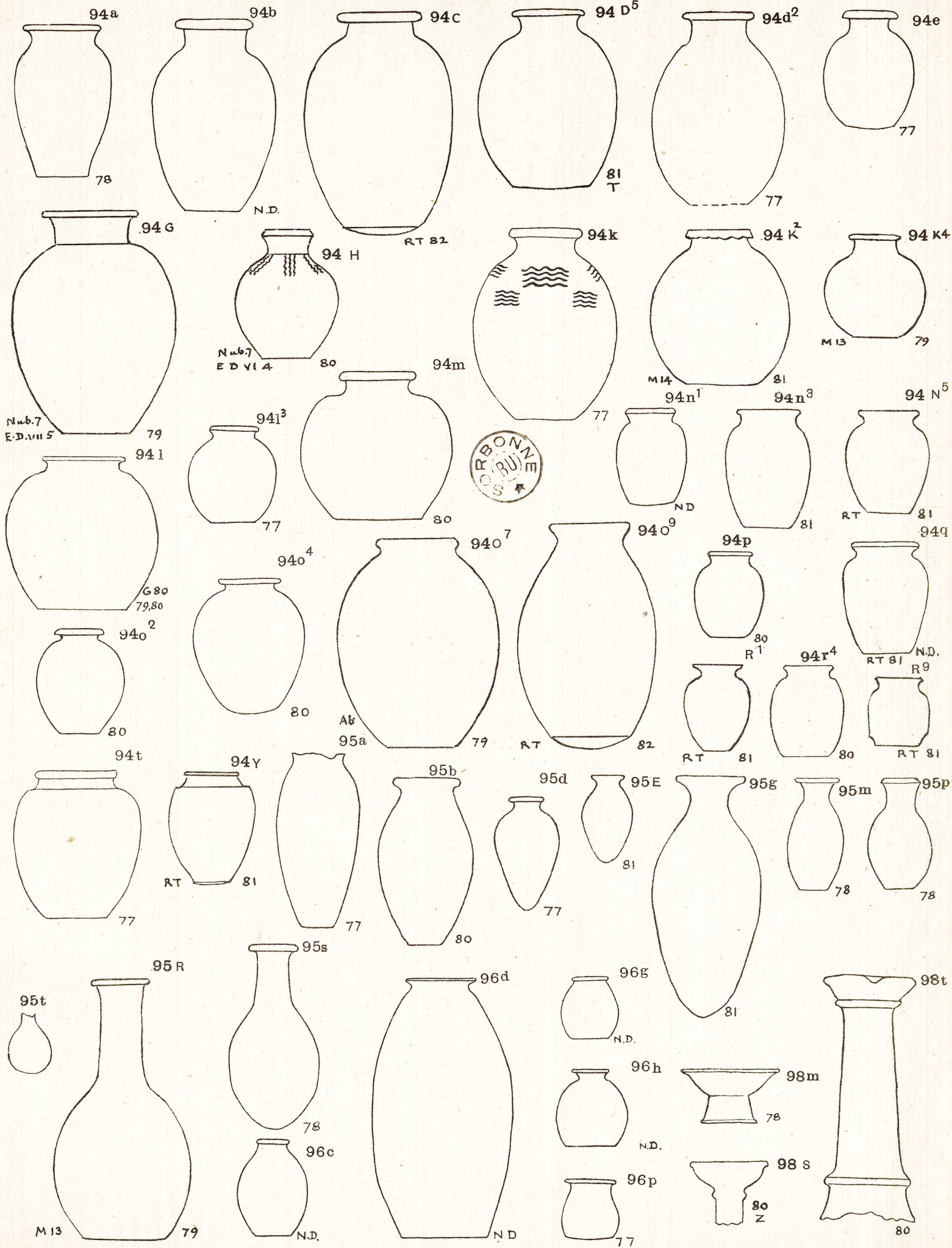


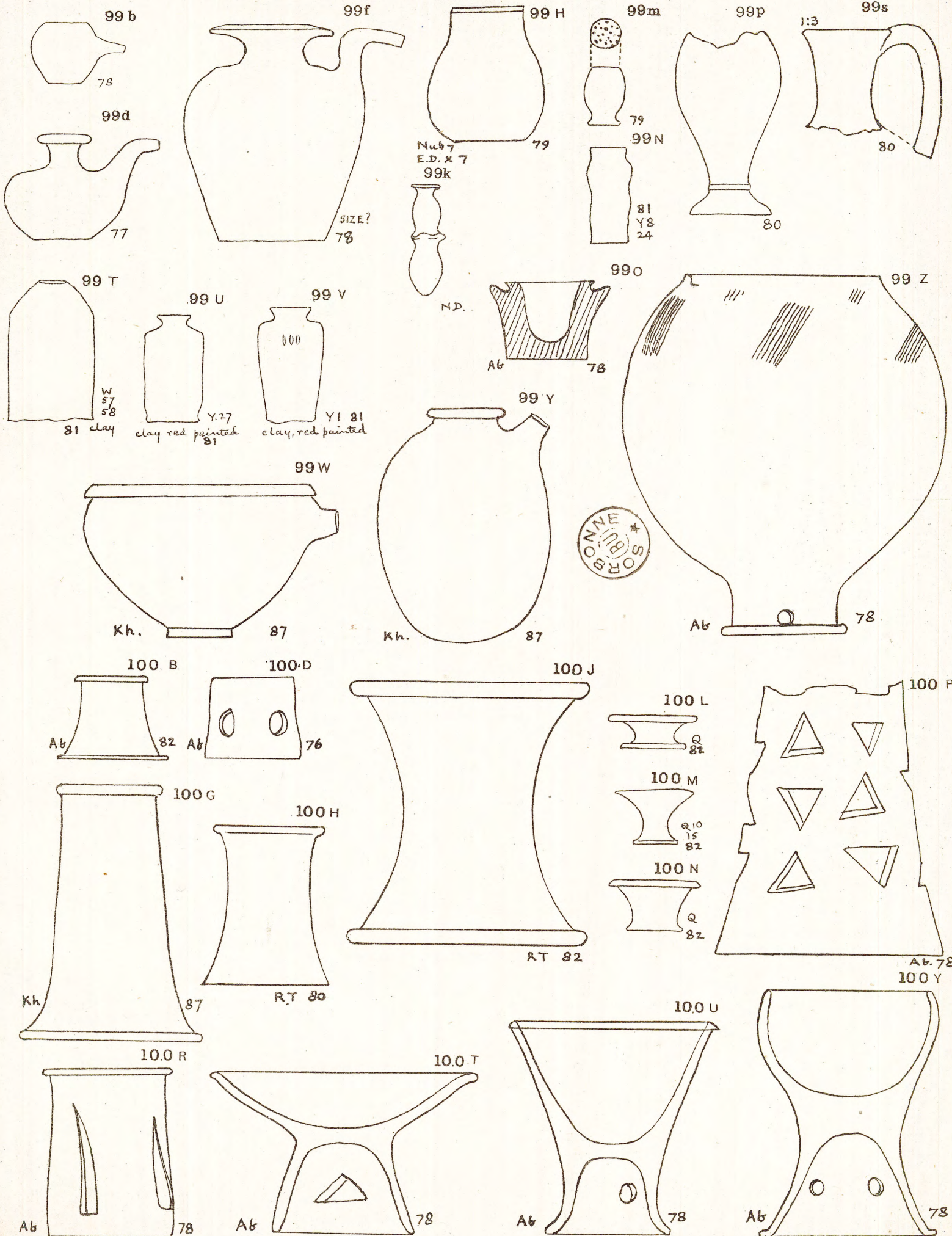












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